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María de los Ángeles Picone

Date

Landscaping Patagonia: A Spatial History of Nation-making in the Northern Patagonian Andes,
1895-1945

By

María de los Ángeles Picone

Doctor of Philosophy

History

Jeffrey Lesser
Advisor

Thomas D. Rogers
Advisor

Hernán Feldman
Committee Member

John Soluri
Committee Member

Yanna Yannakakis
Committee Member

Accepted:

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D.
Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

Date

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María de los Ángeles Picone
MA, Emory University, 2016
Licenciada en Historia, Universidad Católica Argentina, 2012

Advisor: Jeffrey Lessery, PhD
Advisor: Thomas D. Rogers, PhD

An abstract of
a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
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Abstract

Landscaping Patagonia: A Spatial History of Nation-making in the Northern Patagonian Andes, 1895-1945

By María de los Ángeles Picone

My dissertation examines how explorers, settlers, authorities, visitors, and bandits in the Northern Patagonian Andes, a border region between Chile and Argentina, created new understandings of the nation through their regional, often cross-border experiences of a space. This study shows how these different actors sought to make Patagonia their own by transforming a collection of geographical sites into a landscape that evoked a shared past and a common future. I examine the changing ways that people imagined the Northern Patagonian Andes and how they depicted it to others. My project analyzes written, visual, and geospatial sources to reveal multiple understandings of the border region that generated different interpretations of the nation.

Between 1895 and 1945, the Chilean and Argentine governments introduced a myriad of policies to stretch their control over the Northern Patagonian Andes, such as negotiating the boundary, building infrastructure, and granting lands to settlers. Simultaneously, settlers built evolving trans-Andean economic and social networks that defined and redefined this transnational region. Through their spatial experiences with and in the Northern Patagonian Andes, authorities, residents, and passers-by created new versions of nationhood. Their experiences in the areas between Lake Llanquihue (Chile) and Lake Nahuel Huapi (Argentina) encapsulated ideas about the region. Surveying the passes, opening roads, traveling miles to the nearest police station or post office, and participating in commemorative ceremonies are just some of the experiences people employed to make sense of the space around them.

Studying the relationship between nature and culture from a transnational perspective furthers our understanding of how different groups compete over, and build, their national identities. My research shows that borders are not just static lines on maps but constructions of an imagined space. My cross-border approach highlights the deeply interpretative nature of nation-making that might otherwise remain obscured. Thus, my dissertation foregrounds alternative histories of nation-making in border regions advancing our understanding of the relationship between nature and culture.

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Note on Names

The nomenclature I employ for native peoples requires clarification, since name-giving represents a crucial strategy for spatial appropriation. Terms derived from ‘Arauco’, such as Araucanía to refer to a place and Araucanos to refer to the Mapuche, reproduce how Spanish colonial authorities once described the Mapuche and the territory they controlled. Today, scholars and the larger public to employ ‘Mapuche’ to refer to those tribes, since that was how they called themselves. However, ‘Araucanía’ has evolved to refer to specific territorial jurisdiction in Chile. ‘Tehuelche’ was how the Mapuche called a linguistically diverse indigenous group from the Patagonian steppe, which explorers incorporated. Both ‘Mapuche’ and ‘Tehuelche’ are umbrella terms for cultural groups with internal linguistic differences.¹

¹ For more detailed discussions on the many subgroups that inhabited the Northern Patagonian Andes, see Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, Second, Historia Argentina (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2011), 36–37; Sara Ortelli, “La ‘araucanización’ de las Pampas: ¿realidad histórica o construcción de los etnólogos?,” *Anuario del Instituto de Estudios Histórico-Sociales* 11 (1996): 203–25; Mónica Quijada, “La ciudadanización del «indio bárbaro». Políticas oficiales y oficiosas hacia la población indígena de la Pampa y la Patagonia, 1870-1920,” *Revista de Indias* 59, no. 217 (1999): 675–704, <https://doi.org/10.3989/revindias.1999.i217.832>; Pedro Navarro Floria, Leonardo Salgado, and Pedro Azar, “La invención de los ancestros: el «patagón antiguo» y la construcción discursiva de un pasado nacional remoto para la Argentina (1870-1915),” *Revista de Indias* 64, no. 231 (2004): 405–24, <https://doi.org/10.3989/revindias.2004.i231.546>; Alejandro Aguado, *La colonización del oeste de la Patagonia central: Departamento Río Senguer, Chubut, 1890-1919* (Comodoro Rivadavia: Fondo Editorial Provincial - Gobierno de Chubut, 2005), chap. 3; Mateo Martinic Beros, *De la Trapananda al Aysén: una mirada reflexiva sobre el acontecer de la Región de Aysén desde la prehistoria hasta nuestros días* (Pehuén Editores Limitada, 2005), 28–30; Mariela E. Rodríguez and Walter Del Río, “Los tehuelches”: Un paseo etnohistórico,” in *El Gran Libro de La Provincia de Santa Cruz* (Milenio Ediciones, 2006), 1–43; María Ximena Urbina Carrasco, “La frustrada misión estratégica de Nahuelhuapi, un punto en la inmensidad de la Patagonia,” *Magallania; Punta Arena* 36, no. 1 (2008): 5–30; María Ximena Urbina Carrasco, *La frontera de arriba en Chile colonial: interacción hispano-indígena en el territorio entre Valdivia y Chiloé e imaginario de sus bordes geográficos, 1600-1800* (Santiago de Chile: Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 2009), chap. 1; Adán Hajduk et al., “De Chiloé al Nahuel Huapi. Nuevas evidencias materiales del accionar jesuítico en el gran lago (siglos XVII y XVIII),” in *Araucanía - Norpatagonia: la territorialidad en debate. Perspectivas ambientales, culturales, sociales, políticas y económicas*, ed. María Andrea Nicoletti and Paula Gabriela Núñez (San Carlos de Bariloche: IIDyPCa, 2013), 243–79; Marisa Malvestitti, “Fronteras lingüísticas en Tierra del Fuego. Usos y documentación de las lenguas originarias en las misiones anglicana y salesiana (1869-1923),” in *Araucanía - Norpatagonia: la territorialidad en debate. Perspectivas ambientales, culturales, sociales, políticas y económicas*, ed. María Andrea Nicoletti and Paula Gabriela Núñez (San Carlos de Bariloche: IIDyPCa, 2013), 280–93; María Carolina Odone Correa and María Andrea Nicoletti, “Estado y misiones: compartir, disputar y construir el espacio misionero en un territorio binacional (Las misiones salesianas en Tierra del Fuego, fines del siglo XIX y principios del siglo XX),” in *Araucanía - Norpatagonia: la territorialidad en debate. Perspectivas ambientales, culturales, sociales, políticas y económicas*, ed. María Andrea Nicoletti and Paula Gabriela Núñez (San Carlos de Bariloche: IIDyPCa, 2013), 294–309; Paz Neira, Josefa Reyes, and Samuel Linker, *Las voces*

In addition, I have kept all names of people in the way they appear in the sources. Many immigrants translated their names to Spanish. However, I have changed the name of places to a uniform spelling to prevent readers from getting lost in an already unfamiliar area. Many names of companies took the names of the places where they operated. To distinguish between the two, names of companies are italicized while names of places are not. For example: *Cochamó* (meat-processing company) and Cochamó (town). Names of geographical landmarks are in the original, except River Plate. ‘Region’ can refer to an unbound area, to a specific area, or to a Chilean provincial jurisdiction.

To avoid confusion, I capitalize ‘region’ when I refer to specific areas I define for this dissertation, especially the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region. The same goes for ‘northern’ in Northern Patagonia and the Northern Patagonian Andes. When referring to the Chilean jurisdiction “*región*,” I use the English “province” because the *regiones*, as we know them today, were not created until the 1930s. In Argentina, the jurisdictions in Patagonia were National Territories. When referring to police forces or authorities from these National Territories I capitalized the adjective ‘Territorial,’ though I have tried to keep this to a minimum. All translations from documents are mine, unless otherwise stated.

del lago: memoria e historia del sector cordillerano del lago Rupanco (El Poncho, Gaviotas, Las Vegas) (Santiago, Chile: Proyección Editores, 2015), 29; Susana Aguirre, “Dinámicas sociales, identidades y miradas sobre el otro en la frontera sur (siglos XVIII-XIX),” in *Las fronteras del mundo atlántico (siglos XVI-XIX)*, ed. Susana Truchuelo and Emir Reitano, Colección Historia del Mundo Ibérico. Del Antiguo Régimen a las Independencias 1 (Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación - Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 2017), 361–88, <http://libros.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/index.php/libros/catalog/book/85>.

Introduction: Writing a Spatial History of Patagonia



Map 1: Location of Patagonia

On the evening November 30, 2018, the leaders of G20 states attended the exclusive performance of *Argentum* at the world-renowned Colón Opera House in Buenos Aires, Argentina.¹ The piece celebrated Argentina's five regions through the combination of dance and music.² Landscapes and cultural cues projected on walls, ceilings, and on-stage screens situated the

¹ National Geographic, "Top 10 Opera Houses -- National Geographic," accessed March 27, 2019, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/top-10/opera-houses/>; Nathaniel Lande and Andrew Lande, *The 10 Best of Everything: An Ultimate Guide for Travelers* (National Geographic Books, 2008), 54; Leo Beranek, *Concert Halls and Opera Houses: Music, Acoustics, and Architecture* (Springer Science & Business Media, 2012), chap. 27. For more on the cultural history of the Colón, see Claudio Benzecry, "An Opera House for the 'Paris of South America': Pathways to the Institutionalization of High Culture," *Theory and Society* 43, no. 2 (2014): 169–96.

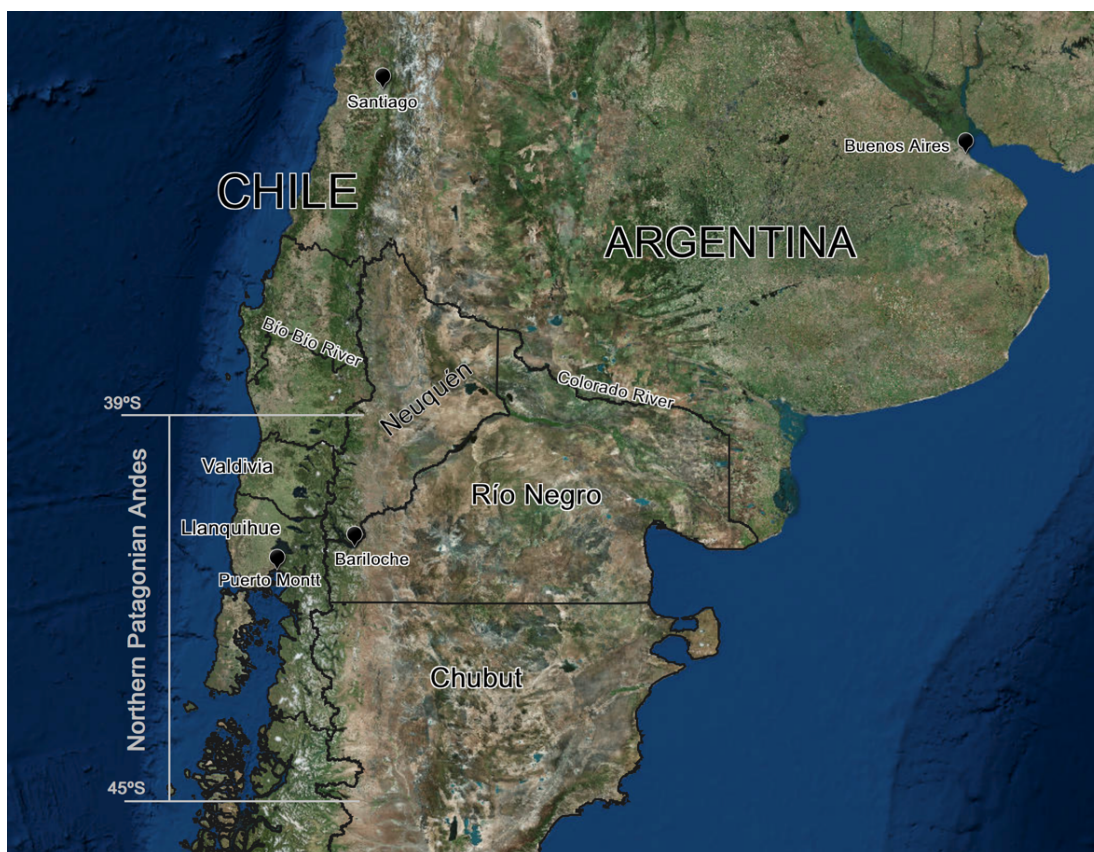
² For a discussion on Argentine regions see, Alejandro Benedetti, "Los usos de la categoría región en el pensamiento geográfico argentino," *Scripta Nova* XIII, no. 286 (2009).

audience in the region they were visiting. The message to the G20 was clear: Argentina was a country of many peoples. Patagonia, however, was the exception. For the section on Patagonia, the flute sounds accompanied the whistling wind playing in the background as dancers mimicked the movements of water and waves. The projected images showed penguins, whales, peaks, and lakes. The image of Patagonia, devoid of humanity, contrasted with the indigenous culture, urban customs, and economic activities of other regions that filled the stage. In Patagonia, people only appeared towards the end, wearing horse masks and dressed in supposedly indigenous garments, though not indigenous to Patagonia. While triumphant melodies evoked the victory of men over nature, the video showed a man hiking over a glacier, which is one of Patagonia's greatest tourist attractions. Overall, *Argentum's* Patagonia was one without people: no history, no culture, only nature.³

Patagonia has historically stretched over the southernmost tip of the American continent, straddling Chile and Argentina (Map 1). I study how people invested meanings about the nation in a border region, the Northern Patagonian Andes, and how these meanings amounted to national landscapes. *Argentum* portrayed Patagonia as a natural landscape, separated from human activity. Yet, the archive reveals a wealth of documents that signal a boisterous history. Military raids displaced, but did not eliminate, indigenous Mapuche and Tehuelche; their territorial claims persist to this day. Newcomers from many parts of the world settled in the Andes. The cacophony of languages was evident in every store that appears in the sources: customers came, people drank, maybe someone shot a gun. The roads were busy: mounted police officers galloped across the

³ To watch the full show, see Ricky Pashkus, *Argentum, el espectáculo que emocionó al G20* (Buenos Aires: Teatro Colón, 2018), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=goHxpNWthbk>; "Argentum, el show que verán los líderes del G20 en el Teatro Colón," November 28, 2018, <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/espectaculos/musica/argentum-espectaculo-brindara-g20-teatro-colon-se-nid2197205>.

steppe, merchants herded cattle across the Andes. Everyone carried weapons. And the Patagonian wind always blew; *Argentum* at least got that right.



Map 2: Northern Patagonia, broadly speaking, with an approximation of the Northern Patagonian Andes.

In the fifty years between 1895 and 1945, the governments of Chile and Argentina introduced a myriad of nationalizing policies, including establishing their shared boundary in 1901. At the same time, in the Northern Patagonian Andes, settlers built trans-Andean networks, which evolved and shifted, defining and redefining a transnational region. Through their spatial experiences of the Northern Patagonian Andes (Map 2), authorities, residents, and passers-by made sense of the nation. Their ideas, descriptions, and transformations of a border region amounted to a national landscape in Patagonia.

What is Patagonia?

Throughout history, explorers, authorities, and settlers used “Patagonia” to refer to an undefined area at the end of the American continent. “Patagonia” derives from Spanish *patagón* or big foot. The first recorded encounter between Europeans and indigenous tribes of Patagonia took place in late March 1520, when Ferdinand Magellan’s fleet established a small settlement in present-day southern Argentina. Magellan’s chronicler noted that “a giant” came to meet them.⁴ For the next several hundred years, travelers imagined Patagonia as an undefined vastness inhabited by exotic creatures. Only the knowledge accumulated through voyages of exploration would turn this unknown land (*terra incognita*) into a clearly-bound territory.⁵

Today, Chileans and Argentines do not agree on the precise definition of Patagonia. In Chile, people use “Patagonia” to refer to the lands south of Puerto Montt (Map 2). However, early mentions of “Chilean Patagonia” signified areas west of the Andes that remained outside of the reach of the national government until the 1920s in southern Llanquihue Province, Aysén Province, and at least northern Magallanes Province.⁶ Conversely, in Argentina, people use “Patagonia” to

⁴ Antonio Pigafetta, *The First Voyage Around the World, 1519-1522: An Account of Magellan’s Expedition* (University of Toronto Press, 2007), 12. Before then, Amerigo Vespucci had described indigenous people farther north “taller than a tall man,” see Frederick Albion Ober, *Amerigo Vespucci* (Harper & Brothers, 1907), 144.

⁵ Francis Drake et al., *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake: Being His next Voyage to That to Nombre de Dios; Collated with an Unpublished Manuscript of Francis Fletcher, Chaplain to the Expedition; with Appendices Illustrative of the Same Voyage, and Introduction* (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1854), 72; Ernesto Livon-Grosman, *Geografías imaginarias: el relato de viaje y la construcción del espacio patagónico* (Rosario, Argentina: Beatriz Viterbo Editora, 2003). The multiple depictions of Patagonia were also present in Early Modern cartography. While some maps defined Patagonia as everything south of the Captaincy of Chile and the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, others marked it to belong to one jurisdiction or the other. See, for instance, Hendrik Hondius, Jan Jansson, and Gerhard Mercator, *Americae pars meridionalis*, ca. 1:13,800,000 (Amstelodami: Sumptibus Henrici Hondy, 1638), Norman B. Leventhal Map Center; Jan Jansson, *Americae pars meridionalis*, ca. 1:15,000,000 (Amsterdam: Jansson, 1644), Norman B. Leventhal Map Center; Herman Moll, Thomas Bowles, and John Bowles, *A Map of Chili, Patagonia, La Plata and Ye South Part of Brasil*, ca. 1:18,000,000 (London: Printed for T. Bowles and J. Bowles, 1732), Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center.

⁶ Hans Steffen, *Patagonia Occidental: Las cordilleras patagónicas y sus regiones circundantes*, Reedición, vol. 1 (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 2008); Mateo Martinic Beros, “La expansión económica de Punta Arenas sobre los territorios argentinos de la Patagonia y Tierra del Fuego, 1885 - 1925,” *Anales del Instituto de la Patagonia*, 1976, 35, <http://bibliotecadigital.umag.cl/handle/20.500.11893/590>; Mateo Martinic Beros, *Menéndez y Braun: Prohombres Patagónicos* (Punta Arenas: Ediciones de la Universidad de Magallanes,

refer to the area on the eastern side of the Andes. Argentines usually imagine Patagonia as the lands south of Colorado River, which contours the northern boundaries of the present-day provinces of Neuquén and Río Negro (Map 2). When scholars clarify “Argentine Patagonia,” they differentiate between the east and the west.⁷ I am not dismissing any of these projections. On the contrary, because they are so different in the area on which I focus, it is important to find a common denominator for providing a trans-Andean analysis.

Landscaping Patagonia focuses on “Patagonia” on both sides of the Andes. Considering this, I dropped *a priori* definitions of the region and instead allowed my sources to define it. This has allowed me to follow people as they moved from, for example, Araucanía, an area that no one in Chile would characterize as “Patagonia,” to the Argentine plateau, or to map the building of infrastructure from Buenos Aires to Northern Patagonia. As a result, I defined Patagonia as the area, roughly, south of the thirty-ninth parallel. Far from being an arbitrary demarcation, this latitude presents a geographic landmark for the history of Patagonia and for the story in this dissertation. The main chain of the Andes, a continuous succession of peaks in the north, decreases

2001), 182–90; Martinic Beros, *De la Trapananda al Áysen*; Ernesto Bohoslavsky, *El complot patagónico: nació, conspiracionismo y violencia en el sur de Argentina y Chile siglos XIX y XX*, Colección Estudios Patagónicos (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2009), chap. 2; Pablo Lacoste, *La imagen del otro en las relaciones de la Argentina y Chile (1534-2000)*, 1st ed., Obras de Historia (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003), 372.

⁷ René Peri Fagerstrom, *Reseña de la colonización en Chile* (Andrés Bello, 1989), 81; Ernesto Maggiori, *Donde los lagos no tienen nombre. La historia de Río Pico, sus pobladores, sus alrededores y la Colonia Alemana “Friedland”* (Comodoro Rivadavia: Editorial Universitaria de la Patagonia, 2001), 39; Carmen Norambuena Carrasco, ed., *¿Faltan o Sobran Brazos? Migraciones Internas y Fronterizas, 1850-1930*, Colección IDEA 4 (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Editorial de la Universidad de Santiago de Chile, 1997); Maximiliano Kornstanje, “Prejuicio encubierto en el turismo: chilenos y argentinos en el estudio de un caso en la ciudad de Buenos Aires,” *Estudios Transandinos* 14, no. 2 (2008): 92; Liliana Lolic, “Arquitectura religiosa en la Patagonia” (3as. Jornadas de Historia de la Patagonia, Bariloche, 2008), 6; Pedro Navarro Floria, “El proceso de construcción social de la región de Nahuel Huapi en la práctica simbólica y material de Exequiel Bustillo (1934-1944),” *Revista Pilquen* IX, no. 9 (2008): 6; Laura Méndez, *Estado, frontera y turismo. Historia de San Carlos de Bariloche.*, Prometeo Bicentenario - Colección Estudios Patagónicos (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2010), 100; Paula Gabriela Núñez, “Género, clase y etnia en un área protegida,” *Investigaciones Feministas* 1 (2010): 89; Santiago Conti and Paula Gabriela Núñez, “La violencia del silencio, las mujeres de la estepa,” December 2013, 71, <http://ri.conicet.gov.ar/handle/11336/9474>.

in height, breaks, and tilts west approximately at the thirty-ninth parallel South. This topography complicated the border negotiations while allowing trans-Andean networks to emerge.

At the time of the independences of Argentina (1816) and Chile (1818), neither controlled the Patagonian space but both claimed possession over it.⁸ By 1818, three forts had been established south of the Bío-Bío River. During the colonial period, this river marked the southern boundary between Spanish possession and Mapuche lands. Valdivia, Osorno, and the Island of Chiloé [map] were the only surviving Spanish settlements beyond Bío Bío and became royalist strongholds when the War of Independence broke out. After retaking Valdivia in 1820 and Chiloé in 1826, the southern horizon opened for the nascent Chilean government. In 1843, Chileans built Fort Bulnes on the shores of Magellan Strait at the southernmost tip of the American continent. This moment created the illusion of continuous control over the Chilean territory from north to south. In the decades that followed, Chileans expanded over what they imagined to be their rightful national space. In 1852, a state-sponsored foreign colonization effort founded Puerto Montt on the Reloncaví Sound and, a year later, Puerto Varas on the shores of Lake Llanquihue. Half a million Mapuche lived in Araucanía at the time of independence, which thwarted the Chilean government's efforts to grant lands to newcomers.⁹ Araucanía was the Mapuche heartland, which is why historians separate the history of this area from Valdivia and Llanquihue.¹⁰ The military

⁸ Lacoste, *La imagen del otro en las relaciones de la Argentina y Chile (1534-2000)*, 133.

⁹ José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche: (siglo XIX y XX)* (Lom Ediciones, 2000), 22. The 1875 Chilean census revealed that population density in the three departments of Araucanía was 8 in the department of Bío-Bío, 4 in Angol, and 3 people per square kilometer in Arauco, República de Chile Oficina de Estadística de Santiago, *Quinto Censo Jeneral de La Poblacion de Chile Levantado El 19 de Abril de 1875*, vol. 1 (Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1876).

¹⁰ Fagerstrom, *Reseña de la colonización en Chile*; José Aylwin, *Estudio sobre tierras indígenas de La Araucanía: antecedentes históricos legislativos (1850-1920)* (Temuco, Chile: Universidad de la Frontera, Instituto de Estudios Indígenas, 1995); Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche*; José Bengoa, *La memoria olvidada: historia de los pueblos indígenas de Chile*, 1a edición., vol. 3, Cuadernos bicentenario (Santiago: Cuadernos Bicentenario, Presidencia de la República, 2004); Leonardo León, *La Araucanía: La violencia mestiza y el mito de la "Pacificación", 1880-1900* (Santiago Chile: Universidad ARCIS, Escuela de Historia y Ciencias Sociales, 2005); Jaime Flores Chávez, "La

occupation of Araucanía in 1879-1883 removed Mapuche families to grant lands to settlers, companies, or for building the railroad.¹¹

After gaining independence in 1816, Argentines succumbed to domestic disputes over how to govern the new country. *Caudillos*, who held regional power, finally agreed on a constitution in 1853 which vaguely delineated the national territory. The only stable settlement south of the thirty-ninth parallel was the fortress of Carmen de Patagones, on the northern bank of Negro River. Until the 1870s, Argentines governed the south of the country through a series of alliances with Mapuche tribes from the Pampas and Northern Patagonia. The displacement of Mapuche from Chile impacted the chiefdoms of Northern Patagonia and put pressure on the outlying towns of the nascent Argentina.

The population tripled in the Chilean provinces of Llanquihue and Valdivia in the second half of the nineteenth century, growing from 44,320 to 138,402 between 1854 and 1895.¹² In Argentina, however, the census of 1869 only counted 153 people living in Patagonia, but ignored the indigenous population.¹³ By 1895, Chilean Patagonia still had almost five times more people than Argentine Patagonia (29,041).¹⁴ The demographic pressure and the need to define its

Araucanía y la construcción del sur de Chile, 1880-1950. Turismo y vías de transporte,” *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* 16, no. 418 (12) (2012); Sergio Villalobos R., “Nuevas Fantasías y Errores En La Historia de La Araucanía,” *Cuadernos de Historia* 38 (2013): 161–88; Sergio Villalobos R., *Incorporación de la Araucanía. Relatos militares 1822-1883* (Santiago de Chile: Catalonia, 2013); José Bengoa, *Mapuche, colonos y el Estado nacional* (Santiago de Chile: Catalonia, 2014); Jorge Ernesto Muñoz Sougarret, “Empresariado y política. Aproximación histórica a las relaciones políticas de los empresarios germanos de la provincia de Llanquihue (1891-1914)” (Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina, 2016).

¹¹ Gustave Verniory, *Diez años en Araucanía, 1889-1899*, Second (Santiago de Chile: Pehuén, 2001).

¹² República de Chile Oficina Central de Estadística, *Censo Jeneral de La República de Chile Levantado El 18 de Abril de 1865* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, 1866); Oficina de Estadística de Santiago, *Quinto Censo Jeneral de La Poblacion de Chile Levantado El 19 de Abril de 1875*; República de Chile Oficina Central de Estadística, *Sexto Censo Jeneral de la Poblacion de Chile levantado el 26 de noviembre de 1885*, vol. 1 (Valparaíso: Imprenta de “La Patria,” 1889); República de Chile Oficina Central de Estadística, *Sétimo Censo Jeneral de La Poblacion de Chile Levantado El 28 de Noviembre de 1895*, vol. 1 (Valparaíso, 1900).

¹³ República Argentina, *Primer Censo de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta El Porvenir, 1872), 619.

¹⁴ República Argentina, *Segundo Censo de la República Argentina, Mayo 10, 1895*, vol. 2: Población (Buenos Aires: Taller Tipográfico de la Penitenciaría Nacional, 1898), CXLIX.

sovereignty over Patagonia propelled the Argentine government to lead a military raid against the Mapuche in 1879. In 1881, both governments attempted to regulate land tenure and occupy the Andean valleys, while also negotiating the international boundary. This was a daunting task, considering this borderline is the third longest dry boundary between any two countries (3,293 mi), after the Russia-Kazakhstan border (4,254 mi) and the US-Canada border (5,525 mi).¹⁵ In 1881, they signed a treaty that steered future conversations between the governments about how to use the Andes as a dividing line. As the population grew and new trans-Andean networks replaced indigenous ones, the Andes also connected east and west. The Andes condensed multiple meanings, such as international division and regional trade, through the spatial practices in a transnational region.

Landscaping Patagonia

In *Landscaping Patagonia*, I study how residents, authorities, and passers-by made sense of the Northern Patagonian Andes and how, in doing so, they construed their versions of the nation. I analyze how competing groups of people described geographical space, how they depicted it, and how they experienced it. For example, Chilean businessman Carlos Wiederhold opened a store on the southeastern shore of Lake Nahuel Huapi in 1895, bringing goods from Puerto Montt and herding cattle on the hoof across the *cordillera* (Andes mountains).¹⁶ The store soon attracted other businesses until the settlement became a small town, Bariloche (Map 3). The Northern Patagonian

¹⁵ “Countries with the Longest Land Borders,” WorldAtlas, accessed March 31, 2019, <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/countries-with-the-longest-land-borders.html>; Oliver Smith, “The Country with the Most National Borders May Surprise You,” Traveller, September 6, 2018, <http://www.traveller.com.au/country-with-the-most-national-borders-worlds-longest-national-borders-h1504q>.

¹⁶ Méndez, *Estado, frontera y turismo. Historia de San Carlos de Bariloche.*, 119.

Andes were, for Wiederhold, a means to expand his trade and, as his business grew, the epicenter of that new reality.¹⁷



Map 3: The Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region and the trans-Andean pass (in black).

The transformations of space, from settlement to town and from mountains to trans-Andean pass, overlapped with the Chilean-Argentine border negotiations. For the national governments, the Northern Patagonian Andes (and Patagonia more broadly) represented a landscape where the state had no presence but tried to exert control. Thus, the mountains signified a horizon for state expansion through the establishment of power relations.¹⁸ For example, after Wiederhold's arrival to the shore of Lake Nahuel Huapi and the growth of Bariloche, the Argentine government created the Colony of San Carlos, dividing the lands around lake into lots and granting titles of those lands

¹⁷ For more on landscape as a possibility and as reality, see Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 1st edition. (New York: AAKnopf, 1995).

¹⁸ For examples studies that examined landscapes as sites with virtually no state presence, see James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale Agrarian Studies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Kalyanakrishnan Sivaramakrishnan, *Modern Forests: Statemaking and Environmental Change in Colonial Eastern India* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999).

to new settlers and, in some cases, to indigenous families.¹⁹ In the following years, the national state established a police detachment (1901), a civil court (1901), and an elementary school (1904).²⁰ In Northern Patagonia more generally, the Chilean and Argentine governments created agencies to expand their control over the territory and the population, such as police forces, land inspectors, and national parks.

The notion of the Patagonian landscape as a horizon and as a place for state intervention appears in travelogues, government reports, maps, and architecture. Explorers of the nineteenth century, for example, portrayed Patagonia as empty, a desert, while anticipating its potential to become a source of national wealth: a garden. Governors reiterated this oscillation, asking for more support from the national governments to transform the Patagonian valleys into productive places. For Patagonia to reach its potential, the state needed to grant lands, build roads, extend the telegraph, and, always an urgent matter, deploy more police officers.

Finally, landscaping Patagonia meant for people not only to imagine and transform space, but also to situate others as part their ideas about that space.²¹ As new settlers arrived in Northern Patagonia, more laborers found seasonal jobs in estates. Many of these laborers were Chileans, as were members of the police and land- and businessowners. However, Argentines and non-Chilean

¹⁹ Ricardo Vallmitjana, *A cien años de la colonia agrícola Nahuel Huapi, 1902-2002* (S. C. de Bariloche: Personal Edition, n/d), 17–18. Vallmitjana does not clarify what group these families belonged to. Yet, he mentions that they “came from Chile” (*Todos indígenas provenientes de Chile* (sic)).

²⁰ Ricardo Vallmitjana, *La Aldea* (S. C. de Bariloche: Personal Edition, n/d), 22. Ruffini states the police station was established in 1889 and the court in 1897, see Martha Ruffini, “Gestando ciudadanía en la cordillera: participación y representación política en la región andina rionegrina (1920-1945),” in *La cordillera rionegrina. Economía, Estado y sociedad en la primera mitad del siglo XX*, by Héctor Rey (Viedma: Patagonia Gráfica, 2005), 127. Immigrants founded their own school in 1907, though Carey and Méndez write they were founded on the same year. See Hans Schulz, *Bariloche: Breve historia de la comunidad alemana y su escuela 1907-2004* (San Carlos de Bariloche: Libros del Mediodía, 2004), 170; Alina Carey and Laura Méndez, “Identidades en pugna. Lo local y lo nacional en las conmemoraciones barilochenses, 1910-1934.” *Revista Pilquen* 12, no. 12 (2010): 5.

²¹ Thomas D. Rogers, *The Deepest Wounds: A Labor and Environmental History of Sugar in Northeast Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

immigrants to Argentina resented the presence of people from across the Andes. In one instance, an immigrant from Belgium present at Wiederhold's party complained that Chilean bandits terrorized rural populations. As a result, members of local elites depicted certain roads, passes, and areas in the Andes as dangerous because of the presence of criminals. Beyond the number of rustlers, robbers, and murders in the *cordillera*, local elites and authorities portrayed the Andes as a site of danger because of their itinerant presence.

The rich historiography of Chile and Argentina centers on how governments sought to control Patagonia, revealing an unresolved paradox. On the one hand, national authorities deployed violent policies to control space and the population living in that space. On the other hand, these policies failed to provide even a skeletal presence of the state.²² While some scholars identified violence as the backbone of state policy in the region, others connected state-building with discourses of territorial incorporation of Patagonia to the nation.²³ Other scholars have shown how the many attempts to dominate the territory comprised efforts to control populations, especially indigenous Tehuelche and Mapuche.²⁴

²² José Itzigsohn and Matthias vom Hau, "Unfinished Imagined Communities: States, Social Movements, and Nationalism in Latin America," *Theory and Society* 35, no. 2 (2006): 193–212; Javier Cikota, "Frontier Justice: State, Law, and Society in Patagonia, 1880-1940" (UC Berkeley, 2017).

²³ Pilar Pérez and Lorena Cañuqueo, "El secreto del Estado, el estado de los secretos: La policía «fronteriza» del 30 en el Territorio Nacional de Río Negro," in *En el país de nomeacuerdo: Archivos y memorias del genocidio del Estado argentino sobre los pueblos originarios, 1870-1950*, ed. Walter Delrio et al., Aperturas (Viedma: Universidad Nacional de Río Negro, 2018), 205–39; Gabriel Carrizo, "La materialización del control en el Territorio Nacional del Chubut: conflictos y resistencias (1887-1930)," in *Construcción estatal, orden oligárquico y respuestas sociales. Argentina y Chile, 1840-1930*, ed. Ernesto Bohoslavsky and Milton Godoy Orellana, Humanidades (Los Polvorines, Argentina: Prometeo; Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, 2010), 93–117.

²⁴ For instance, see Walter Del Río, *Memorias de Expropiación: Sometimiento e Incorporación Indígena En La Patagonia, 1872-1943*, Convergencia. Entre Memoria y Sociedad (Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2005); Ana Margarita Ramos, *Los pliegues del linaje: memorias políticas mapuches-tehuelches en contextos de desplazamiento* (EUDEBA, 2010); Gabriel Rafart, ed., *Historia social y política del delito en Argentina* (Neuquén, Argentina: EDUCO, Editorial de la Universidad Nacional del Comahue, 2010); Bohoslavsky, *El complot patagónico: nació, conspiracionismo y violencia en el sur de Argentina y Chile siglos XIX y XX*.

By examining how people imagined and experienced a transnational space, I contribute to a growing body of literature that separates state from nation. After their independences, new Latin American political elites tried to define their nations in terms of territory (what they governed) and bureaucracy (how they governed). Although early versions of the nation might have existed in pre-independence urban centers of Latin America,²⁵ “nations remained more aspiration than fact” until the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁶ Chilean and Argentine claims over Patagonia, negotiations of the borderline, foundations of towns, granting of lands, and drawing of maps aimed to root an idea of the nation to the materiality of geography.²⁷ Nation-making proved a multifaceted and uneven process, as authorities disagreed over how to define the nation in the Northern Patagonian Andes.

Borders, Regions, and the Northern Patagonian Andes

Landscaping Patagonia is a spatial study of nation-making. At the center of this study are people living in border regions. I argue that a regional approach to nation-making shows how residents, authorities, and passers-by construed their national identities through their experiences of space. This study focuses on the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region, an area straddling Chile and Argentina in the Northern Patagonian Andes (Map 2). Lake Llanquihue in Chile and Lake Nahuel Huapi in Argentina were epicenters of trading networks across the Andes and their environs from 1895 to 1915. Ranchers from the Argentine steppe sold cattle and sheep in Bariloche, the town on

²⁵ Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised and extended edition (London; New York: Verso, 1991), chap. 4.

²⁶ John Charles Chasteen and Sara Castro-Klarén, *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003), xviii–xix.

²⁷ Pedro Navarro Floria, ed., *Paisajes del Progreso. La resignificación de la Patagonia Norte, 1880-1916*. (Neuquén: Educo, 2007).

the southeastern shore of Nahuel Huapi at the center of this dissertation. From Bariloche, traders transported the animals and wool to the Chilean port of Puerto Montt. People moved, bought lands, sold lands, and herded and sold cattle. Authorities traveled, surveilling roads, paths, and towns, trying to enforce the law. How do these experiences fit into the scholarship of border studies?

Scholars of border regions have analyzed international borderlines and the area surrounding them, often called frontier or borderland. In North American historiography, the terms “frontier” or “borderlands” evoke two distinct schools of thought. However divergent, these two traditions view border regions as sites where two cultures meet, usually one advancing over the other.²⁸ Similarly, other borderlands scholars view those regions as sites where the “state meets society.”²⁹ The changes in political borders during the 1990s and 2000s increased scholarly interests around borders and borderlands, especially in the West. The fall of the Soviet Union, the increasing integration of the European Union, and the initial benefits of globalization triggered new questions about borders. Implicitly, scholars analyzed how state apparatuses worked in spaces with borderline demarcations. Their efforts yielded a vast scholarship on power, order, belonging, and identity in border regions.³⁰

²⁸ For a detailed history of the Turner Thesis and the Borderlands School in the context of North American borderlands, see David Weber, “Turner, the Boltonians, and the Borderlands,” *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (1986): 66–81.

²⁹ I. William Zartman, ed., *Understanding Life in the Borderlands: Boundaries in Depth and in Motion*, Studies in Security and International Affairs (Athens, GA, USA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 1.

³⁰ Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, eds., *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Joel S. Migdal, *Boundaries and Belonging: States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge, 2004); Henk van Houtum, Olivier Thomas Kramsch, and Wolfgang Zierhofer, *B/Ordering Space*, Border Regions Series (Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); Gabriel Popescu, *Bordering and Ordering the Twenty-First Century : Understanding Borders*, Human Geography in the New Millennium (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2012); Peter Gilles, *Theorizing Borders through Analyses of Power Relationships*, Regional Integration and Social Cohesion; No. 9 (Brussels: PIEPeter Lang, 2013).

Differentiation is a powerful element in border regions. Differentiation shaped border negotiations in postcolonial states.³¹ In South Asia, for instance, the India and Pakistan imposed religious distinctions on their borders to define national belonging.³² In Central Asia, the post-Soviet border negotiations attempted to delineate Uzbek, Kyrgyz, and Tajik territories into three separate countries. However, ethnic villages in those regions did not follow an orderly settlement pattern, which challenged the work of border commissions. As a result, some Kyrgyzstani enclaves exist in Uzbekistan and vice versa.³³

Furthermore, some scholars of borderlands have focused on how borders, as markers of difference, structure societies. They show how international boundaries shape how people have lived, moved, and connected with one another. In other words, although modern borders demarcate political frontiers, they encapsulate other social processes.³⁴ While differentiation defines borders, forces that bring people together across the border also shape these regions. In the Northern Patagonian Andes, trading routes and social networks spanned the borderline delineating a region. This area, of course, changed in size and shape, depending on how people experienced it and how the borderline affected these experiences.

³¹ For a comprehensive study of different traditions behind border-making, see Allen E. Buchanan and Margaret Moore, *States, Nations, and Borders: The Ethics of Making Boundaries*, Ethikon Series in Comparative Ethics (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

³² Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories*, Cultures of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

³³ Nick Megoran, "The Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan Boundary: Stalin's Cartography, Post-Soviet Geography," in *Borderlines and Borderlands: Political Oddities at the Edge of the Nation-State*, ed. Alexander C. Diener and Joshua Hagen (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2010), 33–52.

³⁴ For instance, see Christian Wille et al., eds., *Spaces and Identities in Border Regions: Politics - Media - Subjects*, Kultur Und Soziale Praxis (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2016); Martin Stokes, "Imagining 'the South': Hybridity, Heterotopias, and Arabesk on the Turkish-Syrian Border," in *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 263–88; Eric D. Carter, "Misiones Province, Argentina: How Borders Shape Political Identity," in *Borderlines and Borderlands: Political Oddities at the Edge of the Nation-State*, ed. Alexander C. Diener and Joshua Hagen (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2010), 155–72; Migdal, *Boundaries and Belonging*, pt. 4.

Borderlands scholarship has taken place mostly within a center-periphery paradigm, in which border regions appear as “territories located on the margins of a power center, or between power centers.”³⁵ Much of the historiography of Patagonia has used the center-periphery framework that represents the capital cities of Santiago (Chile) and Buenos Aires (Argentina) as centers of political and economic power. As a result, historians have examined the history of Patagonia as a history of state advancement into the Patagonian space.³⁶ In addition, the examination of capitalist expansion has largely depended on the center-periphery paradigm in border regions of Latin America, and Patagonia in particular. For instance, Thomas Klubock’s *La Frontera* examined the environmental transformation of Araucanía, a province in southern Chile, through the interactions between the state, timber companies, and indigenous Mapuche. The *frontera* or frontier, was not a place in the far north or far south, but a region immediately south of the agrarian valleys in Central Chile. Chileans in Santiago, Valparaíso (the busiest port), and other cities referred to Araucanía as the frontier because the national government did not control it until the 1880s. Thus, Araucanía was not a frontier because of its location, but because of power relations with national authorities. The center-periphery framework has revealed inequalities produced by governance and national economies. However, it overlooks the process of nation-making because it assumes that borderlines are necessary for this process.

³⁵ Zartman, *Understanding Life in the Borderlands*, 2. See, for example, Janet Carsten, “Borders, Boundaries, Tradition, and State on the Malaysian Periphery,” in *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 215–36.

³⁶ Fagerstrom, *Reseña de la colonización en Chile*; Juan Martín Biedma, *Crónica histórica del lago Nahuel Huapi*, 4th ed. (Buenos Aires: Del Nuevo Extremo; Caleuche, 2003); Luis Ortega Martínez, *Chile en ruta al capitalismo: cambio, euforia y depresión 1850-1880* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: LOM Ediciones/Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 2005); Martinic Beros, *De la Trapananda al Áysen*; Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*; Alberto Harambour R., “Borderland Sovereignties. Postcolonial Colonialism and State Making in Patagonia. Argentina and Chile, 1840s-1922” (Stony Brook University, 2012); Graciela Blanco, “El paisaje patagónico en el cambio de siglo: Tierra, ganado y productores en el avance de la frontera productiva,” *Anuario de la Escuela de Historia* 24 (2013): 149–67.

In Latin America, social scientists and humanists examine the human experience in border regions as “cultural processes” (*procesos culturales*) to argue that borders embody other forms of social distinction, such as legal/illegal.³⁷ These processes challenge state-dictated power structures in border regions and reinforced them. For example, in the last three decades, scholars have shown how the U.S.-Mexico border region represents a site of encounter, a space where empires overlapped and people mixed.³⁸ Gloria Anzaldúa’s *Borderlands: The New Mestiza = La Frontera* illustrated how border regions worked as sites of difference and of hybridity. Through her own experience as a Chicana and lesbian activist, Anzaldúa examined how a border space, in this case the U.S.-Mexico frontier, underpinned her Chicana identity through mixture (*mezcla*), being from many places with many backgrounds all at once.³⁹ Even as scholars examined borderlands as regions of encounter, differentiation structured the analysis of power relations and social networks.⁴⁰ Recent dissertations about Patagonia have highlighted the multilayered histories of

³⁷ José Manuel Valenzuela Arce, *Transfronteras: fronteras del mundo y procesos culturales*, Primera edición.. (Tijuana, B.C., México: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, 2014); Valentina Favaro, Gaetano Sabatini, and Manfredi Merluzzi, *Fronteras: procesos y prácticas de integración y conflictos entre Europa y América, siglos XVI-XX* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2017).

³⁸ Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: Published in association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Cynthia Radding, *Landscapes of Power and Identity: Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Jeremy Slack, Daniel E. Martínez, and Scott Whiteford, eds., *The Shadow of the Wall: Violence and Migration on the U.S.-Mexico Border* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2018).

³⁹ Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza = La Frontera*, 1st edition. (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987). See also, José Manuel Valenzuela Arce, *Transfronteras: fronteras del mundo y procesos culturales*, Primera edición.. (Tijuana, B.C., México: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, 2014) and Jacob Blanc and Frederico Freitas, *Big Water: The Making of the Borderlands between Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2018).

⁴⁰ Benjamin Heber Johnson, *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans*, Yale Western Americana Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); David Weber, *Barbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*, The Lamar Series in Western History (Yale University Press, 2005); Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*; Alicia R. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries Latino Cultural Politics in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*, Nation of Newcomers (New York: New York University Press, 2008); Gabriela González, *Redeeming La Raza: Transborder Modernity, Race, Respectability, and Rights* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018).

these fringes to show how border regions simultaneously worked as boundaries to states and also as central locus for policy-making.⁴¹

Border regions evoke a seemingly counterintuitive concept: an undefined area that generates a distinct way of life around a marker of difference, the borderline. Simultaneously, overriding forces, such as trade or kinship bonds, bring these areas together rather than focus on the border as a marker of difference. *Landscaping Patagonia* asks how people constructed ideas about the nation through their everyday experiences in a transnational region, the Northern Patagonian Andes where the mountains and lakes constitute epicenters of human settlement and movement.⁴²

⁴¹ Harambour R., “Borderland Sovereignties. Postcolonial Colonialism and State Making in Patagonia. Argentina and Chile, 1840s-1922”; Ryan Edwards, “A Carceral Ecology: Penology, Forestry, Exploration, and Conservation in Southernmost Argentina” (Cornell University, 2016); Cikota, “Frontier Justice.”

⁴² The concept of region has been central to the study of geography. As a result, geographers have examined what makes regions uniquely different from each other. For a more comprehensive discussion of the region as a unit of analysis in Geography, see Richard Hartshorne, *Perspective on the Nature of Geography*, Monograph Series of the Association of American Geographers 1 (Chicago: Rand McNally/Association of American Geographers, 1959); Tim Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction*, Second edition., 2015, 32–33; Billie L. Turner, “Contested Identities: Human-Environment Geography and Disciplinary Implications in a Restructuring Academy,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 92, no. 1 (2002): 52–74. Geographers have studied border regions since at least the late nineteenth century, but especially began to pay attention to them in the 1960s. Victor Prescott’s foundational book examined the intersection between topography and borders, arguing that all boundaries are different from each other. Because of this, he favored the historical contexts of borders, highlighting the particularities of each border region. Contrary to this approach, Julian Minghi contested that generalizations of boundaries and their functions in society should underscore the scholarship on border regions. The analysis of the function of borders evolved into what is now known as Behavioral Geography, a field within Human Geography that examines how, at the individual level, people get to know and transform the space around them. Tania Porcaro, “Perspectivas teóricas en el estudio de las fronteras estatales desde la geografía,” in *Bordes, límites, frentes e interfaces. Algunos aportes sobre la cuestión de las fronteras*, ed. Alejandro Benedetti et al. (Buenos Aires: Alejandro Gabriel Benedetti, 2017), 84–85; J. R. V. Prescott, *The Geography of Frontiers and Boundaries* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1965); Julian V. Minghi, “Boundary Studies in Political Geography,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 53, no. 3 (1963): 407–28; Daniel R. Montello, *Handbook of Behavioral and Cognitive Geography* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2018); Turner, “Contested Identities: Human-Environment Geography and Disciplinary Implications in a Restructuring Academy”; Anssi Paasi, “Generations and the ‘Development’ of Border Studies,” *Geopolitics* 10, no. 4 (2005): 663–71.

Dissertation structure

Landscaping Patagonia has two parts. Part 1 (Chapters 1-3) examines how interpretations of geographical space shaped border negotiations, land-granting policy, and trans-Andean trade. I mainly focus my analysis between 1895 and 1915, though I also go beyond these chronological markers. The period includes the border negotiations between Chile and Argentina (1896-1901) and the life span of the *Chile-Argentina*, a cattle-breeding and trading company with lands on both sides of the Andes.

Chapter 1, “From Desert to Garden: Scientists, Travelers, and Authorities across Patagonia through 1900s,” studies how explorers of the Patagonian Andes generated multiple “truths” about the region that buttressed the border negotiations between Chile and Argentina (1896-1901). Explorations of the second half of the nineteenth century mirrored Euro-imperial interventions happening around the world.⁴³ In Latin America, scholars have argued that nation-making is fundamentally a de-imperializing experience because of the post-colonial nature of the nation-state. However, the seemingly monolithic national state exposes a more complex picture of nation-making. Through their travel accounts, publications, and private correspondence, this chapter follows several explorers (mostly men) through steppe, valleys, and mountains as they surveyed Patagonia. Their detailed descriptions attempted to fill in a space they deemed empty, despite the presence of many indigenous tribes. Drenched in imperial views of the world, explorers and authorities erased indigenous knowledge about space and envisioned Patagonia as a no-place, a space with no history and no identity.⁴⁴ Travel accounts and reports resonated in the blank spaces

⁴³ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), 74.

⁴⁴ Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe (London; New York: Verso, 1995); Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

of cartographic materials that inform the analysis in this chapter. This no-place allowed for authorities and scientists to refill the Patagonian Desert with their versions of the nation.

Chapter 2, “Blurry Borderlines: From Border Negotiations to Ambiguous Understandings of Patagonia (1890-1915),” examines state land-managing and land-granting policies. Authorities from multiple agencies had divergent understandings of Patagonia, resulting in ambiguous regulation. Zooming in from Patagonia broadly defined to Northern Patagonia (encompassing the Province of Llanquihue in Chile and the National Territories of Neuquén and Río Negro in Argentina), this chapter examines the reports from land inspectors, governors’ letters, and petitions of land titles or leases to illustrate the complex state apparatus that governed Patagonia and how authorities navigated it. After the border negotiations, which concluded in 1901, national governments in Chile and Argentina generated a wealth of legislation to regulate who could request land titles, who could grant them, and over which lands. Officers attempted to enforce the law, but the reality of Northern Patagonia eluded the abstract of regulations. Finally, this chapter provides a close analysis of cartographic materials and the context of their production to illustrate how governments tried to figuratively occupy the land.

Chapter 3, “Spatial Transformation and Identities in Northern Patagonia: Trading Companies and Local Residents, 1895-1915,” the last one in the first part, focuses on the Northern Patagonian Andes, especially the corridor between Lake Llanquihue (Chile) and Lake Nahuel Huapi (Argentina). This chapter analyzes petitions, official correspondence, company documents, and photographs to examine how trans-Andean trading companies, residents, and authorities transformed and negotiated the geographical space of the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region through land ownership, infrastructure, and displacement. Between 1895 and 1915, trading companies obtained land concessions to exploit natural resources in the Patagonian Andes. These

concessions sometimes overlapped with previous land leases Chilean and Argentine authorities had given to individual people, especially immigrants, or conflicted with trans-Andean passes that cattle-herders had been using for decades. The chapter focuses on three Chilean cattle-herding and trading companies: The *Cochamó Agricultural and Meat-processing Company*, the *Ñuble-Rupanco Farming Company*, and the *Chile-Argentina Trading and Cattle-breeding Company*.

Part 2 (Chapters 4 and 5) show how residents, tourists, and authorities invested different meanings to the Andes suggesting contradictory experiences of space. After World War I, the Chilean and Argentine national governments introduced tariffs that hampered trans-Andean trade. Yet, circulation of goods and people continued, though to a lesser extent. After a period of openness to immigration, settlers in Patagonia rejected the idea of foreigners as neighbors. During the 1920s, where democracies feared the spread of communism and socialism, Argentine landowners and local elites distrusted rural laborers, especially of Chilean and indigenous origin.

Chapter 4, “Morality and Crime in Northern Patagonia: Local Elites, Police Forces, and Ruthless Bandits, 1910-1930,” examines how elites of the Northern Patagonian Andes portrayed Patagonia as a dangerous landscape to transform it into a productive space. This rhetoric echoed earlier ideas of Patagonia as a desert where nothing grew yet held potential to be a fertile garden. Progress could blossom in Patagonia, but only if brought from outside. This chapter utilizes police reports, census data, news articles, and government reports to delve into the everyday efforts of elites and authorities to appropriate a vocabulary on public health and morality that situated undesired behaviors as out-of-place. In addition, it examines how residents and transients responded to these strategies, especially as elites delineated the spaces they could not control as barriers to progress, where lack of authority equaled high crime rates. Finally, this chapter provides

a methodological example of the triangulation of sources by mapping the number of police officers deployed in the Territory of Neuquén.

Chapter 5, “Locality as a National Metaphor: Travel and the Making of the Fatherland in the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region, 1930-1945,” analyzes how authorities and travelers refashioned the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region as a national landscape through tourism. In the 1930s and through the mid-1940s, the governments of Chile and Argentina developed a tourist gaze onto the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi region, which depicted it as extraordinary but also where visitors recognized their own belonging to a common idea of the nation.⁴⁵ This chapter studies the aesthetics of travel publications and new constructions to show how state agencies constructed the Northern Patagonian Andes as metaphor for the nation. While Chileans utilized what I call the peak-forest-lake triad, Argentines refashioned their national landscape through architectural interventions. Both schemes rested on the powerful imagery of the she-land, a feminized version of space.⁴⁶ By portraying nature as virgin, fragile, and pure, governments justified their advancement in the form tourism-related initiatives that served the same purpose: The Northern Patagonian Andes as a metaphor for the nation.

⁴⁵ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd edition, Theory, Culture & Society (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2002).

⁴⁶ Paula Gabriela Núñez, “The ‘She-Land,’ Social Consequences of the Sexualized Construction of Landscape in North Patagonia,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 22, no. 10 (2015): 1445–62, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2014.991695>.

Chapter 1: From Desert to Garden: Scientists, Travelers, and Authorities across Patagonia through 1900s

Introduction

In 1856, Germans Francisco Fonck and Fernando Hess led a 31-day expedition from Puerto Montt (Chile) to the western shores of Lake Nahuel Huapi (Argentina) (Map 4). Their expedition had two objectives. First, they wanted to confirm the accuracy of late-eighteenth century reports of sightings of Lake Nahuel Huapi on the eastern side of the Andes. Second, they aimed to reopen a trans-Andean pass that Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries had used to cross from the Chilean island of Chiloé to Nahuel Huapi. Unlike those predecessors, Fonck and Hess were moved by science rather than faith. Ultimately, they hoped their travels would scientifically re-establish Chilean control over the pass. After the expedition, they published a report in one of the most influential journals in Chile. Their quest shows how explorers produced a body of knowledge about the region that underscored the Chilean-Argentine border negotiations.

I argue that explorers of Patagonia produced knowledges about the region that articulated imperial understandings of space to bolster the nationalizing efforts of the Chilean-Argentine border negotiations. These travelers constructed a version of Patagonia as a Desert through a rhetoric of emptiness that displaced indigenous knowledges. This enabled explorers to construct a scientific heritage defined within the Western forms of production and dissemination of knowledge that served national interests. Although indigenous knowledge did not fit this model, natives were allowed to appropriate space only through the mediation of the nation.

Fonck and Hess's crew departed Puerto Montt on January 30, 1856, in the middle of the summer in the Southern Hemisphere, during gentler weather for crossing the Andes (Map 4). The

crew stayed in Puerto Varas, on the shores of Lake Llanquihue, for three days while they fixed the boat that would take them to the opposite shore. Once there, at the feet of the Osorno Volcano, they headed east towards Lake Todos Los Santos. It took them two days to cross this lake because of the heavy wind. Once on the eastern shore, they hiked upriver following the Peulla River until the terrain forced them to climb the crests. For this, the crew needed to open their way through the thick rainforest. On February 11, 1856, thirteen days after departing Puerto Montt, the team crossed the watershed divide and camped near a lagoon. The following day, some of them climbed a mountain which overlooked the cordillera, a branch of Lake Nahuel Huapi to the north, and a myriad of valleys, peaks, and lagoons. They spent the following days fixing a canoe to explore the lake. They carved it out of a log, so only four of them fit and they could only row to the mouth of the long branch. There, the four men climbed another mountain to get a better view of the lake. It was February 20. A downpour prevented them from heading back until two days later in a hurry, as food was limited. Once reunited with the rest of the crew, they hiked back along the paths they had opened, speeding up the return. They arrived in Puerto Montt on February 29, since 1856 was a leap year.



Map 4: Trans-Andean Pass to cross from Puerto Montt to Nahuel Huapi

The 1856 expedition encapsulated attitudes subsequent amateur and official explorers displayed towards geographical space in the second half of the nineteenth century. Fonck and Hess's expedition crystallized how seeing space as devoid from meaning drove the nationalizing quest in Patagonia.¹ We usually see nation-making as a de-imperializing experience. In Latin America, such perception is based on the postcolonial nature of the nation-state. However, the Patagonian experience of nation- and state-making reveal how imperial and national politics and policies remained intertwined.

Fonck and Hess represent a large cohort of German college graduates that the Chilean government hired to teach in secondary and higher education institutions. Many of these men surveyed what the Chilean government claimed as its territory. Although only a handful of these men participated directly in the border negotiations with Argentina, their expertise on Chilean

¹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), chap. 8.

geography, geology, and ecology, thus, informed how Chilean authorities understood Patagonia. Thus, the creation of a national space in Patagonia was directly intertwined with foreign expertise.

The scientific quest, thus, erased any vestige of indigenous knowledge of space. Fonck and Hess had a crew of ten men to carry supplies, hack their way through the rainforest, and build or mend canoes. Among these men was the “native” (*natural*) Juan Currieco, well-known among explorers for his abilities to clear forests with axe or fire.² We can assume that he was Mapuche-Huilliche (Mapuche from the south) because of his knowledge of the Andean valleys east to Lake Llanquihue.³ Applying Currieco’s knowledge of the area to the objectives of the expedition exemplified how scientific surveys transformed indigenous understandings of the world into assets within the national appropriations of space.

Fonck and Hess hoped that their mission would help nationalize the Andes through science by inserting their survey into a genealogy of explorers of Patagonia. They consulted the reports of two explorers of the eighteenth century to navigate across the Andes. Benjamín Muñoz Gamero had crossed in the (Southern Hemisphere) summer of 1795-1796 while Franciscan Fray Menéndez organized two travels between 1791 and 1793.⁴ In re-taking their steps, the German explorers searched for “scientific” confirmation that Muñoz and Menéndez had indeed arrived at Lake Nahuel Huapi. Fonck and Hess’s crew found a few rotted planks at the lake, the only reference the explorers made to human presence. They assumed the pieces of wood were once rafts that Muñoz

² Francisco Fonck and Fernando Hess, “Informe de los señores Francisco Fonck i Fernando Hess sobre la espedicion a Nahuelhuapi,” *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, 1857, 8, <https://doi.org/10.5354/anuc.v0i0.2218>; Francisco Fonck, *Libro de los diarios de Fray Francisco Menéndez* (Valparaíso: Carlos F. Niemeyer, 1896), 75, fn I.

³ Totila Lintz Stange, Guillermo Neumann Pérez, and Henry Scholtbach Schuhmacher, *150 años Deutcher Verein e Instituciones Alemanas (1860-2010)* (Puerto Montt, Chile: Club Alemán de Puerto Montt, 2011), 34. “Che” in Mapundungun, the Mapuche language, means “people” which means the plural does not carry an “s” (see Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche*, 20, fn 15.)

⁴ “Fray Francisco Menéndez - Memoria Chilena, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile,” accessed October 29, 2018, <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-92748.html>.

Gamero and Menéndez used to navigate the lakes.⁵ In making this connection to past explorers, Fonck and Hess sought to connect their quest with previous crossings from Chile to the eastern slopes of the Andes and stake future Chilean claims over the eastern valleys. They displayed the Chilean flag when sailing in Lake Nahuel Huapi, showing their allegiance to that government. They also published the report on the survey, originally addressed to the Intendente of Llanquihue, in *Anales*, the academic journal of the University of Chile. For the first time, a geographical survey tied Chilean interests in Patagonia with scientific modes of collecting, ordering, and circulating information, dominated by European models of knowledge.⁶

Finally, Fonck and Hess filled the space they deemed empty by giving names to geographic accidents. For example, on February 12, 1856, they climbed a mountain to try to pinpoint their location. After taking some measurements, they named the peak “Doce de Febrero” to honor the foundation of Puerto Montt “and other memorable events in Chilean history.”⁷ Place-naming comprised effectively exercised power in the name of science and the nation. Explorers of Patagonia named places to control territory.⁸ Rather than naïve attitudes towards empty spaces, place-naming represented a violent form of displacing indigenous knowledge and imposing settler toponymy. The process of de-signifying and re-signifying Patagonia, and the Andes in particular, silenced indigenous inhabitants and replaced their expertise with settler knowledge.⁹

⁵ Fonck and Hess, “Informe de los señores Francisco Fonk i Fernando Hess sobre la espedicion a Nahuelhuapi,” 4.

⁶ Tony Bennett et al., *Collecting, Ordering, Governing: Anthropology, Museums, and Liberal Government*, Reprint edition (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), chap. 1.

⁷ “*Y otros acontecimientos memorables en la historia de Chile*,” Fonck and Hess, “Informe de los señores Francisco Fonk i Fernando Hess sobre la espedicion a Nahuelhuapi,” 4.

⁸ Frédéric Giraut and Myriam Houssay-Holzschuch, “Place Naming as Dispositif: Toward a Theoretical Framework,” *Geopolitics* 21, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 2.

⁹ For more on settler colonialism in Argentina Ricardo D. Salvatore, “The Unsettling Location of a Settler Nation: Argentina, from Settler Economy to Failed Developing Nation,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107, no. 4 (October 1, 2008): 755–89, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-2008-016>; Jessie Reeder, “William Henry Hudson, Hybridity, and Storytelling in the Pampas,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 56, no. 3 (2016): 561–81; Magdalena Ugarte, Mauro Fontana, and Matthew Caulkins, “Urbanisation and Indigenous Dispossession: Rethinking the Spatio-Legal

The Desert and the Mountain: “A thousand Patagonian sights” in travel accounts.

Since Magellan’s expedition around the globe (1519-1522), explorers have mapped Patagonia as a space inhabited, quite literally, by monsters. Spanish cartographer Diego Gutiérrez and Dutch artist Hieronymus Cock, for instance, produced a map of the Americas in 1562 that illustrated how monsters of all sorts tormented sailors across the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. On dry land, the only space that depicted such images was Patagonia, where the mapmakers drew giants (“gigantum regio”).¹⁰ Challenging classifications and categorizations of natural science, monsters represented the unknown, the difference, that which was beyond the boundaries of the known natural world. In geography, monsters evoked a violation of civil and moral law by escaping colonial power.¹¹ The independences of Chile (1818) and Argentina (1816) did not erase these early understandings of Patagonia as a space marked by otherness. Patagonia represented the absence of the rule of law and the emptiness of history. It was a no-place: a site with no relational identity, a monster.¹² How could the new states of Chile and Argentina make it their own?

Imaginary in Chile Vis-à-Vis the Mapuche Nation,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 0, no. 0 (December 11, 2017): 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2017.1409397>.

¹⁰ Diego Gutiérrez and Hieronymus Cock, *Americae Sive Qvartae Orbis Partis Nova et Exactissima Descriptio*, 1 map; 83 x 86 cm., on sheet 100 x 102 cm. (Antwerp: s.n., 1562), Library of Congress, US, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3290.ct000342>. For other examples of Patagonia as a region of giants see Nicola van Sype, *La Herdike Enterprinse Faict Par Le Seigneur Draeck D’Avoir Cirquit Toute La Terre*, 1 map; 24 x 44 cm. (Antwerp: s.n., 1581), Library of Congress, US, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3201s.rb000011>; Jean Matal, *Americae Sive Novi Orbis Proximarvmqz Regionum Orae Descriptio*, 1 map; 21 x 29 cm. (Oberursel, Germany? Johannes Metellus, 1602), Library of Congress, US, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3290.ct007262>; Guillaume Delisle, Reinier Ottens, and Jossua Ottens, *L’Amerique Meridionale: Dressée Sur Les Observations de Mrs. de L’Academie Royale Des Sciences & Quelques Autres, & Sur Les Memoires Les plus Recens* (A Amsterdam: chez R. & J. Ottens, Geographes dans le Kalverstraat au Carte du Monde, 1700).

¹¹ Andrea Torrano, “Ontologías de La Monstruosidad: El Cyborg y El Monstruo Biopolítico,” in *Actas Del VI Encuentro Interdisciplinario de Ciencias Sociales y Humanas* (Córdoba, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2009), 2. For more on how monsters evoke a challenge to natural law and morality see Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1974-1975* (New York: Picador, 2003).

¹² Maia Gattás Vargas, Paula Gabriela Núñez, and Carolina Lema, “La monstruosa cartografía patagónica o los mapas como discursos retóricos,” *Bitácora arquitectura*, no. 36 (2017): 124, <http://dx.doi.org/10.22201/fa.14058901p.2017.36.62276>; Marc Augé, *No-places: Introduction to an Anthropology*

Imperial appropriations of Patagonia after independence transformed the no-place through descriptions, depictions, and experiences.¹³ These practices of place-making reflected how authorities and scientists interpreted the Patagonian space and how, in doing so, they envisioned their nations. Thus, the south was not only a no-place that needed an identity, but also a counter-space where, by investing their own assumptions about nationhood, progress, and nature, government officials and explorers made sense of the nation as a whole.¹⁴ Particularly, these men used contradictory images to describe and imagine Patagonia as both a desert and a fertile mountain. The desert absorbed colonial representations of monsters and giants, while the Andes encapsulated the potential wealth that Patagonia offered.

After their independence, new Latin American countries employed scientific knowledge to build and sustain Liberal models of nation-making, “which advocated the regulation and standardization of all aspects of public and private life.”¹⁵ Science provided governments with a corpus of knowledge about nature that they could apply to control and transform it. The transformation of nature, through building railroads or fighting crop diseases, legitimized government authority over new or disputed territories.¹⁶ Expertise on nature enabled the gathering of information about the resources available in those to expand new economies. Thus, knowledge about space allowed governments to claim it as their own at a time of border negotiations across the Americas.

of Supermodernity, trans. John Howe (London; New York: Verso, 1995), 77–78.

¹³ Pedro Navarro Floria and Alejandro Mc Caskill, “La Pampa fértil y la Patagonia en las primeras geografías argentinas,” *Biblio 3W* VI, no. 319 (2001), <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/b3w-319.htm>.

¹⁴ Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowicz, “Of Other Spaces,” *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 24, <https://doi.org/10.2307/464648>.

¹⁵ Stuart McCook, *States of Nature: Science, Agriculture, and Environment in the Spanish Caribbean, 1760-1940*. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), p. 2.

¹⁶ Pedro Navarro Floria, ed., *Paisajes del Progreso. La resignificación de la Patagonia Norte, 1880-1916*. (Neuquén: Educo, 2007), p. 13–14.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, scientists of Chile and Argentina produced a corpus of knowledge about Patagonia that permeated into the border negotiations of the 1890s and into state policy for the next century. This body of scholarship circulated from the sites of data collection, the steppe, valleys, and mountains of the south, through the sites of production, scientific organizations, journals, and conferences, and out to the international scientific community. Scholars and scholarly institutions of Chile and Argentina provided their national governments with discursive tools to construct nationhood in new empty territories. Exploring Patagonia, collecting data, publishing results, and circulating publications rooted the nation in space.¹⁷ Consequently, the production of scholarship about Patagonia became a patriotic quest for three reasons: it paved the way for the “incorporation” of those territories to the nation, it gave national governments vehicles to channel their political and economic interests, and it laid the foundation for later negotiations over the Argentine-Chilean borderline.

In Latin America, the state preceded the nation. Although incipient versions of nationhood may have existed in colonial urban centers,¹⁸ “nations remained more aspiration than fact” several decades after 1810.¹⁹ New political elites drafted constitutions that articulated the state apparatuses. In Chile, Diego Portales inaugurated the Conservative Republic with a highly centralized constitution in 1833. The first chapter outlined the territory: “from the Atacama Desert to Cape Horn, and from the Andes Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.”²⁰ In Argentina, only in 1853 did *caudillos* agree on a constitution, though they did not clarify the nation’s boundaries, as no one

¹⁷ Carlos Sanhueza Cerda, *Chilenos en Alemania y Alemanes en Chile: viaje y nación en el siglo XIX*, Colección Sociedad y cultura; 42 (Santiago: LOM Ediciones: Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 2006), 23.

¹⁸ Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, chap. 4.

¹⁹ John Charles Chasteen and Sara Castro-Klarén, *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003), pp. xviii–xix.

²⁰ “Constitución de la República de Chile: jurada y promulgada el 25 de mayo de 1833” (Memoria Chilena, 1833), <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-7947.html>.

knew what “Argentina” really was. In order to construct Chileanness and Argentineness, and any other form of national identity, authorities defined the territories by erasing the inner frontier and establishing international borderlines. A defined territory and control over it enabled governments to standardize national values, interests, and customs. The need to inculcate a “shared vision of national identity” drove authorities to mobilize armed forces to “conquer” the territories they claimed, to build schools, towns, courts, and police stations in these “incorporated” spaces, and to employ new technologies, such as the railroad and telegraph, to connect urban centers with “new” spaces.²¹

De-signifying Patagonia: How expeditions made the Desert

Authorities and explorers represented Patagonia as a Desert by default. In the nineteenth century, the desert haunted new Latin American countries as a no-place because it represented a vacuum of everything: of (national) culture, of history, of knowledge, and of authority. As a result, the creatures and landscapes in this no-place lacked meaning. The Desert, thus, evoked an emptiness of history and cultural identifiers of indigenous knowledge, serving as a violent metaphor for the brutal silencing of indigenous voices. By emptying Patagonia from meaning, explorers and diplomats appropriated it for the nation.

Patagonia was not empty. Men, women, and children traveled from south from Santa Cruz across the steppe to northwestern Patagonia, and then eastwards to Carmen de Patagones on the mouth of Negro River. Spread across the Patagonian steppe, the Tehuelche hunted guanacos, ostriches, and pumas (South American cougar) and gathered fruits from bushes. Their nomadism

²¹ Chasteen and Castro-Klarén, *Beyond Imagined Communities*, xviii–xix.

contrasted with the Mapuche farming and cattle-breeding economy, which expanded into Chilean and Argentine local markets. Scholars have shown that the Mapuche that migrated to the Argentine Northern Patagonia from the west and “absorbed” Tehuelche tribes in the east. This was a long process, contentiously known as the “Araucanization” of Patagonia, that began in the eighteenth century and continued through the late nineteenth century. By 1869, when British navy man George Musters began his journey, three major Mapuche chiefdoms dominated Northern Patagonia (on both sides of the Andes) displacing the Tehuelche to the south or absorbing them into their communities.²² “Tehuelche” is a broad name that the Mapuche gave to an ethnic group “from the dry lands.”²³ “Mapuche” is how this group called itself, which translates into “people of the land.” They gave other groups names that transpired into chronicles, surveys, and today’s scholarship.

Musters portrayed a resourceful picture of Patagonia which contrasted with later depictions of the Desert. Musters, whose uncle had sailed under Robert Fitz Roy’s command during the HMS Beagle’s second voyage (1831-1836), lived among a Tehuelche nomadic chiefdom in 1869-1870.

²² Mabel Fernández, “Economía y Sistemas de Asentamiento Aborigen En La Cuenca Del Río Limay,” *Memoria Americana*, no. 14 (2006): 45. For more on the debate of the Araucanization of Northern Patagonia, see Raúl J. Mandrini and Sara Ortelli, “Repensando viejos problemas: Observaciones sobre la araucanización de las pampas,” *RUNA, archivo para las ciencias del hombre* 22, no. 1 (1995): 135–50; Sara Ortelli, “La ‘araucanización’ de Las Pampas: ¿realidad Histórica o Construcción de Los Etnólogos?,” *Anuario Del Instituto de Estudios Histórico-Sociales* 11 (1996): 203–25; Claudia Briones and José Luis Lanata, *Contemporary Perspectives on the Native Peoples of Pampa, Patagonia, and Tierra Del Fuego: Living on the Edge*, Native Peoples of the Americas (Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 2002); Axel Lazzari and Diana Lenton, “Araucanization and Nation, or How to Inscribed Modern Indians Upon the Pampas during the Last Century,” in *Living on Edge: Contemporary Perspectives on the Native Peoples of Pampa, Patagonia, and Tierra Del Fuego*, by Claudia Briones and José Luis Lanata (Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 2002), 33–46; Raúl J. Mandrini, “La Historiografía Argentina, Los Pueblos Originarios y La Incomodidad de Los Historiadores,” *Quinto Sol* 11 (2007): 19–38; María Ximena Urbina Carrasco, *La frontera de arriba en Chile colonial: interacción hispano-indígena en el territorio entre Valdivia y Chiloé e imaginario de sus bordes geográficos, 1600-1800* (Santiago de Chile: Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 2009); Rodolfo Casamiquela, “Características de la Araucanización al oriente de los Andes,” *CUHSO · Cultura - Hombre - Sociedad* 2, no. 1 (2012): 9–15, <https://doi.org/10.7770/cuhs0-V2N1-art141>.

²³ Mariela E. Rodríguez and Walter Del Río, “‘Los Tehuelches.’ Un Paseo Etnohistórico,” in *El Gran Libro de Santa Cruz*, ed. Alicia García (Alfa Milenio, 2000), 428–60. For more on the relationship between Mapuche and Tehuelche, see Ortelli, “La ‘araucanización’ de Las Pampas: ¿realidad Histórica o Construcción de Los Etnólogos?”

For instance, his group would camp in “green pastures” or in plains “literally carpeted with strawberry plants all in blossom,” where sometimes they found geese or duck eggs near a stream.²⁴ Herds of guanacos roamed across the Patagonian steppe, providing food and mantles for the cold weather,²⁵ in addition to ostriches, foxes, and pumas.²⁶ Horsemen anticipated the caravan by riding northwards to locate the “Northern Indians” in Río Negro. One night, for example, the group discovered that these northern counterparts “were in the wild cattle district, where they had killed several animals; they were also well provided with tobacco and other necessaries (sic) from the Río Negro..., and they would welcome our party.”²⁷ As they drew closer to the north, they encountered more Mapuche tribes, which Musters characterized as superior to the Tehuelche.²⁸ The “semi-civilized” Mapuche, he wrote, farmed wheat, took daily showers, did not worship idols, and were of athletic build, all characteristics that Musters could recognize in himself.

At Home with Patagonians, however, also introduced in the literature references to the Desert that explorers and writers later reproduced. Musters’s first impression riding from Magellan’s Strait to the Santa Cruz River was confirmed over and over: “Occasional frozen lagoons, doubtless supplied by rainfall, only added to the desert aspect of this trackless wilderness.”²⁹ Musters departed from the mouth of Santa Cruz River, where he hardly found a settlement.³⁰ The barren landscape barely changed as the days went by. The snow and blasts of wind that lasted through late November, the middle of the South American spring, drove him to

²⁴ George C. Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians: A Year’s Wanderings over Untrodden Ground from the Straits of Magellan to the Río Negro*, 1871, 131, 177.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 73–78.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 48–50, 72–75, and 158–59.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 131.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 229, 280.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 88.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

conclude that “the Patagonian year consisted of two seasons: a hard winter and a bad spring.”³¹ He described the Patagonian plateau as “barren desert of rocks, frequently intersected by deep ravines with precipitous cliffs.”³² A description of Patagonia would be incomplete without any reference to the continuous cold wind, especially the sudden gusts of the Pampero from the southwest.³³

Musters was not the only one to travel across Patagonia with the Tehuelche. Another Briton also traveled across Patagonia and observed the Tehuelche around this time. Writer Lady Florence Dixie, her husband, and two of her brothers, left their luxurious life in England in December 1879 to explore Patagonia. “Patagonia! who would ever think of going to such a place?” people asked her. “Precisely because it was an outlandish place and so far away, I chose it.”³⁴ A lover of sports and outdoors, Dixie challenged the social position of women in society by embarking upon an adventure into the wilderness of Patagonia and marking “a distinct break from the submissive role of women in Victorian England.”³⁵ Despite this, Dixie replicated imperial imaginaries about Patagonia as a Desert, filled only with wild animals and the Tehuelche.

Vast distances augmented the vacuum of the Desert. Dixie observed in awe from a high plain “miles and miles of untrodden desert land, where countless herds of guanaco were roaming in peaceful lazy ease. In the distance towered the peaks of the Andes, wrapped in their cloak of mystery, lonely and unexplored.”³⁶ The image of “barren plains” populated the narrative to evoke a constant emptiness, first as a lure to the unknown and then as the ubiquitous Patagonian

³¹ Ibid., 168.

³² Ibid., 202.

³³ Ibid., 33.

³⁴ Lady Florence Dixie, *Across Patagonia* (New York: R. Worthington, 1881), 11.

³⁵ Precious McKenzie, *The Right Sort of Woman: Victorian Travel Writers and the Fitness of an Empire* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 38; Jessica Macbeth, “The Development of Women’s Football in Scotland,” *The Sports Historian* 22, no. 2 (2002): 151, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17460260209443387>.

³⁶ Dixie, *Across Patagonia*, 1881, 85.

landscape. As she was getting ready to depart, Dixie noted that “scenes of infinite beauty and grandeur might be lying hidden in the silent solitude of the mountains which bound the barren plains of the Pampas.”³⁷ The monotony soon cast a shadow on her initial enthusiasm: “we rode [across the immense plateau] for six or seven hours was remarkable for its gloom and barrenness, even in a region where all is sterility and dreariness.”³⁸ Finally, the desert became the only possibility: “It is difficult to bring oneself to believe that amidst these immense solitudes a species of human being does not exist.”³⁹ Dixie elucidated how the Desert encompassed an uncontrollable immensity, a space that could not be known or measured. Scientific surveys of Patagonia became crucial for nation-making because they did not only rely on their ability fill the gaps in knowledge but also in providing data for, literally, delineating the national space.

Explorers classified their findings with a standardized vocabulary that underscored a “planetary consciousness”⁴⁰ of scientific knowledge.⁴¹ Chilean and Argentine scientific expeditions incorporated this vocabulary to contour an unknown space and as an avenue to inscribe their scholarly publications in Euro-centered academies. Carlos Ameghino reported to the Argentine Geographic Institute (*Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, IGA) a taxonomic list of animal remains he collected during his expedition to southern Patagonia. Not only did explorers use a common vocabulary to classify plants and animals, but they also included ethnographic data. Musters, for example, differentiated the Tehuelche from the Fuegian Indians and the Pampas based on “characteristic habits” and “country, race, language, and character.”⁴² The IGA published

³⁷ Florence Dixie, *Across Patagonia*, 1880, 12, <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/42666>.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 105.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁴⁰ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, chap. 2.

⁴¹ Examples of this standard vocabulary are the publication of Carl Linnaeus’ *Systema Naturae* (1735) and *Species Plantarum* (1753) that gave birth to modern biological taxonomy.

⁴² Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians*, 28.

several articles discussing the possibility that Patagonia had been the site for the origin of humanity based on measurements of cranial remains.⁴³ This classifying corresponded with a violent de-signification of Patagonia as the indigenous understood it. In doing so, explorers and authorities that used this knowledge to strip Patagonia of meaning (a Desert) in order to re-signify it under their imperial ideas about space and nation.

Writers, even those who never traveled there, used the image of the Desert to describe Patagonia. German Francisco Fonck, whose exploration focused on the Northern Patagonian Andes, employed the Patagonian Desert (*desierto de la Patagonia*) as a direct reference to the dry soil and lack of rain in the steppe.⁴⁴ The Northern Patagonian Andes contrasted with the Patagonian plateau that Musters and Dixie described as an area characterized by high humidity and dense vegetation. As a barren land, Patagonia captured a dramatic landscape: “In this region we can find the most stormy sea, the mountains with most difficult access, the shadiest archipelago, and the most desolate desert on Earth.”⁴⁵ Argentine explorer and border expert Francisco Moreno wrote in a similar tone: “The region between Gio [River] and Lake Buenos Aires is the most dreary that I know in Patagonia... There is nothing more desolate than this landscape.”⁴⁶ Similarly, Argentine geographer Julio Popper observed “a high plateau that grim and monotonous extends over northern Tierra del Fuego.”⁴⁷ As border negotiations intensified in the 1880s, Chilean writer Vicuña

⁴³ J. Escobedo, “El Autóctono Sud-Americano,” in *Boletín del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, vol. 3 (Buenos Aires: Librería, imprenta y encuadernación de Jacobo Peuser, 1882), 129–32; Instituto Geográfico Argentino, *Boletín Del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, vol. 5 (Buenos Aires: Librería, imprenta y encuadernación de Jacobo Peuser, 1884), 53–54.

⁴⁴ Francisco Fonck, *Introducción a la orografía y a la jeología de la rejión austral de Sud-América* (Valparaíso: Carlos F. Niemeyer, 1893), v, 9.

⁴⁵ “Hallamos... en esta rejion el mar mas tempestuoso, la cordillera de mas difícil acceso, el archipiélago mas sombrío i el desierto mas desolado que posea la tierra,” *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁶ Francisco P. Moreno, “Explorations in Patagonia,” *The Geographical Journal* 14, no. 3 (1899): 268, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1774365>.

⁴⁷ “La alta planicie, que sombría y monótona, forma el extremo Norte de la Tierra del Fuego,” Julio Popper, “Exploración de Tierra del Fuego,” in *Boletín del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, vol. 8 (Buenos Aires, 1887), 74.

Mackenna speculated: “To fight over Patagonia, cursed land that its own offspring rejects and where aboriginal races of men, quadruple-legged animals and rodents are fading away by themselves due to lack of livelihood, that would have been a crime before the Americas and ridiculous to [the eyes of] the world.”⁴⁸ In Mackenna’s view, it was not worth it for Chile and Argentina to waste resources battling over Patagonia. In other words, many rooted their understandings of Patagonia as a no-place on the materiality of the Patagonian plateau.

The Desert, however, represented more urgent matters than the reality of the terrain. As a no-place, authorities construed it as the enemy of America and needed to be defeated: “Our type of South American man needs to be trained to defeat our great oppressive enemy: the desert, material backwardness, [and] the primitive and raw nature of our continent.”⁴⁹ Not for nothing Argentine politician had labelled the land north of the Colorado River (present day La Pampa Province) as “Former Devil’s Land.”⁵⁰ As a space lacking the benefits of the modern state, the desert was ubiquitous across the Americas. Chilean politician Francisco Bilbao stated in 1863:

“Inland America, with the exception of Mexico [City], Bogotá, and some city in Bolivia, is generally the most backward [region]; in the desert, barbarism, local spirits, the village, its passions among those who call themselves civilized, and tribal instincts among barbarians or nomadic peoples in Patagonia, Chaco, and the center of America between Peru, Bolivia and Brazil, on the shores of Amazon, Napo, and Orinoco Rivers.”⁵¹

⁴⁸ “Pelear por la Patagonia, suelo maldito, que sus propios hijos repudian, i cuyas razas aboríjenes así en el hombre, como en el cuadrúpedo i en el roedor, van estinguiéndose por sí solas, a falta de todo elemento natural de vitalidad, eso habría sido simplemente un crimen ante la América i una ridiculez ante el mundo,” Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *La Patagonia: Estudios jeográficos i políticos dirigidos a esclarecer la “cuestión Patagonia” con motivo de las amenazas reciprocas de guerra entre Chile I la República Argentina* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta del Centro Editorial, 1880), 47–49.

⁴⁹ “El tipo de nuestro hombre sudamericano debe ser el hombre formado para vencer al grande y agobiante enemigo de nuestro progreso: el desierto, el atraso material, la naturaleza bruta y primitiva de nuestro continente,” Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina*, Colección Pensamiento Bicentenario (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca del Congreso de la Nación, 1852), 89.

⁵⁰ Estanislao Zeballos, *Descripción amena del itinerario al país de los araucanos*, 1879, 1879.

⁵¹ Francisco Bilbao, “La América En Peligro: Las Causas Del Peligro y Charlatanismo Del Progreso,” *El Mercurio*, May 11, 1863.

His Argentine counterpart, Domingo Sarmiento, depicted deserts as “uncultivated lands” (*tierras incultas*) that evoked unproductivity and ignorance. Further, their emptiness suffocated the civilizing quest of cities: “The encircling desert besets such cities at a greater or less distance, and bears heavily upon them, and they are thus small oases of civilization surrounded by an untilled plain, hundreds of square miles in extent, the surface of which is but rarely interrupted by any settlement of consequence.”⁵²

⁵² Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Mary Tyler Peabody Mann, *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants; or, Civilization and Barbarism* (New York, Hurd and Houghton, 1868), 15, <http://archive.org/details/lifeinargentiner00sarmrich>.



Map 5: Territorial jurisdictions in Patagonia by 1900.

The image of the Desert functioned as a metaphor of violence. The displacement of Mapuche and Tehuelche peoples intertwined with the expansion of the political and scientific frontier. In Chile, removal of Mapuche from their lands and their circumscription to reservations began in the mid-nineteenth century. As immigrant settlers moved into southern Chile (Arauco,

Valdivia, and Llanquihue) (Map 5), natives had to relocate. In Argentina, the military campaign to the Negro River (sometimes known as the “Conquest of the Desert”) of 1879-1881 disarticulated three Mapuche chiefdoms of Northern Patagonia (Sayhueque, Foyel, and Inacayal).⁵³ After their surrender, the tribes migrated south but kept the trans-Andean trading networks with local markets. If Patagonia was to transition from the land of monsters to the land of men, indigenous peoples needed to submit to the rule of the state. This premise forced the Mapuche and Tehuelche embrace Chilean or Argentine political authority, which required them to use Spanish, respect state authority, and accept a nationhood defined and given to them.

Musters, with a unique and relatively early experience among the Tehuelche, presented an interesting exception. In the map he provided, Musters filled it in with the indigenous groups he identified: “southern Tehuelche” in southern Santa Cruz, mixed northern “Tehuelche and Pampa Indians” in middle Patagonia, and the specific chiefdoms of the “warrior Indians” (Mapuche) in the Northern Patagonian Andes: Quintuhual, Foyel, “Araucanian Indians,” and “Manzaneros.” In addition, he included the indigenous toponymy for the “new” places: Yowllel (a pointed rock), Chupat River and colony of Indians (which evolved to present-day Chubut), Teckel (present-day Tecka), and Mekyush for the *Rhea Darwinii*, otherwise known as ostrich.⁵⁴

Musters’s map, however, represented an exception. Cartographers of the late nineteenth century fixed the image of the desert in the linear coordinates of the maps by erasing the presence of indigenous groups, renaming peaks and sites, filling in the blanks with settlements (present or future) and, eventually, by dividing the land for leasing. Arthur Seelstrang produced the first official Argentina map for the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. Although indigenous

⁵³ Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, 138–39. Bandieri suggests they were Tehuelche, not Mapuche (p. 101).

⁵⁴ Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians*, 681.

tribes inhabited most of the territory claimed for Argentina, they appeared nowhere on the map.⁵⁵ The Desert acknowledged this emptiness and almost whispered the need to fill it. A later map from 1881 built on one Fitz Roy's cartographies because "to this day it is considered the most precise."⁵⁶ Although this 1881 map kept many names indigenous to the Cordillera, Musters's Chupat River became the modern Chubut and a lake in the middle of the steppe had taken his name.

The circulation of Musters's *At Home with Patagonians* represents only the tip of the iceberg of how new publications about Patagonia transcended national and linguistic boundaries. Francisco Moreno acknowledged in 1876 Musters's contribution to the ethnography of Patagonia. A young scholar at the time, he applied for funding from the Argentine Scientific Society (*Sociedad Científica Argentina*, SCA) for his first exploration of Northern Patagonia arguing that even though explorers, such as Musters, have made invaluable contributions to the scholarship of Patagonia, "we know very little about the mineral, vegetal, and animal wealth hidden in that country."⁵⁷ In 1877, Ramón Lista, who would become president of the Argentine Geographic Society and Governor of the National Territory of Santa Cruz, also applied for funding from the SCA to continue Musters's exploration of western Patagonia.⁵⁸ That same year, French journalist Émile Daireaux recognized the importance of Musters's and Moreno's explorations as a symptom of a

⁵⁵ Arturo Seelstrang, *Argentina 1876*, Image, 1:4,000,000 (Ernst Nolte Libreria Alemana, 1876), American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, <http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/agdm/id/567/rec/5>.

⁵⁶ Francisco Host, Luis Jorge Fontana, and Julio Rittersbacher, *Carta parcial de la región austral de la República Argentina: que comprende los límites fijados por el Tratado de Octubre 1881*, 1:4,000,000 (Buenos Aires: Litografía de Alberto Larsch, 1882).

⁵⁷ "Poco conocemos las riquezas tanto minerales, como vegetales y animales que encierra aquel inmenso país," Francisco Moreno, "Carta al Presidente de la Sociedad Científica Argentina, Pedro Pico" (Sociedad Científica Argentina, September 14, 1875), 18.

⁵⁸ Ramón Lista, "Carta de Ramón Lista a Guillermo Wilde, Presidente de la Sociedad Científica Argentina, 22 Octubre 1877," in *Mis exploraciones y descubrimientos en la Patagonia 1877-1880* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de M. Biedma, 1880), 6–9, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044080471337>.

new interest in Patagonia.⁵⁹ Chilean politician Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna cited from Musters directly in English.⁶⁰ Finally, Polish-German anthropologist Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, Moreno's mentee in La Plata Museum, incorporated the German translation of *At Home with Patagonians* (1873) to his publications in German journals.⁶¹

On the Chilean side, mapmaking also skipped any indigenous presence but labeled sites with names that reflected a national enterprise. In 1872, the Hydrology Office of the Chilean Navy surveyed the environs of Lake Llanquihue. The map that accompanied the report exemplified how place-naming projected a sense of national belonging that engraved nation to territory and silently removed unwanted references.⁶² On the north shore, a small port honored Benjamín Muñoz Gamero, one of the earliest explorers of the area. To the east, a large bay commemorated another explorer, Guillermo Cox, who crossed to Nahuel Huapi following Fonck and Hess's steps in 1862-1863.⁶³ Two small bays harbored two settlements named after German explorers Francisco Fonck and Carlos Martin, though both were very much alive. In the southwest, two small ports were also named after Germans: Ignacy Domeyko, an influential figure in the expansion of Chilean science, and Bernardo Philippi, who, together with another man immortalized in another bay in the lake, Chilean Vicente Pérez Rosales, founded the immigrant settlements of southern Chile. Some rivers,

⁵⁹ Émile Daireaux, *Buenos-Ayres, la Pampa et la Patagonie* (Paris, Hachette et cie, 1877), 81, <http://archive.org/details/buenosayreslapa00dairgoog>.

⁶⁰ Vicuña Mackenna, *La Patagonia: Estudios jeográficos i políticos dirigidos a esclarecer la "cuestión Patagonia" con motivo de las amenazas recíprocas de guerra entre Chile I la República Arjentina*.

⁶¹ *Unter den Patagoniern: Wanderungen auf unbetretenem Boden von der Magalhães-Straße bis zum Rio Negro von George Chaworth Musters. Aus dem Englischen von J. E. A. Martin. Mit 9 Illustrationen in Ton- u. Schwanzdruck u. 2 Karten* (Costenoble, 1873); "George Chaworth Musters," in *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1894); Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, "Patagonische Gesänge Und Musikbogen," *Anthropos* 3, no. 5/6 (1908): 916-40.

⁶² For another example of place-naming as a nationalizing strategy, see Raymond B. Craib, *Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes*, Latin America Otherwise (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 42-53.

⁶³ Guillermo E. Cox, *Viaje en las rejiones septentrionales de la Patagonia, 1862-1863* (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta nacional, 1863), <http://archive.org/details/viajeenlasrejo00coxgoog>.

like Hueñu-Hueñu, and even Lake Llanquihue kept their original names. For the Osorno Volcano, whose conic shape overlooked the lake from the east, cartographers clarified that it had two other names before receiving the official one, Purarrahue and Hueñauca (Image 1).⁶⁴

The image of the Desert evoked the opposite to civilization: it was where monsters dwelled, wreaking havoc on the laws of nature and morality. The recently-founded Argentine Geographic Institute (Instituto Geográfico Argentino, IGA) stated in 1882 that “in the Southern Hemisphere, civilization... spreads slowly in its war against barbarism and the recently discovered deserts.”⁶⁵ The same report described some of the available maps of the republic where Patagonia, among other regions, remained a mystery.⁶⁶ Further, when discussing how to advance the agricultural frontier in the Chaco, the region in northern Argentina that oscillates between semi-aridity and rainforest, the authors concurred that civilization must overcome “the mystery of the desert and the presence of the savage man.”⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Francisco Vidal Gormaz, *Exploracion del seno de Reloncaví lago de Llanquihue i rio Puelo. Practicada por órden del supremo gobierno bajo la direccion de Don Francisco Vidal Gormaz* (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta nacional, 1872), <http://archive.org/details/esploraciondelse00chil>. In addition to the back of the book, the map is also available at the Deutsch-Chilenischer Bund “Emilio Held” Archive.

⁶⁵ “*Al Sur [del Ecuador], la civilización... se difunde lentamente en lucha con la barbarie y con los desiertos de reciente descubrimiento*”, Instituto Geográfico Argentino, *Boletín del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, vol. 3 (Librería, imprenta y encuadernación de Jacobo Peuser, 1882), 165.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 3:161.

⁶⁷ “*Los misterios del desierto y la presencia del hombre salvaje*”, *Ibid.*, 3:188.



Image 1: “Plano Del Lago Llanquihue Levantado Por Orden Del Supremo Gobierno Por La Comisión Exploradora de Llanquihue Bajo La Dirección Del Capitán de Corbeta Francisco Vidal Gormaz En 1872.” 1872. 1:100000. Dutsch-Chilenischer Bund “Emilio Held” Archive, Santiago. The two details show the toponymy of three bays of Lake Llanquihue (commemorating three explorers) and of Osorno Volcano.

The desert, finally, evoked lack of knowledge: “Southern Patagonia—between the Atlantic Ocean and the Cordillera—and between parallels 42 and 46 south... was almost completely

unknown until then.”⁶⁸ Explorers eagerly filled that gap with concrete evidence. A letter from Argentine Commander Lino de Roa on his expedition to Chubut River concluded that “the central area of Patagonia does not correspond with the ideas that had about it. It is not flat like the plains in indigenous territory to the south; on the contrary, it is rough terrain, cut through by hills, plateaus, and deep depressions [with] many ranges.”⁶⁹

Cartographers left blank spaces on maps to show the emptiness of information about those areas or labeled them as “unexplored territory.” Francisco Fonck signaled this in his *Plano Ilustrativo*, where, to his knowledge, no one had surveyed the lower ranges to the southeast of the pass he mapped. Based on Francisco Moreno’s notes, the topographic office in the La Plata Museum, founded by Moreno himself, published a map in 1896 amidst border negotiations with Chile. Unlike military maps, which showed a neatly enclosed territory, the *Plano Preliminar y Parcial de los Territorios de Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut y Santa Cruz* showed several empty areas as “unexplored.”⁷⁰ It was common to mark ranges above the snowline as “snowy” (*nevados*) to signal altitude. When cartographers described spaces as snowy, they implied the area was unknown to them, but that they had information that suggested the peaks high enough to hold snow over the summer months when expeditions usually took place. Image 2 represents a section of this map, where the emptiness of knowledge of certain areas (in white) contrasts with the excruciating details on other ones, like hydrography and topography.

⁶⁸ *La Patagonia Austral—entre el océano Atlántico y la Cordillera—y entre los paralelos 42 y 46 de latitud Sud... era hasta entonces casi en totalidad completamente desconocida,*” Luis Jorge Fontana, *Viaje de exploración en la Patagonia austral*, 1. edición, facsim. edición. (Argentina]: Editorial Confluencia, 1999), 15.

⁶⁹ “*La parte central de la Patagonia no responde a las ideas que hasta hoy se tienen de ella, no siendo una región llana, semejante a la pampa del territorio indio del Sud, sino por el contrario, bastante accidentada, interceptada por cerros, mesetas, y profundas depresiones y recorrida... por diversas cadenas de sierras,*” Instituto Geográfico Argentino, *Boletín Del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, 1884, 5:55.

⁷⁰ Sección Topográfica Museo de la Plata, *Plano Preliminar y Parcial de Los Territorios de Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut y Santa Cruz* (La Plata, 1896).



Image 2: Plano Preliminar y Parcial de los Territorios de Neuquén, Río Ngró, Chubut y Santa Cruz (Museo de la Plata, 1896). Instituto Geográfico Militar, Buenos Aires.

Re-signifying Patagonia: The Promise of the Cordillera

Calle 13, in its Grammy award-winning song *Latinoamérica*, sings that “the world’s spinal cord is my cordillera.”⁷¹ Stretching from “the Strait [of Magellan] to Santa Marta [in Colombia],” the Andes have often been described as the pillar of South America. Nobel-Laureate Gabriela Mistral described the chain as a mother that provides support for her seven children: Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina.⁷² For Pablo Neruda, the range was snowy iron and pure loneliness yet to be discovered:

“Homeland, the earth placed
 on your slim hands
 its toughest banner,
 the Andean cordillera,
 snowed blade, pristine solitudes,
 stone and shiver, ...
 Tough dwelling,
 one day
 you shall open up
 delivering
 the secret
 fecundity,
 the ray of your qualities,
 and then
 my small
 compatriot,
 injured severely in your kingdom,
 wretched
 in its own fortitude,
 ragged in its confines of gold,
 it shall receive
 the treasure
 while conquering it...”⁷³

⁷¹ “*La espina dorsal del planeta es mi cordillera*,” Calle 13 et al., *Latinoamérica*, Song (EMI Music Publishing, 2010).

⁷² Mercedes Suárez, Natalia Pérez de Herrasti, and Mercedes Pico de Coaña, *La América real y la América mágica a través de su literatura* (Universidad de Salamanca, 1996).

⁷³ Pablo Neruda, *Nuevas odas elementales*, Poetas de España y América (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1956); Pablo Neruda, “Ode to the Andean Cordillera,” trans. Ilan Stavans, Words Without Borders, October 2013, /article/ode-to-the-andean-cordillera.

Vicuña Mackenna's poetic quill had noted that the cordillera divided Chile and Argentina "as if God had wanted to deafen in the massive granite wall the roars of raging provocations, the echoes of insults, the cries for war, the cannon thunder."⁷⁴ In the second half of the nineteenth century, explorers, writers, and authorities envisioned the Cordillera as the path to resolve the emptiness of the Desert. Travelers, intellectuals, and authorities situated the Cordillera in opposition to the desert using three images: as a fertile place, a wall, and a site of national wealth.

While travelers' accounts repeatedly situated Patagonia within a rhetoric of monstrous "negation, domination, devaluation, and fear,"⁷⁵ some proposed to transform the Desert. The Mountain, or the Cordillera (the Andes range), guarded in its fertile valleys the possibility for national authorities to fill that emptiness with nationhood, knowledge, and production. Manuel Olascoaga, Chief of the Argentine Military Topographic Office, assessed the military operations of 1879-1881 in Northern Patagonia as the "definite pacification of the deserts in the south of the republic... [which will] open 20,000 leagues of rich territories for the use of civilization." The military "victory" enabled the "occupation of the opulent Andean region, natural site of future settlements who must bring civilized life and security to all the South."⁷⁶ Accompanying the text, Olascoaga mapped the "new" territories of La Pampa and Río Negro, even though these areas appeared as part of Argentina in Seelstrang's map of 1876. Besides containing geographical information that Seelstrang did not know, Olascoaga's cartography included the paths that military

⁷⁴ "como si Dios hubiera querido ensordecen en el macizo de espesa muralla de granito los ruidos de toda provocación de cólera, los ecos del denuesto arrebatado, los gritos insanos de guerra, el estruendo mismo del cañón," Vicuña Mackenna, *La Patagonia: Estudios jeográficos i políticos dirigidos a esclarecer la "cuestión Patagonia" con motivo de las amenazas recíprocas de guerra entre Chile I la República Argentina*, vi.

⁷⁵ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 219.

⁷⁶ *Pacificación definitiva de los desiertos al sur de la República... [la cual] habilitará 20000 leguas de ricos territorios al uso de la civilización*"; "la ocupación de la opulenta región andina, asiento natural futuro de las poblaciones que deben llevar la vida civilizada y la seguridad a todo el Continente Austral," Manuel J. Olascoaga, *Estudio topográfico de la Pampa y Río Negro* (Buenos Aires: Editorial universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1974), 49.

columns took (with their commander and year) and the location of some Tehuelche and Mapuche tribes, especially near the cordillera.

The production of knowledge about Patagonia comprised an effective means, at least for authorities, to transform the desert into a garden. In its annual report of 1883, the Argentine Geographic Institute summarized the implications of General Conrado Villegas's exploration in Negro and Limay Rivers, and Captain Carlos Moyano's survey in Santa Cruz River: "Thus, the feared sterility of Patagonia fades away, and a fertile region emerges where men will battle in every bit of virgin land against Nature; but he will be victorious."⁷⁷ Explorer Francisco Moreno, similarly, asserted that his surveys aimed to "stop those deserts from being deserts" by "opening the road along which civilization would reach the Andes and replace the lazy Indian by the hard-working man in the plains, the woodlands, and the mountains, [which are] all fertile and rich."⁷⁸ Thomas Holdich, who assessed Chilean and Argentine claims over Patagonia in the name of King Edward VII, claimed that "wastelands" only become Edens as they are reclaimed by civilization. In other words, the production of knowledge underscored the production of space.⁷⁹

Writers described the Cordillera as an overflowing spring of life. Where the desert was a barren monotony, the mountains held their visitors in awe. "Beech forests and thick underwood" and the "several freshwater lakes covered with wild-fowl" contrasted with the abundant "coarse green grass" that covered interminable "bare plains" where wild geese grazed.⁸⁰ The contrast

⁷⁷ "Así, la temida esterilidad de la Patagonia se desvanece, surgiendo en cambio una comarca fecunda, donde el hombre luchará como en toda tierra virgen, con la Naturaleza; pero luchará con éxito," Instituto Geográfico Argentino, *Boletín Del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, vol. 4 (Buenos Aires: Librería, imprenta y encuadernación de Jacobo Peuser, 1883), 100.

⁷⁸ "Contribuir con mi esfuerzo a que aquellos desiertos dejasen de ser tales... a abrir la senda por donde la civilización llegara a los Andes y reemplazara al indio holgazán por le hombre de trabajo, en la llanura, los bosques y las montañas, todas fértiles y ricas," Eduardo Moreno, ed., *Reminiscencias de Francisco P. Moreno. Versión propia documentada.*, 2nd ed., Lucha de fronteras con el indio (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1979), 19.

⁷⁹ Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*, 2–7.

⁸⁰ Dixie, *Across Patagonia*, 1880, 30, 56–57.

between flat and rugged terrain, between steppe and forest, shaped how travelers felt about these landscapes. Florence Dixie frequently mentioned she and her group would ride west “with the hopes of a speedy arrival at the Cordilleras to cheer us, under the depression of spirits which the dreary monotony of the country could not fail to produce.”⁸¹ Even sounds evoked different sentiments in plains and mountains. The “boisterous wind” of the plateau, could cause faces to dry and peel after days of exposure.⁸² Vicuña Mackenna visualized the journey going northwards and westwards from the Argentine port of Río Gallegos: “one cannot see anything that interrupts the monotony of the vast pampas. Trees do not resist the overwhelming winds.”⁸³ By contrast, the bursting sounds in the Cordillera, from volcanoes or sheets of ice coming off glaciers, conjured an inviting mystery:⁸⁴

“It is hard to convey the sense of mysterious space and undiscoverable dwelling-places impressed on the spectator by the vast solitudes of the mountains and forests of the Cordillera. The inexplicable sounds of crashing rocks, or explosions from unknown volcanoes, and the still stranger tones which resemble bells and voices, all suggest to the ignorant and superstitious natives confirmation of the strange circumstantial stories handed down for several generations; and it is hard for anyone, even with the assistance of educated reason, to resist the powerful spell of the legends told in sight of these mysterious mountains.”⁸⁵

The wall is probably the most widespread image of the Cordillera today. The Andes originated as an uplift when the Nazca and Antarctic plates crashed against the South American plate. Thus, many north-south ranges rise sharply on the west side. It is not surprising, then, that Chilean authors portrayed the Andes as a dividing force. Francisco Fonck employed the image of

⁸¹ Dixie, *Across Patagonia*, 1881, 128.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 60–63.

⁸³ “No se descubre objeto alguno que interrumpa la triste monotonía de la dilatada pampa... los árboles no resisten los vientos reinantes”, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *La Patagonia: Estudios jeográficos i políticos dirigidos a esclarecer la “cuestión Patagonia” con motivo de las amenazas reciprocas de guerra entre Chile I la República Argentina* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta del Centro Editorial, 1880), p. 166.

⁸⁴ Tomás J. Rogers, *Estudios sobre las Aguas de Skyring i la parte austral de Patagonia* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, 1878), 88, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044072261456>.

⁸⁵ George C. Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians: A Year's Wanderings over Untrodden Ground from the Straits of Magellan to the Rio Negro*, 1871, p. 267–8, <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/42483>.

the wall to advocate for the “natural” (that is, geological) border between Chile and Argentina.⁸⁶ At the height of border negotiations, the Argentine consul in Great Britain concluded his essay on using the watershed to delineate the boundary: “the frontier wall, which snow-capped summits rise like giants in space, seem to reiterate to the peoples it separates the scathing phrase: ‘you shall not pass.’”⁸⁷

Finally, travel accounts and scientific reports depicted the Cordillera as a source of wealth for Chile and Argentina. Until the border negotiations intensified in the 1890s, writers tied this idea of mysterious richness of the Andean valleys to the mythical City of Caesars (*Ciudad de los Césares* or *Trapananda*). Like El Dorado or the Silver City, the City of Caesars originated in the sixteenth century as a rumor of the existence of an enchanted city on the shores of a great lake, and prevailed in the minds of the Spaniards for at least three centuries.⁸⁸ Although scholars of the late nineteenth century acknowledged the enchanted city’s legendary origins, they concurred it merited very real explorations of Northern Patagonia.⁸⁹ More importantly, little doubt existed among writers that the myth originated from a concrete location: “Jesuits came down the eastern slopes of the Andes and into the mysterious and unknown country of Nahuel-Huapi, where the fabulous city of Caesars, Eldorado of South America, was famously located.”⁹⁰ As a result, the area surrounding Lake Nahuel Huapi condensed three major traits writers ascribed to Patagonia

⁸⁶ See for example, Fonck, *Introducción a la orografía y a la jeología de la región austral de Sud-América*, 5–9.

⁸⁷ “*Misma muralla fronteriza, cuyas cumbres, cubiertas de nieve, se alzan gigantescas en el espacio y parecen repetir, à cada uno de los pueblos que separa, la frase lapidaria: ‘de aquí no pasarás’*” M. A. Montes de Oca, *Limites Argentino-Chilenos: El Divortium Aquarum Continental Ante El Tratado de 1893* (Buenos Aires :, 1899), 74, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044103249751>.

⁸⁸ Instituto Geográfico Argentino, *Boletín del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, 3:95; Martinic Beros, *De la Trapananda al Áysen*, 50–53.

⁸⁹ Hans Steffen, “On Recent Explorations in the Patagonian Andes, South of 41° S. Lat.,” *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 13, no. 2 (1897): 57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14702549708521173>.

⁹⁰ “*Los Jesuitas... descendian [sic] la falda oriental de los Andes y entraron en el misterioso y desconocido país de Nahuel-Huapi, donde, segun es fama, debia estar la fabulosa ciudad de los Césares, Eldorado del Continente Sud-Americano*”, Instituto Geográfico Argentino, *Boletín Del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, 4, p. 162.

more broadly: mystery, lack of knowledge, and wealth. Two years later, General Conrado Villegas hoisted the Argentine flag on the shores of Lake Nahuel Huapi. In 1881, Eduardo O'Connor, a Navy officer, led an expedition up the Limay River to the lake: "Ignored and unknown for so long, Lake Nahuel Huapi, avidly keeping the secrets of its coast hidden by the Andean peaks, was prepared to be seen for the first time, revealing to us its deepest and impenetrable mysteries."⁹¹

Even as authorities relied on scientific reports to negotiate the borderline, the idea of bursting Andean valleys remained intact for many years in the form of an Edenic garden.⁹² Writer Vicuña Mackenna challenged the bond between the primordial timelessness of the mythic city with the promise of a prosperous future by arguing that such ignorance provoked the dispute over Patagonia between Chile and Argentina.⁹³ The image of the valleys as a source for national prosperity hovered over the imaginaries of scientists and authorities on both sides of the Andes. In 1895, *El Ferro-carril* newspaper reported that the landowners (estancieros) of the Colorado River in Northern Patagonia realized their great future (gran porvenir). Further, "this [area] is a true Eden in the National Territory [of Río Negro]."⁹⁴ The image of Eden it is not, of course, unique to the Patagonian Andes. Sarmiento had described Tucuman, in northwestern Argentina as "the Eden of America," a phrase that Manuel Flores used to describe Mexico. Gerónimo Sanz also compared

⁹¹ "El Lago Nahuel-Huapi, por tanto tiempo ignorado y desconocido, que guardaba tenazmente los secretos de sus orillas, ocultado por las altas cumbres andinas, preparase por primera vez á dejarse ver, mostrándonos sus recónditos é impenetrables misterios", Eduardo O'Connor, "Exploración Del Alto Limay y Del Lago Nahuel Huapi," in *Boletín Del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, vol. 5 (Buenos Aires: Librería, imprenta y encuadernación de Jacobo Peuser, 1884), p. 200.

⁹² See Sarmiento and Mann, *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants; or, Civilization and Barbarism*, 203; Manuel M. Flores, *Pasionarias Poesías* (Veracruz, Mexico, 1889), 299, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiuo.ark:/13960/t0dv1v24p>; Gerónimo Sanz, *Poesías* (Habana: Imprenta Militar de la Viuda de Soler, 1881), 17, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.087793765>.

⁹³ Vicuña Mackenna, *La Patagonia: Estudios jeográficos i políticos dirigidos a esclarecer la "cuestión Patagonia" con motivo de las amenazas recíprocas de guerra entre Chile I la República Arjentina*, xvi.

⁹⁴ "Esto es un verdadero Eden de la Pcia [de RN]", Anonymous, "Letter to the Director," *El Ferro-Carril*, November 10, 1895.

the Cuban countryside to a heavenly garden. Manuel Olascoaga, who became first governor of the National Territory of Neuquén, argued that the government should encourage “the occupation of the opulent Andean region, natural future site of settlements that will bring civilized life and security to all the southern continent.”⁹⁵

Military and scientific expeditions played a major role in “correcting errors about geography and making common doubts about nature fade.”⁹⁶ For example, authorities believed that Tierra del Fuego was “an infertile and desolated region where the civilized man could never settle.” This is not surprising, given the descriptions of the island that made it to the offices of the national government in Buenos Aires, such as Julio Popper’s. Yet, authorities discovered that “there are fertile fields [on the island] good for cattle-breeding and agriculture, and valleys [covered] in tropical vegetation.”⁹⁷ Though perhaps an exaggeration, Wilde showed how the government’s support for exploratory enterprises had yielded useful results for the national state.

Although the myth of the City of Caesars did not survive, its underlying attraction did. Geographer Ramón Lista, one of the most frequent explorers of Patagonia and founder of the Argentine Geographic Institute, synthesized the attraction to the mythical city in our first known reference to the Argentine Switzerland:

“To the south, Patagonia, and there, the Andean lakes which great depressions to the feet of the mountains that draw the international border with Chile... explorers and tourists have considered a copy of the Swiss mountains... the Argentine Switzerland, which we can denominate the lands along the Cordillera from Lake Nahuel Huapi to the western Patagonian channels... it is destined to strongly attract the immigration that is arriving to La Plata River... It is precisely because of the lakes, the mountains, and their height that this vast area enjoys admirable weather... where, until yesterday, it was regarded with caution and suspicion because it was thought be a ‘cursed land,’ a

⁹⁵ Olascoaga, *Estudio topográfico de la Pampa y Río Negro*, 49.

⁹⁶ “*rectificando errores geograficos y desvaneciendo las preocupaciones comunes sobre la naturaleza de los territorios*”, Eduardo Wilde, *Memoria Del Ministro Del Interior Al Congreso Nacional, 1887* (Buenos Aires, 1887), p. 108.

⁹⁷ “*region estéril y desolada, donde no podía aclimatarse el hombre civilizado... [Sin embargo] allí hay campos fértiles adecuados para la ganadería y la agricultura y valles en los que crece una vegetación tropical*”, Wilde, *Memoria Del Ministro Del Interior, 1887*, p. 108.

desolated space inhabitable only to the guanaco and the condor.”⁹⁸

Similarly, the idea of the Nahuel Huapi region as a promised land lingered in Lista’s views. For example, he argued that when the railroad arrived in Nahuel Huapi, “the fertile valleys of that “promised land” would produce all kinds of cattle and crops; the homes of men will rise here and there like strips of civilization and progress; and the lakes, which today we can only admire..., will have become lanes of commerce”⁹⁹

Science for the Nation: Scientific Explorations of Patagonia.

“Delusions of grandeur,” said Francisco Moreno, “overtake us when we work for our Nation.”¹⁰⁰

Without shying away from his achievements, he remembered that forty years earlier, he had stockpiled “small rocks” that conformed the collection of the Moreno Museum he founded with his brothers. In 1877, after his first exploration of Lake Nahuel Huapi, he founded the *Museo Antropológico y Arqueológico* in Buenos Aires (Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology).¹⁰¹

In 1884, Moreno moved the collection to the new Natural History Museum or more widely known

⁹⁸ “*Al Sud, la Patagonia, y en ésta los lagos andinos, cuyas grandes hoyas abiertas al pie de las montañas que determinan el límite internacional con Chile... todos los exploradores y turistas han dado en considerar como una copia del paisaje montañoso suizo... La Suiza Argentina, que bien podemos... Llamar así a las... tierras ubicadas a lo largo de la Cordillera, desde el lago Nahuel Huapi hasta los canales occidentales de la Patagonia... está destinada a ejercer en pocos años más una atracción poderosa sobre la corriente humana inmigratoria que se vuelca en las riberas del Río de la Plata... A los lagos y a la dirección de las montañas, a la altura de éstas... es que se debe precisamente el clima admirable de que goza esa dilatada zona... que, hasta yer no más se le miraba con prevención y recelo, porque creía que era ‘tierra maldita’, desolada superficie sólo habitable para el guanaco y el cóndor*”, Ramón Lista, “La Patagonia Andina,” in *Obras*, by Ramón Lista, vol. 2 (Buenos Aires: Editorial Confluencia, 1998), 373.

⁹⁹ “*Los fértiles valles de esa ‘tierra prometida’ ostentarán toda suerte de ganados y cultivos; las moradas del hombre se alzarán aquí y allá como jalones de civilización y progreso; y los lagos, que hoy sólo sirven de admiración..., se habrán convertido en carriles de comercio*”, *Ibid.*, 394.

¹⁰⁰ “*Cuando se trabaja por la Patria el delirio de las grandezas se impone*” Francisco Moreno, “Discurso” (Archivo General de la Nación - Buenos Aires, Departamento de Documentos Escritos, Sala VII, Fondo Fransico P. Moreno, Caja 3098, October 15, 1907), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Documentos Escritos.

¹⁰¹ “Museo de La Plata - FCNyM - UNLP - Historia,” accessed April 12, 2018, <http://www.museo.fcnyml.unlp.edu.ar/historia>.

for its location in La Plata, thirty-seven miles south of Buenos Aires. The naturalist helped these institutions transcend the rigidity of museum displays and transform them into hubs of scientific inquiry. In his view, the creation of sites producers of knowledge was intrinsically tied to the building of Argentina: “Without science, there is no strong nation” he asserted.

After their independences, new Latin American countries employed scientific knowledge to build and sustain the nation. Science provided authorities with information about their territories and possible avenues to taking advantage of it. Knowledge about space allowed governments to regulate it (at least in theory). In Chile and Argentina, museums, scientific organizations, and universities served as hubs for collecting data, producing knowledge, and circulating results.

Service to the State: Scientific Institutions in Chile and Argentina

Museum collections encapsulated “the passage of things, text, and data from... sites of collection to centers of calculation.” Cataloguing of artifacts symbolized an ordering practice that was also happening beyond museum walls. While biologists classified fossils and geologists categorized rocks, authorities demarcated international boundaries, designed towns, and divided lots. Science facilitated governing by providing “a set of knowledge practices and technologies” to liberal states that worked “through the forms of freedom [liberal states] organized.”¹⁰² Research centers and scientific societies combined with museums made up the fabric of scholarship that served the interests of new Latin American states.

Many Chilean historians regard the foundation of the Instituto Nacional, the Botanical Garden, and the National Museum of Natural History as a stepping stone precluding the

¹⁰² Bennett et al., *Collecting, Ordering, Governing*, 4.

explorations of the south of the country of the 1850s and the border negotiations with Argentina in the 1890s. French botanist Claude Gay founded the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) in 1830, under the auspice of Minister of Interior—and future President, Diego Portales.¹⁰³ The museum soon became a hub for scientific inquiry that permeated into historical narratives of nation-making. Portales assigned Gay with the task of cataloguing Chilean resources which resulted in a multi-volume work on botany, zoology, history, and geography of Chile. Such monumental work included, of course, an atlas that German naturalist Rodolfo Philippi, brother to colonization agent Bernardo Philippi in Valdivia and Llanquihue, directed the museum in 1853 while he held a professorship at the University of Chile and the Instituto Nacional, and led several expeditions to the Atacama Desert and Lake Llanquihue.¹⁰⁴

The opening of the University of Chile in 1843 marked the beginning of scientific service to the state. In his inaugural speech, Rector Andrés Bello highlighted that research should focus on the state's priorities: the most common disease and how to prevent them, and the development of agriculture, industry, and mining. Eugolio Allendes, a faculty member, reiterated in 1859 that the applied sciences were the best way to strengthen the nation.¹⁰⁵ The university's annual report, today *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, a peer-reviewed journal, soon became a beacon for Chilean scientific enquiry. Francisco Fonck and Fernando Hess's report on their 1856 expedition to Nahuel Huapi was first published here. The appointment of Diego Barros Arana as rector of the

¹⁰³ Claudio Gómez, "El Museo Nacional de Historia Natural de Chile: Breve reseña de su historia y aspectos de su actual gestión estratégica," *Revista del Museo Argentino de Ciencias Naturales* 14, no. 2 (2012): 209–12.

¹⁰⁴ "Historia - Museo Nacional de Historia Natural," accessed April 10, 2018, <http://www.mnhn.cl/sitio/Secciones/Quienes-somos/Historia/>; Sergio A. Castro et al., "Rodolfo Amando Philippi, el naturalista de mayor aporte al conocimiento taxonómico de la diversidad biológica de Chile," *Revista Chilena de Historia Natural* 79 (2006): 133–43, <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0716-078X2006000100011>; "Rodolfo Amando Philippi (1808-1904) - Memoria Chilena," *Memoria Chilena: Portal*, accessed April 11, 2018, <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-795.html>.

¹⁰⁵ Claudio Gutiérrez and Flavio Gutiérrez, *Forjadores de la ciencia en Chile: Problemas y soluciones* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: RIL Editores, 2008), 13–14.

university in 1893 reinforced the alliance between state and scientific community as he was at the same time expert appointee in the border commission for the mediation with Argentina. In between, other rectors included Ignacy Domeyko, the “father” of mining engineering in Chile, and José Joaquín Aguirre Campos, physician, governor, and representative in Congress.¹⁰⁶ The University of Chile brought together research and practice, science and state. In 1877, Thomas Rogers immortalized the work of Domeyko, Philippi, and Gay by giving their names to three hills in the Gallegos River upper valley.

Perhaps the Chilean agency that best epitomized the alliance between science and state was the Office of Hydrography in the Navy. Officer of this force Francisco Vidal Gormaz negotiated the opening of this division in 1874 with the prime objective of surveying the 8,000 kilometers of Chile’s continental shoreline plus the many rivers that flowed into the Pacific Ocean.¹⁰⁷ The research center produced maps and charts, statistics on maritime hazards, oceanic currents tables, and weather reports. The study of the coastal terrain enabled technicians to suggest locations for lighthouses, and the general research of the Chilean shores resulted in the catalogs of flora and fauna. Hence, though the Office began as a technical support for the Navy, it soon grew to a research facility focusing on the geography, meteorology, biology, and hydrology of the Chilean coastline. In addition, the center served as a learning site for a generation of navy men trained under Vidal Gormaz. It merits special mention Tomás Rogers, who accompanied his mentor in his

¹⁰⁶ “Rectores de La U. de Chile - Universidad de Chile,” accessed April 8, 2018, <http://www.uchile.cl/portal/presentacion/historia/rectores-de-la-u-de-chile>.

¹⁰⁷ “Oficina Hidrográfica - Memoria Chilena, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile,” accessed April 11, 2018, <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-96473.html>; “Presentación Territorial - Universidad de Chile,” accessed April 11, 2018, <http://www.uchile.cl/portal/presentacion/la-u-y-chile/acerca-de-chile/8035/presentacion-territorial>.

explorations of Lakes Llanquihue and Todos Los Santos, Reloncaví Sound, and Puelo River in Northern Patagonia during the summer of 1871-1872.

In Argentina, the institutions that brought scholars from multiple disciplines together to serve national interests were the Argentine Scientific Society, the Argentine Geographic Institute (IGA), and La Plata Museum. The Argentine Scientific Society was founded in 1872 as a research center stemming from the new Department of Natural Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires.¹⁰⁸ The Scientific Society supported the foundation of the Anthropological and Archaeological Museum of Buenos Aires directed by Francisco Moreno. Further, it sponsored Moreno's first exploration of Lake Nahuel Nahuel Huapi in 1875 and Ramón Lista's expedition to Chubut in 1877, this time with additional funding from the national government.¹⁰⁹ One of the students that co-founded the Scientific Society, Estanislao Zeballos, also created the Argentine Geographic Institute in February 1879 with the purpose of exploring and describing territories and educating the public through a periodical. That same year, the Army created the Office of Topography, a mirror agency of the Office of Hydrology in Chile. Military research facilities clarified strategic priorities for the state. The Office of Topography responded "to the need of surveying the national territory," but will not publish until 1912.¹¹⁰ Hence, the portrayal of military and scientific advancement over the frontier fueled the success of sites where scholars conferenced and published.

When the city of Buenos Aires became the capital of Argentina in 1880, Moreno abandoned the museum there and founded a new one in the recently created city of La Plata, capital

¹⁰⁸ "Historia – Sociedad Científica Argentina," accessed November 4, 2018, <http://cientifica.org.ar/historia/>.

¹⁰⁹ José Babini, *Historia de La Ciencia En La Argentina*, Dimensión Argentina (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Solar, 1986), 140–42.

¹¹⁰ "Algo de Nuestra Historia | Instituto Geográfico Nacional," accessed April 13, 2018, <http://www.ign.gob.ar/AreaInstitucional/AlgoDeHistoria>; Babini, *Historia de La Ciencia En La Argentina*, 172–73.

of Buenos Aires province. The two initial objectives of La Plata Museum were to educate the residents of the province and to fund expeditions “to the interior” for collecting artifacts. In the 1890s, the museum received funding from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to provide research expertise in further explorations of the Andes concerning the border negotiations.¹¹¹ Moreno directed the museum until 1906, when it effectively became part of the University of La Plata and the naturalist resigned in protest.¹¹²

Circulating Patagonia: Scientific networks of explorers

Expeditions across Patagonia collected data that scientific institutions then circulated through newsletters and journals. The explorations of Patagonia knitted a network of scientific knowledge that shaped the border negotiations. Explorers built on each other’s work, pushing the frontier of knowledge and filling in the gaps in the maps. Publishing the results of the expeditions proved instrumental for reinforcing and extending the network. New knowledge about Patagonia could only be useful if it was accessible to others. Thus, explorers created a discourse about space by collecting data and communicating research in Chile, Argentina, and Europe. Patagonia was at the center of imperial interpretations of “empty” landscapes.

George Musters expanded the boundaries of scientific knowledge about Patagonia that Charles Darwin, Robert Fitz Roy (and others before) them had left incomplete. For example, when riding across the Santa Cruz River Valley, Musters deemed unnecessary “a lengthened attempt to portray it” because Darwin and Fitz Roy “have thoroughly described [its] configuration.” Thus, the British navy man utilized his predecessor’s writings as a starting point from broaden the

¹¹¹ “Museo de La Plata - FCNyM - UNLP - Historia.”

¹¹² Babini, *Historia de La Ciencia En La Argentina*, 150–52.

knowledge about Patagonia. In addition, he mirrored Fonck and Hess's expedition inasmuch he sought to confirm Darwin's and Fitz Roy's references with his own observations and with the corroboration of his two Tehuelche guides, the left-handed El Sourdo and Casimiro.¹¹³ Masters published his observations of the Tehuelche and his ride across the Patagonian steppe in a short article addressed to the Royal Geographical Society (1870) and a book, *At Home with Patagonians* (1871). In an attempt to contribute with scholarly knowledge of the biology and geology of Patagonia, Masters consulted with the Director of the Royal Gardens and a geologist in the Museum of Mines to help him identify the species he collected or drew in his pocketbook. He transcribed a short guide to Tsoneca language, the one he identified among the Tehuelche he accompanied. In order to settle the debate of whether Patagonians were giants or not, Masters summarized in a brief chronology of the European observations of the natives' size (and concluding they were not).¹¹⁴

Explorers often threaded their quests with an ongoing history of discovery both to legitimize their own achievements as part of a network of scholars, but also to insert themselves in a narrative of nation-making. German Francisco Fonck wielded Alexander von Humboldt's endorsement, the most influential scientist of the time, to situate himself as a fundamental member of Chilean academia.¹¹⁵ In addition, he presented his service to Chilean interests, especially regarding border negotiations with Argentina, as a contribution for the strengthening his adopted land. He used this double-sided identity, "I am Chilean and German at the same time," to show his

¹¹³ Masters, *At Home with the Patagonians*, 71–72.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 369–73..

¹¹⁵ Eduardo Holmberg, "Correspondencia inédita de Humboldt y Bonpland: Un hallazgo interesante," *Caras y Caretas*, September 30, 1905, 38; Lacoste, *La imagen del otro en las relaciones de la Argentina y Chile (1534-2000)*, 211; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 111.

position of authority beyond science and among the wider public.¹¹⁶ Fonck never participated in the diplomatic missions nor was ever consulted on the matter; yet, he published avidly about the geography of the Patagonian Andes. In addition, he continuously asserted how his research contributed with the border negotiations. The German doctor argued that because “the advancement of Chilean travelers that crossed the current borderline before Argentine [travelers] that crossed it only after the Treaty [of 1881].”¹¹⁷

Interweaving scientific genealogies threaded together ways of knowing and ways of understanding the nation. In his first book, *Introducción a la Orografía i Jeología de la Región Austral de Sud-América*, Fonck repeatedly referred to Polish Ignacy Domeyko as “our beloved teacher,” “wise man” to show how his expertise came to fill a gap in the literature.¹¹⁸ Domeyko Specifically, the author highlights how works like those of Domeyko attempted to popularize scientific knowledge (and by popularize he meant “to make it available to every educated person”).¹¹⁹

Negotiating the Border on the Ground: Hans Steffen’s and Francisco Moreno’s Explorations of the Patagonian Andes

Expeditions of the Patagonian Andes showed that the physical landscape disrupted previous renderings about the region. Explorers like Hans Steffen and Francisco Moreno sought

¹¹⁶ “Soy Chileno y aleman a la vez,” Francisco Fonck, “Carta de Francisco Fonck a Adolfo Guerrero” (Libro Copiador de Francisco Fonck, 1895-1899, Fondo Fonck, Caja 2, Estuche 8, Biblioteca “Emilio Held,” Deutsch-Chilenischer Bund, Santiago (Chile), March 20, 1896).

¹¹⁷ “*el avance de los viajeros chilenos que pasaron el limite actual mucho antes que los argentinos que lo atravesaron solo después de la firma del Tratado*”

Carta de Francisco Fonck a Miguel Carreño Copiadores PDF 77

¹¹⁸ Fonck, *Introducción a la orografía y a la jeología de la región austral de Sud-América*, xi, 41–42, 57.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vii.

to dissipate doubts about understudied regions and confirm claims by previous travelers. Where diplomats imagined a continuous succession of mountains, the range spread out and tilted west. Uncovering the scientific truth drove explorers to measure, describe, and sketch Patagonia. At the end of the nineteenth century, nature did not represent that unsurmountable spectacle that Von Humboldt had disseminated. Now, nature, and Patagonia in particular, could be categorized, collected, and described.¹²⁰ We may think that such an approach to knowledge, where all explorers could discover the same “truth,” would have resulted in an uncluttered list of scholarly publications. However, nature proved to be more elusive and soon explorers like Moreno and Steffen found themselves debating mountains and rivers. Amid intense border negotiations in the 1890s, Francisco Moreno, acting as chief expert for the Argentines, and Hans Steffen, a German explorer serving the Chilean diplomats, engaged in a publication war in the British academic circles pushing for certain place names. At the time, both men participated in the preparation of reports to submit to the British mediator for deciding the borderline between the two countries. Therefore, publishing in those scholarly circles could tip the scales to one side or the other.

Negotiating the Chilean-Argentine border.

Latin American nation-states established their state apparatuses to consolidate their control over space and people after political independence in the nineteenth century. Thus, delineating the international borderlines represented a crucial step in the path to become strong, recognized, modern nation-states. For example, Brazil signed its first treaties with Peru and Uruguay, both in 1851, and with Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia in 1898 (with a later agreement for the Acre

¹²⁰ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 120.

region in 1903).¹²¹ In the late 1870s, the Rubber Boom forced states with claims over the Amazon to negotiate their boundaries, signed in 1910.¹²² Finally, Chile and Argentina engaged in armed conflicts with all their neighbors (except with each other) after independence. Each conflict required new protocols to, at the very least, redraw international boundaries. As a result, authorities negotiated different sections of South American borderlines in diverse ways and times. The diplomatic conversations created maps that reflected ideas about the nation and its relation to space.

The negotiations of the Chilean-Argentine border can be synthesized in five moments. First, after their respective independences in 1816 and 1818, Argentina and Chile adhered to the Spanish American principle of *uti possidetis*: each state would possess what it possessed before independence, which included dominion of the Atlantic shoreline by Buenos Aires and of the Pacific coast by the Chilean Navy. However, the concept of *uti possidetis* begged the question of who would govern Patagonia as Spanish colonial settlements before independences were virtually non-existent. The second significant moment in the border negotiations partially addressed this issue. In 1856, Chile and Argentina signed a Treaty of Friendship, Peace, and Navigation that recognized the possessions of each other in 1810 and committed to settle the border dispute peacefully, resorting to arbitration if negotiations failed.¹²³ This agreement defined Argentine orientation towards the Atlantic Ocean and Chilean orientation towards the Pacific.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Vanderlei Borba, "Fronteiras e faixa de fronteira: expansionismo, limites e defesa," *Historiæ* 4, no. 2 (2014): 59–78.

¹²² Jean Claude Roux, "De los límites a la frontera: o los malentendidos de la geopolítica amazónica," *Revista de Indias* 61, no. 223 (December 30, 2001): 513.

¹²³ George V. Rauch, *Conflict in the Southern Cone: The Argentine Military and the Boundary Dispute with Chile, 1870-1902* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999), 23.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 167; Lacoste, *La imagen del otro en las relaciones de la Argentina y Chile (1534-2000)*, 298.

The third moment in the Chilean-Argentine border negotiations was the Treaty of 1881. Its first article stated that

“the borderline between Chile and the Argentine Republic from north to south, until the fifty-second parallel, is the Andes Mountains. The border will run along the highest peaks of this range that divide watersheds and between slopes that run to one or the other side.”¹²⁵

It took both foreign offices the following seven years to agree on how they would draw the line and two more for the legislative branches of each country to endorse this plan of action and vetting their experts: Diego Barros Arana for Chile and Francisco Moreno for Argentina.¹²⁶ In the meantime, military and scientific expeditions surveyed the Patagonian Andes. Tensions soon became evident as both countries interpreted the Treaty of 1881 differently. Chileans argued the border should run along the highest chain that divided watersheds, wherever this may be. By contrast, Argentines contended the boundary should follow the highest peaks on the main cordillera where streams glided east and west. Chileans favoured the *divortium aquarum* (continental watershed) while Argentines gave pre-eminence to the highest crests.¹²⁷ A fourth defining moment comprised the signing of a protocol in 1893 which clarified that the watersheds divide would constitute the primary directive for drawing the border.¹²⁸ In other words, the dividing line needed not to include the highest peaks, which is why Mount Aconcagua, the highest

¹²⁵ “El límite entre Chile y la República Argentina es de Norte a Sur, hasta el paralelo cincuenta y dos de latitud, la Cordillera de los Andes. La línea fronteriza correr en esa extensión por las cumbres más elevadas de dichas Cordilleras que dividan las aguas y pasará por entre las vertientes que se desprenden a un lado y otro,” Articles 2 and 3 continued establishing the line south of parallel 52, *Tratados de límites entre Chile y la República Argentina [microform]* (Buenos Aires, Imp. de J. Peuser, 1898), <http://archive.org/details/tratadosdelimite00chil>.

¹²⁶ José Evaristo Uriburu, “Decreto Nombrando Perito Para La Demarcación de Límites Con Chile Al Dr. D. Francisco P. Moreno” (Registro Nacional de la República Argentina, año 1896 (segundo semestre), September 21, 1896); Francisco Fonck, *Exámen Crítico de La Obra Del Señor Perito Argentino Francisco P. Moreno*, Cuestión Chileno-Arjentina de Límites (Valparaíso: Carlos F. Niemeyer, 1902), p. 11–12; José Miguel Irrázaval Larraín, *La Patagonia: Errores Geográficos y Diplomáticos*, Historia de Las Relaciones Internacionales de Chile (Santiago de Chile: Andrés Bello, 1966), p. 127.

¹²⁷ Moreno, “Dr. Steffen’s Exploration in South America,” 244.

¹²⁸ “Protocolo de 1893,” in *Tratados de límites entre Chile y la República Argentina [microform]* (Buenos Aires: Imp. de J. Peuser, 1898), 9–19, <http://archive.org/details/tratadosdelimite00chil>.

mountain in the Western Hemisphere, is not part of the border. The Protocol of 1893 allowed border sub-commissions to survey the Andes to reconcile the data from maps and expeditions with reality. They promptly demarcated the border north of parallel thirty-five and in Tierra del Fuego, in the southernmost latitudes of the continent.

In Patagonia, however, there was little progress.¹²⁹ The Patagonian Andes challenged the imaginaries of diplomats: approximately at the 40th parallel latitude south the main chain of the Andes decreases in height, it tilts west, and it breaks more. Everything was at stake: not only it was unclear where the main chain was, but also the highest peaks did not divide watersheds. Some waterways, like the Manso or the Palena Rivers, start by flowing eastwards but end up in the Pacific Ocean. Following the dividing watersheds strictly would have given Chile possession of eastern valleys. Conversely, the highest mountains sink into the Pacific Ocean in some areas, which would have given Argentina claims over that coastline. The Patagonian Andes did not fit the diplomacy.

As a result, Chilean and Argentine authorities agreed in 1896 to request the arbitration from a third party to draw the international border. The mediation would take arguments from both countries from a dividing line. Hence, between 1896 and 1899, engineers and scientists like Francisco Moreno and Hans Steffen surveyed the conflict areas, prepared reports, published articles, and drew maps for submitting to the tribunal.

How to draw a borderline on the ground: Hans Steffen and Francisco Moreno

¹²⁹ Guillermo Lagos Carmona, *Historia de las fronteras de Chile. Los tratados de límites con Argentina*. (Santiago de Chile: Andrés Bello, 1966), 96–98.

Given the challenging morphology of the Patagonian Andes, it is not surprising that much of the borderline was subject to arbitration. The governments of Chile and Argentina had pre-agreed in 1896 that in case of need, the British Crown would mediate between the two. The international Border Commission, led by mediator Thomas Holdich, Chilean Diego Barros Arana (Chile), and Argentine Francisco Moreno (Argentina), appointed up to sixteen different sub-committees to survey the Andes. These sub-committees would gather data and report back to the experts, who would in turn formulate the arguments for a borderline in each litigious site. For the Palena region, Steffen remembered that the only information available until then were the publications of Jorge Luis Fontana, an explorer of the Argentine Chaco and the Andean valleys of Chubut. In an attempt to confirm or discredit these assertions, Steffen designed an expedition that would depart from the east and the west and meet at a relative middle point. The explorers aimed at dissipating any doubts that the Carrenleufu River in Argentina (flowing west) was the same as Corcovado river in Chile, as Fontana had speculated in 1885.¹³⁰

In addition to using rivers, explorers representing Chile employed expeditionary paths as a means to justify territorial claims over the eastern valleys. In other words, they argued that Chile could exert sovereignty on the eastern slopes of the Andes because Chilean explorations got there first. To illustrate this, Francisco Fonck, a German explorer unaffiliated with the border committees but eager to intervene, published the work of a Franciscan monk Francisco Menéndez. In the 1790s, a century before Chile and Argentina sent out numerous sub-committees to survey the Andes, Menéndez led four expeditions in search of a pass from Lake Llanquihue, in Chile, to Lake Nahuel Huapi, in Argentina. Fonck believed that the chronological pre-eminence of these surveys

¹³⁰ Luis Jorge Fontana, *Viaje de exploración en la Patagonia austral* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Confluencia, 1999).

granted Chile higher ground in border negotiations. When referring to the Palena region, farther south, this physician-turned-explorer pointed that “none of the brave explorers Musters, Moreno and Lista... have observed [Rivers Palena, Aysen, and Huemules].”¹³¹ If Chileans made it first to an unexplored region, then it was fair that they should have claims over it. Although this argument did not stand, it did fuel scientists’ ideas on how science informed national claims.

It was in this context that Francisco Moreno deviated from his scheduled trip from Punta Arenas to Puerto Montt in late 1897. He surveyed the area south of Lake Argentino to assess Chilean claims over the validity of certain peaks to the east as part of the main Andean chain. Specifically, he sought to respond to three Chilean titles in southern Patagonia. Departing from Punta Arenas, he trekked northwards towards Baguales Chain and Last Hope Sound, where “the continental watershed divide occurs,”¹³² to survey Diana Plains. These vast plateau stretches from the Channels on the Pacific to the shores of Atlantic Ocean, grooved by small streams flow into the Gallegos River. Only one peak, Mount Rotunda, overlooks the vastness on the westernmost side of plain, which Moreno hurriedly asserted it is not part of the main chain of the Andes “although I cannot conclude its orographic dependency at the moment.”¹³³ The Argentine explorer sought to debunk the claim that some of the hills in the western area of the plateau could be part the Andes. If these mounts belonged indeed to the main chain, then Chileans could use them for drawing their proposed borderline. Instead, Moreno stated: “these claims had no support.”¹³⁴ It is

¹³¹ “*Nos consta que ninguno de los esforzados exploradores Musters, Moreno i Lista... los han observado [a los ríos Palena, Aysén y Huemules],*” Francisco Fonck, *Introducción a la orografía y a la jeología de la región austral de Sud-América* (Valparaíso: Carlos F. Niemeyer, 1893), 93.

¹³² “*Donde se produce el divortium aquarum continental,*” Francisco Moreno, “Carta al Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, Doctor Amancio Alcorta” (Archivo General de la Nación - Buenos Aires, Departamento de Documentos Escritos, Sala VII, Fondo Fransico P. Moreno, Caja 3098, November 30, 1897), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Documentos Escritos.

¹³³ “*cuya dependencia orográfica no puedo definir todavía,*” Ibid.

¹³⁴ “*La insinuación... no tiene consistencia alguna,*” Ibid.

important to note that at this point the scientist pronounced his conclusions when overlooking and surveying the surroundings of Mount Rotunda. Although Moreno provided a topographic argument, he used the weight of his authority to deem geological analysis irrelevant.

Moreno also questioned the Chilean assertion that three mounts north to Gallegos River belonged to the main Andean range. Chileans had made this claim based on the 1877 report of Chilean Navy officer Tomás Rogers. In his expedition, Rogers immortalized three figures of Chilean science, Claude Gay, Ignacy Domeyko, and Rudolph Philippi, by naming three peaks in Southern Patagonia after them (Map 3). However, Moreno was quick to dismiss their belonging to the main chain: “they are simple basaltic hills which, although they overlook the Gallegos River valley, they are lower than the Patagonian plateau.”¹³⁵ We now know that these mounds are not of basaltic formation; yet, Moreno’s hypothesis was correct inasmuch they were geologically part of the plateau and not part of the mountain range in the west.¹³⁶ Similarly, Moreno dismissed the existence of cordillera Latorre: “such cordillera is only the Patagonian plateau and no serious geographer would consider it a mountainous area.”¹³⁷ Finally, he ruled: “Mount Palique... is not a mountain: it is a simple hill at the center of depression.”¹³⁸ Instead of drawing his argument on geological composition, as he did with the three mounds, Moreno built it on geographical characteristics. Not only were both cordillera Latorre and Mount Palique not high enough to be

¹³⁵ “*montículos basálticos que, si bien se elevan sobre el valle del Gallegos, se encuentran bajo el nivel general de la meseta patagónica,*” Francisco Moreno, “Carta al Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, Doctor Amancio Alcorta, 4 de diciembre de 1897” (Archivo General de la Nación - Buenos Aires, Departamento de Documentos Escritos, Sala VII, Fondo Fransico P. Moreno, Caja 3098, 1897), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Documentos Escritos.

¹³⁶ Gabriel Oliva et al., “El ambiente en la Patagonia Austral,” in *Ganadería ovina sustentable en la Patagonia Austral: Tecnología de manejo extensivo* (Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria, 2001), 17–80.

¹³⁷ “*la tal cordillera es solo la meseta patagónica... y ningún geógrafo serio la considerará serranía,*” Francisco Moreno, “Expediciones exploradoras que Chile envía a Patagonia verano 1896-1897” (Archivo General de la Nación - Buenos Aires, Departamento de Documentos Escritos, Sala VII, Fondo Fransico P. Moreno, Caja 3098, s/f), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Documentos Escritos.

¹³⁸ “*El cerro Palique... no es tal cerro: es una simple loma baja en el centro de la depression,*” Ibid.

mountains, they were less so relative to the surrounding plateau. As a result, the geological argument Chileans applied to claim possession over the upper Gallegos River, Argentine used it to debunk them.

Farther north, Steffen relentlessly argued that the area of the Corintos and 16 de October valleys, overtly known as Palena River region, belonged to Chile. A Welsh colony of farmers and neighboring Tehuelche Indians dwelled there. Steffen contended that Argentines only pushed to include this area within their boundaries because Welsh settlers had discovered gold near Corintos River.¹³⁹ This stream, like several others in the region, flows westwards across fertile valleys but does not originate in the main Andean range. The entire river basin of Corintos ended in the Pacific Ocean, which was more than enough argument for Steffen to defend Chilean sovereignty on either side of the Andes. Further, he observed that many farmers had settled along the course of this river from the east, protesting this was part of an Argentine plan to take control of the valleys.¹⁴⁰

As the border sub-commissions surveyed litigious lands in the late 1890s, it was evident that several rivers originated in the eastern slopes of the Andes and ended in the Pacific Ocean. The Palena River basin was at the heart of one of these contentions. It was unclear, however, which river in Argentina corresponded with which one in Chile because people used different names in each country.¹⁴¹ For example, “Until then, no one could be absolutely certain that [the Palena and Carrenleufu River] were the same.”¹⁴² In fact, authorities worked on the assumption that the

¹³⁹ Hans Steffen, *Problemas limítrofes y viajes de exploración en la Patagonia. Recuerdos de la época del conflicto entre Chile y Argentina* (Santiago de Chile: Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos, y Museos (DIBAM); Nativa, 2015), 55–56.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁴¹ Francisco Pascasio Moreno, *Apuntes preliminares sobre una excursión a los territorios del Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut y Santa Cruz* (La Plata: Museo de La Plata, Taller de Publicaciones, 1897), 121–26.

¹⁴² “Hasta ese momento no se podía asegurar con certeza absoluta la identidad del Carrenleufú con el Palena,” Steffen, *Problemas limítrofes*, 58.

Argentine river Carrenleufu corresponded not with the Palena, but with the Corcovado River, a stream that meandered farther north. Science would solve the mystery. In order set the record straight, Steffen planned an expedition that would begin on the lower valley in Chile and follow the river eastwards while his colleague Paul Stange would meet him on the banks of Carrenleufu River, south of a Welsh colony in the Argentine Territory of Chubut.

The scientific mission was interrupted by the police. Argentine officers of the Border Police (*Policía Fronteriza*) arrested Stange's group which was skirting the river from the east. They took them to the nearest police station, 400 kilometres to the north. As a result, Steffen could not conclusively find the origins of Palena River or the continental divide that would facilitate the border negotiations.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, he submitted a report to the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs. The official cartographer, Oskar Fischer (one of the prisoners of the Argentine police) produced a map of the Palena region based on information from previous explorers (which he had intended to confirm). In this map, Fischer used Navy captain Ramón Serrano's observations of the basin from a decade earlier without realizing he was making a mistake. Indeed, the navy officer had observed an eastern range connected to the main chain of the Andes. Fischer reproduced this secondary range in his map, which earned Francisco Moreno's most arduous protest: "On the road, there is nothing that could be a range, even if one was to broaden the Andes."¹⁴⁴

In a similar tone to his letters to the Minister, the Argentine scientist situated the hills (*lomajes*) to the east of the cordillera as part of the same plateau that continued towards the Atlantic. Further, another small set of hills, Baguales range (1334m),¹⁴⁵ "[is] located at the center

¹⁴³ Ibid., 60.

¹⁴⁴ "En mi camino no hay nada que pueda tomarse por un cordón, por más que se pretenda ensanchar lateralmente la Cordillera de los Andes", Moreno, *Apuntes Preliminares Sobre Una Excursión a Los Territorios Del Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut y Santa Cruz*, 94.

¹⁴⁵ This is a different range from a homonymous one farther south, in present-day province of Santa Cruz.

of the depression west of my path, [and] dominates the origins of streams [flowing west]... and [it represents] the remains of an ancient plateau that erosions destroyed almost completely.”¹⁴⁶ Steffen admitted to Fischer’s error and Chile soon sent another team in the summer of 1896-1897 to survey the area again.¹⁴⁷ Yet, he was quick to suggest that the general height of the ranges near that specific point was low enough to render that mistake. After the second round of expeditions, Steffen concluded there was not “any high snow-capped mountain range southwards from Mount Tronador.”¹⁴⁸ The snowline was a way to “measure” the height of the Patagonian Andes with the naked eye. Since expeditions usually took place in the summer months (December-March), if any range had snow, it would be considered to be part of the main Andean chain. Steffen, however, pointed out that since no peak exhibited snow, it was understandable Fischer mistakenly attached the eastern range to the main cordillera.

The debate about this small range in the Palena region speaks to larger questions on how the terrain helped delineate nations. Explorers created a corpus of geographical knowledge about Patagonia, and the Andes in particular, that transformed the discursive no-place into a site of national definition. It was in the currents of the trans-Andean rivers and the peaks that are not mountains were authorities that authorities deposited the spatial idea of the nation: in the places that could draw it.

¹⁴⁶ “*La Loma de los Baguales (1334 m.), situada en el centro de la depresion al oeste de mi camino, domina las nacientes de arroyos... y es resto de la Antigua meseta destruida en su casi totalidad por la erosion*”, Francisco Pascasio Moreno, *Apuntes preliminares sobre una excursión a los territorios del Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut y Santa Cruz* (La Plata: Museo de La Plata, Taller de Publicaciones, 1897), 94.

¹⁴⁷ Steffen, *Problemas limítrofes*, 57; Moreno, “Expediciones exploradoras que Chile envía a Patagonia verano 1896-1897.”

¹⁴⁸ Hans Steffen, “The Patagonian Cordillera and Its Main Rivers, between 41° and 48° South Latitude (Continued),” *The Geographical Journal* 16, no. 2 (1900): 35, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1774557>.

Explorations and military campaigns of the second half of the nineteenth century mirrored Euroimperial interventions happening around the world.¹⁴⁹ In Patagonia, the civilizing mission propelled expeditions that confirmed scientists' and authorities' ideas about space: the south was an area to be dominated, delineated, and surveyed. The point was not whether secondary ranges belonged to the main cordillera or not; the key was how nature justified national boundaries. Once again, referring to the 16 de Octubre valley and the surrounding streams, Moreno asserted:

“The colossal manifestations of erosion in Patagonia must be thoroughly studied in order to distinguish the true, tectonic ranges from the mountains modelled by the action of water; but phenomena that have caused the division of water to the east and west... have insignificant orographic value, even though Chilean geographers have given them great political meaning.”¹⁵⁰

In other words, Moreno accused Chileans of using the watershed for political, not scientific reasons. It was especially serious when the watershed did not coincide with the highest peaks, like in the Palena region. Using this watershed would have been against the treaties of 1881 and 1893, which worked as a compass for all expeditionary reports. Ironically, these two political contracts regulated how explorers interpreted nature and submitted their geographical arguments for the boundary to British tribunal.

Delineating Nations on Paper: Andean Toponymy in the Scholarly Debate

Amid intense border negotiations in the 1890s, Francisco Moreno and Hans Steffen engaged in a publication war (mostly) in British academic circles. Like every board, the Tribunal

¹⁴⁹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), 74.

¹⁵⁰ “*Las colosales manifestaciones de la erosion en Patagonia, necesitan ser estudiadas con todo detenimiento para poder distinguir las cadenas verdaderas, tectónicas, de las montañas modeladas por la accion de las aguas, pero los fenómenos que han producido la curiosa di vision de las aguas hácia el oeste y hácia el este... tienen insignificante valor orográfico, aún cuando se le haya dado un alto significado político por los geógrafos chilenos,*” Francisco Pascasio Moreno, *Apuntes preliminares sobre una excursión a los territorios del Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut y Santa Cruz* (La Plata: Museo de La Plata, Taller de Publicaciones, 1897), 107.

Committee that would decide the dividing line between Chile and Argentina needed to remain impartial. Yet, as science and government overlapped, none of the explorers could afford not to publish their observations and conclusions. Scholarly debates, therefore, ran parallel to diplomatic negotiations of the border, they informed them, and could possibly sway them. Moreno responded to Steffen that “having been discovered by Chilean explorers, it became known that the valleys to the east of the Cordillera, watered by streams and rivers which passed through to the Pacific, were the most fertile of Patagonia.”¹⁵¹ In other words, he subtly suggested that Chileans wanted to include the area in their territory because of the fertility of the soil, which tapped the possibility of agricultural development in the region.

As he was sailing the icy waters of the Chilean Channels out of Punta Arenas in November 1897, Moreno wrote a concerned letter to his superior, the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, denouncing two of Steffen’s latest articles. He accused Steffen of cunningly designing a “defense plan” to lay out Chilean claims about the border on multiple fronts. By “multiple fronts,” the Argentine scientist was in fact referring to the only two channels that mattered: diplomacy and academia. Steffen deployed Chile’s views in two articles, one published by the Geographical Society of Berlin and the other one by a sister organization in London, both in 1897. Moreno does not mention a third article in the Scottish Geographical Magazine also published that same year, where Steffen describes multiple valleys between Nahuel Huapi and northern Chubut.¹⁵² In his observations, the German explorer subtly lead the reader to imagine Manso and Puelo rivers

¹⁵¹ Argentina, *Argentine-Chilian Boundary: Report to Justify the Argentine Claims for the Boundary in the Summit of the Cordillera de Los Andes, According to the Treaties of 1881 & 1893* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1900).

¹⁵² Hans Steffen, “Die Chilenische Längsbahn Und Ihre Verzweigungen,” *Geographische Zeitschrift* 20, no. 9/10 (1914): 524–34; Steffen, “On Recent Explorations in the Patagonian Andes, South of 41° S. Lat”; Moreno, “Expediciones exploradoras que Chile envía a Patagonia verano 1896-1897.” Given the information provided by Moreno, I could not find Steffen’s article published by the Royal Geographical Society in London.

valleys as undeniably connected to the west despite the fact they originate in the eastern slopes of the Andes. In contrast, Argentine diplomacy highlighted the pre-eminence of the highest peaks at the centre of the range, not the rivers that crossed the valleys. Hence, the debate gravitated around which geographical feature, mountains or rivers, dictated borders better. Steffen focused his publications on the hydrology of Patagonia. Moreno repeatedly stressed the importance of mountain ranges.

In addition to discussing which peaks were mountains and which mountains belonged to the Andes, Moreno and Steffen engaged in a toponymy debate. Place-naming comprised an effective way of exercising sovereignty.¹⁵³ After their surveys, both men participated in the preparation of reports to submit to the British mediator for deciding the borderline between the two countries. Therefore, publishing abroad could tip the scales to one side or the other. As from 1897, the Royal Geographical Society reproduced some of Steffen's reports on his explorations of western Patagonia.¹⁵⁴ In 1899, the journal announced Steffen's discovery of a wide river he named Baker flowing probably from Lake Cochrane into the Pacific Ocean together with two secondary streams that he called Bravo and De la Pascua River.¹⁵⁵ Moreno categorically protested that "the name of Lake Cochrane was given to Lake Pueyrredón by Chilean explorers posteriorly to its discovery and survey by my assistants."¹⁵⁶ In the span of two pages, he argued he had discovered, and, by extension, named, Baker/Calen inlet, and Rivers Baker/Las Heras, Bravo/Colihue, and De

¹⁵³ Lauren A. Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400--1900* (Cambridge [UK]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), chap. 4; Mark S. Monmonier, *From Squaw Tit to Whorehouse Meadow: How Maps Name, Claim, and Inflame* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Thomas F. Thornton, *Being and Place among the Tlingit, Culture, Place, and Nature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; In association with Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2008), chap. 1.

¹⁵⁴ "The Monthly Record," *The Geographical Journal* 10, no. 2 (1897): 214–15.

¹⁵⁵ "The Monthly Record," *The Geographical Journal* 13, no. 6 (1899): 663.

¹⁵⁶ Francisco Moreno, "Dr. Steffen's Exploration in South America," *The Geographical Journal* 14, no. 2 (1899): 220, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1774346>.

la Pascua/Toro.¹⁵⁷ Needless to say, in his 550-page report to the arbitrary tribunal, Moreno does not use the name Baker to refer to any river or inlet.

Only two other people, that we know of, used Moreno's toponymy in their publications. The first one was John Hatcher from Princeton University, who used Calén and Las Heras for calling the inlet and the watercourse, probably because his expeditions received unsurmountable help from the Argentine scientist.¹⁵⁸ The second person to employ the same place names as Moreno was Colonel George Church, who had participated in several land surveys in Argentina before fighting in the Civil War before settling in London and becoming an active member of the Royal Geographic Society. Church and Moreno re-acquainted with each other's work through the Society's meetings, they had allegedly crossed paths when the American Colonel consulted for the Argentine government in the late 1880s, and thus cited each other periodically.¹⁵⁹ Today, the most impressive remnants of this toponymic argument are the double names for lakes that cross the Chilean-Argentine border.¹⁶⁰ All in all, the tug of war of place-naming in Patagonia shows how a discursive tool served to create national landscapes, even if the named sites had nothing to do with drawing borderlines.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Francisco Moreno, "Dr. Steffen's Exploration in South America," *The Geographical Journal* 14, no. 2 (1899): 219–20, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1774346>.

¹⁵⁸ John Hatcher, *Reports of the Princeton University Expeditions to Patagonia, 1896-1899*, vol. 1: Narrative and Geography (Princeton, N.J.: Stuttgart, 1903), preface and 212, 243–44, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t71v5dg8n>.

¹⁵⁹ "Col. George Earl Church Collection Exhibit," accessed April 18, 2018, <https://library.brown.edu/exhibits/archive/church/>; Francisco P. Moreno, "Notes on the Anthropogeography of Argentina," *The Geographical Journal* 18, no. 6 (1901): 574–89, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1775359>; Francisco Moreno, "Dr. Steffen's Exploration in South America," *The Geographical Journal* 14, no. 2 (1899): 219–20, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1774346>; Hans Steffen, *Patagonia Occidental: Las cordilleras patagónicas y sus regiones circundantes*, Reedición, vol. 1 (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 2008), xxviii, note 2.

¹⁶⁰ These Chilean-Argentine lakes from north to south are: Palena/General Vintter, General Carrera/Buenos Aires, Cochrane/Pueyrredón, O'Higgins/San Martín, and Cami/Fagnano.

¹⁶¹ Matthew G. Hannah, *Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory in Nineteenth-Century America*, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 42.

Conclusion

The British arbitration concluded a long period of border negotiations. In 1901, Thomas Holdich communicated his decision, which roughly gave each country half of the litigious zones in the Patagonian Andes, revealing how inexact nature could be. The imperial drive to measure, sketch, collect, and categorize succumbed to the unexpected unpredictability of the Patagonian Andes.

The debate about Patagonian mountains elucidates the prevailing ideas about geography, science, and authority in the late nineteenth century. Drenched in imperial views of the world, scientists like Hans Steffen and Francisco Moreno, envisioned Patagonia as a no-place. This no-place allowed for authorities and scientists to refill Patagonian Desert with their versions of the nation. Hence, it was not the uniqueness of Patagonia, but the world-encompassing imperial gaze that channelled how explorers retrieved and circulated their data. This explains, to some extent, how effortlessly the Argentine government appointed explorer of the Chaco, Luis Jorge Fontana, governor of Chubut, and how the British government named Thomas Holdich, who had participated in the Russo-Afghan and the Pamir Border Commissions, to mediate between Chile and Argentina.¹⁶² The “transatlantic appropriation” of European scientific ideas and their application to “empty” spaces in the Americas was a means for “elite liberal creoles” to seek “aesthetic and ideological grounding as white Americans.”¹⁶³ Explorer’s imperial gaze defined Patagonia.

¹⁶² H. L. C, “Col. Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.,” *News, Nature*, November 30, 1929, <https://doi.org/10.1038/124847a0>.

¹⁶³ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), 175.

Explorers sought to bridge the gap between perceived and real landscape in the Andes by battling geographical ignorance with knowledge that could serve national interests. Lack of knowledge about Patagonia could have serious consequences for the economic and political health of both Chile and Argentina. According to geographer Ramón Lista, some “rebel spirits” did not realize that beyond the infertile shoreline of Patagonia lay the cordilleras, “with a different nature that evokes the Tropics.”¹⁶⁴ Indeed, explorers and military men reported on impregnable rainforests that they could conceal the physiognomy of the terrain.¹⁶⁵ Lack of research on site or misinformation about the resources could prevent “the transformation of the virgin forests into productive estates.”¹⁶⁶

The circulation of new knowledge was vital for reconciling existing ideas about nature and the nation as a means to draw and govern frontiers. Although explorers wielded their arguments as complete truths, they implicitly acknowledged they were incomplete as they generally recognized the limitations of their surveys. In the late nineteenth century, however, the battle for filling the desert of ignorance represented a quest for national domain over Patagonia. Therefore, the strength of the truths explorers deployed in their letters and articles directly informed border negotiations between Chile and Argentina. In the years that follow, I show in the rest of the

¹⁶⁴ “Una naturaleza distinta que recuerda muchas veces el Trópico,” Ramón Lista, *Viaje al país de los Tehuelches: exploraciones en la Patagonia austral* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de M. Biedma, 1879), 11.

¹⁶⁵ Enrique Concha i Toro, “Memorias Científicas - Hidrografía,” *Anales de La Universidad de Chile*, August 1869, 145; Francisco Vidal Gormaz, *Exploracion del seno de Reloncaví lago de Llanquihue i rio Puelo. Practicada por orden del supremo gobierno bajo la direccion de Don Francisco Vidal Gormaz* (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta nacional, 1872), 21, <http://archive.org/details/esploraciondelse00chil>; Conrado Villegas, “Diario general de las Operaciones de la Segunda División del Ejército en la Expedición al Gran Lago Nahuel-Huapi y batida general en el cuadrilátero,” in *Boletín del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, vol. 4 (Buenos Aires: Libería, imprenta y encuadernación de Jacobo Peuser, 1883), 153; Estanislao Zeballos, *Demarcación de límites entre la República Argentina y Chile. Extracto de la Memoria presentada al Congreso de la Nación* (Buenos Aires: Empresa “La Nueva Universidad,” 1892), 87, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044103249926>; Francisco Pascasio Moreno, *Apuntes preliminares sobre una excursión a los territorios del Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut y Santa Cruz* (La Plata: Museo de La Plata, Taller de Publicaciones, 1897), 92.

¹⁶⁶ “Transformar selvas vírjenes en fundos productivos,” Oficina de Mensura de Tierras (Chile), *Cuarta Memoria del Director de la Oficina de Mensura de Tierras* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1911), 157.

dissertation, the borderline remained an idea at times, a strict reality at others. The flexibility of the border elucidated how cross-border networks and shared ideas about space challenged top-down versions of the nation that authorities in Buenos Aires and Santiago repeatedly, to this day, attempted to impose.

Chapter 2: Blurry Borderlines: From Border Negotiations to Ambiguous Understandings of Patagonia (1890-1915)

Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the increasingly stable Argentine government stretched inland founding towns, creating colonies, and building railroad stations as a force that expanded from the political centers into the untamed interior. Names of new sites, like San Vicente or Santa Catalina, evoked progress in the form of Christianity, as if Christianity symbolized civilization. Other names, like Lavalle or Sarmiento, evoked progress in the form of national history. But there is a limited number of names that you can use for new settlements hence repetition sprouted across the nation. There were at least four towns named Saladillo, five places called López, and four Bellavista sites, even in the same province. By 1895, the Argentine Post & Telegraph Office had had enough.

How could the clerks in any post office know which settlement of General Conesa a sender might be referring to? There was one in the province of Buenos Aires, one in “Patagonia” and a third one in “Southern Territories.” Since the zip code would not be invented for at least another fifty years,¹ the confusion was inevitable, in as much many state employees, who were the prime users of the service, often neglected to specify to which province the letter or telegram should go. The Director of the Post and Telegraph Office brought this to the attention of his superior, the Minister of Interior Benjamín Zorrilla, by listing all the names of places (city, towns, colonies, and train stations) that had the same name and in which province they were located. Fuerte General Roca and the mentioned Colony of Conesa, both in the National Territory of Rio Negro, appeared

¹ Douglas Martin, “Robert Moon, an Inventor of the ZIP Code, Dies at 83,” *The New York Times*, April 14, 2001.

in equivocal spaces: “Southern Territories” the former and “Patagonia” the later. Further, General Conesa was the name of a colony and of railroad station in that outpost. According to the Post and Telegraph Office, however, settlement and station were on the same different jurisdictions: Patagonia and Southern Territories. It was unclear, however, which was where. In any case, both terms could mean the same and different places simultaneously.² Patagonia or the South represented in the imaginary of national authorities a space that existed in an area they could all agree on but could not precisely delineate.³

This chapter examines the multilayered history of how state authorities tried to make sense of Patagonia and how their renderings sometimes failed to match the realities on the ground resulting in ambiguous renderings of the region. The scholarship of Patagonia tends to present the national state as a monolithic entity trying to dilute its internal frontier by coordinating its actions in a territory that was relatively new to both countries.⁴ This chapter argues that the several state agencies that deployed in Northern Patagonia developed their own, often limited understandings of the space they governed. I examine how state authorities tried to reconcile the versions of Northern Patagonia that appeared in new legislation with the reality of everyday life in the region. In doing so, they participated in a spatial practice to “fix” ideas of the nation on the Patagonian landscape.⁵

After a brief recap on why the Patagonian space posed a problem for authorities, I examine how state agencies constructed their versions of Patagonia and what it meant for their respective

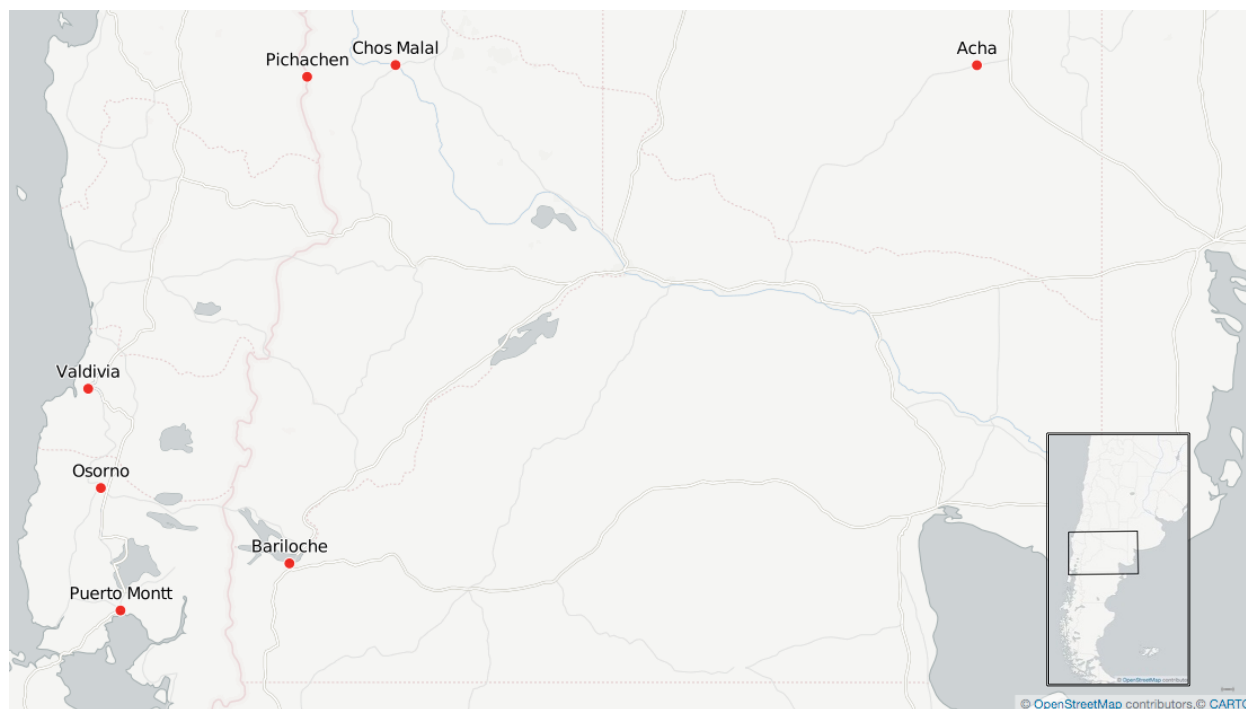
² República Argentina, *Expedientes Generales Del Ministerio Del Interior, Legajo 3, 1895*. File 3001B.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Villalobos R., *Incorporación de la Araucanía*; Biedma, *Crónica histórica del lago Nahuel Huapi*; Graciela Facchinetti, *Patagonia: historia, discurso e imaginario social* (Temuco (Chile): Universidad de la Frontera, 1997); Eduardo Tampe Maldonado, *Desde Melipulli Hasta Puerto Montt: Trayectoria de Ciento Treinta Años* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Editora Publigráfica, 1992).

⁵ Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*, 7–10.

Executives. I analyze how state agencies referred to this space in vague terms, how this worked (or not) for them, and what were the implications of such descriptions. Finally, I examine how knowledge of Patagonia influenced the way state officers governed.



Map 6: Towns in Northern Patagonia mentioned in Chapter 2

Patagonia: A Historical Problem for New Authorities

In this section, I recapitulate the border negotiations between Chile and Argentina focusing on how authorities reconciled their portrayals of Patagonia with the reality of international politics. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the governments of Argentina and Chile sought to reconcile the state to the nation and the territory. After their independence, Latin American nations stumbled with civil wars which postponed border agreements. As conflicts settled, new governments began to converse about demarcation of their boundaries. The national governments of Argentina and Chile conformed border commissions that would present each other with

arguments for drawing the border along a specific line. Chilean and Argentine diplomats negotiated the borderline as an imagined and real line. I have explained in chapter 1 how the reality of the Andean topography dislocated early claims to possess Patagonia. Simply put, at the time of their independences in the 1810s, both countries argued Patagonia belonged to each of them, based on a series of foundational theses circulating among political and scientific elites.⁶ These documents provided each government with material grounds on which to support their claims over all Patagonia.

The reality of Patagonia surfaced during the negotiations as a challenge to imagined versions of the borderline. In 1810, neither Chile nor Argentina had had effective control of the lands they claimed during the negotiations of the 1850s and 1860s. Expeditions from Buenos Aires or Santiago had been unsuccessful for the purposes of colonization. Intense diplomatic activity unfolded during the 1870s: not only proposals and counterproposals were sent back and forth between the two capitals, but they were also accompanied by unsuccessful ratifications by congress and even a Chilean capture of an Argentine ship on the shores of Río Negro. Since they could still not agree on a borderline, the governments of both countries signed a convention in 1878 where east Patagonia and the Atlantic coast belonged to Argentina, and the Strait of Magellan and west Patagonia, to Chile.⁷ The foundational theses and the imagined versions of the boundaries finally sank with the Treaty of 1881. Equivocal interpretations of space resulted in ambiguous policies. Border negotiations were no exception.

The Treaty of 1881 was a stepping stone towards a border agreement between Argentina and Chile. Santiago had to relinquish any claims over eastern Patagonia in exchange for Buenos

⁶ Lacoste, *La imagen del otro en las relaciones de la Argentina y Chile (1534-2000)*, chap. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 290–92.

Aires' neutrality in the Pacific War.⁸ The formula read that the boundary would be along the highest peaks along the watershed (*altas cumbres divisorias de aguas*). Essentially, the eastern slopes belonged to Argentina and the western slopes, to Chile. Seven years later, the two governments agreed they would form an international border commission with diplomats and experts.⁹ Argentine specialists, in the order of appearance, were Octavio Pico, Valentín Virasoro, Norberto Quirno Costa, and Francisco Moreno. Their Chilean counterparts were Diego Barros Arana, Arístides Martínez, and Alejandro Bertrand.¹⁰ As I have explained in Chapter 1, each expert coordinated several subcommissions that surveyed the Andes to find the watershed. These exploratory groups encountered a problem around the thirty-ninth parallel south, where the Andes are lower and the highest peaks do not coincide with the watershed divide. This meant that some waterways started flowing east but then turned west to the Pacific Ocean. Strictly following the watershed would have given Chile possession of eastern valleys. Conversely, the highest mountains sink into the Pacific Ocean in some areas, which would have given Argentina claims over that coastline. While Buenos Aires stressed the importance of the highest peaks, Santiago pushed for the watershed.

The Protocol of 1893 attempted to solve the dilemma by clarifying that the borderline would follow the highest chain of the Andes that parted watershed. This prevented Argentina from gaining access to the Pacific Ocean in southern Patagonia, and it helped to demarcate the border in Tierra del Fuego. It was a clear victory for Chilean diplomacy. After finishing their visits to the Andes, experts Diego Barros Arana and Francisco Moreno met to match their notes about the

⁸ Pablo Lacoste, "La Guerra de Los Mapas Entres Argentina Y Chile: Una Mirada Desde Chile," *Historia (Santiago)* 35 (2002): 211–49.

⁹ Guillermo Lagos Carmona, *Historia de las fronteras de Chile. Los tratados de límites con Argentina*. (Santiago de Chile: Andrés Bello, 1966), 87.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 88.

terrain to the documents and maps their countries had collected over the years.¹¹ Water played a central role in policy-making like border negotiations. The Protocol read: “The proposed borderline passes through the highest peaks of the Andes that divide waters and constantly separates streams of rivers for one or the other country.”¹² Despite the peaceful meeting between Barros Arana and Moreno, Chile and Argentina prepared for a naval war.

The border negotiations, coupled with another incident, brought Chile and Argentina to the brink of war. Particularly, the *Baltimore* incident elucidates the bellicose atmosphere of the 1890s in the southern cone. In 1891, a civil war broke out in Chile led by the powerful Navy that ousted President José Manuel Balmaceda. Washington had supported Peru during the War of the Pacific (1879-1884) and stood by the official government during the 1891 uprisings. While at port in October that year, USS *Baltimore* Captain Winfield Schley conceded shore leave to 120 of his sailors. Some went to True Blue Saloon, where they engage in fight with Chilean nationalists. Two US Americans were killed and 17 were injured. President Harrison demanded reparations and a public apology, which the Chileans refused to provide.¹³ In early 1892, the pieces were set for war. Chile had warned Europe, the Congress had authorized President Harrison to declare war on Santiago, and Estanislao Zeballos, the confrontational Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, offered Washington their help with supplies and support.¹⁴ In his report to Secretary Blaine in late January 1893, US American ambassador in Buenos Aires reported that “[Zeballos] took out a map and pointed the province of Salta, rich in cattle and forage from where, in case of war..., they could

¹¹ Ibid., 95–96.

¹² Ibid., 96–97.

¹³ Herbert Merrill Wilder, “A Very Mischievous Boy,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1891, sec. Harper’s Weekly, <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/harp/1114.html#explanation>.

¹⁴ Lacoste, *La imagen del otro en las relaciones de la Argentina y Chile (1534-2000)*, 298–99; Merrill Wilder, “A Very Mischievous Boy.”

send standing cattle in six days without difficulties.”¹⁵ In February, the Chileans arrested for starting the quarrel at the True Blue Saloon were sentenced to prison and in July, the Santiago administration offered to compensate the US with \$75,000 alleviating the strained relationship and preventing war.

Between 1881 and 1902, the Argentine Navy purchased more than 50 vessels. Despite the civil war, the Chilean Navy also grew. Historian of diplomacy Mario Barros van Buren asserted that by the turn of the century, both navies had risen to sixth and seventh place worldwide respectively.¹⁶ Tension increased in the 1890s. Chile defeated Bolivia and Peru too quickly in the Pacific War. In 1889, Bolivia negotiated with Argentina an exchange of Tarija for the Puna de Atacama, a territory that had never belonged to Buenos Aires and that was occupied by Santiago. Border friction escalated, as Chile did not want to recognize that agreement and as a hardest line of Argentine diplomats, led by Estanislao Zeballos, boycotted any settlement with the trans-Andean neighbor. Chile had been victorious in the Pacific War and Argentina in the Chaco War. Both benefited from the exports of primary goods and, as long as the world needed to use the Strait for inter-hemispheric trade, both had geopolitical interests in Patagonia. The naval arms race did not take long to come in the context of tightening global tensions.¹⁷

Amidst this climate, and with Zeballos away from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the President of Chile, Federico Errázuriz, and his Argentine counterpart, Julio Roca, called for a peace summit. The Latin American heads of state agreed to halt their arms race and submit their boundary disputes for arbitration. The Embrace of the Strait (*Abrazo del Estrecho*) in 1899 appeared

¹⁵ José Miguel Barros, “Don Estanislao Zeballos Y El Incidente del ‘Baltimore,’” *Revista Mapocho* 1, no. 2 (July 1963): 220, citing Confidential Letter n° 178.

¹⁶ Mario Barros Van Buren, *Historia diplomática de Chile (1541-1938)* (Editorial A. Bello, 1990), 568.

¹⁷ Lacoste, *La imagen del otro en las relaciones de la Argentina y Chile (1534-2000)*, 312–24.

contradictory to the increasing friction between Argentina and Chile. On the southernmost tip of the continent, in a hostile climate, the leaders of Chile and Argentina met for the first time to seal the most salient ambiguity of all: a constant oscillation between suspicion over each other and the idea of a “natural” partnership. The mediation of Thomas Holdich in the name of the King of England resolved most disagreements between Chile and Argentina.

Somewhere “in the South”: Descriptions of Patagonia in Chile and Argentina

When the Argentine Navy communicated to the national government that one of its ships was about to sail off to higher latitudes, the reference was “to the ports in south.” These journeys carried official papers but could also include packages and some merchandise for private activities.¹⁸ Edelmiro Mayer and Pedro Godoy, Governors of the National Territories of Santa Cruz and Tierra del Fuego, capitalized on these voyages by requesting the shipment of flour, kerosene, timber, and furniture. The vessel *Primero de Mayo* carried out this trip about three times a year. The notice that the Navy would send to the Ministry of Interior was a pre-printed form which a clerk would fill only with the addressee, the name of the ship, and the date of departure. The rest, even the stops, were given. This does not mean that the vessel would port in all the twenty-four harbors. The precision of the list contrasted with the imprecision of the stops. Like the unspecific location of the two General Conesa post offices, the vagueness of the *Primero de Mayo*’s tour contrasted with the rigidity of a pre-printed form with all the ports the vessel would touch.

Ambiguity also surfaced in legislation about Northern Patagonia. After the Argentine military campaign to the Negro River, the Congress sanctioned the Military Prizes Act (1885).¹⁹

¹⁸ República Argentina, *Expedientes Generales Del Ministerio Del Interior, Legajo 1*, 1895, n.d.

¹⁹ Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, 225–26.

This law granted lands in “the South” to those who had participated in the raid. In this case, “the South” did not refer to Patagonia at large. Despite the vagueness of the reference, former combatants could only access lands in very precise locations. The national government had plotted concrete sections along the Colorado and Negro Rivers, and others areas in La Pampa. “The South” became a synonym of “wherever the state said.” Other pieces of legislation were slightly more confusing. Fishing permits in small lakes in Patagonia often located the same ponds in different National Territories. In 1924 and 1925 respectively, Honorio P. Cozzi and Matías Ballester requested authorization to fish in the artificial Lake Pellegrini. They were both granted permission, the former in Río Negro and the later in Neuquén. The lake is close to the border between the two Territories, so it is possible that Ballester made a mistake in his request and the clerks in the Ministry of Agriculture did not correct him.²⁰ If the lake existed roughly where everyone thought it existed, it did not make a difference exactly where it was.

In Chile, legislation was clearer though ambiguous references to “the South” persisted. The Chilean government had initiated the colonization of the lands south of Bío-Bío River decades before the Argentine raid to Río Negro. The repopulation of Osorno in 1792 -still during the colony- inaugurated a downpour of regulations that aimed at displacing indigenous Huilliche and strengthen the agricultural expansion to the south. Further, since this renewed effort originated in nearby Valdivia and the island of Chiloé.

²⁰ Miniserio de Agricultura (Argentina), “Expediente E-5235-925-G Solicitud de permiso para pescar en el Lago Pellegrini solicitada por Matías Ballester” (Archivo General de la Nación - Buenos Aires, Departamento de Archivo Intermedio, Fondo Tierras, Colonias e Inmigración, 1924-1947, Caja 16, April 13, 1925); Miniserio de Agricultura (Argentina), “Expediente 12841C Solicitud de permiso para pescar en el Lago Pellegrini solicitada por Honorio P. Cozzi” (Archivo General de la Nación - Buenos Aires, Departamento de Archivo Intermedio, Fondo Tierras, Colonias e Inmigración, 1924-1947, Caja 16, November 17, 1924).

In the context of Chilean history, it is important to separate the use of “Frontier” from “the South.” In Chile, the reference to the Frontier was very different from that in North America. In the history of the US, the frontier signified a space for the advancement of democracy. In Latin America, and particularly in Araucanía, the Frontier evoked a space that escaped state control because of indigenous presence. Particularly, people used “the Frontier” (*la frontera*) to refer to Araucanía, the area between Bío Bío River and thirty-ninth parallel.²¹ The Frontier evoked the Mapuche heartland, an area that the national government did not control. In the eyes of national authorities, this alone justified the expansion of the state apparatus on those territories.²² State officers, like the colonial Spaniards before them, saw that the presence of indigenous people undermined their own authority. For instance, Protector of Indians Teófilo Duran reminded the Inspector General of Lands and Colonies that his field of action was “all that we know as frontier, which comprises two vast provinces [Malleco and Cautin] with numerous indigenous people.”²³

The only way for overcoming the Frontier was by introducing values of Chileanness.²⁴ At first, this meant enforcing the legislation that governed the country while creating specific laws for the reality of Araucanía. Scholars have shown that land policy was instrumental for removing Mapuche families from their lands. By creating a legislation that regulated land tenure and taxation, the Chilean government forced the Mapuche to apply for titles to their own lands.²⁵ In

²¹ Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores República de Chile, *Memoria del Ministro de Colonización i Culto presentada al Congreso Nacional*, vol. 3 (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, 1901); Thomas Miller Klubock, *La Frontera: Forests and Ecological Conflict in Chile's Frontier Territory*, Radical Perspectives: A Radical History Review Book Series (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 3.

²² Urbina Carrasco, *La frontera de arriba en Chile colonial*, 31–36.

²³ “*El protector de indijenas tiene por campo de acción todo lo que se llama territorio fronterizo que comprende... dos estensas provincias donde hai innumerables indijenas.*” Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Chile, *Memoria de Inspección Jeneral de Tierras i Colonización* (Imprenta Moderna, Santiago de Chile, 1902).

²⁴ Patience Schell, “Idols, Altars, Slippers, and Stockings: Heritage Debates and Displays in Nineteenth-Century Chile,” *Past and Present* 10 (2015): 326–48.

²⁵ For a historical analysis on how authorities demonized the Mapuche, see Jorge Pinto Rodríguez, “Bárbaros, demonios y bárbaros de nuevo. Estereotipos del Mapuche en Chile, 1550-1900,” in *Cruzando la cordillera: La*

Llanquihue and Valdivia, the situation was very different. Foreign settlers (*colonos extranjeros*) that arrived since 1853 had displaced Mapuche families to other areas or across the Andes. Unlike Araucanía, the national government favored the settlement of foreign families or first-generation Chileans. For instance, 336 families received land leases between 1895 and 1901 in Llanquihue, all of them were of foreign origin.²⁶ The question of who to give land grants where elucidates the Chilean government's differentiation between the Frontier and the South.

Chile is 2,000 miles long. In consequence, people talk, mostly, in terms of north and south. What was “the south” for authorities at the turn of the twentieth century? Historically, it had meant south of Concepción, the port on the mouth of Bío Bío River. Valdivia, Osorno, and the Island of Chiloé represented the only Spanish strongholds in “the south” at the time of Chilean independence. At the turn of the twentieth century, when many other towns and settlements sprinkled the area, “the south” referred the Provinces of Valdivia and Llanquihue, roughly between the thirty-ninth and thirty-seventh parallels.²⁷ While in Argentina “south” and “frontier” could be interchangeable during these decades, in Chile the “south” meant “beyond-the-frontier.”

frontera argentino-chilena como espacio social, ed. Susana Bandieri (Neuquén: Centro de Estudios de Historia Regional, Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad Nacional del Comahue, 2001), 119–40. For a more detailed narrative on the instrumentalization of land policy to remove Mapuche people, see Fabián Almonacid Zapata, “El problema de la propiedad de la tierra en el sur de Chile (1850-1930),” *Historia (Santiago)* 42, no. 1 (2009): 5–56. For a critical approach to state's narratives of barbarism, the Mapuche being only a “handful,” and the Mapuche being a bellicose society, see Joanna Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile: A Cultural History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013), chap. 1; María Consuelo Figueroa Garavagno, “Trazando paisajes, imaginando la nación: La Guerra del Pacífico y la Pacificación de la Araucanía en perspectiva comparada,” *Apuntes de Investigación del CECYP* 19 (2011): 133–52; Villalobos R., “Nuevas Fantasías y Errores En La Historia de La Araucanía.” For more on the historical making of “araucanos/Mapuche,” see Guillaume Boccara, “Etnogenesis mapuche: resistencia y restructuración entre los indígenas del centro-sur de Chile (siglos XVI-XVIII),” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 3 (1999): 425–61.

²⁶ The majority of these families were from Germany (27%) and England (*ingleses*) (25%), see Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Chile, *Memoria de Inspección Jeneral de Tierras i Colonización*, 142.

²⁷ Gobierno de Chile, *Nuevo mapa de Chile, corregido y aumentado conforme a las grandes cartas topográficas de las provincias mandas a levantar por el Gobierno; y con otros nuevos datos sobre ferrocarriles, telégrafos, y líneas de vapores* (Recadero Tornero, 1893), Museo Histórico de Osorno; Juan Tornero et al., *Chile. Descripción Física, Política, Social Industrial y Comercial de La República de Chile* (Santiago: Librería Carlos Tornero y Cía, 1903); Librería Tornero, *Mapa de Chile* (Sociedad Imprenta y Litografía Universo, 1908).

Despite a fifth of a million people lived in “the south,” John Öhlander, a Swedish man living in Chile for less than a year, requested in April 1899 an endorsement from the Ministry of Foreign Relations to recruit immigrants in Europe.²⁸ By “endorsement,” Öhlander meant the support from the Chilean government in terms of information, affiliation, and -not least important- remuneration. Öhlander’s petition demonstrate an ambiguous knowledge about the Rivers and Lakes Districts. Ambiguous because he used and asked the same information: “I think Chile should favor this [Swedish] immigration for populating its vast and uninhabited southern territories and exploit its wealth.”²⁹ He also asked about the lands the government would give to settlers (*colonos*): what they looked like and what potential they had. Finally, he exposed his intention of traveling to the south to “examine the country in person... especially about grains and fruits that might be grown.”³⁰

Öhlander’s request was rejected not because he lacked knowledge about the south, but because it belonged to the Colonization Agency in Paris to promote migration to Chile. Given the number of people that lived in the Chilean south, not as uninhabited as Öhlander thought, it is not surprising that some settled in public lots. A picture of Osorno in 1905 shows a conglomerate of wooden houses in small lots aligned along a street. Two larger building, factories or workshops, occupy the center of the display, next to the river. Public lots (*terrenos* or *tierras fiscales*) were lands that the state had separated for leasing to settlers. Spontaneous inhabitation was illegal,

²⁸ 60,687 people in the Province of Valdivia, 78,315 in the Province of Llanquihue, and 77,750 in the Province of Chiloé. República de Chile Oficina Central de Estadística, *Sétimo Censo Jeneral de La Poblacion de Chile Levantado El 28 de Noviembre de 1895*, vol. 4 (Valparaíso, 1900), 166, 243, and 334.

²⁹ “*Creo que a Chile convendria favorecer esta inmigracion para poblar sus extensos y despoblados territorios del sur y explotar sus riquezas*” Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Colonización, *Inspección Jeneral de Tierras I Colonizacion, 1896-1902*, n.d.

³⁰ “*Desearia, ademas, hacer un viaje al Sur de Chile, a fin de estudiar personalmente el pais y [especialmente], sobre todo en lo tocante a los cereales y frutas que puedan cultivarse*”, Ibid., n.d.

although it created a tension between the Chilean government's goal in the south, to colonize, and the legal means to do it. As scanty patrols surveyed public properties, illegal occupation did not take much to worry authorities. For this purpose, the Public Ministry had appointed one fiscal agent (*promotor fiscal*) per justice district for safeguarding the interests of the state and those who could not represent themselves. These agents functioned as justices of first instance: they could receive complaints, communicate them to the judge, and act once the judge had provided a sentence.³¹ In the ambiguous south, those interests consisted in preventing people from settling in public lots illegally.

Fiscal Agents could find out about illegal inhabitation of public lots either by patrolling the territory or receiving this information and then confirming by surveying the area. Such enterprise encompassed a handful of men traveling around Chiloé, Llanquihue, Carelmapu, Osorno, and Valdivia (figure 1, above) to check which residents were legal and which were not. When fiscal agents reported illicit settlement, they had to report it to the judge and provide a witness to this crime. Land Inspector Santiago Baeza Espiñeira explained to the Minister of Foreign Relations and Colonization these possible observers are often “poor peoples” (*gentes pobres*) who could not afford the journey to testify before a judge. As land extension and scarce resources undermined the authority of the Fiscal Agents, intruders appropriated public lots and sold them to gullible laborers.³²

Enrico Piccione was a prominent member of the Italian community in Santiago. He had been born to a middle-class family in Taranto, southern Italy, and though he studied law, he soon

³¹ Enrique Letelier Loyola, “Statute on Freedom in the Chilean Criminal Process Thirteen Years after Applicability of the Accusatory System,” *Revista Opinión Jurídica* 12, no. 24 (December 2013): 151–68.

³² Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Colonización, *Inspección Jeneral de Tierras I Colonizacion, 1896-1902*, File 354.

became known as a thinker of the Italian *Risorgimento*. In 1896 he set out for Argentina in a tour giving lectures, meeting with scientists, and getting work published. He moved to Chile the following year and would not return to his fatherland for another thirty years. In Santiago, he cultivated a web of connections which enabled him to become the Italian contractor for bringing immigrants to Llanquihue and Chiloé. Unlike Öhlander, he succeeded in his quest to be an intermediary between state and migrants. In 1904, he communicated with the Inspector General about the lots he had chosen for the settlers. A total of 54,400 hectares in central Chiloé were granted to Piccione to lease, in turn, to the immigrants. Amidst the precision of its demarcation, the land had “vast woodlands, mountains, and unexplored sections.”³³ Leases like this, where a man (or a company) was single-handed granted several lots to locate settlers, were known as “concessions” (*concesiones*). Sometimes concessions included vacant lots, like Piccione’s; but they could include leased lands. Jorge Ricci, as manager of the Nueva Italia Company, received three land concessions in Araucanía. National settlers and indigenous communities remained in the one he received in 1905: “I must note –wrote the engineer that elaborated the declaration– that within these boundaries there are three national settlers, an indigenous reduction, and another one to come.”³⁴ Though these agreements may look tidy on paper, on the ground the situation was more chaotic.

In 1902, unclear land tenancy led to conflict between the state and the occupants. On the outskirts of Osorno, several families lived in some lots. According to the Fiscal Agent, they were guarding those lands for the state (“*Cuidan a su hombre*”). The residents, however, claimed to be tenants of Juan Plaza de los Reyes and of Eugenio Banuel. The problem emerged when the Fiscal

³³ Oficina de Mensura de Tierras (Chile), *Memoria del Director de la Oficina de Mensura de Tierras*, 1908, 125.

³⁴ “*Debo hacer presente que dentro de estos límites hai tres colonos nacionales radicados, una radicacion de indígenas i otra por radicar*”, *Ibid.*, 77.

Auctioneer (*rematante fiscal*) initiated the paperwork for selling the lots in question. Even if he were right and the renters were not leasing those lands, ousting the people that were already there was contrary to the public interests. First, he argued, because their transition from before new tenants was unclear. Second, because of the claim of renting the lots to Plaza de los Reyes and Banuel, both in litigation with the state over the largest estates in Osorno. The conflict of interest was too intricate and the clarity of the new regulations very feeble which meant a higher cost for the treasury. On the Argentine side, Minister of Interior Eduardo Wilde said that “on the right bank of the Negro and Limay Rivers and between section IX and Lake Nahuel Huapi, many areas were granted in property and for colonizing whose recipients have not started to survey.”³⁵ Hence, migrants could not know the precise location of their lands and it was their contractual obligation to measure them. Even in 1902, when some colonies had developed for some years, some people were missing their leases. Eliseo Schieron, surveyor of Rio Negro requested occupants of lots in Choele Choel, a small, fertile island in the Negro River, be granted the plots where they had been growing crops and building homes.³⁶

The most effective way to address land conflicts was with precise registration of tenants and occupants. In 1899, Agustín Baeza, Inspector General of Lands and Colonization, reported that the worst abuses occurred in Valdivia, where fraudsters tricked indigenous people to sell them their lots. Even though these transactions were not legitimate, buyers could enjoy the profits from those territories for as long as trials lasted, which could be years.³⁷ Fiscal Agents in Llanquihue

³⁵ “[considerando] que sobre la margen derecha de los ríos Negro y Limay, y comprendidas entre el limite occidental de la sección IX... y el Lago Nahuel-Huapi se han otorgado diversas áreas para colonizar y en propiedad cuyos concesionarios no han dado aun principio a la mensura”, Norberto Quirno Costa, *Memoria del Ministro del Interior Al Congreso Nacional, 1889* (Buenos Aires, 1890), 284.

³⁶ Oficina de Tierras y Colonias (Argentina), *Actos Dispositivos (Box 3)*, 1888-1899, File 283D.

³⁷ Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Colonización, *Inspección Jeneral de Tierras I Colonizacion, 1896-1902*. File 354.

and Chiloé had resorted to registration of occupants as a means to assess the situation. In 1908, Senior Surveyor Luis Riso exposed the lack of information on public lots resulting in major tenure confusion, lengthy litigations, and expensive explorations.³⁸

On the Argentine side of the Andes, colonization took a slower pace and so did land distribution. Bumpy relations between the city of Buenos Aires and the rest of the provinces postponed any possibility of territorial organization until after 1862. The Argentine Congress sanctioned the National Territories Act in 1884, which became the overarching legislation for the organization and government of Patagonia and other territories in the northeast and northwest. Meanwhile, the sixth census revealed that 62,809 people were living in the Province of Llanquihue, almost 30% more than 1875.³⁹ Colonization, the settlement of state-endorsed population in “empty” areas that would reproduce state-endorse political, economic, and social practices, started later in Southern Argentina than it did in Chile or other parts of Latin America. Governors of the National Territories reported annually to the Congress the achievements of their mandates and the needs of their jurisdictions.

Another way of overcoming spatial ambiguity was to produce and reproduce knowledge about Patagonia, sometimes including earlier explorations. Explorers and businessmen ranged across the valleys to connect east and west while members of the border commission inspected the mountains to agree on boundary. In 1899, before any border agreement or any official foundation of agricultural colonies in Nahuel Huapi, German physician Francisco Fonck translated the explorations of Fray Francisco Menéndez into a map. This Franciscan priest had arrived in the

³⁸ Oficina de Mensura de Tierras (Chile), *Primera Memoria del Director de la Oficina de Mensura de Tierras*, 42 and 50.

³⁹ Oficina Central de Estadística, *Sesto Censo Jeneral de la Poblacion de Chile levantado el 26 de noviembre de 1885*, 1:47.

Island of Chiloé some time in the 1770s, after the expulsion of the Jesuits. Between 1779 and 1793, he led six explorations across the Andes searching for the mythical City of the Caesars.⁴⁰ The imaginary lure of a city made of gold had been omnipresent in the previous two hundred years.⁴¹ The idea of a mysterious site, full of wealth, imprecisely somewhere on a map, possibly Patagonia, permeated into the national period of Argentina and Chile.⁴² Fonck, however, did not believe in folktales. He was a man of science who, like many in his generation, worked for constructing knowledge about nature to control it. When he drew Menéndez's map, he was not trying to pinpoint the mythical city but rather rescue what he considered to be truthful reports of explorations across the Andes. Once again a cartographic document symbolized authority over a space.

Fonck had migrated to Chile in 1854, after reading Alexander von Humboldt's descriptions of the country. He arrived with his wife and a letter of recommendation from Humboldt himself. He devoted to science at the University of Chile before moving to the south. Vicente Pérez Rosales, Colonization Agent for Valdivia and Llanquihue, appointed him doctor of the new town of Puerto Montt, on the Reloncaví Sound.⁴³ It was there that he encountered the work of explorers of the Patagonian Andes, like Franciscan friar Menéndez. This priest had arrived in Chiloé after the expulsion of the Jesuits, in the 1770s. By the time he rendered Menéndez map, Fonck had followed his trace from the Reloncaví Sound to Lake Nahuel Huapi in 1856 and had published Menéndez's notes in an edited volume.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ "Fray Francisco Menéndez - Memoria Chilena, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile."

⁴¹ Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent* (NYU Press, 1997), 19.

⁴² Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, *Derroteros Y Viajes a La Ciudad Encantada, O de Los Césares, Que Se Creía Existiese En La Cordillera, Al Sud de Valdivia*, 1836.

⁴³ "Francisco Fonck - Reseñas Biográficas Parlamentarias," accessed February 1, 2017.

⁴⁴ Carlos Ariel Solari, *Las Modestas de Nahuelhuapi* (S. C. de Bariloche: Caleuche, 2011), 29.

Fonck's work spread rapidly in the scientific circles of Chile and abroad as an expert in the friar's explorations, regional anthropology, and the area itself. As the Chilean state spread into Araucanía and Llanquihue, foreign scientists like Fonck sought to safeguard historical artifacts.⁴⁵ His collection of bones, rocks, and axes were renowned among generations of scientists who withdrew archaeological finds from their environment into display shelves.⁴⁶ Naturalist Carlos Porter, founder of the *Revista Chilena de Historia Natural* and director of the Museum of Natural History of Valparaíso,⁴⁷ divulged Chilean research in the academies of the Central Valley and abroad.⁴⁸ Menéndez work, then, also became widely known among a nascent community of scholars.

The map of 1899, however, was not a blind drawing of Menéndez's travels as there were annotations of later explorers. For example, one of the seven branches of the lake was named after Guillermo Cox, who tried to sail from Llanquihue to the Atlantic Ocean but wrecked in the Limay rapids. Other explorers' milestones appear on the map: "Moreno 1880" and "Rohde 1883" along a dotted line illustrate Francisco Moreno's survey of the southern shore of the lake and lieutenant Jorge Rohde's inspection of roughly the same area in search for a pass to Chile.⁴⁹

Ambiguous renderings of space surface even in artifacts that evoke fixed realities such as Fonck's map of 1899. Unexplored branches of Lake Nahuel Huapi are contoured with dotted lines denoting a possible size, but admitting there was not enough information for drawing the complete

⁴⁵ Stefanie Gänger, *Relics of the Past: The Collecting and Study of Pre-Columbian Antiquities in Peru and Chile, 1837-1911* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), 184.

⁴⁶ Carlos porter, *Les etudes anthropologies au Chili*, p. 207

⁴⁷ Sociedad de Biología de Chile, "Revista Chilena de Historia Natural," March 29, 2013, <http://rehn.lepidoptera.cl/>; "Historia," Museo de Historia Natural de Valparaíso, n.d., <http://www.mhnv.cl/636/w3-propertyvalue-42328.html>.

⁴⁸ Carlos E. Porter, "Les études anthropologiques au Chili," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 7, no. 1 (1910): 203–19, <https://doi.org/10.3406/jsa.1910.3580>.

⁴⁹ Biedma, *Crónica histórica del lago Nahuel Huapi*, 103–4.

line. Two bright colored lines stand out: a red one and a green double one. The legend explains the former is Menéndez' itinerary whereas the latter is the definite borderline at a time when it did not exist. Further, many landmarks and names have a question mark next to them or they have another name in brackets. The wide valley to the feet of Tronador Volcano, for example, appears as "Pampa Dilatada?." A mountain to the north of this plain has two names: "Cerro Cathedral (Cerro López)." Today, those names are of two different mountains in the same cluster that Fonck labeled but not the same location.⁵⁰

Fonck also produced another map, which he included in the edition of Menéndez's travel journal.⁵¹ This version is of an area farther south from Nahuel Huapi, to the east of Chiloé. Like his other rendering, it includes annotations of explorers that succeeded Menéndez, like "Musters 1870" in northwestern Chubut. The largest legend across the entirety of the map reads "Cordillera de los Andes." In slightly smaller font, Fonck differentiated the central range (*Cordón Central Divisorio*) from a lateral one (*Alto Cordón Lateral*). At a time of intense border negotiations, in the mid-1890s, the survey inadvertently stirred some arguments for drawing the line in a place or the other. The chain that Fonck identified did not become the borderline. Many of the lakes, lagoons, and streams to the west of these peaks ended up on the Argentine side.

Finally, Nahuel Huapi epitomizes the contradictory descriptions as a vibrant community and an empty space. In March 1899, Federico Hube and his associate, German Achelis decided to write to the Argentine Minister of Interior. As co-owners of the *Empresa Andina del Sud* (Southern Andean Company), they observed delays, infrequency, and poor service of the boats that served Lake Nahuel Huapi which translated in more expensive costs for the goods they brought from

⁵⁰ Francisco Fonck, *Plano ilustrativo de la rejion del Nahuelhuapi i del derrotero de Fray Francisco Menéndez* (Concepción, Chile, 1899).

⁵¹ Francisco Fonck, *Libro de Los Diarios de Fray Francisco Menéndez* (Valparaíso, 1896).

Chile. It was time to take the matter into their hands so they proposed to the Argentine state a postal service within the lake. By early 1899, neither the international boundary nor the town of Bariloche (figure 1, above) existed officially and yet Hube and Achelis needed the Argentine permission and financial support to provide a postal service to settlements around the lake, present or yet to come.⁵²

Hube and Achelis observed the need to have a reliable postal service to the main estates around Lake Nahuel Huapi. Heavy winds sometimes favored and sometimes hindered sail boats crossing the lake. A motor boat, they argued, would provide a better service for different posts, and especially to the main port, Puerto Moreno. The high-pressure areas in the Southern Pacific Ocean cause steady winds over Patagonia in general. Lake Nahuel Huapi, unlike any other nearby lake, has a pronounced West-East direction (as opposed to North-South like Lakes Gutiérrez, Mascardi, and Correntoso). This directionality allows wind from the West to blow constantly into the Patagonian steppe. Diligent atmospheric phenomena, argued Hube, caused unreliable services around the lake. The solution was a motor boat, symbol of modern technology in the sailing industry. The businessmen had “all the pieces ready in Valdivia”; their request to the Minister of Interior was to fund the transportation to Puerto Blest, in Nahuel Huapi, and the putting together of the vessel. In return, Hube and Achelis proposed to do two trips a month from Puerto Blest to Puerto Moreno that would stop on “every settlement there is now or in the future” and two weekly non-stop trips between those two ports. In addition, they offered to admit on every trip two tax collectors and would allow the Argentine state to use the vessel for any purpose twelve times a year “for facilitating the government to colonize the shore.”⁵³

⁵² República Argentina, *Expedientes Generales Del Ministerio Del Interior*, Legajo 9, 1899, File 3127R.

⁵³ Ibid. File 1579O

Like the propeller on the stern of a boat, their plan would accelerate progress in Nahuel Huapi. The Chief of Ports and Navigation, the Chief of Hydraulic Works, the Minister of Public Works, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs all endorsed Hube's role in the growth of the National Territories and supported his proposal. All but one saw in his project an undeniable attempt to boost progress around the lake. The Postal and Telegraph Bureau categorically opposed the project. First, the service would be limited to the lake. Second, the service would depart from and come back to a foreign port, Puerto Montt. Third, there was no demand for such service. Finally, it would only mean a waste of public funds. Although Hube responded with incredible detail to the questions posed by the Postal and Telegraph Bureau, his petitioned was denied. This did not prevent Hube and Achelis to eventually amass a fortune in the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi corridor. State agencies had various understandings of what progress meant for this region, how it looked like, and who could bring it.

Showing the potential wealth of their territories was the principal objective of descriptions of space in the governors' reports. In the 1880s, authorities focused on singling out modest works that symbolized a fraction of civilization growing in Patagonia: "A small pier has been built and several regulations have been passed which will make Viedma an attractive destination for those migrating seeking jobs."⁵⁴ In 1887, the then Minister of Interior Eduardo Wilde wiped out entire indigenous populations from the vastness of Patagonia in one scribble: "Instead of barbaric tribes, a laborious population occupies today the national territories, and it grows steadily."⁵⁵ The exaggerated claim of displacement of indigenous people could accompany with the magnified

⁵⁴ Bernardo Irigoyen, *Memoria Del Ministro Del Interior Al Congreso Nacional, 1883* (Buenos Aires, 1884), LXXX.

⁵⁵ "En vez de las tribus bárbaras, ocupa hoy los territorios nacionales una población laboriosa que crece rápidamente", Eduardo Wilde, *Memoria del Ministro del Interior Al Congreso Nacional, 1887* (Buenos Aires, 1887), 108.

progress of the colonies. Wilde also explained how the state transformed barren lands into productive lots: “Tierra del Fuego looked like an infertile and desolate region where the civilized man could not live, and we have confirmed there are fertile fields fit for cattle-breeding and agriculture, and valleys where grows tropical vegetation.”⁵⁶ Years later, the gratuity of forage, animal transport, and some tools would be extended for another season for those settlers “in the colonies south of Bahia Blanca.”⁵⁷ The state providing some elements for moving to those colonies (whichever they were) had not yielded the expected results and so the state was forced to continue to lure occupants with some support.

How to rule an ambiguous territory

Lieutenant Colonel Franklin Rawson, Governor of the National Territory of Neuquén (Argentina), exhibited two seemingly contradictory border policies in the scope of ten months. In early 1895, he petitioned the Minister of Interior for a new road between the capital of his jurisdiction -Chos Malal- and Acha, the capital of neighboring La Pampa Territory (figure 1, above). Poor communications had been the governors’ primary concern since the creation of the National Territories in 1884.⁵⁸ Yet, at the heart of this letter was another, more pressing petition: Rawson insisted on an extension of the Chos Malal-Acha road to the west up to the “dividing line of the Andes”, though that line did not officially exist. As most the *neuquina* population was

⁵⁶ “*La Tierra del Fuego parecia una region esteril y desolada, donde no podia aclimatar el hombre civilizado, y se ha comprobado que hay alli campos fertiles, adecuados para la ganaderia y la agricultura, y valles en los que crece una vegetacion tropical*”, *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ “*En las colonias nacionales al Sud de Bahia Blanca*”, Oficina de Tierras y Colonias (Argentina), *Actos Dispositivos (Box 3)*, 1888, File 340E.

⁵⁸ Irigoyen, *Memoria del Ministro del Interior, 1883*, LXXX–LXXXIII; Quirno Costa, *Memoria del Ministro del Interior, 1889*.

Chilean, a clean, open road to the neighboring country represented a popular need.⁵⁹ He also argued that “we consume from their [Chilean] markets.”⁶⁰ Per the census of that same year, more than half of the population of Neuquén was foreign, nearly all Chilean. In Chos Malal only, non-Argentines doubled the locals.⁶¹

Less than a year later, and before any definite agreement about the border with Chile, Governor Rawson acclaimed the inauguration of a customs office (*instalación de derechos aduaneros*). Neuquén’s economic wealth revolved around the trans-Andean passes as the Chilean rising population demanded more livestock and sheep. The reason for interceding some products with tariffs was a matter of national morality, argued Rawson. The influx of Chilean inhabitants to his jurisdiction involved the import of alcoholic beverages in alarming quantities. Like a disease, drunkenness made “every household, every shack (*ranchito*)... a clandestine business where immoral orgies, crimes in an array of disgusting images, and even murder [were ubiquitous].”⁶² The ambiguity towards the border led to an ambiguity towards the people and their customs. Tariff barriers worked like a vaccine, repelling the entrance of drinks and practices but still allowing the flow of migrants, which the governor specifically said he welcomed.⁶³

⁵⁹ “*la población de este territorio [de Neuquen] en su grande mayoría es oriunda de Chile*”, República Argentina, *Expedientes Generales del Ministerio del Interior, 1895*, 1895. File 751N

⁶⁰ “consumimos de sus mercados”, *Ibid.*

⁶¹ The territory of Neuquen had a total of 14,512 inhabitants. 62% of these were born outside Argentina. 98% of these foreigners were Chileans. The foreign population totaled 9,012 with 8,861 Chileans, 41 Spaniards, 30 French, 29 Italians, 18 Uruguayans, 13 Germans, 5 English, 4 US Americans, 3 Swiss, 1 Brazilian, 1 Paraguayan, 1 Austrian, and 2 listed as ‘other.’ The total of foreigners in table III does not match the breakdown by nationality in tables VIIa and VIIb (Population by district by nationality). See República Argentina, *Censo Nacional, 1895*, 2: Población:644, 658, and 661.

⁶² “*Un lugar de expendio, un negocio clandestino donde no faltaban desde las orgías inmorales, los crímenes con todo su aparejo de escenas repugnantes y hasta los asesinatos... [incluso] la burla y el escarnio á la acción de la justicia... escasamente representada por un centenar de gendarmes... y cuya población chilena en su 9/100 partes es sabido mira la embriaguez como un hecho natural de su costumbre*”, Norberto Quirno Costa, *Memoria Del Ministro Del Interior Al Congreso Nacional, 1895*, vol. 2 (Buenos Aires, 1896), 459–60.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

Rawson also submitted to the Department of Public Works a plan for the road from Chos Malal to where he thought the border was. The governor included a hand-made map, probably put together by him -a military man- as the provincial government did not “have an engineer or an office that could survey maps or undertake technical studies.” The boundary, not yet official for another six years, appeared neatly delineated in an official report. For Rawson, the reality of the boundary with Chile matched the reality of the road to come. They were both a potential and, therefore, an inevitable path to progress: “Even patriotism demands [the construction of this road] with no delays and this government, when projecting it, is inspired by sentiments of general aspiration. Your Excellency should interpret the desires of a population... that wishes to join the concert of progress.”⁶⁴

The map in question, entitled “From Chos Malal to Pichachen” casts a web of water streams to the east and west of the border. There is no reference to countries or other jurisdictions. The plan accompanying the map reminds the Minister of Public Works to foresee possible rivers rising during the melting season. The meticulous rendering of waterways routes along the valleys contrasts the lack of reference for the eye who is not familiar with the area. The map, then, shows a precise place in an imprecise space. State ambivalence towards the border, the geography, and the people combined into an equivocal form of authority.

For state authorities like Governor Rawson, the border was very real before it became a map-worthy reality. At the turn of the twentieth century, border negotiations between Argentina and Chile escalated to tightened relations and a naval arms race. At the same time, the governors of the National Territories of Neuquén and Río Negro (Argentina) reported growing trans-Andean

⁶⁴ “Hasta el patriotism impone se realice [el camino] sindemora y que este gobierno al proponerla se inspria en sentimientos de aspiración general. VE interpretando los anhelos de una población... que desea unirse al concierto del progreso”, República Argentina, *Exp. Grales. Min. Interior*, 1895/3.

commerce translated in requests for better roads. In Chile, plans to repatriate nationals from Argentina reveal extended family networks across the Andes. At the same time, reports of Argentine soldiers marching along the western valleys alarmed some local authorities and they called for state action. In addition, the Chilean government encouraged the settlement of European immigrants and oversaw the seclusion of indigenous populations to controlled areas.

The same authorities on both sides of the Andes also accounted for suspicious activity across a border that did not exist and emphasized the need for policing the population and the border. It was the frontier element, they would argue, that enabled crime and prevented progress. Finally, references to the Northern Patagonian Andes as “the south” or “the frontier” indicated an undefined region which everyone knew where it was. The various ambiguities regarding space, people, authority, and borderlines interlocked to provide a framework for construction nationhood in northern Patagonia.

Ambiguity about the south was not limited to factual knowledge or references about it. It also took the form of no-man’s land, where the state attempted or claimed to enforce the law but something different was going on. This yielded legends about Patagonia as wild, untamed, and a constant mystery. It also derived into ideas about the south as a place of crime and vice in urgent need of policing. Probably the most resonant of those folk stories is the alleged escape of Butch Cassidy and Sundance Kid to Patagonia, full of drama and adventure.⁶⁵

In Chile, Roberto Christie requested lands in southern Llanquihue province, present day Aysén District, to develop timber and fisheries in 1900. In exchange, he would settle twenty Chilean families “acquainted with sea life,” build a road to the projected lighthouse on Cape Tres

⁶⁵ Cintia G. Navas, *Touring Club. Aromas del pasado con sabor a presente* (Editorial Dunken, 2013), 55; “Butch y Sundance. Buscados En La Patagonia,” accessed May 31, 2017, <http://buscadospatagonia.blogspot.com/>; Robert Markley, “Defoe and the Imagined Ecologies of Patagonia,” *Philological Quarterly* 93, no. 3 (2014): 309.

Montes, provide the state with cheap timber, be prepared to aid shipwrecks, and maintain harbors on the inner bays to avoid sailing into the Pacific Ocean to go to Chiloé, which was deemed dangerous.⁶⁶ In his youth, Christie reached the crater of Calbuco Volcano and explored the mountains up the Reloncaví Sound searching for a route to Lake Nahuel Huapi. Though his neighbors in Castro, a port town in the south of Chiloé, knew about his intrepid character, they protested in 1888 when he applied for the exclusive exploration rights of Chonos and Guaitecas Archipelagos.⁶⁷ Twelve years later, he was granted a smaller area in the Taitao Peninsula for settling Chilean families. The Christie concession, like many others south of the Bío-Bío River, seemed straight forward. Except they were not.

A year has not gone by since Christie got his lease before Inspector General of Lands and Colonization, Santiago Espiñeira Baeza, capitalized another land grant request to voice his objections to the former. In this opportunity, Eneas Espinoza, Daniel Azocar, and Jose Bruckmann, requested a lease on the eastern side of Taitao. They also proposed to develop timber and wool industries, and to settle Chilean families there. The men provided Christie's example as a legal precedent that would favor a grant in their names. Yet, Inspector Espiñeira categorically opposed their claim and he used Christie's example to support his argument. These petitions, he asserted, did not fulfill any requirement for being filed in the Colonization Department since they did not seek to colonize, found new towns, acquired lands in public auctions, or (re)settled indigenous populations. In his view, the transplant of Chilean families was a concrete supply of workforce in an area with few or none inhabitants.⁶⁸ The law was clear about this, but it left room for

⁶⁶ "Acostumbradas a la vida de mar", Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Colonización, *Inspección Jeneral de Tierras I Colonizacion, 1896-1902*, File 1153.

⁶⁷ Mateo Martinic Beros, *De la Trapananda al Áysen: una mirada reflexiva sobre el acontecer de la Región de Aysén desde la prehistoria hasta nuestros días* (Pehuén Editores Limitada, 2005), 119–20.

⁶⁸ Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Colonización, *Inspección Jeneral de Tierras I Colonizacion, 1896-1902*.

interpretation. Supposedly, if Christie or any other petitioner wanted to develop any type of industry in public lands, they needed to file the request in the Ministry of Finance. Yet, this agency had no data on the lands south of Bío-Bío River because it was handed over to the Department of Colonization. In other words, it was an impossible riddle: Espinoza and his partners could not request a land grant in Taitao to the Ministry of Finance because they would not have the information to know if those had been granted or not; and they could not file their petition in the Department of Colonization because they did not grant lands for the purposes they petitioned, only the Ministry of Finance did. Clear as it may have been, the law was difficult to navigate. The best solution that the Inspector proposed was to amend the petition with a special decree as an exception. If Christie's grant was the first to be granted public lands for industrial development, then Espinoza's and his partner's request was no longer an exception. This was what Inspector Espiñeira feared and categorically opposed the petition. There is no evidence in the Administrative Archives (which holds records for all realty transfers and permits) or in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (which included the Department of Colonization) that any land was granted in 1901 to the Espinoza, Azocar, and Bruckmann partnership.

Argentine land granting resembled Chile insofar the state owned all public lands and was responsible of surveying, mapping, and allotting them. Similarly, reality softened the sharp edges of the law. The military raid to the Negro River of 1879 had sought both to displace the ruling Mapuche of Northern Patagonia and to move the internal frontier farther south. This would both broaden the productive *pampas* or plains, and protect the already productive estates from indigenous raids. The secured terrain –present-day La Pampa Province, south of San Luis and Mendoza, and northern Neuquén and Río Negro– would act as a buffer zone between the fertile and dessert territories. The Military Prizes Act granted lands to those who had participated in the

military campaign of 1879 as a reward for their services.⁶⁹ Scholars have frequently assumed that the lands to lease to the *expedicionarios* (soldiers) were in this buffer zone. Yet, the original wording sought to expand the internal frontier farther south into Chubut. Both the Chilean and Argentine governments recognized settlement to expand their internal borders in Patagonia. The latter's initial plan to have soldiers settle in the farthest fringes categorically failed as a secondary decree of 1893 allowed grantees to petition a change of location from Chubut to La Pampa, Neuquén, and Río Negro.⁷⁰

Land concessions worked slightly different in Argentina since only the Office of Lands and Colonies could create colonies. In 1896, a decree from the Argentine Ministry of Interior founded the colony of Coronel Barcala, in section XXXIII, fraction B, lots 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 of Neuquén. The formulaic location adds to fifty thousand square leagues (roughly 150,000 square miles) divided into lots of 625 hectares each granting to settlers. No one could remotely pinpoint the position of the colony unless they had some reference to what meant "section XXXIII" and the rest of the reference. I have not found any cartographic material accompanying any of the decrees, but I also only found reproductions of these pieces of legislation in the Ministry of Interior's archives and yearly reports. In addition to granting lots, the Office of Lands and Colonies measured lands and made maps that served the Ministry's planning and articulated the national state's understanding of the space it governed.

⁶⁹ Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, 225–26.

⁷⁰ Oficina de Tierras y Colonias (Argentina), *Actos Dispositivos (Box 1)*, 1886, fol. 4.



Image 3: Plano demostrativo del estado de la tierra pública en los Territorios del Sur, *Oficina de Tierras y Colonias (Argentina, 1900)*. Biblioteca Nacional Argentina.

Argentine surveyors geometrically divided some of the National Territories into sections, fractions, and lots to imprint a rational grid on a geographic surface. One of the best examples that survived to our days is a map from 1900 published by the Geodesy Division of the Department of Colonization, *Plano demostrativo del estado de la tierra pública en los territorios nacionales del Sud* (Image 3). Geodesy is today a branch of engineering that measures and maps the Earth's surface with multiple instruments. In the nineteenth century, it heavily relied on meticulous calculations.⁷¹ The *Plano demostrativo...* elucidates the overlapping of a mathematical matrix and a geographic space anticipating the juxtaposition of a “civilized” population in a “desert.” Who better to inhabit these “new” space than the expedicionarios who had contributed to its inclusion in the national map? Surveyors initially focused on La Pampa, most of Neuquén, and riverside areas in Río Negro because most grantees or their descendants had requested a change of location of their prizes. In 1896, the Ministry of Interior meticulously approved this change for Julio Ziegner Uriburu's land prize to Río Negro: “[This office approves] in the Territory of Río Negro, section XXI, Fraction A, northwest corner and southern half of the lot number six and northern half of the lot number fifteen amounting to a surface of 12500 hectares; and fraction B, northern half of lot number eleven and northwest corner of lot number 12 amounting to a surface of 7500 hectares.”⁷² The *Plano demostrativo...* shows section XXI on the southern bank of the Limay River, close to confluence of this and Neuquén River into the Negro River. The geometric sectioning of Northern Patagonia mirrored an attempt to control nature. In the same way surveyors civilized this

⁷¹ Wolfgang Torge, *Geodesy*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001), 1–14.

⁷² Se aprueba “en el Territ de RN Seccion XXI fraccion A angulo NO y mitad Sud del lote numero (6) seis y mitad Norte del lote numero (15) quince con una superficie de doce mil quinientas hectareas y fraccion B mitad norte del lote numero (11) y angulo NO del Numero (12) doce con una superficie de siete mil quinientas hectareas, como al que corresponde a Don Julio Ziegner Uriburu en amortizacion de los certificados de premio por la expedicion al RN de que es cesionario” Luis Sáenz Peña, “Oficio Del 20 de Enero de 1896” (Oficina de Tierras y Colonias - Actos Dispositivos (Box 1), January 20, 1896), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Archivo Intermedio.

region by adding administrative information, the executive government wanted to civilize the space with population. Hence, mapmaking crowned the physical display of authority in the portrayal of imagined spaces.

Maps declare authority. In this case, the authority of a national state over a territory, and especially over the knowledge of such territory. Yet, as the lines on maps like the *Plano demostrativo...* steadily expanded on the paper, they also blotted it with ambiguity. In 1895, the Governor of Río Negro, Liborio Bernal, reported that “the location of lands granted as prizes to the expedicionarios to the Negro River, and of lands they buy or lease from the national government will bring incessant litigations” because the measurements were calculated without the proper tools (“*a ojo*”).⁷³

The elegance of the proportional divisions on the map also collide with another reality: The soil was not homogenous throughout Patagonia and thus the productivity and value of it varied significantly. The lots to the north of the Neuquén and Negro Rivers, including La Pampa Territory, had approximately the same size and shape, whereas those to the south of Neuquén River and middle and lower Negro River look narrower and longer. The most voluminous stream in Patagonia, the Negro River, carries the waters from the Andes to the Atlantic Ocean. Its initial stream gradient in the Upper Valley flattens quickly as it crosses the steppe. Here, the river imprinted the soil with winding meanders and oxbow lakes depositing sediments and enriching the soil. Variations in flow, alluvium, and course could affect agricultural production and, thus, the value of the land to each bank. In addition, infrastructure varied from place to place along the valley. For example, the railway ran on the northern margin, so roads and bridges were needed

⁷³ “*La ubicación de las tierras concedidas como premios a los expedicionarios al Río Negro y la de las que se arriendan ó compran al Gobierno Nacional, traerán para más adelante litigios continuos*”, Quirno Costa, *Memoria Del Ministro Del Interior, 1895*, 2:497–98.

from the southern side to access the stations. The *Plano demostrativo...* illustrates how the national government looked on Patagonia. I am not claiming that authorities in Buenos Aires disregarded regional contrasts that could affect the size and values of lots. I argue that for the purposes of nation-building, they did not think such geographical elements were relevant.

Some state officials did employ regional differences as an argument for better legislation. Benjamín Zorrilla, the Minister of Interior, contended in May 1894: “there are vast surfaces of public land which population and productivity need to be the subject of thorough studies because they are a key element for the nation’s prosperity and growth.”⁷⁴ The laws that regulated public lands, he added, were obsolete and chaotic because they had been sanctioned to secure them from indigenous populations in uneven stages. Authority was synonymous with order and there was no order in the supervision of public lands in National Territories. He then decreed the appointment of a commission that would propose an Office of Lands and Colonies. In December 1895, Liborio Bernal auctioned several lots on eastern board of the Territory. The Negro River irrigated some of them, making the soil apt for agriculture. Many other plots did not exhibit the same qualities, as there “grows [nothing], not even grass.”⁷⁵ Why would anyone want these lands? The Governor argued that effective occupation of public land should be accompanied by accurate data and precise location of lots. It was reckless to issue decrees that ordered to sell vacant plots without the proper information that would secure a good sale. Information was key. Further, settlers had no reason to buy a lot that they would not be able to cultivate because they could easily occupy lands in more fertile valleys: “To the West, there are uncultivated lands... arbitrarily inhabited by intruders, with

⁷⁴ “*Existen extensas superficies de tierra fiscal, cuya población y aprovechamiento deben ser materia de estudios detenidos, puesto que se trata de uno de los elementos más poderosos con que cuenta la nación para su prosperidad y crecimiento*”, Oficina de Tierras y Colonias (Argentina), *Actos Dispositivos (Box 1)*, fol. 125.

⁷⁵ “*No nace una mata de pasto*”, Quirno Costa, *Memoria Del Ministro Del Interior, 1895*, 2:499–500.

no benefit for the Treasury, true oasis in deserts of rocks.”⁷⁶ The dissent between Territorial governor and national legislation encapsulate one of the many differences inside the state bureaucracy as how to build the nation in northern Patagonia.

Trespassers put authority in check and evidenced its ambiguity towards the northern Patagonian space. Both in Chile and Argentina, the legality of settlement was determined by a lease from the state -ultimate proprietor of land- to private male individuals or trading companies, especially of foreign origin. Not all public lots were available for leasing. Both the Argentine and Chilean states were interested in reserving public lands for later use by agencies, for selling or leasing when they gained value, for building roads or railroads. Land leases had two parts: during the first five years grantees would have to build a house (*habitación*) and a fence, work the land and grow cattle, pay a yearly rent and reside in the lot. After that time, the tenant could apply for a definitive land title. For example, in Chile, Leonardo Nicolás van Weezel, a Dutch settler, signed his contract with the Chilean state in 1903 to move to a Boer colony near Valdivia. He was given a 140-hectare lot where he built a house with a roof made of zinc. “He resided in his parcel for six years with his family [and] he enclosed his land with a fence.”⁷⁷ Van Weezel petitioned and received the property of his lot.⁷⁸

Sometimes, overlapping jurisdictions created more confusion than order. For instance, several Mapuche caciques filed a collective complaint in 1900 against Teófilo Duran, Protector of Indians for not fulfilling his duties. Protectors of Indians’ main responsibility was to guarantee that indigenous families received the lots the state granted them, protecting them against settlers that

⁷⁶ “Hacia el confín Oeste existen ricas regiones incultas, abandonadas ú ocupadas arbitrariamente por intrusos, sin provecho alguno para el fisco, verdaderos oasis en desiertos de piedras”, *Ibid.*, 2:500.

⁷⁷ “Ha residido en su hijuela durante seis años con su familia...i [ha] cerrado totalmente su terreno con tranqueras”, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (Chile), *Decretos, Marzo 1911*, 1911. Oficio 117.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Oficios 70, 117, 278, 513, 83, 159, and 1215.

attempted to remove them from their lands. As a land inspector put it: “Until Indians do not have their land titles, they will be daily exposed to abuses and dispossessions.”⁷⁹ Protectors also had to collect taxes from natives (*haberes*), though Duran complained this was hard to do: Each indigenous settlement had 300 people, with several caciques. However, the caciques did not organize themselves to put the fees together and give them to Duran. The complaint protested, on a case-by-case basis, each of Duran’s offenses, especially that he neglected petitions, that he ordered the removal of families, or that he granted more lands to people in their lots. Duran refuted each complaint, showing how the interpretation of his responsibilities and the law were highly arbitrary. For instance, Antonio Colines protested that Duran granted seventeen hectares to another Mapuche, Colihuinca, in the common land Colines shared with other families. Duran admitted he did this because in Colines’ land title “one can see the names of the Colihuinca family,” suggesting that they were not a separate group and, therefore, had rightful claims to the lands they received.⁸⁰

On the ground, authority looked like a police officer. Together with the courts and schools, police stations were a high priority for the Patagonian governors. In Chile, high population density demanded more control. Argentina had a similar urge, for exactly the opposite reason: as there were less people residing in the vast south, national authorities thought crime was prone to happen. Governors and other officers were convinced that misdemeanors were a real possibility without the presence of the state.

⁷⁹ “Mientras el indígena no tenga su título de merced o de propiedad, estará constantemente espuesto a los atropellos i despojos de que son víctimas diariamente,” Temístocles Urrutia, *Memoria de la Inspección Jeneral de Tierras i Colonización* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Imprenta Cervantes, 1906), 15.

⁸⁰ “En el pueden verse los nombres de la familia Colihuinca,” Teófilo Durán, “Oficio del 3 de diciembre de 1900 from Protector de Indígenas de Temuco to Inspector General” (Inspección Jeneral de Tierras i Colonización, 1896-1902, folio n.d., December 2, 1900), Archivo Histórico del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Chile.

Chilean and Argentine national governments expected collaboration from the local population (that is, the new settlers) in the south for keeping law and order. In Rio Negro, one of the ways to measure progress was to have a good number of citizens committed to the National Guard. In 1893, 2217 “ciudadanos” were enrolled in this paramilitary force. In 1895, the number has decreased significantly to 514. In his report, Liborio Bernal explained that poor communications and scattered population made it difficult for people to register. This was a subtle way to blame the national government for the declining collaboration of the citizenship. To show that people were in fact eager to participate of the National Guard, he organized a series of ceremonies that would take place in Viedma –the capital– and some other major towns. These gatherings would be “great commemorations of our consecrated days.”⁸¹ He figured that if people celebrated Argentina, a nationalistic sentiment would move them to join the force. Nothing was farther from the truth. Only one event took place in Viedma, there was a poor turn out and much less enrollment.⁸² Not only participation, but also organization depended on the will of a few. In Chile, local councils were responsible for recruiting residents. For this purpose, they would appoint members of the community to form a commission that would enroll citizens and report back. Failing to do so was a serious offense that might require a judge’s intervention.⁸³

The National Guard replaced professional armed forces in spaces where cost and strategy did not add up to keep a permanent garrison. Enrollment also facilitated information about settlers and provided a permanent militia, although the fact that people were enrolled did not mean that

⁸¹ “Grandes aniversarios de nuestros días consagrados”, Quirno Costa, *Memoria Del Ministro Del Interior, 1895*, 2:477.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ilustre Corporación de Osorno, “Oficio nº 4 del 4 de julio 1899” (Libro Copiador de Sesiones Municipales de Osorno, July 4, 1899), Archivo Histórico del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Chile; Ilustre Corporación de Osorno, “Oficio nº 9 del 17 de febrero 1900” (Libro Copiador de Sesiones Municipales de Osorno, February 17, 1900), Archivo Histórico del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Chile.

they were ready to fight. Finally, recruiting for the National Guard intended to keep control of a new citizenry. It was new in the sense that had moved to southern Argentina or Chile. These residents –many with land grants– did not necessarily have a sense of belonging to those territories and they may have not identified their nation with the space around them. The majority of the new population had migrated from abroad, which comprised another challenge for authorities who attempted to spread an idea of nationhood. Belonging to the National Guard contributed with this trend.

Conclusion

Descriptions of Patagonia attempted to polish its blurry delineation. Yet, generalizations, imprecisions, and some misplacements appear to have been more common among authorities and its associates than one might have initially thought. “The South” became a wildcard for the mass of land south of Colorado River in Argentina, and a less defined area in Chile (probably the provinces of Valdivia, Llanquihue, and Chiloé). Land tenancy has revealed ambiguous legislation about who could reside where, what the lots were worth, and what jurisdictions they responded to. More interestingly, this avenue has exposed the different faces that conformed the state bureaucracy on the ground.

A close examination of spatial practices of authorities has illustrated the ambiguity of the legislation that governed land access. It was not uncommon for the law to become obsolete, but several reports from provincial authorities claimed a gap between regulations and reality. Once again, the paradoxical pair of imagined/real space became relevant when trying to reconcile production of knowledge on the one hand, and claims from local officers on the other.

Finally, maps are the artifacts that *par excellence* fixate borderlines. Yet, a closer analysis of cartographic materials and the context of their production uncovered similar conclusions to other kinds of descriptions of Patagonia. The projection of authority on a map and the display of police officers and other armed groups suggest two ideas national governments had about Patagonia. First, Patagonia belonged to the state. It was in the Executive's hand, through its surrogates, to grant proprieties, permissions, and budgets. Second, Patagonia was dangerous. The rapidly growing population of Osorno and Puerto Montt, and the displaced indigenous communities farther north posed a problem for a Chilean state that sought to exercise control over its territories beyond Araucanía. In Argentina, the scant population and wide "empty" spaces kept settlements apart and criminals close.

Chapter 3: Spatial Transformation and Identities in Northern Patagonia: Trading Companies and Local Residents, 1895-1915.

Introduction

Some scholars have argued that private enterprises carried out most of the colonization of the Patagonian Andes.¹ Following raids against indigenous people in Northern Patagonia, Chilean and Argentine authorities introduced new legislation to distribute the “new” lands among farmers. Scanty population in Patagonia, or at least lack of population desired by the state, resulted in immigration laws. Thus, land distribution and immigration complemented each other. Newcomers settled around emerging towns, especially in Chile. However, poor infrastructure discouraged this type of settlement and, as a result, land leases ended up in the hands of trading companies.

This chapter analyzes how residents and trading companies of the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region construed multiple identities that often crossed the international boundary through spatial practices, like getting land titles or rights to log for wood.² Between 1895 and 1915, trading companies obtained land concessions to exploit natural resources in the Patagonian Andes. These concessions sometimes overlapped with previous land leases Chilean and Argentine authorities had given to individuals—especially immigrants—or with trans-Andean passes that cattle-herders had been using for decades. I show how the companies’ transformation of space, from getting titles

¹ María Andrea Nicoletti and Pedro Navarro Floria, *Confluencias: una breve historia del Neuquén* (Buenos Aires: Dunken, 2000), 79–81; Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, Second Edition, Cambridge Latin American Studies 82 (New York City, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 95; Luis Otero, *La huella del fuego: historia de los bosques nativos: Poblamiento y cambios en el paisaje del sur de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Pehuén, 2006), pt. 3; Méndez, *Estado, frontera y turismo. Historia de San Carlos de Bariloche.*, 70–71; Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, chap. 9.

² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass, USA: Blackwell, 1991), 8.

to opening forests, shaped how residents and authorities experienced a transnational region and, through these experiences, constructed versions of Chile and Argentina.

I focus my analysis on three trading companies. The *Cochamó Agricultural and Meat-processing Company* distanced itself from Chilean cattle-breeders and even the government, the company used its trans-Andean business to obtain and keep control over roads. Tomás Austin and Augusto Minte encapsulate two distinctive ways in which settlers interacted with this company to transform space. The second firm I study is the *Ñuble-Rupanco Farming Company*, which received a large estate in Coihueco Island. The indigenous families living there protested this concession by claiming a double legal claim to their lands: as Mapuche and as Chilean citizens.

Finally, I analyze how the *Chile-Argentina Trading and Cattle-breeding Company* articulated a non-nationalist rhetoric that still served the nationalizing efforts of Chile and Argentina. This firm controlled the trading route that fueled trade across the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region (Map 7). Employing a common Germanic style throughout its buildings, the company overrode the international boundary and invested in the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region a visual reference. Whether in Chile or in Argentina, the construction of warehouses, stores, roads, and docks amounted to a landscape of production under the dominion of the company. Its manager, Federico Hube (who appeared in the Chapter 2) defined himself as a German citizen and Argentine consul in the pages of *El Mercurio*, the most prominent newspaper in Chile, exposing the multiple roles that he could perform.³

³ Federico Hube exemplified a larger group of businesspeople in Patagonia that also took consular appointments. For instance, in 1896 and 1897 the US and the Russian Empire appointed Chilean Mauricio Braun—whose wealth extended from ranching to mining, meat-processing, and banking—as their consular representative in Punta Arenas (Chile). Similarly, Spanish José Menéndez—also a cattle-breeder with vast estates and a fleet of seven freighters to transport wool out of Punta Arenas—became consul of Spain in Chile and Argentina in 1894. Later on, in 1923, Chilean writer Víctor Domingo Silva was appointed consul for Neuquén and Río Negro, while Italian businessman Primo Capraro became the consular representative of his fatherland in Bariloche. See Martha Ruffini, *La Patagonia mirada desde arriba: El Grupo Braun Menéndez Behety y la Revista Argentina Austral (1929-1967)* (Rosario,



Map 7: The Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region and the path of the Chile-Argentina Trading and Cattle-breeding Company (in black).

“You shall not pass”: trading companies, statehood, and Patagonian space.

Since the 1850s, Chile became an export-orientated mining nation. High production of coal and silver facilitated its participation in world markets. The Crimean War (1853-1856), the American Civil War (1861-1865), and the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) maintained a high demand and high prices for copper, Chile's prime export.⁴ The victory over Peru and Bolivia in the Pacific War (1879-1883) gave Santiago access to nitrates, which inaugurated a period of sustained economic growth. Increasing production in the arid north demanded more agricultural production in the south.

Argentina: Prohistoria Ediciones, 2017), 48–49 and 52; Martinic Beros, *De la Trapananda al Áysen*, 165; Méndez, *Estado, frontera y turismo. Historia de San Carlos de Bariloche.*, 97–98, 129–34, and 220.

⁴ Ortega Martínez, *Chile en ruta al capitalismo: cambio, euforia y depresión 1850-1880*, 93–95.



Map 8: Main places mentioned in this section with reference to other sites mentioned in Chapter 3.

Except for the Island of Chiloé, the Llanquihue and Valdivia provinces had a low population density and even less agricultural production.⁵ Although Chilean legislation favored international investment in Arauco, Valdivia, and Llanquihue did not sway the foreign businessmen of Valparaíso away from the mines in the north. President Manuel Bulnes (1841-1851) then followed the Alberdi-Sarmiento formula for introducing immigrants that would work the land. Argentines Juan Bautista Alberdi and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento developed a body of

⁵ Fabián Almonacid Zapata, “El desarrollo de la propiedad rural en las provincias de Valdivia y Llanquihue, 1850 - 1920,” *Revista Austral de Ciencias Sociales* 2 (1998): 28–29.

political literature on migration that informed thinkers across the region. They advocated for active state policies that would attract a select group of immigrants who, in turn, would populate “desert” areas of Argentina. Bulnes sponsored several laws that would facilitate immigration of European families and their settlement in “empty” lands.⁶

The initial immigration laws of 1845 constituted the cornerstone of land-granting policies in southern Chile, centralizing in the President the authority to settle immigrants in “empty lands” (*terrenos baldíos*).⁷ In reality, the laws channeled to state agents the authority to recruit immigrants in Europe, bring them to Chile, and settle them in assigned plots. German naturalist and navy officer Bernard Philippi brought the first nine families to Valdivia in 1846. A state agent, Vicente Pérez Rosales, replaced him as Agent for Colonization in Europe in 1850, and brought a second cohort of migrants two years later to Lake Llanquihue.⁸ National authorities reserved lands in these two provinces for settlers that came from abroad with important benefits for newcomers: in 1853, a law dictated that any ship coming from an overseas port into Puerto Montt carrying immigrants (*emigrados*) would be exempt from the anchor and tonnage fees, and allowed to load produce and timber for export without further charges.⁹ Each man, usually head of a family, would receive a lot (*hijuela*) under a contract to enclose it, build a house, reside there, grow crops and/or breed animals, and build a road, if need be. In addition, foreign settlers were not subject to property taxes

⁶ Jorge Ernesto Muñoz Sougarret, “Empresariado y política. Aproximación histórica a las relaciones políticas de los empresarios germanos de la provincia de Llanquihue (1891-1914)” (Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina, 2016), 36–37.

⁷ Fagerstrom, *Reseña de la colonización en Chile*, 53.

⁸ Almonacid Zapata, “El desarrollo de la propiedad rural en las provincias de Valdivia y Llanquihue, 1850 -1920,” 28; Verónica Skvarca, “Espacios Andinos Transcordilleranos: El Paisaje Vernáculo Como Forma Social Ambiental de Vida,” in *Miradas Transcordilleranas: Selección de Trabajos Del IX Congreso Argentino-Chileno de Estudios Históricos e Integración Cultural.*, ed. Paula Gabriela Núñez (San Carlos de Bariloche: IIDyPCA-UNRN-CONICET, 2011), 474.

⁹ Varas, *Colonización de Llanquihue, Valdivia i Arauco, o sea Colección de las leyes i decretos supremos concernientes a esta materia*, 24–25.

for fifteen years. Besides having its own Immigration Agents in Europe, since the 1890s the Chilean government granted individuals the authority to bring settlers to the southern districts. In exchange for bringing families, these entrepreneurs would receive land concessions and permission to exploit its natural resources.

Swedish John Öhlander, a businessman residing in Santiago, applied to be an immigration agent in 1899.¹⁰ The rejection of his request elucidated the extensive promoting apparatus set up in Europe for attracting newcomers. In 1903, Frank Lumley obtained a grant for lands near Palena River, in southern Llanquihue, provided he brought twenty Saxon families.¹¹ Similarly, businessman Teodoro Freudenburg agreed to bring the same amount of settler families to other southern valleys, spanning the width of the Chilean territory from the boundary with Argentina to the Pacific Ocean. Antonio Asenjo and Alejandro Bate proposed similar conditions for obtaining grants in Simpson River. Almost all recipients of these large grants transferred their concessions to newly-founded companies because it was nearly impossible for individuals to invest in infrastructure and services. Lumley sold his concession to the *Río Palena Cattle-breeding Company (Sociedad Ganadera y Explotadora Río Palena)*, and Asenjo and Bate soon hand over theirs to the *Valle Simpson Company (Sociedad Explotadora de Valle Simpson)*.¹² Thus, as the colonization laws became more complex in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Chilean government appointed state and private agents to bring immigration south of Bío-Bío River. Illegal

¹⁰ John Öhlander, “Pedido de John Öhlander Para Ser Agente de Colonización, 19 Abril 1899” (Inspeccion Jeneral de Tierras I Colonizacion – Oficios dirigidos, 1896-1902, 1899), Archivo Histórico del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Chile; N. Vega, “Oficio N° 259. Respuesta Al Pedido de John Öhlander Para Ser Agente de Colonización, 10 Julio 1899” (Inspeccion Jeneral de Tierras I Colonizacion – Oficios dirigidos, 1896-1902, 1899), Archivo Histórico del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Chile.

¹¹ Temístocles Urrutia, *Memoria de la Inspección Jeneral de Tierras i Colonización* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Imprenta Cervantes, 1905), 282; Fagerstrom, *Reseña de la colonización en Chile*, 122.

¹² Fagerstrom, *Reseña de la colonización en Chile*, 122.

occupation of lands and few personnel encouraged national authorities to lease larger estates to fewer people that agreed to bring immigrant families. Eventually, these concessions became the base for company-owned lands in southern Chile.

In Chilean historiography and popular culture, the colonization of Llanquihue and Valdivia Provinces intersects with the immigration of Central European settlers, collectively known as Germans.¹³ Overall, the settlement of immigrants in Llanquihue and Valdivia between 1850 and 1880 represented a turning point for the region, and for the history of Chile more generally. Although settlers from other origins moved to Llanquihue and Valdivia, Germans outnumbered Danes, Scandinavians, Boers, and Swiss. Partly because of this, they generated larger kinship networks. Per Chilean law, foreigners had equal rights to access land leases as nationals. The national government had reserved most of Llanquihue and Valdivia Provinces, and some areas in Arauco, for foreign colonization (*colonización extranjera*). One of Chile's two Nobel laureates in literature, Gabriela Mistral, wrote in 1934: "A great German colony has populated almost entirely the southern provinces of Valdivia and Chiloé, where the weather conditions, more inclement because of abundant rainfall, did not attract Chileans." Germans came to fill in a void, tame nature, and bring progress.¹⁴ Mistral's words resonated with a wider understanding of Germanness in southern Chile. Some scholars mark 1875 as the end of the German immigration in southern Chile because a new generation of Chilean-born Germans began to take over management roles in several institutions and businesses: mills, furniture workshops, breweries, distilleries, schools, blacksmith shops, tanneries, shoe shops, and shipping companies.¹⁵

¹³ Sanhueza Cerda, *Chilenos en Alemania y Alemanes en Chile*.

¹⁴ "Una gran colonia alemana nos ha poblado dos provincias casi enteras: Valdivia y Chiloé, en la parte sur, donde el clima, ya menos clemente por las lluvias copiosas, atraía poco al chileno", Gabriela Mistral, "Breve Descripción de Chile [Manuscrito]," 1934, 14, Archivo del Escritor - Biblioteca Nacional Digital de Chile.

¹⁵ Eduardo Tampe Maldonado, *Desde Melipulli Hasta Puerto Montt: Trayectoria de Ciento Treinta Años* (Santiago

German immigration in Llanquihue transformed the space in two ways: by increasing the amount of rural properties and by introducing new techniques to the use of wood for buildings. Historian Fabián Almonacid showed that the number of land leases and their value increased rapidly following the arrival of German settlers in Llanquihue and Valdivia, and of national settlers to Arauco between 1850 and 1880.¹⁶ “National settlers” referred to Chileans that had not legally claimed indigenous heritage. Depending on how people applied their ethnic categories (foreign, national, or indigenous), they could apply for land leases in different parts of southern Chile. Immigrants and their descendants had access to lands in all three provinces of Llanquihue, Valdivia, and Arauco. There was less available land for national settlers, usually in Arauco. Finally, the government allowed Mapuche communities specific territories (reservations) in general far from where they had resided for generations. In Llanquihue and Valdivia, the sudden rise in land prices during the 1870s and 1880s caused many Chileans to occupy lands illegally, exaggerate their boundaries, and deceive indigenous communities into selling their lands. These actions eventually handicapped state leadership in the colonization of Valdivia and Llanquihue, as officers had to focus first on petitions, complaints, and trials before proceeding with land granting. The rising number of rural properties generated illegal occupation and displacements. Some of these settlers would eventually gain land titles, but some would not. At the turn of the twentieth century, they will oppose national authorities granting large estates they inhabited to individuals and companies.

In addition to establishing rural properties, German immigration to southern Chile also transformed the physical space. Architect Verónica Skvarca explained that the arrival of foreign

de Chile, Chile: Editora Publigráfica, 1992), 45–47.

¹⁶ Almonacid Zapata, “El desarrollo de la propiedad rural en las provincias de Valdivia y Llanquihue, 1850-1920,” 28.

contingents altered the aesthetic landscape of southern Chile. Central European architectural styles and building techniques informed much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth urban skyline in Puerto Montt, Osorno, Puerto Varas, and even Bariloche.¹⁷ Architectural historian Gian Piero Cherubini and artist Roberto del Río took it a step further to characterize a school of (German) expert carpenters that intervened urban landscapes, but also took it to heart to spread their knowledge and skills.¹⁸

In Argentina, the settlement in the Patagonian Andes took longer. In mid-nineteenth century, when Chile began to pass the colonization laws, Argentines barely made peace among themselves. They approved a constitution in 1853, twenty years after their western neighbors. In the following decade, the Province of Buenos Aires and the rest of the country quarreled for the revenues of the exports. Between 1864 and 1870, Argentines allied with Brazil against Paraguay in the Paraguayan War, which brought a diplomatic victory. Only when the political situation was relatively stable did the government lead two military raids, first in 1875 and later in 1879. While second-generation Germans became of age in Llanquihue and Valdivia, General Julio Roca led a military raid to Northern Patagonia in 1879. Two years later, Chilean and Argentine diplomats agreed on an imaginary boundary along the highest peaks of the Andes without any certain knowledge of the terrain. In 1884 and with this knowledge, the Argentine Congress divided the still undefined Territory of Patagonia into six smaller jurisdictions: The National Territories of La Pampa, Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, Santa Cruz, and Tierra del Fuego. All except the last

¹⁷ Skvarca, “Espacios Andinos Transcordilleranos: El Paisaje Vernáculo Como Forma Social Ambiental de Vida,” 474.

¹⁸ Roberto del Río Tapia, *Patrimonio Arquitectónico: Mirada Artística de Nuestro: Región de Los Ríos y Región de Los Lagos, Chile*, *Mirada Artística de Nuestro: Región de Los Ríos y Región de Los Lagos, Chile* (Chile: MDM Ediciones, 2013), 7–15; Gian Piero Cherubini Zanetel, *La Escuela de Carpinteros Alemanes de Puerto Montt, Su Formación e Influencia Más Allá de Las Fronteras* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 2016), 17–18.

remained among the largest jurisdictions in the country; all of them remained among the least densely populated areas in the world at the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁹ An immense space with scant population delayed public investment in Patagonia.

Legislation soon enabled the concentration of land in few hands. The Frontiers Act (Act 947 of 1878) sold over eight million land titles on the banks of the Negro and Neuquén Rivers, the Territory of La Pampa, and the southern area of the Province of Buenos Aires to only 391 individuals at the low price of 0.15 Argentine *pesos fuertes*.²⁰ By 1899, for example, only Río Negro and Chubut had Offices of Vital Records to keep a registry of births, deaths, and marriages. The 477 residents of Tierra del Fuego included counted with a navy officer, two justices, and two volunteers to collect civil registrations in the name of the national state.²¹ Argentine legislators speculated that people would want land in Patagonia and so the first laws anticipated granting small lots to farmers at a low price. Yet, the lack of infrastructure such as roads and bridges, and of financial motivation to make that investment swayed away any possible settlers. Congress then passed in a law that would give lands as prizes to soldiers that who had participated in the military raid of 1879 and the following years. The legislation required a certain number of residents to transfer authority from the national to the local government. For example, residents could elect

¹⁹ Before the border agreement with Chile, Argentine authorities calculated the size of the southern National Territories as follows: La Pampa, 37,065,800 acres; Neuquén, 26,959,200 acres; Río Negro, 52,386,300 acres; Chubut, 61,282,100 acres; Santa Cruz, 68,448,200 acres; and Tierra del Fuego, 5,065,660 acres (it did not include the Argentine claims over Antartica or the Falkland [Malvinas], Georgia, and Sandwich Islands in the Southern Atlantic). Arturo B. Carranza, *Algunos Datos Interesantes Sobre La República Argentina*. (Buenos Aires: 1894), 8–19; Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, Second, Historia Argentina (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2011), 155–57.

²⁰ Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, 226. Bandieri mentions twice an “official document of 1928” but does not cite it.

²¹ Oficina Demográfica Nacional (Ministerio del Interior), *Boletín Demográfico Argentino*, vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Taller Tipográfico de la Penitenciaría Nacional, 1900), 9; República Argentina, *Censo Nacional, 1895*, 2: Población:iv.

justices of the peace into office in location with more than 1,000 inhabitants.²² At the turn of the century, these districts amounted to fourteen: nine in La Pampa, two in Neuquén, and three in Rio Negro.²³ A small number of justices of the peace meant that police officers often acted as the judiciary by collecting fines and ruling on some conflicts. This had serious implications for the way people living in Patagonia related to the police force. Only one legal judge per territory administered justice, and always from the Territorial (of the National Territories) capitals.²⁴ It is not surprising, then, that trading companies accumulated lands in areas with scant population and, therefore, barely any state presence.

Argentine legislation provided the framework for trading companies' increase of land assets. The first laws that regulated land concessions to trading companies or individuals in Argentina included an obligation to colonize. The Immigration and Colonization Act of 1876 anticipated the military raid to push the internal frontier beyond the Negro River (1879-1881), but miscalculated the effort needed to enforce the requirements for settlement. Congress supplemented this law with two more: one that allowed the auction of public lands (1882) and one that rewarded soldiers of the campaign with lands (1885). As I have discussed in chapter 2, the legislation ignored the geography: arid lands in central Neuquén, for example, were reserved for cattle-grazing. By the 1890s, it was evident that the national state had failed to activate a market for Patagonian lands and allowed landlords to accumulate land without founding colonies. By the turn of the twentieth century, many companies had acquired lands either by direct grants from the states or buying concessions to from individuals that did not settle.

²² Julio Zenteno Barros, *Recopilacion de leyes i decretos supremos sobre colonizacion: 1810-1896* (Santiago: Imprenta Nacional, 1896), 155–56.

²³ República Argentina, *Censo Nacional, 1895*, 2: Población:636–40. Table IIb.

²⁴ Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, 158–59.

Together with land concessions, Patagonian companies acquired permission to build roads, docks, bridges, and buildings. Depending on where they were located, they had control over the population. Most importantly, state authorities did not have any business inside these lands: though people lived there, there were no police stations and land inspectors could not come in. In Chile, some of these companies also had the responsibility of colonizing their lands, which meant managers could lease lots to European immigrants. The Argentine executive also granted vast extensions to a handful of enterprises because an earlier attempt to colonize Northern Patagonia had failed. After the military raid of 1879, the Congress issued several laws that created the National Territories and regulated the recently acquired lands by the state. To displace any claims from indigenous communities, Buenos Aires authorized the selling of lots at a low price to former soldiers and other interested parties. They hoped that speculation would attract people but, as we have seen in Chapter 2, that did not happen. Turning over control to companies helped the new National Territories avoid the financial burden of maintaining roads, judges, and police force in remote areas.

As a result, companies came to control fertile areas in strategic locations with fairly no state oversight. The *Rupanco* company, which I examine further along, took hold of a land grant that deemed controversial because of its vast extension and its previous settler occupancy. Multiple rivers irrigate most of this area while its situation location north of Lake Llanquihue gave managers an excellent vantage point from where to access markets in Osorno and across the lake through its nearest harbor, Puerto Octay. The *Chile-Argentina* gained land grants on both sides of the border just north of Mount Tronador. Its manager, Federico Hube, controlled the pass from Puerto Montt to Bariloche across four lakes, which soon made him the sole administrator of international correspondence in these latitudes. Farther south, the *Aysen Industrial Society* got permission to

exploit the valleys of rivers the Ñirehuao, Coyhaique y Mañihuales, three rivers that joined the Aysén.²⁵ Simultaneously, the company had bought lands on the other side of the border, known as *Arroyo Verde Estates*. At these latitudes, between 44° and 46° south, the boundary no longer runs along the Andes so herding cattle from Argentina into Chile consisted of a simpler task.²⁶ What was surprising of about this grant was the change to give the company the northern bank of Aysén river and, hence, access to an old road built by the border commission when they had surveyed this region. It also gave it a comfortable estuary where to building a dock –today Puerto Aysén– from where they installed a continuous service to Puerto Montt. In other words, the *Aysén Industrial Society* owned lands from all across the breadth of the country and had access to sheep-herding farms in Argentina.

In general, the companies thrived between 1900 and 1930. British capital often owned the new firms present in Patagonia. In Chile, investment usually came from wealthy businessmen of the Central Valley (Santiago and Valparaíso) who could be Chileans or Chileans of European descent. Many, but not all, of the enterprises founded in Buenos Aires with lands in southern Argentina received grants before 1900. Colonization laws failed rapidly in Argentina, and most Chilean companies that operated in Patagonia were founded in the 1900s, like *Limay*, *Yelcho-Palena*, *Rupanco*, and *Última Esperanza*.²⁷ Hence they did not go through the world financial crisis of 1890, like the Argentine ones, nor the political revolution of 1891 that put the national

²⁵ Gustavo Bizama et al., “Pérdida y fragmentación del bosque nativo en la cuenca del río Aysén (Patagonia-Chile) durante el siglo XX,” *Revista de geografía Norte Grande*, no. 49 (2011): 131, <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-34022011000200008>; Oscar Aleuy Rojas, *Memorial de la Patagonia. Aysén* (RIL Editores, 2012), 55–60.

²⁶ José Pomar, *La Concesión Del Aysén y Valle Simpson* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Imprenta Cervantes, 1923), 6–7. See also map at the end of the book.

²⁷ The official names of these companies were: the *Limay Cattle-breeding and Agricultural Company* (Sociedad Agrícola y Ganadera del Limay), the *Yelcho-Palena Cattle-breeding and Industrial Company* (Sociedad Ganadera e Industrial Yelcho-Palena), the *Rupanco Cattle-breeding and Agricultural Company*, and *Última Esperanza Sheep Company*. 1907 Sinopsis geográfico-estadística de la República de Chile p. 447.

government in check.²⁸ In other words, in Chile, where state presence and post-independence settlement dated from the 1850s, enterprises sprung as late as the 1900s. In Argentina, where state presence was barely a handful of judges and police stations across Patagonia, companies had begun to accumulate lands since at least the 1870s.

Trading companies in Patagonia connected their remoteness of their locations to world markets. One of the largest firms was the *Argentine South Land Company* (ASLCo), which began hoarding lands in Patagonia in the 1870s. By 1898, it owned 1,445,570 acres (585,000 hectares) in western Chubut, where they bred cattle for the Chilean market, and the Río Negro steppe, where they introduced the Australian Merino sheep. Laborers shopped for imported goods in the company-owned stores and paid with the company-issued paper money. In the meantime, the fruits of their work made it through to the Wool Exchange in London and into the busy factories of England. The ASLCo lasted until the mid 1970s, when after a sustained period of low wool prices forced the company to sell its assets. In 1991, Benetton Group purchased most of the company's lands in Chubut, becoming the single largest private landowner in Argentina. Even today, wool from inner Patagonia continues to travel thousands of miles into threading factories and into the world.²⁹

The national governments of Chile and Argentina employed land concessions of large estates to companies as a proxy for state action. These enterprises needed to bring settlers and provide them with tools and infrastructure (harbors, roads, bridges) in order to maintain the benefits of the leases. As a result, firms competed for the best access routes from their lands out

²⁸ J. Fred Rippy, "British Investments in Texas Lands and Livestock," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (1955): 340.

²⁹ Susana Bandieri, "Del discurso poblador a la praxis latifundista: la distribución de la tierra pública en la Patagonia," *Mundo agrario* 6, no. 11 (2005): 8, http://www.scielo.org.ar/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S1515-59422005000200001&lng=es&nrm=iso&tlng=en.

into the ocean, sometimes crossing borders. The legislation issued in Chile since the mid-nineteenth century and in Argentina since the mid-1880s provided a framework for colonization, land access, and business in Northern Patagonia.

Control over Roads: the Sociedad Agrícola y Frigorífica de Cochamó, 1905-1910.

In 1906, Augusto Minte, a cattle-breeder from Puerto Varas, complained to the district authorities of Llanquihue about the *Sociedad Agrícola y Frigorífica de Cochamó* (Cochamó Agricultural and Meat-processing Company) because they forbade him to use their roads to herd livestock to the Argentine valleys. For years, Minte had traveled across the Andes taking animals to his brother's ranch and back using the pass the *Empresa Cochamó*³⁰ claimed for itself.³¹ Trans-Andean passes in Northern Patagonia, straddling Argentina and Chile, channeled a constant traffic of people, stock, and goods. Trading companies competed to monopolize these routes that connected their estates in the east with the ports of the west. At the same time, some breeders attempted to continue employing transnational valleys to trade their animals.

In this section, I analyze the disputes generated by the *Empresa Cochamó* with landowners and farmers on both sides of the Andes. I focus on Tomás Austin, a Welsh immigrant to Argentina, and Augusto Minte, the eldest son of German immigrants and landowner in Puerto Varas. This company energetically attempted to extend its dominion from the port of Cochamó into the east. However, unlike the *Chile-Argentina*, *Empresa Cochamó* did not utilize architecture to assert a common sense of ownership beyond the branding cattle. Lack of warehouses and stores, however,

³⁰ Although the official name was “Sociedad Cochamó”, company ranchers branded their cattle with the EC (Empresa Cochamó) abbreviation. Ernesto Maggiori, *Tecka: Una Aproximación Histórica* (Argentina: E. Maggiori, 2011), 61.

³¹ Sociedad Agrícola i Frigorífica de Cochamó (Chile), *Prospecto de La Sociedad Agrícola i Frigorífica de Cochamó: Capital: \$3.000,000* (Santiago de Chile: Impr., Enc. I Litograf. Esmeralda, 1908), 61.

did not prevent the company from controlling who entered their lands, to the point that they did not allow state inspectors to come into their territories.³²

The conflict between Minte and the *Empresa Cochamó* exemplified the battle to control roads.³³ A route that connected a productive area to a market represented a modest source of economic revenue but a reliable source of local power. In Llanquihue, many settlers complained to the authorities when a neighbor closed a path (*cerró el camino*)³⁴ and charged them for using it. When granting lands, the government needed to make sure the grantees could get there by building public roads. Although the division of lots involved heavy planning, state officers and land surveyors did not design roads in advance and most times it was up to settlers to open and maintain their paths to public arteries.³⁵ While the grid-like sectioning of lots seldom followed geographic accidents, such as steep slopes, roads needed to run along spatial features because people needed to use them. As a result, many open paths crossed private lots and many farmers gated them to prevent anyone from crossing their land. Hence, disputes to dominate roads revealed quarrel to control land.

Numerous complaints to the Intendencia of Llanquihue (the provincial government) protested closed, poorly-maintained, or excessively tolled roads. In 1908, Hilario Mancilla requested the intervention of the police force (*carabineros*) because his neighbor closed a road that

³² Urrutia, *Memoria de la Inspección Jeneral de Tierras i Colonización*, 1905, 304–5.

³³ For more on the history of trans-Andean trade between Mapuche and Tehuelche, see

³⁴ Examples from Intendencia de Llanquihue, “Solicitudes Varias 1908-1909, Volumen 211” (Fondo Intendencia de Llanquihue, Archivo Histórico Nacional, 1909), Archivo Histórico Nacional, Santiago de Chile; Intendencia de Llanquihue, “Solicitudes Varias 1912-1913, Volumen 227” (Fondo Intendencia de Llanquihue, Archivo Histórico Nacional, 1913), Archivo Histórico Nacional, Santiago de Chile.

³⁵ Oficio n° 852, “Reglamento Para Colonos Nacionales o Estrangeros Radicados En Territorio Dependiente de La Inspección Jeneral de Tierras y Colonización Del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores” (Inspeccion Jenederal de Tierras I Colonizacion – Oficios dirigidos, 1896-1902, July 30, 1902), Volume 237, Archivo Histórico del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Chile.

connected him with the coastline (and probably a public road).³⁶ Juan Antonio Cárdenas and Manuel Oyarzún, farmers in the outskirts of Puerto Montt, protested when their neighbor, Juan Linde, gated the path they used to access a road to a major marketplace. Considering the police investigation, the Intendente –who governed the province– ordered Linde to allow his neighbors to use the path. When the farmer did not abide, the Intendente commanded the land surveyor, Francisco Steeger, to examine the road in question and gather information. Steeger inspected the terrain, interviewed several people, and did some research in the archives of public offices. His report displayed the genealogy of the lands Cárdenas and Oyarzún owned to show that they had no right using Linde’s road, they had to open their own.

The land grant to the *Empresa Cochamó*, like many others, originated in a lease to an individual for bringing settlers there. Tomás Austin, a Welsh immigrant to Argentina, received a concession from the Chilean government in July 1903 which he transferred a month later to the *Empresa Cochamó*.³⁷ In addition, he negotiated on behalf of “Chilean companies” to buy lots from small landowners in the Argentine villages of Cholila (northwestern Chubut) and El Bolsón (southwestern Río Negro) (Map 8).³⁸ Like Federico Hube, Austin used his nationality to elbow his way across multiple fronts. In 1901, King Edward VII mediated the border agreement between Chile and Argentina. The Welsh living in Trevelin and Esquel (Map 8) gathered in 1902 to vote for belonging to Chile or Argentina. Thomas Austin probably participated of this referendum as a Welsh residing in western Chubut. As an intermediary for Chilean companies on both sides of the Andes, he also negotiated concessions with both governments.

³⁶ Intendencia de Llanquihue, “Solicitudes Varias 1908-1909, Volumen 211.”

³⁷ Oficina de Mensura de Tierras (Chile), *Primera Memoria del Director de la Oficina de Mensura de Tierras*, 127; República Argentina, *Boletín Oficial de la República Argentina. 1925 1ra sección*, 1925, 1076, http://archive.org/details/Boletin_Oficial_Republica_Argentina_1ra_seccion_1925-10-29.

³⁸ Inspector de Tierras Sr. Bello, “Territorios Nacionales,” *La Nación (Argentina)*, January 10, 1905.

Trans-Andean roads undergirded local economies on both sides of the Andes. The expansion of Chilean agriculture that accompanied the mining boom in the north encouraged farmers to find other lands for grazing. They found these lands on the eastern slopes of the Andes, where they could take their cattle for the winter and bring it back, tax-free, to the west. New cattle, however, would pay tariffs. The exception to this import tax was when any person who owned lands on both sides of the Andes or on the pass. Chilean Augusto Minte, for example, herded cattle to his brother's farm in El Bolsón.³⁹ Trading and cattle-breeding companies then considered acquiring access to strategic points on the border (or close to it) in the form of land grants as a calculated investment. Yet, the precision of this plan soon became blurry as the decrees loosely outlined the extension of the grants. For example, Tomás Austin received “the lots... for settlement on the water basins of the Manso and Cochamó Rivers.”⁴⁰ The importance of cross-border routes to local economies, however, did not inform how national authorities granted lands to trading companies, as evidenced by the complaint's settlers filed against corporative appropriation of strategic border passes.

Concessions on the border allowed national authorities to transfer the maintenance of roads and bridges. Between 1890 and 1910, land inspectors and provincial governors frequently reported on the poor conditions of this infrastructure in both countries. In Argentina, Franklin Rawson, governor of the National Territory of Neuquén, explained in 1897 that the small budget did not allow for major works. Eight years later, the situation had not changed as a new governor urged

³⁹ Sociedad Agrícola i Frigorífica de Cochamó (Chile), *Prospecto de La Sociedad Agrícola i Frigorífica de Cochamó*; Mauricio Pilleux Cepeda, “Minte,” in *Recopilación Genealógica Chilena*, June 20, 2017.

⁴⁰ “*Los terrenos... en ocupación en la hoya hidrográfica de los ríos Manso y Cochamó*”, Oficina de Mensura de Tierras (Chile), *Tercera Memoria del Director de la Oficina de Mensura de Tierras*, 1909, 127; Oficina de Mensura de Tierras (Chile), *Séptima Memoria del Director de la Oficina de Mensura de Tierras* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1914), 81.

the Minister of Interior to open new roads and build new bridges.⁴¹ Eventually, poor conditions of the latter forced the provincial authorities to reluctantly allow the installation of river crossing services.⁴² Inadequate transportation infrastructure resembled the situation in Chile. In 1904, the governor of Osorno reviewed the intense reparations needed for the roads and bridges that connected the city with the outskirts.⁴³ Fernando Pesse, manager of a Dutch colony in Araucanía District –with more a larger population than Valdivia or Llanquihue– hopeful wrote in 1906: “We will build good bridges this time, made of pellin oak [a native species], which will surely last ten times more than the previous ones.”⁴⁴ In 1905, the Argentina Army produced a report on the situation of Chilean infrastructure. They accounted for seventy-three bridges in Llanquihue District, none of which were in the lands of *Empresa Cochamó* or near the Manso Pass.⁴⁵ In fact, the government did build bridges and opened a path to Argentina, but they were abandoned. Augusto Minte’s complaint did not oppose the company’s development of infrastructure along the pass; he objected that their policy did not allow him through, pushing him to a road impossible to use.⁴⁶

Minte used his status to propel his legal requests. The *subdelegado* reported that managers of the *Empresa Cochamó* forced herders to use old public roads with minimal maintenance instead

⁴¹ Rafael Castillo, *Memoria del Ministro del Interior al Congreso Nacional, 1904-1905* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de V. Daroqui y Cía, 1905), 119.

⁴² Gobernación del Neuquén, “Plano e informe del Territorio Nacional del Neuquen solicitado por el Ministerio del Interior” (Ministerio del Interior - Expedientes Generales, 1910 Legajo 7, 1910), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Archivo Intermedio.

⁴³ “Oficio n° 41 del 30 de marzo de 1904” (Oficios Recibidos de la Gobernación de Osorno en el año 1904, 1904), Archivo Histórico de Puerto Montt.

⁴⁴ “*i esta vez serán buenos puentes, todos de roble pellin i durarán, sin duda, diez veces más de lo que han durado los hecho anteriormente* [sic]”, Urrutia, *Memoria de la Inspección Jeneral de Tierras i Colonización*, 1905, 185–86.

⁴⁵ Carlos Sarmiento, LtCol, “Datos Estadísticos de La República de Chile,” 1905, 80–81, Servicio Histórico del Ejército.

⁴⁶ “Oficio n° 520 del 18 de diciembre de 1906” (Oficios despachados a ministerios y exterior en el año 1906, 1906), Archivo Histórico de Puerto Montt.

of allowing traffic through their routes. The officer illustrated this obstruction as an attack on the cattle-breeding activity itself. Intendant E. Wolhler forwarded the case to the Minister endorsing Minte's complaint. He described the petitioner as "a respectable resident of this department."⁴⁷ Land ownership coupled with status to provide Minte some leverage among authorities. His status stemmed from his German heritage, which had enabled him to acquire lands on the southern shores of Lake Llanquihue.⁴⁸

In the following years, Minte led his neighbors into another legal action, this time against Mapuche Francisco Huenchuman. This farmer had bought a lot from a Pedro Gallardo. According to Minte, Gallardo had at some point "discovered" public lands with the trace of a better road from there to Puerto Montt. He then took possession of these lands and included them in his sale to the indigenous Huenchuman. Minte and others wanted to benefit from this better path and the larch forest it crossed. While they filed a petition to dispossess the native, the plaintiffs sent some men to use the lane anyway, armed with machetes and pistols (though they later denied this). Huenchuman responded by attacking Minte's residence in Ensenada. Surveyor Francisco Steeger's investigation concluded that Minte and his crew were in the right to claim free access to the road across Huenchuman's land. The result is not surprising as, at the very least, the provincial government would conflate these complaints with its own interest to retake control of public lots. Steeger included a sketched map in his report, as he always did, showing the road in question from the shoreline of Lake Llanquihue, skirting the lots of two settlers, across Huenchuman's lands, and "into Minte's lands." Indeed, this road favored the latter's business as he could herd cattle from

⁴⁷ "Vecino respetable de este departamento", Intendencia de Llanquihue, *Oficio n° 520 al Ministerio de Colonización, 18 de diciembre de 1906* (Puerto Montt, Chile: Archivo Histórico de Puerto Montt, Oficios despachados a Ministerios, 1906, 1906).

⁴⁸ Fagerstrom, *Reseña de la colonización en Chile*, 183–84.

Ensenada to Puerto Montt across his other possessions. Further, this road provided an alternative to the one managed by the *Chile-Argentina*.

The land concession to *Empresa Cochamó* caused two diverse reactions: Tomás Austin used his Welsh identity to become its intermediary. Instead of combining his country of origin with his residence, Austin could apply for lands in Chile because he was neither Chilean nor Argentine. Likewise, he could act on behalf of the company to negotiate land acquisitions in Argentina for the same reasons. Augusto Minte took a similar stance. He contested control over certain roads not because he was willing to maintain them, but because their strategic position supported his economic interests.

The Island that was not an Island: The *Ñuble-Rupanco Farming Company*, 1905-1911.

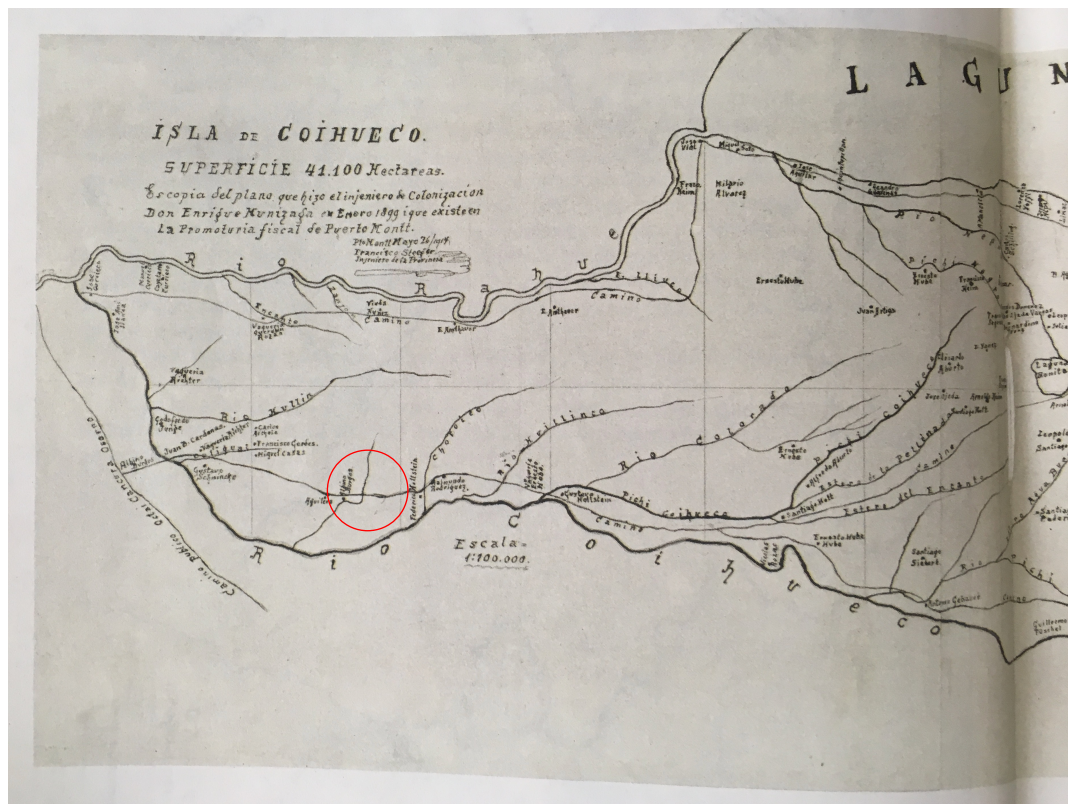


Image 4: Section of a copy of the map of Coihueco Island (1899) – The location of the Mansilla farm is circled in

*red.*⁴⁹

The intricate concession to *Ñuble-Rupanco* generated avenues for resistance among Mapuche communities of Coihueco Island (Map 9). Coihueco Island is a popular name for a marshy area bounded by the homonymous river and the Rahue. Meandering their way across a vast plain, they merge at a site called Cancura, which held a small Mapuche settlement. Several smaller streams and marshes also irrigate the area. I first encountered a reference to Coihueco Island in a petition from a Mapuche cacique to the Intendente of Llanquihue. I was alternating work at the National Archives in Santiago (Chile) with research at the newspapers section of the National Library, around the corner. Soon, I read this name on several 1911 articles in *El Llanquihue*, a Conservative publication from Puerto Montt. Petitions and newspaper snippets alike, they both denounced the removal of farmers in Coihueco by the Rupanco Colonizing, Farming and Cattle-breeding Company (*Sociedad Colonizadora Agrícola y Ganadera Rupanco*, known since 1907 as *Ñuble-Rupanco*). This was not the first enterprise to displace people from their land, but its case gained traction in the local press.

On the morning of March 19, 1911, Candelaria Mansilla responded to a violent call to her door. She resided on a 25-acre farm in Coihueco Island—a marshland south of Lake Rupanco—with her husband, Genaro (Image 4). The woman opened the door to find Amadeo Achurra, Julian Alvarado, and Judge José Núñez leading fifteen armed men on horseback, including three police officers. As soon as she came out, the judge read a decree of dispossession against the couple's son-in-law, who did not live there. Candelaria tried to explain this to prevent what was about to happen. As soon as Núñez finished reading, the men proceeded with the removal by destroying

⁴⁹ Emilio Held Winkler, *Ensayo sobre Puerto Octay* (n/d, 1986), 24.

the house and forcing the elderly couple out of their lot. They began with the kitchen –a separate building–, swinging their axes against the wooden posts. The roof soon collapsed under its own weight, shattering everything beneath it. Fearing for their lives, Candelaria and Genaro fled the house and tried to abandon the farm, but the men stopped them so that they could not call any witnesses. The police officers endorsed the violent attack by not intervening when the assailants brought out some furniture, crockery, and other articles, tore some of them apart and loaded the rest onto carts. Finally, they rammed the house with a beam tied to the back side of their saddles, smashing a wall. The building crumbled at once. Once they were done, Judge Núñez ordered the men to load the carts with animals, furniture, and the couple. The caravan rushed through the fields to a place where the Coihueco River was easier to cross. The convoy arrived there at dusk, having lost half of the animals to the bumps in the road. Candelaria and Genaro begged the assailants to take them to an acquaintance’s home some miles away, but instead they dumped the battered elderly right there, in an open field. The next morning, their son-in-law found them because some neighbors had alerted him to the attack. A cold, heavy rain had drenched them overnight, and they soon fell ill. We do not know if they passed away because of this, if they were able to return to their farm, or if they resettled elsewhere. We do know this story is not unique.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ “Probable muerte de dos bandidos--Aprehensión de tres individuos en Cochamó-- Pretenden burlar la vigilancia de los carabineros,” *El Llanquihue*, August 17, 1911, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile - Hemeroteca.



Map 9: Coihueco Island with references to other sites mentioned in this section.

The *Ñuble-Rupanco* displacement of peoples in Coihueco Island provides an opportunity for exploring how Mapuche families in Llanquihue used indigenous status and their Chilean citizenship to resist their removal from their lands and how this resistance informed protests in Puerto Montt. By employing a discourse of the land belonging to them (*pertenecer*) in association with the rule of law, they attempted to navigate the legal system to defend their lands. The frequent alliance between companies and police in Coihueco Island triggered numerous protests in *El Llanquihue*, a Catholic, Conservative newspaper from Puerto Montt. While it typically supported the actions of the local government in the name of order and progress, its editors took seriously the concerns of the victims of the *Ñuble-Rupanco*. Ultimately, the experience of acquiring land grants and of dispossession provides a lens for understanding the costs of progress.

The history of Coihueco Island reveals how explorers and authorities of Llanquihue identified the plains as a Mapuche space. Coihueco Island first appeared in the written record—that

we know of— when Francisco Fonck, a German geographer and naturalist who explored the Lakes District, made two references to it in his annotations of Fray Francisco Menéndez travels. Menéndez mentioned the *taladores*, indigenous rangers so acquainted with the woodlands that they did not need to cut down trees (*talar*). Instead, they glided between trees finding their way across the forests. The most acclaimed of these taladores, added Fonck, was Juan Currieco, otherwise known as Pichi Juan (Little John) because he began to guide new settlers at a very young age. He had accompanied the founder of Puerto Montt, Vicente Pérez Rosales, in his explorations of Lakes Llanquihue and Nahuel Huapi. Pichi Juan also served other explorers such as Fernando Hess and Fonck himself, who wrote that the ranger and his community were fighting the state against displacement: “I wrote two petitions to the Government for his claims in Coihueco Island with no results.”⁵¹ Pichi Juan was immortalized by the legends that followed over the years, and Coihueco Island soon became a reference for an indigenous site.⁵²

The Mapuche-Huilliche —the communities specific to Llanquihue and Valdivia districts— had been living in Coihueco Island since at least the late eighteenth century. In general, the indigenous population south of Valdivia resided on the western slopes of the Chilean Coastal Range, where the Chilean state, constituted in 1818, began to grant them land titles as early as 1824. Fewer Huilliche had scattered on the shores of Lakes Ranco, Puyehue, and Rupanco, including Coihueco Island. They acquired land titles twenty years later, in the 1840s and 1850s, when the national government also granted concessions of large estates first to immigration

⁵¹ “*Le redacté dos presentaciones al Gobierno por reclamaciones en la Isla de Coihueco que quedaron sin resultado*”, Fonck, *Libro de los diarios de Fray Francisco Menéndez*, 205.

⁵² Chilean writer Oreste Plath, who compiled the legends and myths in Chile, described Juan Currieco as “a figure of the south, [who] guides settlers and shows them the mysteries of the rainforest... he joins the extraordinary endurance of German colonizers.” (“*Pichi Juan, figura de las tierras australes, orienta a los colonos y les descubre los misterios de la selva... se incorpora a la extraordinaria perseverancia de los colonizadores germanos*”), Oreste Plath, “Pichi Juan - Geografía del Mito y la Leyenda Chilenos,” Oreste Plath: 100 años descubriendo Chile para los chilenos, 2007, <http://www.oresteplath.cl/mapa.html>.

companies, like the Stuttgart Immigration Society, and then to cattle-breeding companies, like the *Ñuble-Rupanco*. Scholars agree that Coihueco Island was one of the least densely populated areas, even by indigenous communities. Journalist Adrián Moyano argued that Spaniards first and Chileans later carried out raids to enslave the Huilliche living around the lakes, dropping their numbers. As a result, both government authorities and non-Mapuche settlers displaced previous residents from fertile lands.⁵³ Though a persuasive argument, it seems more likely that policies towards the Mapuche from Araucanía dictated policies towards the indigenous communities in all southern Chile.⁵⁴

In 1887, the national state granted land titles to some Mapuche-Huilliche families who had resided in Coihueco for generations, including the Raileos, the Guaiquimillas, and the Curriecos.⁵⁵ Yet, in the 1900s, as companies advanced over southern Chile, the fertile lands of Coihueco became highly valuable. Cattle-breeding developed into a more profitable activity, thus the south received more investments from Santiago and Valparaíso. The settlement of Cancura, Coihueco's urban area, sat on a busy route connecting the factories of Osorno with Puerto Octay, a harbor in Lake Llanquihue, and from there to the rest of the region. Coihueco Island ran from Cancura to the east, tapping on the western slopes of Puntagudo Volcano and a valley that led to Lake Todos Los Santos, the same lake that the *Chile-Argentina* Company used to cross the Andes. Hence, both location and soil quality raised the value of the land.

⁵³ Adrián Moyano, *De mar a mar: El Wallmapu sin fronteras*, Colección Historia (Santiago de Chile, Chile: LOM Ediciones, 2016).

⁵⁴ Comisionado Presidencial para Asuntos Indígenas, *Informe de la Comisión Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato. Informes finales de los grupos de trabajo: Comisión de trabajo autónomo Mapuche.*, vol. 2, Anexo 3 (Santiago de Chile, Chile, 2008), 909.

⁵⁵ "Isla de Coihueco y Sus Revolutis," *El Llanquihue*, August 5, 1911, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile - Hemeroteca.

The concession to the *Ñuble-Rupanco* began as a land grant to a businessman. In 1905, the Chilean national government granted Belgian businessman Amadeo Heiremans approximately 453,120 acres of land south of Lake Rupanco until the Coihueco River and to the east up to the border with Argentina. The decree is rife with ambiguities that resulted in confusion, protests, and violent displacement.⁵⁶ Heiremans was one of the pioneers in Chile's steel industry. Today, he typifies the story of a European migrant who arrived at the docks of Valparaíso with nothing in his pockets and rose to wealth and fortune thanks to his hard work and cunning business skills.⁵⁷ For the residents of Llanquihue, his name was synonymous with displacement. The concession he received to form the *Rupanco Company* was as large as all the lands granted to foreign settlers until that moment in Llanquihue taken together.⁵⁸ This concession, however, disregarded prior land ownership and settlements, probably imagining Coihueco Island as an empty space, which it was not.

Land tenure facilitated indigenous claims residing in Lakes Puyehue and Rupanco. As soon as the *Rupanco-Ñuble* received the land concessions, indigenous communities protested in the local courts. In doing so, they wielded the double-bladed argument the government had given them: they were Indians and they were Chileans. In 1908, cacique José Esteban Canuipan filed a petition for lands his father had received fifty-three years earlier. The estate was located on the 1855 version of the border with Argentina: “the mountain range where the streams part eastwards and westwards, that is, the *divortium aquarum* [dividing watershed].”⁵⁹ Canuipan argued that those

⁵⁶ Urrutia, *Memoria de la Inspección Jeneral de Tierras i Colonización*, 1905, 327.

⁵⁷ “La Formula Heiremans,” *Revista Capital*, June 9, 2009, <http://www.capital.cl/poder/2009/06/09/7754/la-formula-heiremans>.

⁵⁸ Fabián Almonacid Zapata, “El desarrollo de la propiedad rural en las provincias de Valdivia y Llanquihue, 1850 - 1920,” *Revista Austral de Ciencias Sociales* 2 (1998): 33.

⁵⁹ “*Cordillera donde se parten las aguas que corren del Oriente al Poniente o sea el divortium aquarum*,” Intendencia de Llanquihue, “Solicitudes Varias 1908-1909, Volumen 211.”

lands belonged to his community “by nature” (*por la naturaleza misma*) and it was up to the Executive to give them what was theirs. By identifying themselves as “the sons of this beloved but wretched Chile”⁶⁰ he was both asserting their identity as people of the land (Mapuche) and acknowledging the important role the state played in verifying that identity. Although the national state had representatives in the form of governors, intendentes, inspectors, and fiscal agents, Canuipan felt it very distant: only the President or his ministers could resolve his petition. This contradicts what some scholars of indigenous communities have argued in the past decade: that the Mapuche either passively accepted imposition of an identity from the state or that they resisted these impositions often in the form of violence: “Are not we Chileans and, as such, [entitled to] shelter under the Patriotic Laws dictated by the wise for halting any threats from the ambitious [men] and the citizens?”⁶¹ In other words: the land gave Canuipan and his community their identity as Mapuche(-Huilliche), and it was both challenged by and reinforced by state laws. It was because they were Indians *and* Chileans that they could continue to claim those lands on the border.

In 1912, Ceferino Catrilef desperately petitioned the Intendente of Llanquihue not to “facilitate or give orders to the police force to dispossess him from his property [because it would be] a serious [mistake] given my quality of indigenous person.”⁶² The following year, a whole community filed a complaint against “the people occupying the lands in Rupanco and Coihueco”⁶³ because it belonged to them, “the nationals that come to claim our blood loss in the battlefield of

⁶⁰ “*Los hijos natos de este querido como desgraciado Chile*”, Ibid.

⁶¹ *Acaso no somos Chilenos y como tal no podemos cobijarnos bajo las leyes Patrias dictadas por los [hombres] sabios para poner atajo a las amenazas de los ambiciosos y los ciudadanos?*

⁶² “*No facilite ni se de instrucciones a la fuerza publica para que me despoje de mi propiedad... [because it is a serious mistake] mas grande aun dado mi caracter de indigena*”, Intendencia de Llanquihue, “Solicitudes Varias 1912-1913, Volumen 227.”

⁶³ “*La gente que estan ocupando los terrenos de Coihueco y Rupanco*”, Ibid.

our fatherland.”⁶⁴ Certainly, one of the most interesting documents in the bound volume, this complaint makes references to the wars and dispossessions against the Mapuche-Huilliche since Independence. In addition, it makes references to several authorities that they have contacted to unmask the *Ñuble-Rupanco Company* as a conglomerate of powerful people trampling on the less fortunate: “Everyone in the House [of Representatives in the Congress] own this company and even President Ramón [Barros] Luco... out of fear became a shareholder in this company.”⁶⁵

The Mapuche-Huilliche claimed they owned the lands they inhabited, asserting their indigenusness to support their argument for opposing the company’s take over Coihueco Island. They also utilized Chilean citizenship to reinforce their legal petition. The local newspapers, especially the Conservative *El Llanquihue* newspaper, echoed these protests and demanded action from the provincial and local authorities. Though unsuccessful—as the company got to keep those lands—these claims highlight original modes of combining identities geared towards a goal. The *Ñuble-Rupanco* existed through 1970, when Salvador Allende expropriated its estate and sold it to a cooperative of laborers. The government of Augusto Pinochet reversed this sale and granted those land to Saudi businessman Abdulaziz Al-Saleh. The former laborers never agreed to a settlement.⁶⁶

The Chile-Argentina and the making of the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region, 1895-1912.

On Sunday February 3, 1925, a group of prominent families from Bariloche (Image 5) honored Carlos Wiederhold with the title of First Resident of the town (*Primer Poblador*). They

⁶⁴ “*Los nacionales que venimos a cobrar nuestra perdida de sangre en la patria en campaña*”, Ibid.

⁶⁵ “*Todos los de la camara son dueños de dicha sociedad y hasta el presidente el señor Ramon [Barros] Luco... de miedo se puso accionista en dicha sociedad*”, Ibid.

⁶⁶ Martine Dirven, *Apertura económica y (des)encadenamientos productivos* (United Nations Publications, 2001), 147; Luis Corvalán, *El gobierno de Salvador Allende* (Lom Ediciones, 2003), 52.

gathered to share a meal, stories, and a toast to this man. They gave him a diploma with all their signatures that read:

“A sympathetic homage to the respectable Don Carlos Wiederhold in his return to the place that thirty years ago witnessed the most heroic gesture of his life. First settler of today's San Carlos de Bariloche, in the legendary lands of the Nahuel Huapí, with his unshakable faith, his drive in his enterprise, his noble morale overcame shadows and hardships when even in the environment prevailed the arrests of a race, somber kingdom of these regions, today in surprising conquest of progress, under the protection of the Argentinean people and driven by the fertile arm of its inhabitants.”⁶⁷



Image 5: The attendees to Carlos Wiederhold's 30th anniversary of opening a store in Nahuel Huapi pose for the group photo on February 3, 1925. Wiederhold stands behind the kneeling man. The man grinning on the top right corner is Italian Primo Capraro. Source: Archivo Regional Bariloche – Ricardo Vallmitjana

Words and images synthesized Wiederhold's legacy: the foundation of Bariloche instituted an origin for place-making in Nahuel Huapi establishing for future generations a common understanding of the town's significance for nation-making. The upper third of the page displayed

⁶⁷ “Homonage de simpatia al respetable Señor Don Carlos Wiederhold en su vuelta al lugar que treinta años ha, fuera testigo del gesto mas heroico de su vida. Primer poblador del hoy San Carlos de Bariloche, en las tierras legendarias del Nahuel Huapí, con su fé inquebrantable, su empuje en la empresa, noble moral arrastró sombras y penurias cuando aun en el ambiente imperaban los arrestos de una raza, reino sombrío de estas comarcas, hoy en conquista sorprendente del progreso, al amparo del pueblo Argentino e impulsadas por el brazo fecundo de sus habitantes”, “Diploma Honoring Carlos Wiederhold: ‘30 Aniversario de La Fundacion de San Carlos de Bariloche, Territorio de Rio Negro - Rep. Argentina - 1895 Febrero 2 1925,’” in *San Carlos, 1895-1900*, by Ricardo Vallmitjana, *Historias de Mi Pueblo* (Ricardo Vallmitjana, 2010), 10.

a diptych with images of Bariloche then (1895) and in 1925. The 1895 image showed a path that made its way across the empty hills; a cypress stood tall and alone in a silent landscape. Thirty years later, suggested the depictions, houses and trimmed gardens populate the frame; a dock runs into the lake, which looks surprisingly calm. The 30th anniversary celebration of 1925 reproduced those shared views about Bariloche and its founder. Departing from Lake Llanquihue, his work had brought progress to Lake Nahuel Huapi, bringing the two lakes together as a symbol of collective understanding of space.

This section analyzes the *Chile-Argentina* Trading and Cattle-breeding Company's transformation of the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi space into a landscape of production, a collection of sites that evoked the productive and commercial activities. The managers, Carlos Wiederhold and later his son-in-law Federico Hube, intentionally set out to build structures applying German architectonic and aesthetic techniques. "German" in this context means the personal background of immigrants that arrived in Llanquihue from five regions of Central Europe: Hessen, Silesia, Wüttemberg, Bohemia, and Westphalia.⁶⁸ In Llanquihue and Valdivia Districts, "German" conflated anyone of Central European origin or their descendants. I argue that the lakes undergirded the productive landscape of the *Chile-Argentina* concessions. By examining the transformation of nature, I show that a homogenizing German architecture encapsulated a shared understanding of nationhood. Like the case of the *Ñuble-Rupanco*, the managers of the *Chile-Argentina* allied with state authorities surrogating state expenses. Yet, unlike most companies in Patagonia, the administrators also acted as state officials, bringing together private and public interests and blurring the sharpness of the borderline.

⁶⁸ Fabricio Prado, "The Fringes of Empires: Recent Scholarship on Colonial Frontiers and Borderlands in Latin America," *History Compass* 10, no. 4 (2012): 318–33, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-0542.2012.00837.x>.

The organizers of the 1925 party recognized Wiederhold as the founder of Bariloche, so much so that they retold an old pun. Local historian Ricardo Vallmitjana, writes that Scottish Henry Neil, a settler on the northern shores of Lake Nahuel Huapi –opposite from Bariloche– intentionally confused “san” (saint) for “don” (a courtesy formula) when sending a letter to Wiederhold to play a joke on him.⁶⁹ Since the beginning, the figure of this Chilean trader of German descent became inseparable from the history of Bariloche. Lakes Llanquihue and Nahuel Huapi underscored this connection between man and site.

By celebrating the founder of Bariloche, the attendees at Wiederhold’s party echoed a narrative of progress omnipresent in late nineteenth-century Latin America. As I have shown in chapter 2, political elites of Santiago and Buenos Aires agreed that progress needed to be brought to Patagonia. As a dormant force, its awakening and growth depended on external drive. It did not spring from the soil like a tree; it needed to be sown, catered for, and planned. The road that followed the slope of a hill in the first image of the diptych contrasted with the carefully arranged streets on the second picture. National authorities of Chile and Argentina believed that European migrants –especially Northern Europeans– inherently embodied willingness to work hard and skills to do so. In 1925, the prominent families of Bariloche, many of foreign origin, resonated with this idea. Progress also needed a fertile setting to prosper, in other words under the protective shadow of the state. Yet, local authorities, company managers, and residents interpreted this notion somewhat differently. The praises to Carlos Wiederhold in that summer Sunday of 1925, synthesized in the diploma, paid tribute to the role of private enterprise –not the national state– in irrigating a desert land with progress.

⁶⁹ Neira, Reyes, and Linker, *Las voces del lago*; Ricardo Vallmitjana, *San Carlos* (S. C. de Bariloche: Personal Edition, n/d), 5.

Germans and German-Chileans in Osorno

Germans began to arrive in Osorno in 1846 without any intermediaries. Four years later, larger groups came as part of official colonization efforts attracted by favorable conditions for foreigners to bring capital and access land ownership.⁷⁰ German immigrants designed their businesses in Llanquihue as an extension of their families: men managed them and women weaved a social network around it. A group of settlers founded in 1854 a German co-educational school that would teach the language and religion of parents to children so much so that it merged with the Lutheran Church a decade later. Around that time, in 1862, the German community also founded a club to host social gatherings.⁷¹ Friendships and weddings facilitated and reinforced business relations. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, this model facilitated the inclusion of new immigrants into the local economy and society. A network of ethnic solidarity intertwined German culture and business.⁷² Carlos Wiederhold was born into this context on July 9, 1867.

The Wiederholds represented one of the fastest-rising families in nineteenth century Osorno. Carlos' parents, Heinrich and Emilie, had migrated from Hamburg to Puerto Montt in 1862. They settled in Osorno by 1870, where they joined a growing German community of businessmen and exporters of local produce (fur, honey, and grains). Their small soap factory expanded during the economic growth of the 1870s, increasing its workforce, hiring mostly

⁷⁰ Gabriel Peralta Vidal and Roswitha Hipp Troncoso, *Historia de Osorno desde los inicios del poblamiento hasta la transformación urbana del siglo XX* (Osorno, Chile: Ilustre Municipalidad de Osorno, 2004), 71–73.

⁷¹ Ibid., 96; “Historia – Club Aleman Osorno,” accessed November 6, 2017, http://www.clubalemanosorno.cl/wp/?page_id=2.

⁷² Muñoz Sougarret, “Empresariado y política. Aproximación histórica a las relaciones políticas de los empresarios germanos de la provincia de Llanquihue (1891-1914),” chap. 2.

German or German-descent women.⁷³ Soon, the Wiederholds expanded to other areas, including the first transport service of goods and passengers along the Rahue River, where they were sole leasers of the bridge and the harbor. A beef jerky factory completed the array of shops that the family managed. The headquarters were in the main square, the *Plaza de Armas*, and by the end of the decade it was the best valued property in Osorno. As the Wiederholds' business grew and the eldest son, Carlos, took charge of it, they expanded eastwards, away from the city where the lands were cheaper. Many *osornino* industrialists who used cattle for leather, soap, and jerky also began to buy lands farther east as the demand for their products undergirded their expansion. In addition, a series of regulations transferred public lands management from the national government to the municipalities in Araucanía, Valdivia, and Llanquihue. This meant that local authorities now alienated indigenous land to sell it to upsizing cattle-breeders.⁷⁴

First generation Chileans frequently sought to replicate their parents' cultural identifiers, especially in the favorable atmosphere of the 1870s. Not only did they speak German, but they also participated in the family business and the social gatherings, enlarging their network and strengthening the sense of community. In the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) and the expansion of German commercial network, the German communities of southern Chile proudly supported Emperor Wilhelm I (1888-1918) and sought to align their interests with those of their fatherland.⁷⁵ In an attempt to counterbalance British presence in the South Pacific Ocean, the Reich reinforced its representatives. In Chile, Berlin appointed numerous consuls and vice-consuls with very little real authority but sufficient prestige at a local level through their

⁷³ Ibid., 68–69.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 81–86.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 73–74.

businesses.⁷⁶ Federico Matthei Jaeger, who managed businesses in Illapel, Valparaíso, and Osorno, was the imperial representative in the latter.⁷⁷ In Valdivia, the Emperor appointed Georg Bischoff Vollbrecht, also a renowned merchant and supervisor of the fire department, in 1897.⁷⁸ Finally, the Electoral Reform of 1874 extended the right to vote to virtually all twenty-one year-old men or older that knew how to read and write. In addition, it gave electoral committees the responsibility of registering voters and carrying out elections; and no one who held a government position could be appointed to these commissions. This reform enabled business people to participate in the political arena by progressively lobbying their interests with political parties that now had a wider pool of voters to appeal to. Most of the new voters worked for local businesses and farms of German immigrants or their families.⁷⁹

In a similar way as the Mapuche had done a century earlier, some *osorninos* ventured to the eastern slopes of the Andes looking for grazing lands for their cattle in the 1880s. The Argentine military raid had displaced most of indigenous camps (*tolderías*) and forced the caciques to finally surrender in 1884. Some people settled around Lake Nahuel Huapi, though the population increased when western businessmen set their eye in the east. Ranchers from Chile usually crossed to Argentina through the Puyehue Pass, departing from the easternmost shore of the homonymous lake, climbing along the valley of Golgol River, fringing the southern slopes of Puyehue volcano, crossing over to the other side just south of Mount Mirador, and following the Pireco River for about twelve miles into the Nahuel Huapi. On this site called ‘Rincón’ (corner),

⁷⁶ Ibid., 76.

⁷⁷ “Familia Matthei,” accessed November 6, 2017, <http://www.genealog.cl/Alemanes/M/Matthei/>.

⁷⁸ “Familia Bischoff,” accessed November 6, 2017, <http://www.genealog.cl/Alemanes/B/Bischoff/#BischoffVollbrecht,GeorgKarl>.

⁷⁹ Muñoz Sougarret, “Empresariado y política. Aproximación histórica a las relaciones políticas de los empresarios germanos de la provincia de Llanquihue (1891-1914),” 81–86.

osornino Jorge Hube (or Huber) built a store before 1894, when Wiederhold visited him.⁸⁰ Hube had an estate there where he bred 1,500 head of cattle and grew wheat, barley, potatoes, onions, and beans.⁸¹ Anyone using the pass had to stop by his store. José Tauschek, a Bohemian immigrant to Chile, had also settled near Lake Nahuel Huapi, but on the opposite end from Hube. He had a ranch on the southeastern shores where he bred cattle and periodically herded it to Chile. On the northeastern shores resided Jarred Jones, a Texan cowboy. Historian Vallmitjana has transcribed sections of the census of 1895 into one of his publications, arguing that by the time Wiederhold arrived in Nahuel Huapi earlier that year, there were 76 people settled to the south of the lake as ‘urban’ space, and 120 more people southwards and eastwards. In the department of Los Lagos, the southern tip of the National Territory of Neuquén, where Jarred Jones and 23 other people resided.⁸² Where Hube saw a chance, Wiederhold saw a niche and of February 2, 1895, he too opened a store on the shores of Nahuel Huapi that soon became one of the fastest-growing businesses in Patagonia. Thirty years later, the families of Bariloche celebrated that the modest store, *La Alemana* (The German), changed history forever.

German architecture across the Andes

Carlos Wiederhold located the new store on the southeastern shore of Lake Nahuel Huapi. From Rincón –where the path to Chile began – to the shop, the merchant followed an old path around the lake from the northwest to the east, and then around the main body of water into the

⁸⁰ Fonck, “Plano ilustrativo de la rejion del Nahuelhuapi i del derrotero de Fray Francisco Menéndez”; Biedma, *Crónica histórica del lago Nahuel Huapi*, 154–55.

⁸¹ Biedma, *Crónica histórica del lago Nahuel Huapi*, 155.

⁸² República Argentina, *Segundo Censo de la República Argentina, Mayo 10, 1895*, vol. 2: Población (Buenos Aires: Taller Tipográfico de la Penitenciaría Nacional, 1898), Table III, 644; Ricardo Vallmitjana, *San Carlos* (S. C. de Bariloche: Personal Edition, n/d), 13–15.

west. Image 6 shows the initial complex of the store. It is probable that the photograph was from late 1895 or early 1896, based on the number of buildings: the main structure, a warehouse, a sawmill, and a roofed area for horses. Their construction would have taken at least a couple months. Precipitation in the form of rain and snow fall in the winter months (May through September), which would have slowed any activity.



Image 6: La Alemana, the store that established Carlos Wiederhold in 1895 on the southeastern shores of Lake Nahuel Huapi. Source: Archivo Visual Patagónico.

Carlos Wiederhold located the new store on the southeastern shore of Lake Nahuel Huapi. From Rincón –where the path to Chile began – to the shop, the merchant followed an old path around the lake from the northwest to the east, and then around the main body of water into the west. Image 6 shows the initial complex of the store. It is probable that the photograph was from late 1895 or early 1896, based on the number of buildings: the main structure, a warehouse, a sawmill, and a roofed area for horses. Their construction would have taken at least a couple of months. Precipitation in the form of rain and snow fall in the winter months (May through

September), which would have slowed any activity. The grassy soil covers the relatively recent felling of trees and uncovers the new bushes, probably *radales*. To the left, a *maitén* stands before the fence, indicating proximity to water. The 70-mile journey from the border near Rincón to the store took too long and crossed several lots with owners –such as Jarred Jones’– that could eventually pose a problem. Snow/rain season made the trek more difficult as streams rose and rubble became mud. Most importantly, a road would require maintenance and a convoy would need protection.

Wiederhold investigated other options with the help of José Tauschek. They knew of another pass farther south that cut through the Andes following the winding path of El Manso River. The unusual path of its flow had already perplexed border negotiators for it begins on the southeastern slopes of Mount Tronador (11,453 feet), flows east and then turns west crossing the Andes and ending in Lake Tagua-Tague –in Chile– which then goes into the Pacific Ocean. This passageway continued to appear in the cartography of the time usually under the name of Bariloche or Vuriloche Pass. Its advantage was that it crossed through sparse forests so clearing the way would have been relatively simple. A major disadvantage, however, resided in its distance from the location of the store. It would have entailed between 50 and 65 miles of new roads on the Argentine side alone. In Chilean territory, fjords and mountains separated the end of the pass –the small village of Cochamó– from Puerto Montt or other hubs in the Pacific.

The best pass proved to be Pérez Rosales:

“I knew by Don José Tauschek that we could open a road between Lakes Nahuel Huapi and Todos Los Santos. We resolved to organize an expedition on a small boat that took us... to Puerto Blest. From there, we opened a path before us with our machetes, which we then roofed with Pangué or Nalca leaves giving name [to the site] ‘Casa Pangué’ and that served us as shelter from the pouring rain. The next day we continued along the Peulla [River] valley and we were forced to cross this river more than twenty times until Todos Los Santos. There, we camped on the beach and at dawn, we searched for dry wood and boqui [a tree-climbing plant] for making a raft we used to cross the

lake in two days.”⁸³

Departing from *La Alemana*, Wiederhold would sail about thirty miles west across Lake Nahuel Huapi to the furthestmost part of Blest inlet, into a two-mile machete-in-hand path road onto Lake Frías. After crossing the milky waters, open another path across the mountains and into the Peulla valley on the Chilean side, where the glaciers of Mount Tronador melt into a stream of water that meandered into a large, emerald lake, Todos Los Santos. Like Lake Nahuel Huapi, and most glacial lakes, Todos Los Santos had many tributaries, but only one river that distributed the waters out. Knowing that the origin of such streams marked the lowest section of the lake and, therefore, a way through a valley, Wiederhold and Tauschek disembarked in Petrohué, on the westernmost tip of Lake Todos Los Santos and to the feet of Osorno Volcano. As they hiked into the valley, skirting the mountain by the south, they found an increasingly desolated landscape. The Calbuco Volcano, farther west, had erupted two years before and ash still covered the soil.⁸⁴ A thunderstorm above its crater in December 1892 had announced a prolonged discharge of ash, dust, and mud, especially to the northeast.⁸⁵ Settlers from this site, Ensenada, had evacuated this area by the time Wiederhold and Tauschek arrived. Nevertheless, they did find new springs of

⁸³ “*Por Don José Tauschek supe que se podía abrir un camino entre los lagos del Nahuel Huapi y Todos Los Santos. Resolvimos hacer una expedición ocupando un pequeño bote con el cual alcanzamos... Puerto Blest. Desde aquí nos abrimos, con machete en mano, un pequeño sendero que techamos con las hojas de Pangue o Nalca, por esto el nombre ‘Casa Pangue,’ que nos servía para resguardarnos un poco de la torrencial lluvia. El día siguiente seguimos por el valle del [Río] Peulla teniendo que atravesar este río a pie más de veinte veces hasta llegar hasta el lago Todos Los Santos. Aquí acampamos en la playa y al amanecer buscamos maderas secas y boqui para amar una balsa con la cual atravesamos el lago en dos días*” Speech delivered by Carlos Wiederhold on February 3 1925 for a celebration of the 30th anniversary of his arrival in Nahuel Huapi to build a store. Biedma, *Crónica histórica del lago Nahuel Huapi*, 160.

⁸⁴ Oscar Fisher, “Carta de Don Oscar Fisher a Don Diego Barros Arana Sobre Una Excursión Al Volcán,” October 29, 1893, Memoria Chilena, <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-126100.html>.

⁸⁵ Carlos Martin, “La Erupción Del Volcán Calbuco,” in *Anales de La Universidad de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, Chile, 1895), Pág. 161-193; Elizabeth I. Rovere et al., “Geoethics Implications in Volcanic Hazards in Argentina: 24 Years of Uninterrupted Ash-Fall,” vol. 18, 2016.

raspberries and blueberries that served them as food.⁸⁶ Francisco Tölg, who lived farther east where the damage had been limited, rented them horses to finish the journey in Puerto Montt.

Wiederhold turned adventure into business opportunity: “I decided to devote [my energy] to opening this pass to transport fruits and goods and establish a trading company in this beautiful place [Bariloche], which I am blessed in visiting today and witnessing its transformation into a prosperous city.”⁸⁷ In the summer of 1895-1896, he opened a trading house in Puerto Montt, bought two sailboats (one for Lake Llanquihue and the other one for Todos Los Santos), and hired carpenter Lindor Gallardo and his crew to build a larger vessel in Lake Nahuel Huapi. In addition, the new company built warehouses (*casas*) in Ensenada, Petrohue, Casa Pnague, Puerto Blest, and Bariloche. In the context of border negotiations between Argentina and Chile, and of migration to Northern Patagonia, Wiederhold’s reopening of a trans-Andean pass synthesized overarching interpretations of space and nature. The Andes did not stand in the fringes but at the center of a region.

In 1899, Wiederhold partnered with his son-in-law, Federico Hube (who was not related to Jorge Hube from Rincon) and Adolfo Achelis, a German investor settled in Bremen (Germany)⁸⁸ to expand the assets of his company. Hube became the manager of the rebranded firm, the *Compañía Comercial y Ganadera Chile-Argentina* (Chile-Argentina Cattle-Breeding and Trading Company) as Wiederhold retreated due to health issues.⁸⁹ By 1900, Hube acquired a land grant from the Argentine government to exploit the forests of the northwestern sections of Nahuel Huapi,

⁸⁶ Biedma, *Crónica histórica del lago Nahuel Huapi*, 160.

⁸⁷ “Resolví dedicarme desde luego en abrir ese camino para transportar frutos y mercaderías y establecer en este lindo lugar, que tengo el agrado de pisar, y verlo cambiado en una prospera ciudad, una casa de comercio”

⁸⁸ *Die familie Achelis in Bremen, 1579-1921* (Leipzig, Germany, 1921), <http://archive.org/details/diefamilieacheli00leip>.

⁸⁹ Vallmitjana, *San Carlos*, 5.

very near to Rincón,⁹⁰ which supplied timber for buildings, docks, and trails. As I have examined in Chapter 2, the Office of Lands and Colonization in Argentina had drawn several grids onto a map of Patagonia to divide into sectors land sales and leases. These partitions excluded lands on the border because they had strategic value and their mountainous geography did not qualify them for cattle-breeding or farming. The Argentine government granted six concessions on the western shores of Nahuel Huapi for timber exploitation, right on the border. Federico Hube received one of these.⁹¹

A year before the official foundation of Bariloche in May 1902, the Argentine Navy –which had jurisdiction over all waterways– granted Wiederhold permission to navigate Lake Nahuel Huapi. They considered it aligned with the national interests of “facilitating commercial exchange and catering to the residents’ wellbeing.”⁹² Federico Hube and Adolfo Achelis’ petition of two years earlier had been denied, probably because their argument was grounded on providing a postal service instead of promoting trade. The Argentine Post and Telegraph Office had argued that circumscribing the service to Lake Nahuel Huapi and forcibly connecting it with “a foreign port” would isolate the region even more than it was. This means that Wiederhold was still part of the company in 1901 because he had the authority to file the petition. In addition, the different reactions from the Post and Telegraph Office, and the Navy illustrates the multiple interpretations that state authorities could have of similar petitions. What the former regarded as a futile endeavor, the latter deemed as a seed for progress.

⁹⁰ República Argentina, “Boletín Oficial de la República Argentina. 1900 1ra sección,” March 12, 1900, 2729.

⁹¹ Vallmitjana, *A cien años de la colonia agrícola Nahuel Huapi, 1902-2002*. However,

⁹² Julio Argentino Roca, “Decreto Autorizando Al Sr. Carlos Wiederhold, Para Navegar En El Lago Nahuel Huapi,” 2 Registro Nacional de la República Argentina § Ministerio de Marina (1901).

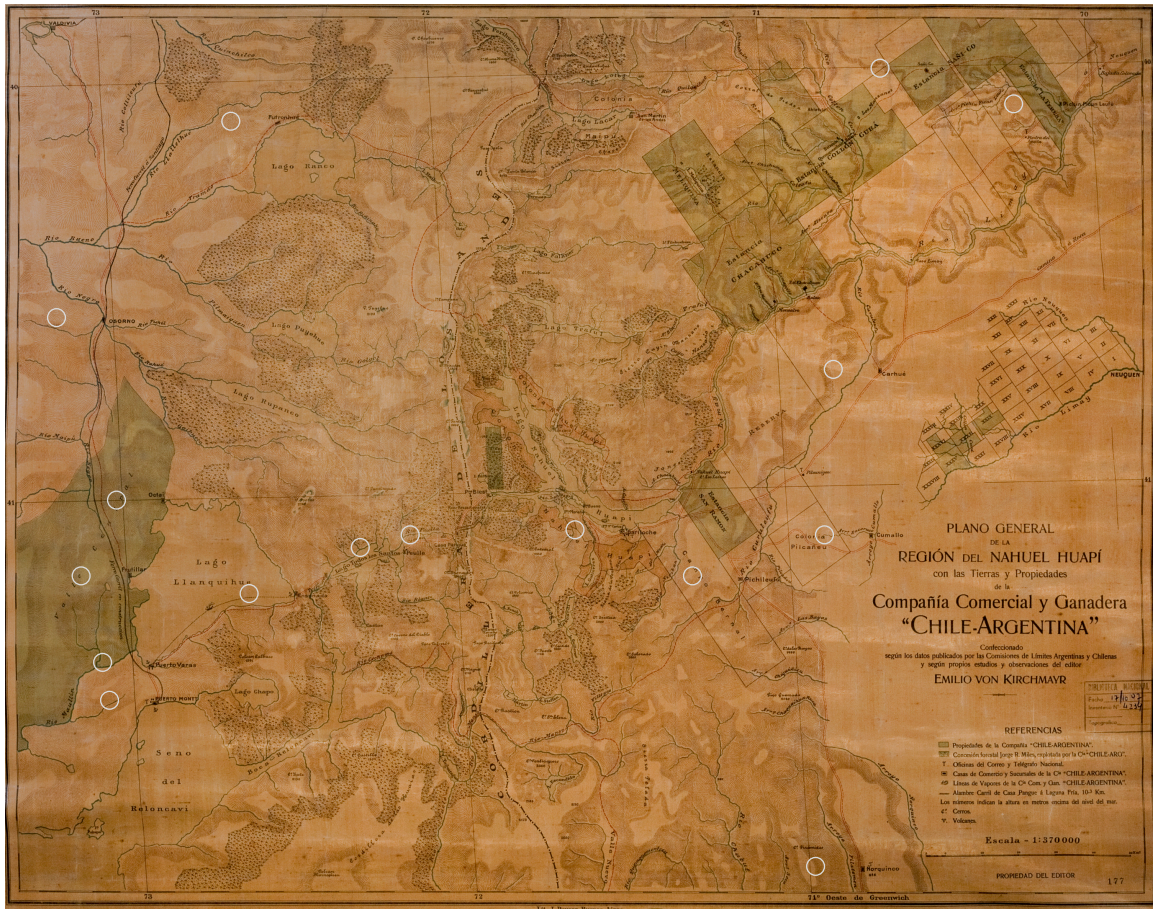


Image 7: Map of Nahuel Huapi with the land properties of the Chile-Argentina Trading and Cattle-Breeding Company, 1910 – National Library of Argentina. The grey circles show the location a company store.

At some point before 1905, Carlos Wiederhold sold Hube and Achelis his shares and retreated to Puerto Montt to continue with his business of importing toys, furniture, fabrics, and jewelry.⁹³ 1905 marked a watershed in the company’s history by entering the stock market of Santiago and upgrading to a commercial society valued in £275,000.⁹⁴ As they rose to majority partners, Hube and Achelis purchased several estates around Nahuel Huapi, and began making improvements to buildings on both sides of the Andes (Image 7). The company controlled all the

⁹³ “La Casa Wiederhold y C. (Ad.),” *El Llanquihue*, January 13, 1910.

⁹⁴ *Boletín de La Sociedad de Fomento Fabril*, vol. 22 (Santiago de Chile, Chile, 1905), 1908.

international traffic between Nahuel Huapi and Llanquihue through the mid-1910s. In the late 1910s, bad decisions and inclement weather cut short the life of the company and its owners had to begin to liquidate their assets. They began with properties in Puerto Montt, followed by some of the estates, and finally the transportation branch in 1912. In 1916, international tariffs handicapped trade and eventually Hube and Achelis sold their Argentine assets to Primo Capraro, an Italian immigrant to Bariloche.

German architecture heavily informed the visual aesthetics of the *Chile-Argentina* infrastructure. In the context of southern Chile, “German” referred to specific techniques from mostly Hessen, Silesia, Württemberg, Bohemia, and Westphalia: transverse gable, massive timber construction, joining marks, and the use of wooden shingles to face exterior walls. Builders did not employ all techniques at once and not all buildings of German order displayed these features. The first building for *La Alemana* (above) embodies an early stage of *blockhaus* style: barn-like building with no gable, a wooden foundation, and exterior bark tiling.⁹⁵ The upgraded building of the *Chile-Argentina* (below) represents an evolved version of the previous typology. Although it maintained the rectangular shape resembling a barn, larger dimensions allowed for more complexity in the interior with hallways distributing into several rooms. Variation of materials and new decorative features to window frames and doors added complexity in an attempt to evoke permanence.

The consistent aesthetics of the *Chile-Argentina* demonstrated that the company existed beyond boundaries. Warehouses and stations along the trans-Andean pass exemplified the same simple rectangular base resembling a barn, and the bark-tiled façade (Image 8), except for the

⁹⁵ F. Prado, R. D’alençon, and F. Kramm, “Arquitectura alemana en el sur de Chile: Importación y desarrollo de patrones tipológicos, espaciales y constructivos,” *Revista de la construcción* 10, no. 2 (September 2011): 104–21, <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-915X2011000200010>.

buildings in Casa Pangué, made of wooden beams. The overarching style homogenized the space that fell under the umbrella of the company. At each stop, the architecture reminded workers the landscape they saw belonged to the company. This way, the borderline became irrelevant and only appeared on a wooden “landmark” (*hito*) sign on the side of the road. By diluting the border, Chile and Argentina, as nations, did not enclose the company but the other way around. This business approach to relations with the states diverged from the secluded, almost secretive attitude other companies had.



Image 8: Main building of the Chile-Argentina Trading and Cattle-breeding Company in Bariloche. Source: Archivo Visual Patagónico.

Images of the *Chile-Argentina* in these early stages show evidence of increasing success. Wiederhold expanded his original store by 1902, the same year Argentine President Julio Roca

issued the decree that founded Bariloche. The larch tiles that covered its exterior and the window frames in contrasting colors resembled the architecture of Puerto Montt and Osorno, as others in town. An Argentine flag danced to the wind in the front. Eight years later, the *Chile-Argentina* had upgraded the building to a similar rectangular shape that mimicked the main branch of Puerto Montt. The exteriors kept the style as the previous structure, with wooden tiles, molded window frames, and a small balcony above the main entrance, almost identical to the company's branch in Puerto Varas (Image 8). Commercial architecture invested in a Germanic heritage with a sense of belonging to that space. The *Chile-Argentina* literally straddled Chile and Argentina, and it smoothed the rough edges of the frontier transforming it into an ensemble of both supported on a German foundation.

In 1905, Hube and Achelis bought all the shares of the *Chile-Argentina*. By then, they had transformed Wiederhold's store in Bariloche into a two-floor building. In Puerto Montt, their main branch visually encapsulated progress with its size and design. The store, offices, and warehouse took up about two-thirds of the block. Chamfered corner, iron balconies, lime and brick, and spacious offices contrasted with the wooden veneers or rolling metal sheets of other buildings like the Jesuit school and the Central Hotel. A photograph of a section of the bay in 1907 shows an array of houses and buildings, some of three or four floors. As far as the eye can see, timber is omnipresent in *puertomonttino* construction, which explains the number of firefighter squads and the high number of reported fires.

The true profit came from the courier services. The Intendencia de Llanquihue received more private telegrams through this route than from any other.⁹⁶ The postal service was so intense,

⁹⁶ Intendencia de Llanquihue, "Libro Copiador – Memoria de La Intendencia de Llanquihue, Año 1907" (Archivo Nacional Histórico - Fondo Intendencia de Llanquihue, 1907), fol. 9, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Santiago de Chile.

that in 1907 the company designed and began building a cable car that would go from Peulla, in Chile, to Puerto Frías, in Argentina. Only recently, Franz Schirmer, manager and owner of the Petrohue Lodge and the adjacent museum, discovered in 2011 the archaeological remains of the towers. The *Chile-Argentina* bought all the materials –cables, iron, and machinery– in Germany and, as they had done with boats, they assembled them onsite. This had required the felling of large extensions of millenary forests, which have left a visible mark in the vegetation today. Like the balcony in the main branch building, the towers were an attempt to imprint the industrial impetus of the iron with the spatial challenges of the Andes: A cable car made sense across the mountains, not across the plains.

Finally, the *Chile-Argentina* partnered with both national governments to strengthen its transnational position. Federico Hube, corporate manager of the firm, also represented Buenos Aires in Puerto Montt, as I have illustrated at the beginning of this chapter. Carlos Boos, another German transplant to Nahuel Huapi via Puerto Montt,⁹⁷ supervised the estates of the enterprise in Bariloche. In 1912, the Chilean government appointed him vice-consul to protect the interests of Chileans residing on the Argentine side of the border.⁹⁸ After his retirement from the trans-Andean business, Carlos Wiederhold also earned a diplomatic position from the German Empire. He would use this role to harbor German interned sailors during World War I.⁹⁹ Lastly, Luis Horn, another German with a managerial position of the *Chile-Argentina* in Bariloche, became the first president

⁹⁷ Muñoz Sougarret, “Empresariado y política. Aproximación histórica a las relaciones políticas de los empresarios germanos de la provincia de Llanquihue (1891-1914),” 236.

⁹⁸ “Un Triunfo Periodístico,” *El Llanquihue*, November 17, 1911.

⁹⁹ Laura Méndez and Jorge Ernesto Muñoz Sougarret, “Economías Cordilleranas e Intereses Nacionales: Genealogía de Una Relación. El Caso de La Compañía Comercial y Ganadera Chile-Argentina (1895-1920),” in *Fronteras En Movimiento e Imaginarios Geográficos. La Cordillera de Los Andes Como Espacio Sociocultural*, ed. Andrés Núñez, Rafael Sánchez, and Federico Arenas (Santiago: RIL Editores, 2013), 176; Jamie Bisher, *The Intelligence War in Latin America, 1914–1922* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2016), 82–84.

of the town's local council in 1907. Three other men joined him: Federico Reichelt, German accountant of the company; José de García, Spanish writer for the police station; and Rubén Fernández, from the Argentine city of Córdoba and supervisor of the local telegraph.¹⁰⁰

The managers of the *Chile Argentina Trading and Cattle-breeding Company* sought to materialize their views of progress with their German heritage, a strategy that was not strange to political elites in Chile and Argentina. Land concessions to colonizing agents or companies had to bring families of European origin, “preferably from the following nationalities: Scandinavian, Dutch, Swiss, French, especially Basque, Germans, especially from the north, English, and Scots.”¹⁰¹ Led by Carlos Wiederhold and Federico Hube, the firm transformed the geographical space between Puerto Montt and Bariloche with buildings and infrastructure. The stations along the route evidenced shared architectonic styles which, I argued, served as a homogenizing brushstroke (Image 9). In addition, the managers of the company allied with the diplomacies of Argentina, Chile, and Germany to strengthen its transnational position in Patagonia. In doing so, they merged business with policy that helped further fade the borderline in the Andes.

¹⁰⁰ Laura Méndez, “Prácticas Económicas y Acción Política En El Nahuel Huapi: Una Unión Civil (1883-1930),” in *La Historia, La Investigación Histórica, y Los Investigadores En Tiempos de Crisis* (V Congreso de Historia Social y Política de la Patagonia Argentino-Chilena, Trevelin, Chubut: Secretaría de Cultura de Chubut, 2003), 64.

¹⁰¹ “Preferencia a las sigs nacionalidades: escandinavos, holandeses, suizos, franceses, especialmente vascos, alemanes especialmente del norte, ingleses y escoceses,” *Documentación de los contratos de colonización de la compañía comercial de la compañía comercial y ganadera Chile-Argentina*. (Valparaíso: Sociedad Imprenta y Litografía Universo, 1912), 8. See also Ricardo González Leandri, “La nueva identidad de los sectores populares,” in *Nueva Historia Argentina*, ed. Alejandro Cataruzza, vol. 7: Crisis económica, avance del estado e incertidumbre política (1930-1943) (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2000), 212; Norambuena Carrasco, *¿Faltan o Sobran Brazos? Migraciones Internas y Fronterizas, 1850-1930*, 81–83; Fagerstrom, *Reseña de la colonización en Chile*, 114–17.

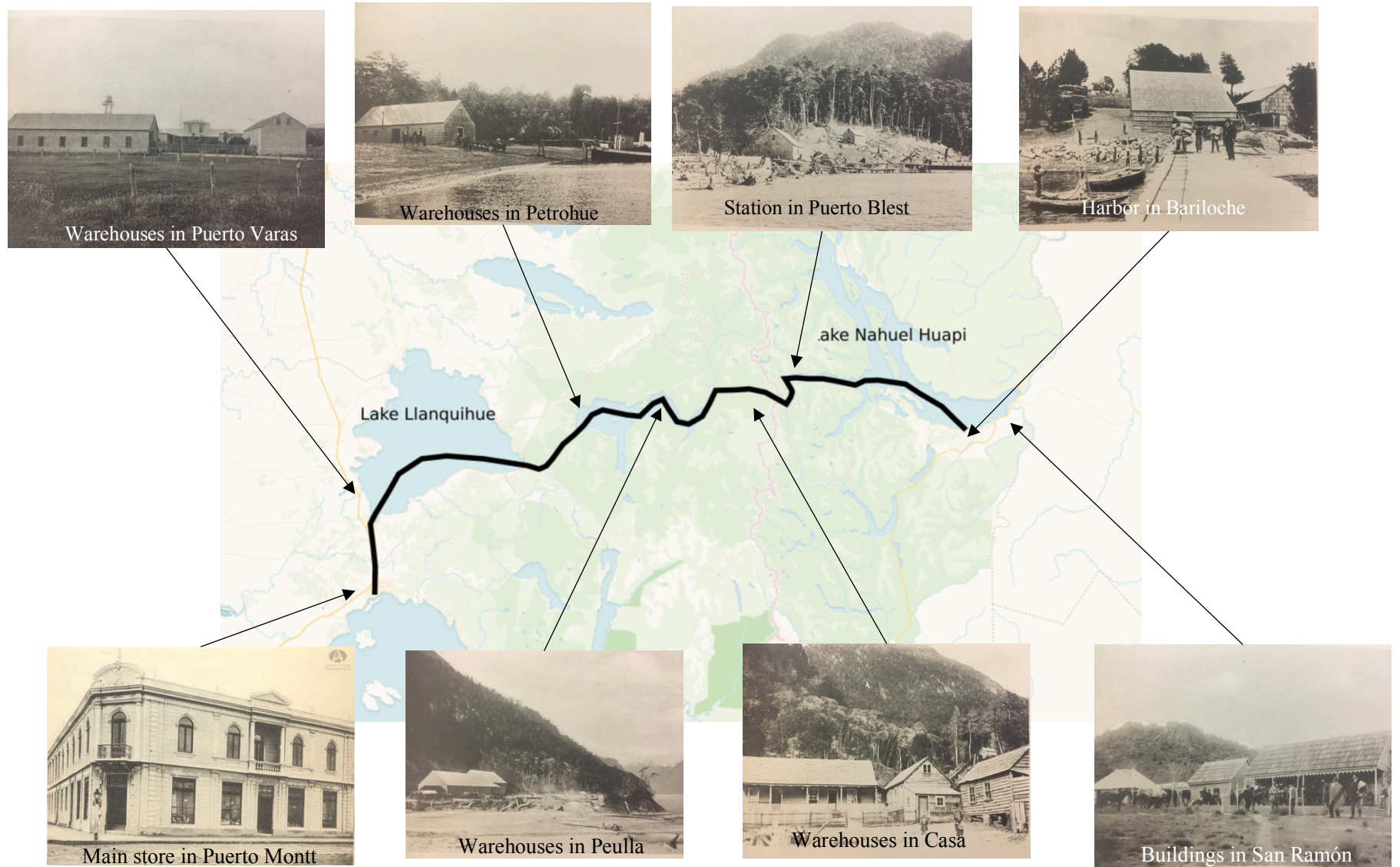


Image 9: Some of the buildings of the Chile-Argentina Trading Company between 1900 and 1910 pinpointed to their location. Sources: Carlos Foresti, *Album de la Compañía Comercial y Ganadera Chile-Argentina* (1900) and *Archivo Visual Patagónico*.

Conclusion

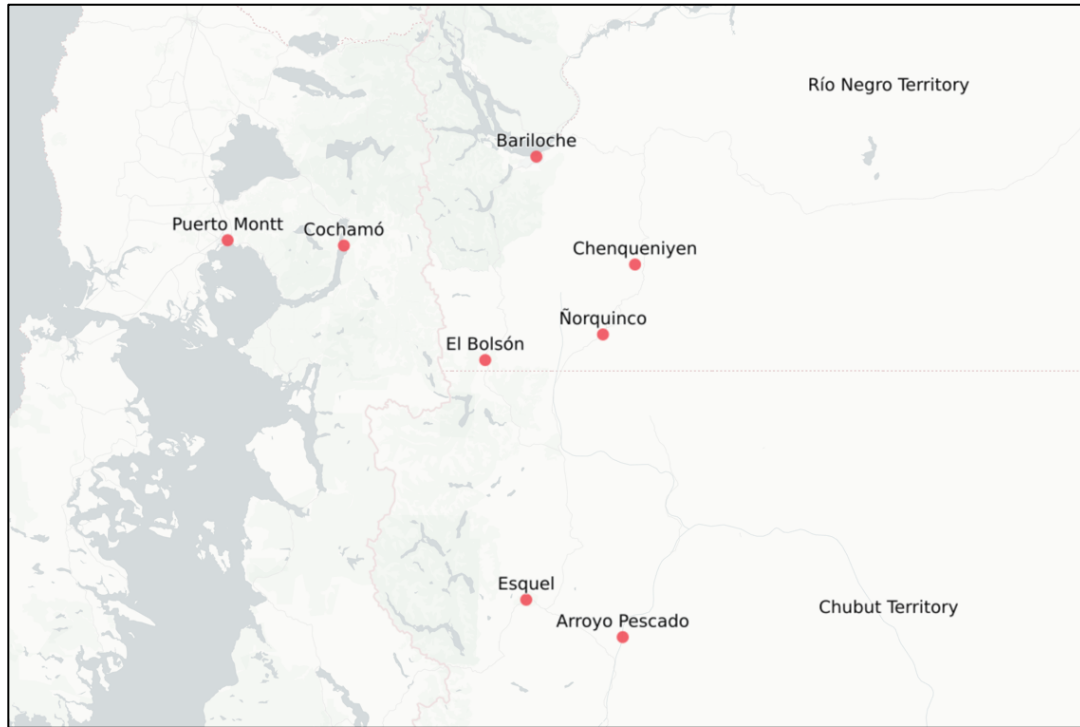
The legal frameworks for land granting had different paces in Chile and Argentina, but they resembled each other eventually. In general, authorities of both countries were more prepared to give access to land ownership to foreigners than indigenous communities (Mapuche). Immigrants settled first in southern Chile, so by the time newcomers arrived in Nahuel Huapi, a first generation of Chileans had taken over the parents' businesses and farms. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, both countries turned to granting land concessions to trading companies to alleviate the cost for building infrastructure. In exchange for lands and permission to exploit resources, enterprises agreed to open roads, build docks and bridges, and bring settlers.

In this context three companies emerged. The *Cochamó Agricultural and Meat-processing Company* divorced itself from local ranchers as an attempt to control space. The disputes originated in the concession to Cochamó and its practices, personified in the figures of Tomás Austin and Augusto Minte. Securing control over roads and bridges became a prime objective for companies and settlers alike. The competition for this control, tied to larger trading networks, unintentionally blurred some aspects of transnational commerce. The *Rupanco Colonizing, Farming and Cattle-breeding Company* received a controversial estate in Coihueco Island. Although several indigenous communities lived there, authorities had allowed the concession overriding previous land titles. As a result, numerous Mapuche protested in the local courts, combining their indigeneity with their Chilean citizenship to make their cases.

The dominion of the *Chile-Argentina Trading and Cattle-breeding Company* exemplified the narrative of progress brought to the region. This development stomped across the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi valleys in the form of warehouses and planked roads. The structures, mirroring the *puertomonttino* style brought by German immigrants, embodied Chilean and Argentine goals of

progress to the point that the founding father of the company was also the founding father of a town, Bariloche. The ceremony of this primordial moment coexisted with other national celebrations and yet it highlighted the drive of a foreigner to foster progress for Argentina. Finally, the *Chile-Argentina* the aligned the company interests with state's in the figures of executives that had diplomatic positions for three different countries.

**Chapter 4: Morality and Crime in Northern Patagonia: Local Elites, Police Forces,
and Ruthless Bandits, 1910-1930.**



Map 10: Locations in Chile and Argentina mentioned in Chapter 4

Introduction

On June 4, 1911, Julián Gonzalonera, a Chilean landowner with properties in Ñorquínco (Argentina, Map 10), sent a letter to a local newspaper expressing his concern about increasing banditry (*bandidaje*) in the area. It was worrisome that murders and robberies kept the population on high alert “without any response from the police.”¹ Although he and others had filed several

¹ “El bandolerismo en el territorio,” *La Nueva Era*, June 4, 1911. “*Sin que la policia haga nada*”, *Ibid*. The author signed the letter “Julián Gonzalorená.” However, in later documents from Chile and Argentina, I found his real name was “Gonzalonera” and this first appearance in *La Nueva Era* was probably a typo.

complaints with the closest police station, authorities remained unresponsive. In addition to poor police response, victims of attacks, “honest people” (*vecinos honrados*), were under death threat if they attempted to resist.² The author added he had attempted to communicate with the police and the governor so that they “agree to protect our lives and interests.”³ Banditry hampered progress.

Gonzalonera’s brief letter encapsulates the atmosphere of Northern Patagonia between 1910 and 1930. Ranchers and local authorities believed gangs of bandits roamed freely, threatening their cattle, their people, and their authority. Gonzalonera voiced a shared concern among landowners—who, together with professionals and business people comprised the local elites—about the lack of policing in the areas next to the cordillera, which, in his view, resulted in rising crime rates. Additionally, local police officials were inadequately equipped, incompetently trained, and underpaid.⁴ Gonzalonera’s letter also illustrated an omnipresent rhetoric in Patagonia where crime frequently opposed progress. In the context of Northern Patagonia, “crime” was an umbrella term for all sorts of crimes. Bandits (*bandidos*) drank, looted, robbed, murdered, raped, destroyed, invaded, and fled. Conversely, “progress” captured what settlers envisioned in the best interest for the advancement of civilization: owning lands, growing crops, breeding animals, producing a surplus for trade, erecting buildings, settling with a family. Bandits’ criminal behavior opposed the elite’s attempts to bring economic prosperity to the region. Not surprisingly, descriptions of criminals often evoked earlier depictions of unruly populations of Patagonia, especially of Mapuche. Thus, in the desert of moral values and civilization they—businesspeople, officers, farmers, immigrants—brought progress to Northern Patagonia.

² “El bandolerismo en el territorio.”

³ “*Se nos acuerde protección de nuestras vidas e intereses*”, *Ibid.*

⁴ “Mejoras policiales,” *La Nueva Era*, January 19, 1919.

This chapter examines how local elites of the Northern Patagonian Andes utilized the rhetoric of Patagonia as a dangerous landscape to transform it into a productive, civilized, attractive space. Local elites and authorities appropriated a vocabulary of public health and morality that situated undesired behaviors out-of-place. The main continuity throughout the period was that political and social elites fiercely believed that progress, in the broadest sense, needed to be transplanted to Patagonia from somewhere else. Social elites and state officers portrayed dangerous spaces to those areas where their moral values and legal authority succumbed to what they rendered as a vacuum, a site with little to no state presence that facilitated the opposite of progress: crime.

Chilean and Argentine authorities construed the Patagonian Andes as a dangerous space. This portrayal replicated earlier ideas about Patagonia as a desert, where the lack of state presence ultimately resulted in lack of material progress. Hence, the governments of both countries simultaneously increased the numbers of police officers, judges, teachers, and public servants in this region during the first decades of the twentieth century. Authorities' characterization of Patagonia as a dangerous space worked on the assumption that some people did not behave as expected. Men drank, gambled, and quarreled, women exercised prostitution, people stole each other's land or cattle, and local officers abused their authority. For national authorities, these behaviors undermined "the construction, maintenance, and evolution of ideological values," hindering the making of the nation in Patagonia.⁵ As a result, national authorities and social elites depicted some areas in Patagonia, such as the Northern Patagonian Andes, and some sections within these areas, such as open roads, as risky places. Furthermore, simple violations of legal

⁵ Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 4.

codes or improper behaviors eroded the foundations of progress. By undermining the possibility of progress with the possibility of danger, perpetrators compromised the expansion of the nation in Patagonia.

Finally, a short clarification. Heavy migration by Chileans to Argentina fueled how Argentines perceived ideas of danger in Patagonia. This has left behind a rich set of sources about perceptions of Chileanness, crime, and social status. Thus, the center stage of this chapter is the Argentine side of Northern Patagonia.

The Northern Patagonian Andes in Context, 1910-1930

The twenty years covered by this chapter show the increasing concerns that national authorities and local elites had about immigration and space. In both countries, the outbreak of World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia forced political leaders to re-think their alliances and re-articulate their priorities. While Socialism and Anarchism had posed a threat to Chilean and Argentine democracy in the early twentieth century, Communism now posed a very real fear. However, both countries responded differently. In Argentina, a group within the government introduced legislation that paved the way for the Universal Right to Vote in 1910 (for males only). This pivotal change allowed the successful election of the *Unión Cívica Radical* (Radical Civic Union, UCR), an urban, middle-class-based political party in 1916. The UCR ruled until 1930, when it was overthrown by the first military coup in Argentine history. Unlike its neighbor, Chile progressed with a more Conservative government. While World War I pushed Chilean nitrate to record-breaking exports, its aftermath doomed the industry as the demand fell

drastically.⁶ The economic crisis underscored a political crisis that gave the final blow to an already declining system centered in Congress. Under the auspice of General Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, who rose as the power behind the scenes, Chileans drafted a new constitution that shifted political power from the parliamentary branch to the Executive. Conservatism hold on to the presidential seat. This political context impacted how residents, local authorities, and perceived bandits would relate to one another.

The Liberal Reformists, the group among the Argentine Conservative government, re-designed national politics. For instance, they introduced a Labor Law that incorporated some of the demands of unions, even though it died there. At the same time, Reformists sanctioned the Law of Residency (1902) and of Social Defense (1910), enabling the government to expel foreigners for political reasons. These were the men that pushed for what became known as Sáenz Peña Law, which instituted the secret and obligatory electoral vote for all adult males.⁷ None of these reforms, however, were applicable to the National Territories.

There was, however, one piece of legislation that loomed large over the Territories (even though it was an utter failure). Ezequiel Ramos Mexía, the face of these reforms, served as Minister of Agriculture (1901 and 1906) and Public Works (1907-1913).⁸ Probably his most cited contribution to the Territories was the sponsorship of Law 5559 “National Territories Development

⁶ Luis Ortega Martínez, “La crisis de 1914-1924 y el sector fabril en Chile,” *Historia (Santiago)* 45, no. 2 (2012): 433–54.

⁷ Ricardo Falcón and Alejandra Monserrat, “Estado, empresas, trabajadores y sindicatos,” in *Nueva Historia Argentina*, ed. Ricardo Falcón, vol. 6: Democracia, conflicto social y renovación de ideas, 1916-1930. (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2000), 157. For more on the Reformist sectors within the governing party between 1900 and 1916, see Orietta Favaro and Marta Morinelli, “Los reformistas de la clase dominante (1890-1916).,” *Revista de Historia* 0, no. 1 (1990): 59–81; Eduardo A. Zimmermann, *Los Liberales Reformistas: La Cuestión Social en la Argentina, 1890-1916* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1995).

⁸ For a background on Ramos Mexía’s thought, see Martha Ruffini, “La Patagonia en el pensamiento y la acción de un reformista liberal: Ezequiel Ramos Mexía (1852-1935),” *Quinto* 12 (2008): 131–35.

Act.” In it, the minister sought to articulate a development plan around public works such as extending the railway system (non-existent in Patagonia) and building water canals for crops. The underlying argument in this piece of legislation was that high density of immigrants caused unrest in the urban settings of Buenos Aires and other cities. Thus, Ramos Mexía proposed to open new areas for economic exploitation that attracted immigrants away from urban centers where they could unionize. The undesirable urban population became desirable for the National Territories. Articulating the development of infrastructure in Patagonia around the port of Buenos Aires and the productive farmlands of the Pampas, Ramos Mexía incorporated the National Territories into the idea of the nation. The vast openness of the Patagonian topography, in addition, would prevent the risk of high demographic density. In Ramos Mexía’s view, densely populated cities triggered expensive living costs which undergirded social conflict.⁹

In Argentina, the universal male suffrage represented a victory of the middle class, composed of immigrants or first-generation Argentines. An open-borders policy allowed 5.8 million people to immigrate through the port of Buenos Aires between 1881 and 1930.¹⁰ As most scholars of Buenos Aires have pointed out, in 1914 one of every two residents of the city was a foreigner.¹¹ This ratio was replicated in Northern Patagonia, especially in the jurisdictions close to the Andes. In 1914, 46% of the residents of the Territories of Neuquén and Chubut Territories were of foreign origin. In Río Negro, 40% of the population was foreign-born in the department of

⁹ Ruffini, “La Patagonia en el pensamiento y la acción de un reformista liberal: Ezequiel Ramos Mexía (1852-1935).”

¹⁰ José Moya, *Cousins and Strangers. Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1998), 56.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 149; Benjamin Bryce, *To Belong in Buenos Aires: Germans, Argentines, and the Rise of a Pluralist Society* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2018), 14; Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, Updated and revised edition. (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), chap. 1.

Bariloche, and a solid 55% of those living in the department of General Roca (close to Neuquén City) had not been born in Argentina. What varied among the three territories was the proportions of the most representative nationalities. In Neuquén, 88% of foreigners were Chileans. I will show how this number had a profound impact in how local authorities perceived this group. In Río Negro, Chileans and Spaniards each comprised one third of the total foreign population in the Territory followed by Italians (13%). In Chubut, Spaniards also accounted to almost a third of foreigners (31%), Chileans represented about a quarter (26%), and Italians and British came to 10%.¹²

Public education and land access promised immigrants a welcoming life in the Argentine Pampas. Like Chileans had done so already, Argentines were quick to categorize newcomers according to their ability to contribute with the material development of the country. “Germans,” wrote a Spanish journalist, “are good for anything...obedient and unrelenting, they displace all races.” The author continued: “Spaniards... come to the New World to conquer a fortune with the pencil behind their ears... Italians, Frenchmen, and Belgians, future factory foremen; Englishmen [will] end as butlers in country estates.”¹³

Social conflict, however, was not absent from Patagonia. The Reformists and the government of Yrigoyen (1916-1922, 1928-1930) introduced laws that applied to the Provinces, but not to the National Territories. For instance, residents in Patagonia could not vote in national elections and, in most towns, they could not even elect their local authorities. In addition, World

¹² República Argentina, *Tercer Censo Nacional levantado el 1ro de Junio de 1914*, vol. 2: Población (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos de L.J. Rosso y Cía, 1916), 357–58, 381–85, 387–88.

¹³ “[Los] alemanes que sirven para todo, ...sumisos y tenaces, intentando desalojar á todas las razas...; españoles... que van al Nuevo Mundo á conquistar una fortuna con el lápiz detrás de la oreja...; italianos, franceses y belgas, futuros contra maestros de fábricas; ingleses, que acabarán en mayordomos de estancias”, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, *Argentina y sus grandezas*, Second (Valencia: Prometeo, 1910), 20, <http://archive.org/details/argentinaysusgra00blasuoft>.

War I dislocated the economic circuits abroad with deep impact in the export sector.¹⁴ This crisis, “that probably was worse than that of the 1930s,” reached the corners of Patagonia.¹⁵ Wool prices spiked during the European conflict, motivating numerous businesspeople to acquire more lands with low-interest loans. The boom in wool production attracted seasonal workers who worked in the spring and summer. In 1918, however, the national government increased tariffs to profit from the apparent boom. That same year, the price of the wool plummeted, causing many workers to lose their jobs. Those who kept them saw their salaries fall.¹⁶

The post-War crisis affected all sectors of the export-oriented Argentine economy. A wave of strikes occurred across the county. The most prominent and best forgotten episode became known as the *Patagonia Trágica* (Tragic Patagonia). In late 1921, the Argentine army led a military raid against laborers in Santa Cruz who went on strike. Officers allowed arbitrary executions of “incurable” workers, forcing them to dig their own graves and robbing them of scant belongings before their murder. Local authorities in Río Gallegos (tied with the landowning elite) and the national press depicted the incident as a successful defeat of “an anarchist and/or bandit attempt to establish a soviet that would march on Buenos Aires”.¹⁷ The massacre left four hundred dead, which—explains historian Ernesto Bohoslavsky—in a region with a population of 20,000 it represented 2% and a 7% of adult males. Proportionally, this was the greatest manslaughter in the history of Argentina.¹⁸

¹⁴ José Moya, *Cousins and Strangers. Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1998).

¹⁵ Sandra McGee Deutsch, *Las Derechas: The Extreme Right in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, 1890-1939* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 80.

¹⁶ Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, 337–39.

¹⁷ “Una intentona anarquista y/o bandolera para establecer un soviet que posteriormente marcharía sobre Buenos Aires”, Ernesto Lázaro Bohoslavsky, *El complot patagónico: nación, conspiracionismo y violencia en el sur de Argentina y Chile (siglos XIX y XX)*, Colección Estudios Patagónicos (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2009), 89.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. 3. For later interpretations of *Patagonia Trágica*, see chapter 4.

The events in Santa Cruz serve as a backdrop of tightened social control in the 1920s, especially as attacks towards immigrants or their decedents. However, this does not mean that there was a sudden change between the 1910s and the following decade. If anything, the events in Santa Cruz reveal larger anxieties about ideologies that undermine the position of local and national elite. While national and local elites tried to secure control over land and people, locals (including immigrants) attempted to navigate a legal system still under construction. Some foreigners positioned themselves within local elites and, by extensions, representatives of the true Argentine values of order and progress in Patagonia. These same people reproduced in the local press portrayals of other foreigners as delinquents. In the context of the 1910s and 1920s, delinquency was a symptom of social disease and thus called for the intervention of authorities with what they will refer as “moralizing action” (*medida moralizadora*).¹⁹

Prophylaxis in Patagonia: Ideas about Public Health and Social Control

Benedict Morel’s *Traité Dégénérescences Physiques, Intellectuelles et Morales de l’espèce Humaine* (1857) shaped the Chilean and Argentine medical sciences and their effort to define, measure, and quantify what they considered normality.²⁰ The French psychiatrist argued that some people within a society degenerated the racial and moral values of a nation. Medical doctors in Europe and the Americas considered that the working class was the group most at risk of contracting and infecting others with social diseases. The term “social disease” initially described

¹⁹ “Los juegos de azar,” *La Nueva Era*, February 14, 1925.

²⁰ Benedict Augustin Morel et al., *Traité des dégénérescences physiques, intellectuelles et morales de l’espèce humaine et des causes qui produisent ces variétés malades : atlas de xii planches* (Paris : J.B. Baillièrre, 1857), <http://archive.org/details/traitdesdg1857more>.

tuberculosis because its infectious agent moves more easily in humid, poorly-ventilated, sometimes dirty closed spaces, such as prisons, factories, and overcrowded housing.²¹

The social question also contained an element of vice in addition to the element of contagion that typified social disease. Inebriation and prostitution led the way to vicious behavior that enabled the propagation of illnesses. Immoral excesses led to fist fights, shootings, accidents, and gambling, all of which accentuated the risk of criminal behavior and the perpetuation of poverty among those at higher risk. This vicious circle, argued hygienist doctors of the second half of the nineteenth century, not only reinforced the propagation of disease but also of behaviors that hindered the economic progress of the nation as a whole. As a result, morality gravitated national policies on public health, and public health, in turn, provided a vocabulary to identify and remove criminals. It was clear for the governing elites of both countries that criminal behavior was the result of abnormal morality, as opposed to modern morality supported by reason. Criminals, in short, were individuals unable or unwilling to accept modern laws and remained in a primitive state ruled by abnormality.²²

Chilean and Argentine national authorities targeted urban centers in Buenos Aires, Santiago and surrounding areas with the late-nineteenth century public health policies. Since the social question was a medical issue as much as a social one, these policies encompassed the establishment of hospitals and prisons. Patagonia, however, did not receive the same attention as the political centers. Local mutual aid corporations and municipalities attempted to fill in the

²¹ Néstor N. Arrúa, “Médicos higienistas y visitadoras frente a la tuberculosis en la ciudad de La Plata (1935-1943),” *Revista Cátedra Paralela* 11 (2014): 106. For more on Tuberculosis a social disease, see David S. Barnes, *The Making of a Social Disease: Tuberculosis in Nineteenth-Century France* (University of California Press, 1995).

²² Gabo Ferro, *Degenerados, anormales y delincuentes: gestos entre ciencia, política y representaciones en el caso argentino*, Colección Pasado Imperfecto (Ciudad de Buenos Aires: Marea, 2010), 34–35; Marco Antonio León, “Los dilemas de una sociedad cambiante: criminología, criminalidad y justicia en Chile contemporáneo (1911-1965),” *Revista Chilena de Historia del Derecho*, no. 19 (2003): 223–77, <https://doi.org/10.5354/rchd.v0i19.23262>.

vacuum of health services, sometimes with volunteers of the Salesian order that had founded several schools across Patagonia. Until 1930, the only state-run sanitary facility was Allen Hospital, in the Río Negro upper valley, inaugurated in 1925.²³

In terms of carceral policy, there was a prison in each regional capital in both countries (Viedma, Neuquén City, Rawson, and Río Gallegos in Argentina, and Puerto Montt and Punta Arenas in Chile). Ushuaia, the capital of the southernmost National Territory in Argentina, hosted since 1902 a penal colony: a modern penitentiary at the end of the world which was built on its immersion in the environment rather than in isolation from it. Authorities in Buenos Aires expected prisoners in Ushuaia to rehabilitate through outdoor labor in forestry. However, this prison did not serve the population of Patagonia, but was rather the residents of the national capital. By exiling inmates to Ushuaia, authorities in Buenos Aires reinforced order in the prison of Buenos Aires, the largest in the country.²⁴

All this means that the tools of social control that typified policies addressing the social question were absent in Patagonia. Further, to some extent, national authorities implied that Patagonia in general was a benevolent space: “The majority of the population [in Patagonia] was young and healthy because it did not suffer the confinement generated in big urban centers, and its weather, with dry and cold winds, would periodically sweep away pestilence.”²⁵ The abandonment

²³ Ernesto Bohoslavsky and María Silvia Di Liscia, “La profilaxis del viento. Instituciones represivas y sanitarias en la Patagonia argentina, 1880-1940,” *Asclepio* 60, no. 2 (December 5, 2008): 195–96, <https://doi.org/10.3989/asclepio.2008.v60.i2.263>. By 1940, there were a total of 181 physicians in the Patagonian National Territory, who represented 44% of all Territories, that served in about 38 healthcare facilities (dispensaries, emergency rooms, and clinics). The availability of 512 beds in all of Patagonia contrasted with the 41,877 in the rest of the country.

²⁴ Edwards, “A Carceral Ecology,” 1–7.

²⁵ “*Su población era en su mayoría joven y sana pues no sufría los encierros generados por las urbes y su clima, de vientos fríos y secos, barrería periódicamente las enfermedades pestilentes*”, Bohoslavsky and Liscia, “La profilaxis del viento. Instituciones represivas y sanitarias en la Patagonia argentina, 1880-1940.”

of hygienist policies contrast with the absence of hygienist policies. How could local elites, then, sustain social control?

National authorities and local elites used other tools to exert social control over the morality of their neighbors. They acted through the press and the legal system to denounce uncivil behavior and reinforce attitudes that reflected the advancement of their ideals about the nation. For instance, the distribution of land leases in Northern Patagonia allowed, in theory, the settlement of hard-working people that would enclose the lots, build houses, grow crops, and have a family. In many cases, however, buyers used the land for speculation, which delayed the transformation of vacant lots into productive farms. As a result, “animated by the moralizing purpose to fight these encroachments,” the Minister of Agriculture ordered the inspection of colonies where this behavior was suspected.²⁶ Another instrument that elites used to control others was to introduce public opinions or legislation that would buttress their positions of power. Probably the clearest example of a behavior that elites saw as a threat to public morality was drinking in excess.

An Unhealthy Toast: Inebriation and Public Morality

Local elites used claims of inebriation to enforce a public morality.²⁷ Authorities and elites regarded inebriation as the origin of social decadence particularly because it prevented people from self-control.²⁸ Alcohol transformed conversations into discussions, jokes into offenses, and

²⁶ “Animado del propósito moralizador de reprimir tales usurpaciones”, “Por las colonias nacionales,” *La Nueva Era*, May 10, 1910.

²⁷ For other Latin American examples of the intersection between alcohol consumption and public morality, see Alvis E. Dunn, “A Sponge Soaking up All the Money.’ Alcohol, Taverns, Vinaterías, and the Bourbon Reforms in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Santiago de Los Caballeros, Guatemala,” in *Distilling the Influence of Alcohol Aguardiente in Guatemalan History*, ed. David Carey (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 84–108; David Carey, “Drunks and Dictators: Inebriation’s Gendered, Ethnic, and Class Components in Guatemala, 1898–1944,” in *Alcohol in Latin America: A Social and Cultural History*, ed. Gretchen Pierce and Áurea Toxqui (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2014), 131–57.

²⁸ William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages*, 1 edition (Stanford, CA:

memories into long-standing quarrels.²⁹ Men spent more money in brothels and bars when under the influence of alcohol, instead of saving those earnings or use them to provide better for their families.³⁰ An advertisement in *La Nueva Era* (Río Negro) stated that alcohol “is humanity’s worst plague” because it led to excessive behavior (*excesos*).³¹ Lack of self-control, in the eyes of social elites and authorities, was almost a synonym for vagrancy, which, in turn, undermined the ideals of hard work proposed by modern civilization. Thus, vagrancy directly opposed the national ideals of progress (boiled down under the banner of hard work).

Very often, fights among drunkards ended up in shootings. On one February morning in 1910, for instance, a man “in severe alcoholic state” entered a police precinct in Carmen de Patagones and shot the secretary. He did not kill him because, being under the influence, his reflexes were neither sharp nor quick and the officer shot him back promptly.³² The “plague” also affected law enforcement, especially in the lower ranks, although not exclusively. In 1920, for example, officer Alberto Montenegro forced his entry into Juan Ibar’s house, a businessman (*comerciante*) from Mengué (Map 10). Completely inebriated, he broke in through the back door swinging a knife and cracking a whip, charged against Ibar, but was timely subdued by a couple of neighbors.³³ Probably one of the most scandalous cases was when a local judge of El Bolsón, Vicente Fernández Palacios, shot a revolver in the middle of a social gathering in the summer of 1913. By several witness accounts, all of whom were sharing a barbecue with the judge, Fernández

Stanford University Press, 1979).

²⁹ María Argeri, *De guerreros a delincuentes, de. La desarticulación de las jefaturas indígenas y el poder judicial: Norpatagonia, 1880-1930* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005), 260.

³⁰ Asunción Lavrín, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940*, *Engendering Latin America*; v. 3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 132–36.

³¹ “*La peor plaga de la humanidad*,” “Sin alcoholizar,” *La Nueva Era*, April 20, 1919.

³² “Asalto a la Intendencia Municipal: agresión brutal e incalificable.” *La Nueva Era*. February 20, 1910.

³³ “Gestas de la policía de Neuquén - Un hecho vandálico,” *La Nueva Era*, January 13, 1919.

Palacios was very drunk: he “was pouring wine on every object in the room.”³⁴ After shooting the Colt revolver, the situation escalating to a fistfight in the street, which the judge fled as soon as he had a chance.³⁵ The governments of Chile and Argentina reacted to these incidents by regulating the selling of alcoholic drinks.³⁶

Sporadically, editors of the press reproduced articles on how other countries (especially France) attempted to regulate alcoholism. In addition to spreading propaganda against the consumption of alcoholic beverages, newspapers like *La Nueva Era* agreed that “alcohol is the ultimate invisible responsible for filling cemeteries..., a masked murderer”.³⁷ What is more, authorities often mimicked French trends and attributed to inebriation the rise in the number of cases of tuberculosis.³⁸ Tuberculosis, syphilis, and inebriation—the triad of social diseases—

³⁴ “*Que el Juez estaba bañando con vino a todos los objetos que había en la habitación*”, Policía Fronteriza de Chubut, “Testimonio de Valentín Bustamante” (Ministerio del Interior - Expedientes Generales, 1913 Legajo 46, Copia de sumario instruido con motivos de denuncia formulada contra el juez de paz de El Bolsón Vicente Fernandez Palacios y comisario Laudalde, March 12, 1913), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Archivo Intermedio.

³⁵ Policía Fronteriza de Chubut, “Testimonio de Manuel Sales” (Ministerio del Interior - Expedientes Generales, 1913 Legajo 46, Copia de sumario instruido con motivos de denuncia formulada contra el juez de paz de El Bolsón Vicente Fernandez Palacios y comisario Laudalde, May 9, 1913), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Archivo Intermedio; Policía Fronteriza de Chubut, “Testimonio de Valentín Bustamante.”

³⁶ The editors claimed that “nine-five percent of newspapers in the Province of Buenos Aires” supported a higher tax for alcoholic beverages, see “Contra el alcoholismo: nuevos trabajos.” *La Nueva Era*. May 5, 1909. Ironically, the Argentine military that had advanced over Northern Patagonia decades before had distributed freely alcoholic drinks among indigenous settlements as a means to subdue them, see Laura Méndez, *Estado, frontera y turismo. Historia de San Carlos de Bariloche.*, Prometeo Bicentenario - Colección Estudios Patagónicos (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2010), 66; Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, Second, Historia Argentina (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2011), 42. For more on indigenous consumption of alcohol in the Argentine North Patagonia, see Gladys Varela and Ana María Biset, “Entre guerras, alianzas, arreos y caravanas: Los indios de Neuquén en la etapa colonial,” in *Historia de Neuquén*, ed. Susana Bandieri, Orietta Favaro, and Marta B. Morinelli (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra, 1993), 65–106.

³⁷ “Proveedor de los cementerios... el alcohol es el gran culpable invisible, el asesino enmascarado”, “De Buenos Aires: La guerra contra el alcoholismo - Los ejemplos de Francia.” *La Nueva Era*. June 20, 1909.

³⁸ “La campaña contra el alcohol.” *La Nueva Era*. April 11, 1909. Museo Emma Nozzi, Carmen de patagones. For rising cases of tuberculosis in other parts of Patagonia see Bohoslavsky, Ernesto Lázaro. *El complot patagónico: nación, conspiracionismo y violencia en el sur de Argentina y Chile (siglos XIX y XX)*. Colección Estudios Patagónicos. Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2009, pp. 204-205; Edwards, Ryan. “A Carceral Ecology: Penology, Forestry, Exploration, and Conservation in Southernmost Argentina.” Doctoral, Cornell University, 2016, pp. 54-57.

evidenced corrupt morality as physicians and authorities associated them with poverty and poor morality.³⁹

Elites also regarded inebriation as the main cause for criminal activity. In 1911, editors of *El Llanquihue* praised the improvement of living conditions for the working class (*gente obrera*) in Puerto Montt who could now apply for saving accounts: By “decreasing pointless expenses for inebriation,” workers would have “enough money to save” and eventually “buy a lot and build a small house of their own to end, once and for all, the ill and immoral gambling dens.”⁴⁰ Similarly, rural laborers (*gente de campo*) were also doing well thanks to their hard work in their farms. As a result, “all the friends of culture and progress as well as public morality should advice these people to invest in saving accounts instead of lowering themselves to the vice of inebriation.”⁴¹

Inebriation was by far the most common cause for arrest in Northern Patagonia. In 1917, it represented eighty percent of arrests –all male– in the Llanquihue Province and the National Territory of Río Negro.⁴² Women’s arrests usually coupled selling alcoholic beverages without a

³⁹ For more on tuberculosis, syphilis, and inebriation as “social diseases,” see Lavrín, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940*, 138–39; Diego Armus, *The Ailing City: Health, Tuberculosis, and Culture in Buenos Aires, 1870-1950* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2011); Manuel Durán, “Sexualidad, producción y trabajo en el discurso higienista y eugenésico en Chile y Argentina, 1860-1930,” *Nomadas*, no. 23 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.5354/no.v0i23.47334>. Diego Armus, *The Ailing City: Health, Tuberculosis, and Culture in Buenos Aires, 1870-1950* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2011). For more on healing these ills through religion, see Ana Inés Barelli and Patricia Dreidemie, eds., *Migraciones en la Patagonia. Subjetividades, diversidad y territorialización* (Editorial Universidad Nacional de Río Negro, 2015), 216–17.

⁴⁰ “Disminuyendo los gastos inútiles par ala embriaguez, sobra abundante dinero para el ahorro... para comprarse un sitio y construirse una casita propia, para acabar de una vez por todas con los malsanos y casi inmorales conventillos”, “Movimiento comercial e industrial.” *El Llanquihue*. January 12, 1911.

⁴¹ “Todos los amigos así de la cultura y del progreso como de la moralidad publica debieran aconsejar a esta gente que deposite su ganancia mas bien en cajas de ahorro en lugar de rebajarse por el vicio de la embriaguez”, “Movimiento comercial e industrial.” *El Llanquihue*. January 12, 1911.

⁴² In Argentina, inebriation was regulated by Article nº 251 of the Rural Code of 1894, see Ley poniendo en vigencia el Código rural en los Territorios Nacionales, Pub. L. No. 3088, Rural Code (1894). <http://servicios.infoleg.gob.ar/infolegInternet/anexos/215000-219999/218422/norma.htm>; Río Negro, Gobernación. “Memoria del Gobernador de Río Negro Carlos Evrat presentada al Ministro del Interior Ramón Gómez.”

Ministerio del Interior - Expedientes Generales, 1918 Legajo 5, May 12, 1918; Ibáñez, Francisco. “Nota Nº 4: Informe sobre los arrestos del año pasado.” Archivo Histórico de Puerto Montt, Oficios recibidos por la Intendencia

license and clandestine prostitution.⁴³ Drinking, gambling, and prostitution were all legal activities, but highly regulated. Authorities and social elites alike believed that inebriation underscored other crimes such as disorderly behavior, gambling, and brawling omnipresent in precarious dens (*boliches*) where people gathered.⁴⁴ Men “altered their values and abandoned their [exemplary] place.”⁴⁵ Many times, intoxicated men shot one another (and most of the time missed because of their state).⁴⁶ On some occasions, vandals used the temptation of drinks to lure guards off their posts and, for example, steal a statue in a riverside promenade.⁴⁷

Increasingly in the 1910s and 1920s, authorities in both countries attempted to fight inebriation, syphilis, and tuberculosis –regarded as the most widespread diseases of the poor– as a means to moralize society. Not coincidentally in 1917, the Chilean Social Hygiene League (*Liga Chilena de Higiene Social*) was founded to fight “social ailments” through educational, moral, and religious campaigns.⁴⁸ In 1920, an Executive Order from Chile’s capital instructed provincial Intendentes not to allow the “selling of alcoholic beverages or other businesses that are contrary to morality” less than 200 meters (218 yards) from a school.⁴⁹ In 1925, the Northern Patagonian

de Llanquihue de la Policía, 1918, January 7, 1918.

⁴³ Ibáñez, Francisco. “Nota N^o 21: Informe sobre los arrestos de las últimas veinticuatro horas.” Archivo Histórico de Puerto Montt, Oficios recibidos por la Intendencia de Llanquihue de la Policía, 1918, January 24, 1918; Ibáñez, Francisco. “Nota N^o 23: Informe sobre los arrestos de las últimas veinticuatro horas.” Archivo Histórico de Puerto Montt, Oficios recibidos por la Intendencia de Llanquihue de la Policía, 1918, January 28, 1918.

⁴⁴ Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, 173.

⁴⁵ “En lugar de ejemplarizar, [el sexo masculino] no hace más desvirtuar sus propios conceptos... abandonando por completo su lugar”, “La corrupción en auge.” *Ambas Márgenes* in Ministerio del Interior - Expedientes Generales, 1918 Legajo 5, Expediente 875V: Varios vecinos de Viedma (Río Negro) formulan quejas contra la policía de esa gobernación. January 19, 1918.

⁴⁶ “Policía de Patagones.” *La Nueva Era*. November 30, 1913.

⁴⁷ “El atentado del miércoles.” *La Nueva Era*. December 28, 1919.

⁴⁸ Lavrín, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940*, 138; Marcelo Javier Sánchez Delgado, “Chile y Argentina en el escenario eugénico de la primera mitad del siglo XX” (Universidad de Chile, 2015), 112–14.

⁴⁹ “*Negocio de bebidas alcohólicas u otros negocios que sean contrarios a la moralidad*”, “Sobre vigilancia en el cumplimiento de la ley de alcoholes.” *El Llanquihue*. January 13, 1918. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile - Hemeroteca.

newspaper *La Nueva Era* applauded the government's initiative to introduce "a special law to severely repress gambling as a moralizing means of social prophylaxis." According to local elites, gambling and brawling symptomized lack of culture, rampant in "regions like our Territory of Río Negro, distant... [from populated cities]."⁵⁰

While drinking and gambling could remain hidden from authorities, brawling evidenced of alcohol-induced or game-related quarrels. To surrounding neighbors, these loud fisticuffs illustrated the absence of police forces to monitor the behavior of those who could not control their urges to drink or gamble. Eventually, residents and authorities alike construed certain areas within a city or within a larger region as dangerous and in urgent need of increased police presence. For example, while the railroad from Osorno to Puerto Montt was under construction in 1908, residents of El Desagüe (three miles north from Puerto Varas) protested that the workers robbed a resident, Julio Werner, and they caused "fights with knives and chaos that are impossible to repress because of the absolute lack of police officers to contain more than one hundred men, most of whom are inebriated."⁵¹ The police report stated that a small group of officers surveilled the work of those yeomen, which suggests that someone with authority had anticipated they would be quarrelsome and needing additional policing. Some authorities abused their position to settle petty disagreements they had with civilians. That same year, in 1908, a group of eighteen artisans (*artesanos*) from Puerto Montt filed a complaint against Sergeant Luis Vivar because incited his officers to pick on them (*molestarnos*) and write their names in the police reports to local

⁵⁰ "Una ley especial reprime severamente las infracciones a los juegos de azar, como medida moralizadora de profilaxis social... en las apartadas regiones de nuestro Territorio de Río Negro, aquel se encuentra en todo su apogeo", "Los juegos de azar." *La Nueva Era*. February 14, 1925. World Newspaper Archive.

⁵¹ "Riñas a puñal y desórdenes que es imposible reprimir por la absoluta carencia de policía para dominar cerca de cien hombres la mayor parte en estado de ebriedad", "Solicitud de varios vecinos de El Desagüe de un piquete de carabineros para controlar a los trabajadores del Ferrocarril." Archivo Histórico Nacional, Fondo Intendencia de Llanquihue, Solicitudes varias 1908-1909, Volumen 211, 1908.

newspapers “with the sole purpose of undermining our prestige.”⁵² Officers registered that artisans committed a series of small crimes under the influence of alcohol, such as petty theft, playing cards, riding a horse, and smuggling goods.⁵³

In September 1926, several intoxicated “civilians” were drinking in near a fire station in Puerto Montt, which was illegal. They squabbled with the firefighters from the nearby fire station nº 6. The skirmish epitomized all too frequent confrontations between the rule of law and those who attempted to shake it with disorderly behavior. The fight also crystalized deeper social power relations. In southern Chile, fire stations (*compañías*) were founded by concerned neighbors. Despite the high humidity in Llanquihue, wooden buildings and the burning of wood for heat made fires a constant hazard. As a result, residents contributed to founding fire stations across Puerto Montt, Puerto Varas, and Osorno. The ones that could provide such donations were business people and local elites that had a direct interest in protecting their properties from fires and deep pockets to provide funding. Thus, the scuffle between firefighters and intoxicated men encapsulates how the consumption of alcohol posed an opportunity for exert control over others—on the part of local elites—in an attempt to regulate behavior and space.

Law and Border: Action and reaction to banditry

“Things are going bad in the Andean region” opened an article on December 21, 1919, in a newspaper published in the Atlantic towns of Carmen the Patagones and Viedma (Map 10). “It looks like guarantees for life and livestock are an illusion... all accounts that we receive... [call]

⁵² “*Con el exclusivo [sic] propósito de desprestigiarnos [sic]*”, “Artesanos de Puerto Montt se quejan sobre policía Sargento Luis Vivar.” Archivo Histórico Nacional, Fondo Intendencia de Llanquihue, Solicitudes varias 1908-1909, Volumen 211, 1908.

⁵³ “Artesanos de Puerto Montt se quejan sobre policía Sargento Luis Vivar” (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Fondo Intendencia de Llanquihue, Solicitudes varias 1908-1909, Volumen 211, 1908).

authorities to severely and energetically suppress banditry.”⁵⁴ The article illustrated its point with a letter to the editor from José Vereertbrugghen, a Belgian physician who resided in Bariloche. The letter denounced the murder of Argentine Juan Torrontegui presumably at the hands of a Chilean named Montero. Vereertbrugghen stated that Montero shot the arresting officer “with a revolver he had hidden beneath his poncho.”⁵⁵ Besides the outrage of the crime against an Argentine and a police officer, Vereertbrugghen condemned that Montero wandered freely around the Nahuel Huapi region as if nothing had happened. Montero’s freedom was a slap in the face to the efforts that people like Vereertbrugghen made to “develop the Argentineness in those places today abandoned to foreigners that harass our honest and hard-working settlers.”⁵⁶ What pushed a Belgian doctor to claim to be more Argentine than a Chilean bandit?

Local elites depicted the Northern Patagonian Andes as a dangerous space not because of the challenges posed by the environment but because of the people that inhabited it. Bandits, the epitome of Patagonian criminality, wandered freely in small groups haunting the nationalizing efforts of “honest people” (*gente honrada*).⁵⁷ Vereertbrugghen’s complaint exemplifies how local elites positioned themselves as nation-makers in the Northern Patagonian Andes, regardless of their national origin. Landowners, business people, professionals, and local authorities portrayed the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region as a site corrupted by wandering gangs of bandits that

⁵⁴ “*Mal andan las cosas allá por la región andina... Parece que las garantías para la vida y hacienda de sus pobladores son mera ilusión... Todos los relatos... que llegan [llaman a] la necesidad de represión severa y enérgica del bandolerismo, por las autoridades*”, José Vereertbrugghen, “De la zona cordillerana: Las garantías en Bariloche,” *La Nueva Era*, December 21, 1919.

⁵⁵ “*Un revolver que llevaba debajo del poncho, oculto*”, *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ “*Al fomento de la argentinidad en esos lugares hoy abandonados a la actividad del extranjero, que no cesa de hostilizar a nuestras poblaciones honradas y laboriosas*” Vereertbrugghen, José. “De la zona cordillerana: Las garantías en Bariloche.” *La Nueva Era*. December 21, 1919.

⁵⁷ Vereertbrugghen, “De la zona cordillerana: Las garantías en Bariloche.”

undermined the efforts of “hardworking people” (*poblaciones laboriosas*).⁵⁸ As a cure for the apparently rampant criminality, local elites called for increased policing in the cordillera. Surveillance, they argued, would pluck out undesired individuals leaving room for those who sought to transform the Desert into a productive garden.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Local Press and the Making of Patagonia



Map 11: Other locations mentioned in Chapter 4

Editors of newspapers in frontier regions, in Patagonia and around the world, saw themselves as witnesses of “a civilizing mission led by the [national] State.”⁵⁹ Located in urban settlements, these periodicals presented themselves as legitimate expressions of local elites and their ideas about the region and the nation. Particularly, the press took up the mission of educating the sovereign (*educar al soberano*) by publishing articles and—in some cases—short stories that condensed the key points of what a modern society in a frontier region should aspire to be.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Leticia Prislei, ed., *Pasiones sureñas: prensa, cultura y política en la frontera norpatagónica, 1884-1946* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2001), 12.

⁶⁰ Leticia Prislei, “Imaginar la Nación, modelar el desierto: los ’20 en tierras del ‘Neuquén,’” in *Pasiones sureñas. Prensa, cultura y política en la frontera norpatagónica (1884-1946)*, ed. Leticia Prislei (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2001), 80–81. For more on the idea of “educating the sovereign” in Patagonia, see Inés Fernández Mouján, “En la educación: Las marcas de la colonialidad y la liberación,” in *Miradas transcordilleranas: Selección de trabajos del IX Congreso Argentino-Chileno de Estudios Históricos e Integración Cultural.*, ed. Paula Gabriela Núñez (San Carlos de Bariloche: IIDyPCA-UNRN-CONICET, 2011), 380–87; Cielo Zaidenweg, “Difundiendo y afianzando la ‘argentinidad’. La prensa local rionegrina en las primeras décadas del siglo XX,” *Boletín americanista* 0, no. 64 (2012): 181-199–199; María Andrea Nicoletti, “Formar ciudadanos argentinos y católicos en la Patagonia norte de los territorios nacionales: la congregación salesiana y las escuelas del Estado (1880-1950),” *Boletín americanista*, no. 72 (2016): 71–88. For a general perspective of “educating the sovereign,” see Lucía Lionetti, “La socialización política y la formación de los formadores en la Argentina (1870-1916)” (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2001);

As a window into the press in Northern Patagonia, I utilized two newspapers: *La Nueva Era* for Argentina and *El Llanquihue* for Chile. Both periodicals were printed in a city and distributed from there to the cordillera. In addition, they both ran uninterrupted in the twenty years covered in this chapter. Both papers were founded before the beginning of the period by businessmen in Carmen de Patagones and Puerto Montt (Map 11).

Somewhat coincidentally, both newspapers reflected a Conservative line. In both countries the Conservative elites based their status in economic liberalism and a firm control of workers and yeomen. However, *La Nueva Era's* Conservatism sometimes revealed progressive undertones because of its location. Founded in 1903 by businessman Mario Matteucci, this newspaper was published alternatively in Carmen de Patagones and Viedma, respectively a town in Buenos Aires Province and the capital city for the Territory of Río Negro, only separated by the Negro River (Map 11). Although it originally reflected concerns about the political upheavals of Buenos Aires, *La Nueva Era* increased its circulation when it began to include more information about Viedma and Río Negro Territory and less about Buenos Aires. By 1911, it had increased its number of pages from four to six, maintaining a balance between news and advertisements. In the subsequent years, the paper gradually included more adverts from the nearby area and the farther settlements in Río Negro.

The diversification of news and ads reflected the shifting connection between Carmen de Patagones, Viedma, and the rest of the Territory through trading routes, mailing services, and the telegraph. Particularly, Carmen de Patagones suffered similar consequences as other towns in Río Negro which had no access to the Argentine railway system. The southern branch of the rail

Lucía Lionetti, "La Función Republicana de La Escuela Pública. La Formación Del Ciudadano En Argentina a Fines Del Siglo XIX," *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa* 10, no. 27 (2005): 1225–55.

network connecting the port of Buenos Aires with the farmland in the eponymous province finished in Bahía Blanca. From there, a branch crossed the northern section of Río Negro and connecting Neuquén City with the network (Map 11). Carmen de Patagones and Viedma, however, would not receive the blessing of the tracks until 1922. Additionally, news from these places reflected a shift in the paper's orientation from the province of Buenos Aires to the Territory of Río Negro.

El Llanquihue distributed its pages across the homonymous province in Chile. Guillermo Gallardo, Antonio Staforelli, Fernando Schwerter, Federico Rinsche, José Márquez, Javier Gutiérrez, and Christian Brahm, all “prominent residents” of Puerto Montt—as they are frequently portrayed—founded *El Llanquihue* in February 1885.⁶¹ They set their mission to strengthen the Catholic ideals within the public as a reaction to the Liberal presidency of Domingo Santa María. Especially in the light of recently-approved Lay Act, which transferred the registry for births, marriages, and deaths from the Catholic Church to the Government, *El Llanquihue* worked under the slogans of “God and Fatherland” (*Dios y Patria*) and “Freedom within Order” (*Libertad dentro del Orden*).⁶² Until 1900, the newspaper was the official publication of the Conservative Party, though it kept this editorial line until the 1940s. At different times, *El Llanquihue* competed with shorter-lived periodicals in Puerto Montt and throughout the province of Llanquihue. As *El Llanquihue* appeared daily reacting to the Liberal government established in Santiago in 1885, another weekly newspaper also dawned in Puerto Montt supporting the new government “up in

⁶¹ Patricio López Cárdenas, *Las administraciones municipales en la historia de Puerto Montt* (Puerto Montt, Chile: Dokumenta Comunicaciones, 2008), 165.

⁶² “Una mirada sobre el camino recorrido,” *El Llanquihue*, February 12, 1935; “120 años de historia de El Llanquihue, una interpretación,” *El Llanquihue*, March 7, 2005, http://www.ellanquihue.cl/prontus4_nots/site/artic/20050306/pags/20050306000020.html.

arms with Liberal ideals to combat with them in the field of true freedom.”⁶³ Despite the favorable political atmosphere for it to succeed, the paper did not make through the end of the century.

La Nueva Era's conservative profile did not appear as straightforwardly as in *El Llanquihue*. While both newspapers attempted to replicate a rhetoric of social control from national papers, *La Nueva Era* mirrored a growing concern among local Territorial elites to exercise control over others: floating laborers, indigenous peoples, foreigners, and outcasts (and many times these groups overlapped). However, the political reality of the National Territories also pushed editors to protest government policies that excluded local elites from the political arena. Male citizens of the National Territories in Argentina—a third of the country's total—could not participate in national elections, unlike their conational people or even their neighbors in Llanquihue. This was because the national government saw the residents of the National Territories were too few and too inexperienced in democratic practices to engage in political elections.⁶⁴ There was no territorial legislature or local municipalities where residents could participate: The Executive appointed authorities, except judges. Even though *La Nueva Era* was originally oriented to Buenos Aires province, the reality of its proximity to Viedma and the surrounding fields shaped its articles as if it was part of the Territory. The second-class citizenship underscored how editors objected the lack of participation in democratic practices and how men and women sought to

⁶³ “A tomar las armas de la idea liberal para combatir con ellas en el campo de la verdadera libertad”, “Prospecto,” *El Reloncaví*, October 30, 1885.

⁶⁴ Ruffini, “Gestando ciudadanía en la cordillera: participación y representación política en la región andina rionegrina (1920-1945),” 123; María Teresa Varela, ed., “La inconclusa instalación de las legislaturas territoriales. Debates y perspectivas desde la prensa rionegrina (1922-1930),” in *Nacionalismo, Migraciones y Ciudadanía. Algunos aportes desde las Ciencias Sociales* (Buenos Aires: Autores de Argentina, 2009), 63; Martha Ruffini, “La Liga Patriótica Argentina y los derechos políticos: El Congreso General de Territorios Nacionales de 1927,” in *Nacionalismo, Migraciones y Ciudadanía. Algunos aportes desde las Ciencias Sociales*, ed. María Eugenia Cruset and Martha Ruffini (Buenos Aires: Autores de Argentina, 2009), 73; Fernando Casullo, “Expedientes en la calle: Las relaciones entre los funcionarios de justicia y la prensa en la Patagonia Norte (1884-1916),” in *Historia social y política del delito en Argentina*, ed. Gabriel Rafart (Neuquén, Argentina: EDUCO, Editorial de la Universidad Nacional del Comahue, 2010), 355.

construct their citizenship through other spheres.⁶⁵ Thus, *La Nueva Era*'s frequent opposition to policies that excluded the residents of Northern Patagonia sprinkled its editorial line with Liberal demands.

Editors of *La Nueva Era* particularly pushed for accessibility to democratic practices that fellow Argentines enjoyed elsewhere. In their views, elections encapsulated a civic duty and a patriotic devotion that characterized “the most civilized countries in the world.”⁶⁶ Furthermore, it judged the lack of enthusiasm of those in Carmen de Patagones who could participate in elections but failed to do so: “It is deplorable the unwarranted indifference with which residents participate in the renewal of local authorities.”⁶⁷

Dangerous Mountains: Bandits and Foreigners in the Andes

The murder of Llywd Ap Iwan, a Welshman living in the small settlement of Arroyo Pescado (Chubut, Map 12), foregrounded local concerns about foreign bandits furtively riding across and along the Andes.⁶⁸ The incident occurred on a late afternoon in December 1909, while Ap Iwan was at his store. He managed a branch of the Chubut Trading Company's general stores at the crossroads between the steppe and Esquel (Map 12).⁶⁹ We know the safe was almost empty because only three customers had come to the store. One of the employees, Robert Roberts,

⁶⁵ Varela, “La inconclusa instalación de las legislaturas territoriales,” 61–63; Cikota, “Frontier Justice,” chap. Introduction.

⁶⁶ “*Los pueblos más civilizados del orbe*,” “La lucha próxima,” *La Nueva Era*, March 11, 1905, Museo Emma Nozzi, Carmen de Patagones; “El veredicto de las urnas,” *La Nueva Era*, April 4, 1920, Museo Emma Nozzi, Carmen de Patagones.

⁶⁷ “*Cabe deplorar la injustificada frialdad con que el vecindario suele asistir a los actos de renovación de autoridades comunales*,” “Renovación municipal,” *La Nueva Era*, November 23, 1919, Museo Emma Nozzi, Carmen de Patagones.

⁶⁸ The locality is also known by its Welsh name, Nant y Pysgod which translates to ‘Stream of Fishes’, see Mike Pearson, “One Letter and 55 Footnotes: The Assassination of Llywd Ap Iwan by the Outlaws Wilson and Evans,” *Parallax* 19, no. 4 (2013): 63–73, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13534645.2013.845400>, fn 4.

⁶⁹ R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caernarfon: Gwasg Pantycelyn, 2001); Pearson, “One Letter and 55 Footnotes,” 63.

explained in a letter to his parents back in Wales that “the wind blew against the door of the store all day so it had to be closed, and only a few customers came in during the day.”⁷⁰ Ap Iwan ordered his employees to close the store, while he went to the rear house where he lived. When the manager left, at least three other customers came into the store: an Indian, a man who spoke in Spanish, and a North American (who Roberts described as Englishman because he spoke English). Roberts chatted a little with the latter as he “did not think this man any worse than anybody else.”⁷¹ Unfortunately, he misjudged the customer, as he resulted to be a robber.

Drawing a revolver on Roberts, the bandit demanded to see Ap Iwan, as his partner entered the store. Roberts called his supervisor, who was forced to open the safe. Upon laying eyes on such scanty contents, the thieves thought Ap Iwan was hiding the money elsewhere. They asked for the rest but the Welshman did not have any more cash to offer. Maybe out of frustration or maybe out of disbelief, they shot and killed him. The bandits fled immediately, heading south and cutting the telegraph lines along the way so that police officers could not alert other stations.⁷²

The police began a long chase to find the thieves. At the beginning, authorities thought that the robbers were Robert Leroy Parker and Harry Alonzo Longabaugh, also known as Butch Cassidy and Sundance Kid, who terrorized the Patagonian valleys. However, the investigation revealed that Ap Iwan’s murders were two other US American outlaws, William Wilson from Texas and Robert Evans from Montana, who had ridden with the famous members of the Wild Bunch and acquired their robbing style.⁷³ The police suspected Wilson and Evans were responsible

⁷⁰ Pearson, “One Letter and 55 Footnotes,” 66.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁷² “Bandidos Misteriosos,” *El Llanquihue*, February 2, 1910.

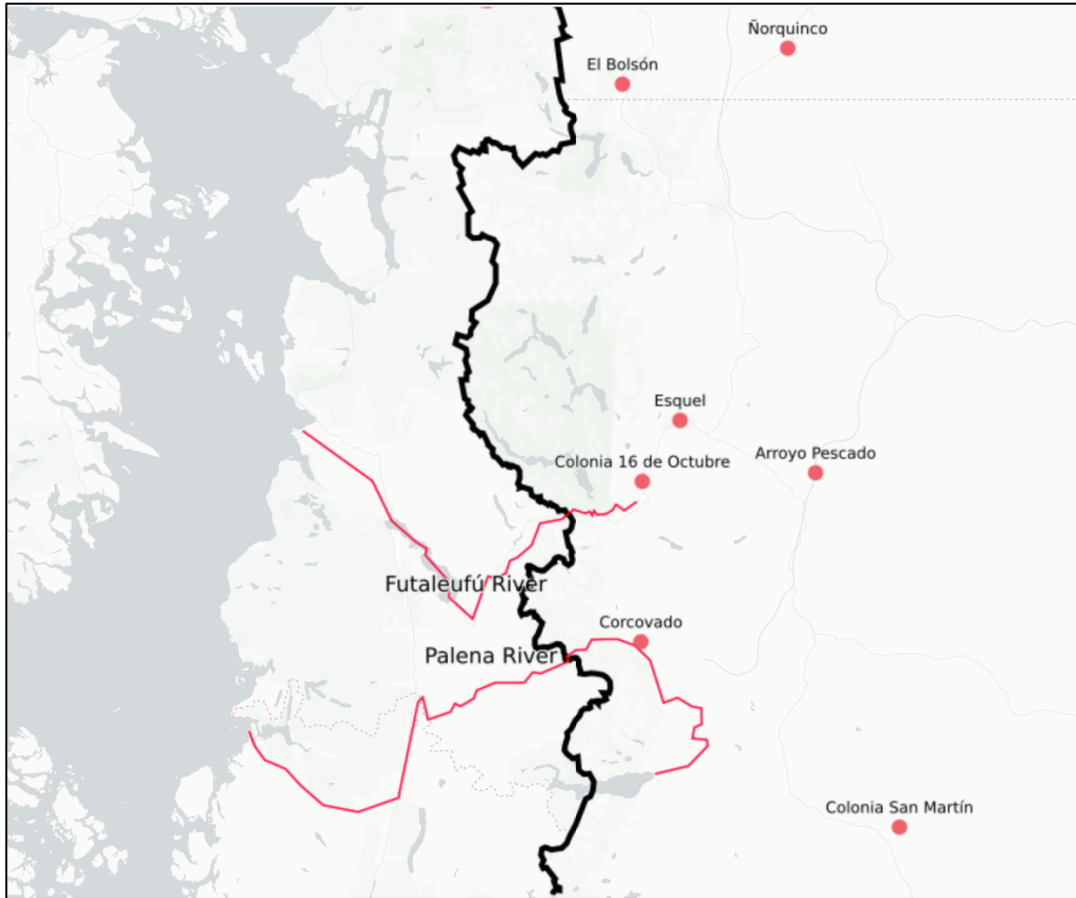
⁷³ “The Murder of Llwyd Ap Iwan: Details of a Welshman’s Fate,” *The Cardiff Times*, February 5, 1910; Pearson, “One Letter and 55 Footnotes,” 69–70; Ernesto Maggiori, *La cruzada patagónica de la Policía Fronteriza* (Gaiman: Del Cedro, 2012), 16; W. C. Jameson, *Butch Cassidy: Beyond the Grave* (Taylor Trade Publications, 2012), 95–103.

for breaking in a bank in Río Gallegos (the capital city of the Territory of Santa Cruz).⁷⁴ Although the police knew who they were, the “North Americanos” –as they nicknamed the pair– got away with murder.⁷⁵

The murder of Ap Iwan crystalizes how local and national concerns about the national origin of bandits intersected with how easily they could move undetected in the Andes. This freedom contradicted the aspirations of social and spatial control of local elites in Northern Patagonia. As a result, they constructed a discourse of criminality that they increasingly anchored in the figure of the immigrant. Further, elites increasingly targeted Chileans as the source of social diseases.

⁷⁴ Daniel Buck and Anne Meadows, “Neighbors on the Hot Seat: Revelations From the Long-Lost Argentine Police File,” *WOLA Journal* 5, no. 2 (1996): 6–15, 59–60, p. 6.

⁷⁵ For more on the chase of the two robbers, see Maggiori, *La cruzada patagónica de la Policía Fronteriza*, 29–31.



Map 12: Places in Northern Patagonia near Puelo and Palena Rivers

Newspapers in Argentina and beyond used Ap Iwan’s murder to depict a dire situation. A Welsh newspaper received notice of the crime through letters of the store employee, Roberts, to his parents in Wales.⁷⁶ Ap Iwan himself had also described the serious situation to relatives back in his home country in the weeks leading up to his death: “the utter lack of security for life and property in the neighborhood of Colonia 16 de Octubre (Map 12), and the growing state of lawlessness in that area.”⁷⁷ A group of Welsh farmers took matters into their own hands and followed their own investigation unsuccessfully.⁷⁸ A contingent of residents from western Chubut

⁷⁶ Pearson, “One Letter and 55 Footnotes.”

⁷⁷ “Pathetic Letter from Mr. Llwyd Ap Iwan,” *Weekly Mail*, February 19, 1910.

⁷⁸ “La Persecución de Los Criminales,” *La Nación (Argentina)*, January 9, 1910; “La criminalidad en el sur,” *La Prensa*, de enero de 1910.

“arrived in Buenos Aires to ask the government for protection against bandits composed of [North] Americans and Chileans.”⁷⁹ News reports instantly circulated the names of the robbers—William Wilson and Robert Evans—but some speculated they led a gang of bandits made up of Chileans or, possibly, Indians.⁸⁰ It is also plausible newspapers used these two categories interchangeably. The Chubut Trading Company—whose branch administered the deceased—offered a reward of 10,000 Chilean pesos nacionales (about US\$ 3566 today)⁸¹ to anyone with information on the whereabouts of the assailants.⁸²

A group of residents that traveled to the nearest police station in Colonia San Martín (Map 12) blamed foreigners, particularly Chileans and US Americans, for what they characterized as alarming rates of banditry.⁸³ A Mexican newspaper reported *El Comercio*, Perú’s national paper, briefly reported on its front page: “The bandits led by [North] Americans Bob Evans and William Wilson, continue to rob estates in Chubut. The rest of the thieves in the gang are Chileans.” This was the only reference to any group accompanying Ap Iwan’s murderers. Sometimes, authorities and residents conflated indigenous peoples with foreigners. *The Cardiff Times* reported that on several occasions leading up to his murder, “[Ap Iwan] had been attacked and nearly killed by Indians, Chilenos, and savage Pumas.”⁸⁴ The selective portrayal of certain nationalities as dangerous was constant throughout the 1910s and 1920s.

⁷⁹ “Ha llegado a Buenos Aires un enviado de los habitantes de aquellas comarcas para pedir protección al gobierno contra los bandoleros que se componen de americanos y chilenos”, “Partida de bandidos,” *País*, January 8, 1910.

⁸⁰ “Argentina,” *El Comercio*, January 6, 1910; “The Murder of Llywd Ap Iwan: Details of a Welshman’s Fate.”

⁸¹ Calculated through www.measuringworth.com

⁸² “Bandidos Misteriosos.”

⁸³ “Murdered by a Cowboy,” *Evening Express*, January 10, 1910; “Welshman Muredered,” *Evening Express*, January 24, 1910; “Ap Iwan Avenged Two Bandits Shot While Resisting Arrest,” *Druid*, January 25, 1912.

⁸⁴ “The Murder of Llywd Ap Iwan: Details of a Welshman’s Fate.”

Argentine authorities conflated crime with national origin with unpleasant consequences for regular people that had nothing to do with bandits. For instance, after the murder of Ap Iwan, the Police forces of Chubut and Santa Cruz set out to chase the two delinquents. They were so desperate to find them that at some point officers detained anyone unknown to them (*desconocido*). For example, the police arrested a traveler passing by a city in Santa Cruz because they did not recognize him. He was only released three days later, “tormented by hunger... and devoured by insects... cursing the North Americanos, the Comisario, and all concerned.”⁸⁵ On another occasion, a North American man who had been living in Argentina for several years, went camping with a friend and a local landowner. A stranger then came to the campfire saying he had heard “the North Americanos are in the neighborhood.” Upon scrutinizing the group and identifying two of them as foreigners, the newcomer added: “In fact, I should not be surprised if some of the señores sitting here could enlighten us.”⁸⁶ The stranger turned out to be a police lieutenant and was openly accusing the two North Americans of being the robbers every police officer in Patagonia was trying to find.⁸⁷ These episodes resembled how explorers of Patagonia had once depicted the region as a Desert. Authorities in the 1910s and 1920s perceived a direct threat to progress in the figure of the unknown person, the outsider, or the outlaw.

Argentine authorities also targeted Chileans as undesired immigrants that threatened any possibility of progress in Patagonia. The governor of the National Territory of Chubut, Julio Lezama, accused Chileans of bringing “an inconvenience and a danger” to Argentine valleys. The geography of border, “located in the previously disputed zone,” enabled Chileans to cross to

⁸⁵ H.S. Orde, “The Bandits of the Argentine,” *The Wide World Magazine*, 1911, 65–66.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁸⁷ Jorge Ardüser, *Un Suizo en la Patagonia: El diario de Leonhard Ardüser. Su trabajo y sus vivencias a la par de la construcción del ferrocarril, en la hoy llamada “Línea Sur” desde San Antonio al lago Nahuel Huapi en 1911-1912* (Bariloche: Personal Edition, 2004), 46.

Argentina. Lezama suggested that the Palena and Futaleufú River passes (Map 12), which had sparked numerous debates during the border negotiations, attracted “the worst [people] and settle in the enviable Argentine lands located one step away, as if it were a ‘res nullius’.”⁸⁸ The governor, who resided on the Atlantic coast, perceived the Andean valleys were no-man’s lands precisely because of the presence of Chileans.

The anti-Chilean attitude of the governor transpired into law enforcement. Police officers were increasingly worried about the numbers of Chilean among the troops’ ranks. In 1907, for example, some prisoners escaped the jail in Bariloche southwards, towards El Manso Pass, which connected the Argentine eastern slopes with the Chilean village of Cochamó (Map 13). The police commissioner led the futile chase across the Andes. He accused the troop of tipping off the outlaws: “the soldiers, who are Chilean, warn the bandits or, if they are captured, they help them escape.”⁸⁹ The assumption that Chileans were disloyal to the Argentine state also became evident in how police officers treated settlers born to the west of the Andes. Froilán Muñoz denounced in 1911 that the local police “was harassing cattle-owning Chilean settlers to emigrate back to Chile and take their estate,” even though he had lived in Epuyén Valley since 1890.⁹⁰ Upon settlers’ refusal to leave their land, the police imprisoned them “in Bariloche, Jeleque [Leleque], and Súnica” without indictment.⁹¹ Targeting foreign-born settlers did not wane, despite some protests

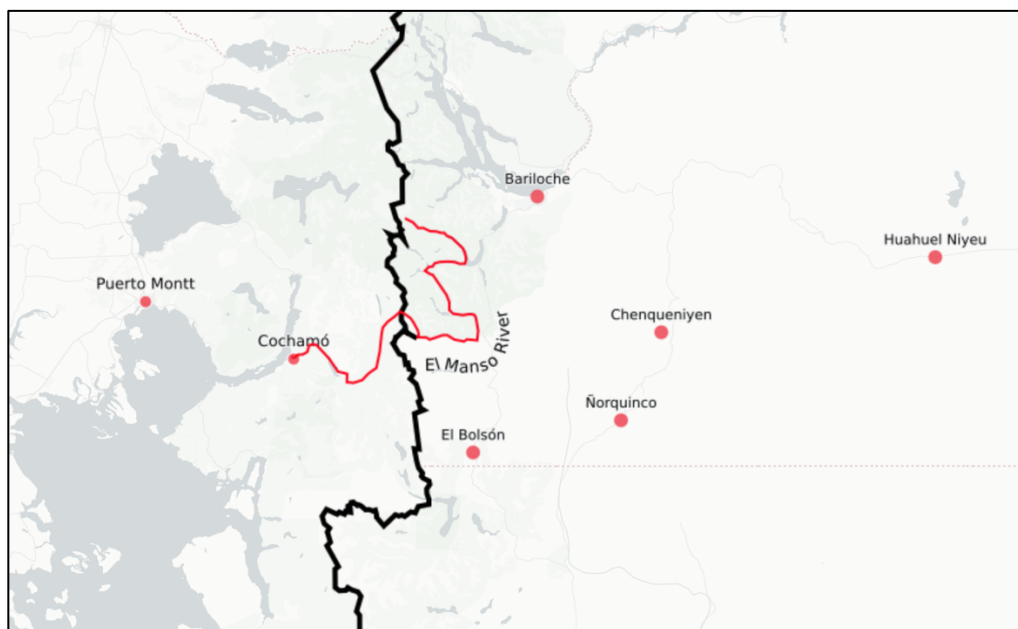
⁸⁸ “Chile no emigra el elemento sano y laborioso que busca mejorar su suerte y una segunda patria donde se radica; emigra lo peor, y como las envidiables tierras argentinas les quedan a un paso, allí se estacionan como si se tratara de una ‘res nullius’”, “Gobierno de Chubut: Inmigración, Ganadería, Tierra Fiscal.”

⁸⁹ “El Personal Subalterno de Policía,” *La Nación (Argentina)*, October 28, 1907, sec. Territorios Nacionales.

⁹⁰ “*Está persiguiendo a todos los colonos chilenos, con bienes propios, a fin de hacerlos emigrar a Chile y arrebatarles sus intereses*”, “Atropellos inauditos de que son víctimas los colonos chilenos,” *El Llanquihue*, October 24, 1911, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile - Hemeroteca.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

in Puerto Montt and a timid intervention of the Chilean consul in Neuquén, where Chileans amounted to 41% of the population.⁹²



Map 13: Places in Northern Patagonia near El Manso River

The high percentage of Chilean population in Neuquén worried law enforcement to the point that authorities turned on each other. In 1922, Deputy Sergeant of the Neuquén Police accused Captain Adam Giménez of the Gendarmerie (*gendarmería*) of insubordination to the Governor, Francisco Denis. These were two very distinct forces. The police were the regular law enforcement troop that stretched throughout the Territory. The Gendarmerie was a temporary force established in a specific location, the capital city. The creation of this small body responded to a massive escape from the Neuquén prison in 1916 and the (historically unrelated) uprisings in Santa

⁹² República Argentina, *Tercer Censo Nacional, 1914*, 2: Población:105–6; “Los chilenos en Neuquén,” *El Llanquihue*, February 26, 1914, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile - Hemeroteca; “Los chilenos del Neuquén,” *El Llanquihue*, March 2, 1914, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile - Hemeroteca. Chileans amounted to 88% of foreign-born population in Neuquén.

Cruz in 1920.⁹³ The Gendarmerie fell under the umbrella of the Ministry of Interior, so its officers did not report to the governor or any other local authority. Its leader, Giménez, accused the governor for attempting to arrest him in front of his 300 foot-soldiers challenging the force's mission. With a droplet of melodrama, Giménez reminded his superior the Gendarmerie's purpose was to cooperate "effectively with the surveillance and security of the Territory [of Neuquén] ... [And] to establish a patriotic [sentiment of] Argentineness in these extensive and far-off regions where population, commerce, ranching, and even monetary circulation are Chilenized almost completely."⁹⁴ In the Giménez view, the widespread presence of Chileans in Neuquén undermined the nationalizing mission of the Gendarmerie (or any police force, for that matter). The governor responded to this challenge to his administration by accusing the Gendarmerie of being "composed mostly by Chileans, whose antecedents leave a lot to be desired," implying that they had criminal records.⁹⁵ With these words, Governor Denis sought to undermine the authority of the Gendarmerie claimed under the umbrella of "nationalization." If a force was composed in its majority by foreigners with criminal antecedents, how could it monitor the making of Argentine in the frontier?

In Neuquén, accusations of banditry based on nationality sprung from a sudden increase of Chilean population in Argentine Patagonia. To understand this flux, we need to step back and look

⁹³ Ernesto Bohoslavsky, "Modernización estatal y coerción: El lugar de la policía en el avance del estado argentino en la frontera (1880-1946)," in *La policía en perspectiva histórica. Argentina y Brasil (del siglo XIX a la actualidad)*, ed. Ernesto Bohoslavsky, Lila Caimari, and Cristina Schettini (Buenos Aires: CD-Rom available at www.crimensociedad.com.ar, 2009).

⁹⁴ "construir y organizar no solamente una fuerza capaz de cooperar eficientemente a la vigilancia y seguridad del Territ sino tambien a hacer obra de patriótico argentinismo en estas dilatadas y lejanas regiones donde la poblacio, el comercio, la ganaderia y hasta la moneda estan sistemática y casi totalmente Chilenizadas", Carta de gimenez a beiro sept 7 1922

⁹⁵ "disolución de ese cuerpo compuesto en su mayoría de elementos chilenos, muchos de los cuales en sus antecedentes dejan mucho que desear"; Carta del Gobernador del Neuquén, Francisco Denis, al Ministro del Interior, F.R. Beiró; telegrama de gimenez a berro 11 sep 1922.

at what happened in the Chilean provinces in the previous years. Since the late nineteenth century until 1915, the Chilean government expropriated lands from Mapuche families in Araucanía, Valdivia, and Llanquihue to distribute them among immigrant settlers. After the border negotiations with Argentina (1896-1901), the Chilean government granted forty-six land concessions that displaced indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in Valdivia, Llanquihue, and the southernmost region of Magallanes. In 1905, for instance, the Ñuble-Rupanco Company received 41,100 hectares (101,560 acres) of land in Llanquihue, which amounted to more than all the land leases granted to immigrants until that moment.⁹⁶ Upon the loss of their lands and the inability to re-enter the rural economy, many peasants settled in Argentina. A new state agency established in 1907, the Chilean Office of Land Surveys (*Oficina de Mensura de Tierras*), made efforts to re-settle Mapuche and non-indigenous Chileans (“*nacionales*”) that lived in the neighboring country. Despite its limited success, most of the arable land in Valdivia and Llanquihue ended up in the hands of a couple dozen proprietors. Families of German descent, especially, accumulated vast rural estates, absorbing displaced farmers as laborers or excluding them—once again—from the agrarian economy.⁹⁷ Thus, when Chubut Governor complained about Chilean immigration through the Andean valleys, he was attacking the most vulnerable population that had been dispossessed and expelled from their properties.

At a local level, however, the attitude towards Chileans was ambivalent at best. Many Chileans had settled in western Neuquén, Río Negro, and Chubut, pushed by the availability of lands and a growing agricultural and cattle-breeding economy. Landowners living in Argentina

⁹⁶ Almonacid Zapata, “El desarrollo de la propiedad rural en las provincias de Valdivia y Llanquihue, 1850 -1920,” 33.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 35; José Barrera Ruiz, Maite Hernando Arrese, and Fernanda Rojas Marchini, “Antecedentes históricos sobre el Complejo Forestal y Maderero Panguipulli, provincia de Valdivia, Centro-sur de Chile,” *Bosque (Valdivia)* 37, no. 3 (2016): 475.

considered Chilean markets a self-evident business opportunity. In 1913, for instance, residents (*vecinos*) of Bariloche received the Director of National Territories and the now famous explorer Francisco Moreno with a request for a bank that would facilitate international trade.⁹⁸ In 1917, the State Railway (*Ferrocarril del Estado*) inaugurated a station 90 miles from Bariloche, in the locality of Huahuel Niyeu (Map 13). The construction of this line had begun nine years before, under the National Territories Development Act that stipulated state investment in infrastructure, such as railroads, as the necessary path for economic development in Patagonia and the Argentine Northeast. The opening of the railway station in Huahuel Niyeu attracted the establishment of several businesses in that town and in Bariloche. For instance, Verbecke Express offered a daily car service covering the 90 miles to Bariloche in eleven dusty hours, after which passengers could rest in any of the available hotels. In 1918 there were no advertisements of Bariloche hotels in *La Nueva Era*; in 1920 this number increased to two (hotels Los Lagos and Nahuel Huapi), which continued to advertise through the mid-1920s, though with different names.

For other members of local elites, however, Chileans did not represent a business opportunity, but a threat and they regarded Chileans as the worst attack to the Argentine efforts to nationalize the frontier. José Vereertbrugghen, the Belgian physician from Bariloche, protested that an alleged murderer, a Chilean, had not been arrested and wandered freely around Nahuel Huapi: “It seems that to reside here we need permission from Chilean bandits and not from the Argentine government.”⁹⁹ Although Vereertbrugghen wrote these words in a letter to a friend, they appeared

⁹⁸ Emilio Frey, “Memorial a Francisco Moreno e Isidoro Ruiz Moreno” (Colección Frey, Museo de la Patagonia, 1913), 6–7, 1.

⁹⁹ “*Parece que para vivir aquí se necesita autorización de los señores bandidos chilenos y no la del gobierno argentino*”, Vereertbrugghen, “De la zona cordillerana: Las garantías en Bariloche.”

published in *La Nueva Era*. Imagine this as being posted on social media: the letter received strong backlash from the Chilean community in Río Negro.

Arturo Ríos, the Chilean Consul in Bariloche, accused the physician of manipulating the facts of an alleged murder to “unjustifiably and categorically attack Chileans living in the [Andean] region.”¹⁰⁰ Much like a Twitter thread, Ríos refuted point by point Vereertbrugghen’s exaggerations, including the claim that the supposed murderer was Chilean when, in fact, he was Spaniard. He concluded: “The truth is... we travel along the roads of Bariloche with tranquility, day or night, making any weapon unnecessary.”¹⁰¹ In addition, while Vereertbrugghen frowned upon the high number of Chilean officers in the local police force, Ríos argued that “Lieutenant Ávila [from Bariloche] is satisfied with these officers... and has recalled two other Chileans because they excelled.”¹⁰² Luis González, member of a branch of the Chilean Center (*Centro Chileno*), also reacted to Vereertbrugghen’s assertion that high crime statistics were directly connected to Chilean immigration in Argentina. Chilean Centers were social clubs for Chileans residing in Argentina to gather and celebrate their culture, usually hosting national festivities.¹⁰³ Accusing the Belgian physician of conflating nationality with crime, González argued that “ninety

¹⁰⁰ “Para hacer un injustificado y virulento ataque a la colectividad chilena de esta región”, Arturo Ríos, “Desde Bariloche,” *La Nueva Era*, February 1, 1920, Museo Emma Nozzi, Carmen de Patagones.

¹⁰¹ “La verdad es [que] en los caminos de Bariloche se circula con toda tranquilidad de día o de noche sin que sea necesario llevar armas”, *Ibid.*

¹⁰² “El comisario señor Ávila... está contento de sus agente chilenos. Todavía más, acaba de llamar a dos chilenos que han servido antes por creerles excelentes”, *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Juan Manuel Saldívar Arellano, “Etnografía de la nostalgia: migración transnacional de comunidades chilotas en Punta Arenas (Chile) y Río Gallegos (Argentina),” *Chungará (Arica)* 50, no. 3 (2018): 501–12, <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0717-73562018005001201>; Aixa Bona and Juan Vilaboa, “Las relaciones argentino-chilenas en el extremo austral, 1930-1955,” *Magallania; Punta Arena* 32 (2004): 20; Catalina Gobantes et al., “Migraciones laborales entre la Isla de Chiloé (Chile) y Patagonia Austral: Relaciones históricas y cambios recientes en un espacio transnacional,” in *Miradas transcordilleranas: Selección de trabajos del IX Congreso Argentino-Chileno de Estudios Históricos e Integración Cultural.*, ed. Paula Gabriela Núñez (San Carlos de Bariloche: IIDyPCA-UNRN-CONICET, 2011), 20–30; Juan Manuel Saldívar Arellano, “«Chilote Tenía Que Ser»: Vida Migrante Transnacional En Territorios Patagónicos de Chile y Argentina,” *Cultura-Hombre-Sociedad* 27, no. 2 (2017): 175–200, <https://doi.org/10.7770/cuhso-v27n2-art1221>.

percent of the [Andean] region's progress rests on the effort of Chilean workers. Neither a house, nor a fence, nor clearings, streets, crops, roads, or anything that indicates the progress, or the work of man has been done by anyone other than the Chilean."¹⁰⁴ In addition, he contended that by having their children in Argentina, Chilean immigrants would be responsible of eighty percent of "the real Argentine population in the region." By "real" González referred to a generation of Argentines born in Patagonia as opposed to being transplanted from somewhere else and becoming Argentine by choice, like Vereertbrugghen's son.

Blindsided by the publication of his opinions, Vereertbrugghen rectified some of his views. He acknowledged that he accused Montero, the alleged murderer, of being Chilean based on hearsay. As a result, he corrected his statement on needing permission from Chilean bandits to live in Bariloche: "It is a question of bandits of the cordillera, who have no right to have a nationality."¹⁰⁵

Policing the Border: Safeguarding the interests of the people

Newspapers utilized the murder of Welshman Llwyd Ap Iwan in Chubut to a call for increased security in the Andes: "We reiterate the need for an armed unit stationed [in Chubut] that efficiently protects the lives and interests of those colonies."¹⁰⁶ The criticism of lax policing in Patagonia gained momentum in 1910. Requests highlighted the need "for a professional outpost

¹⁰⁴ "El 90% del progreso de la región se debe al esfuerzo de los trabajadores chilenos; ni una casa, ni cerco, ni alambrado, ni desmontes, calles, plantaciones, caminos o cualquier cosa que indique el progreso o la obra del hombre ha sido hecho por otro que por el chileno", Luis González, "Desde Bariloche," *La Nueva Era*, February 8, 1920, Museo Emma Nozzi, Carmen de Patagones.

¹⁰⁵ "Se trata de los bandidos de la cordillera, que tampoco tienen derecho de tener nacionalidad", José Vereertbrugghen, "De la zona cordillerana," *La Nueva Era*, February 22, 1920.

¹⁰⁶ "Vuelve a recordarse la necesidad que hay de un piquete de gendarmería armada que haga una vigilancia eficaz para los intereses y las vidas de estas colonias", "La criminalidad en el sur."

that surveys the cordillera to avoid attacks like the one in Arroyo Pescado.”¹⁰⁷ A group of residents of Colonia 16 de Octubre, near Arroyo Pescado, wrote to the Minister of Interior, Indalecio Gómez, assessing the problem. The lack of weaponry, munitions, and competent staff, argued the signatories, amounted to the main reason why crimes like the murder of Llywd Ap Iwan took place in the first place. In their view, the logical response to violence was a more heavily armed and better prepared policing force.¹⁰⁸ The demands reached a peak in 1911, when a cattle-rancher from Corcovado (Chubut, Map 12) was kidnapped, allegedly, by Robert Evans and William Wilson, the same men that murdered Ap Iwan.¹⁰⁹

Considering these demands, the Ministry of Interior restructured the police in the National Territories, particularly in the Northern Patagonian Andes, in an attempt to expand state’s surveillance over border regions. It created three new police stations in the northeastern Territory of Misiones and appointed eight additional officers to the precinct in Ushuaia (Tierra del Fuego).¹¹⁰ The following year, three other Territories also received more agents: La Pampa (60), Chaco (20), and Formosa (10).¹¹¹ Finally, he established a Border Police (*Policía Fronteriza*) in February 1911 that would complement the Territorial forces.¹¹² The commander of this force, Mateo Gebhard, was responsible of operations, distribution of personnel, and discipline, and reported to the

¹⁰⁷ “La Persecución de Los Criminales”; “La policía del territorio,” *La Nueva Era*, January 23, 1910; “Falta de Policía,” *La Prensa*, January 29, 1910; “La criminalidad en el sur.”

¹⁰⁸ “La criminalidad en el sur.”

¹⁰⁹ Maggiori, *La cruzada patagónica de la Policía Fronteriza*, 33–38.

¹¹⁰ Indalecio Gómez, *Memoria del Ministro del Interior al Congreso Nacional, 1910-1911* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y casa editora “Juan A. Alsina,” 1911), 59.

¹¹¹ Indalecio Gómez, *Memoria del Ministro del Interior al Congreso Nacional, 1912-1913* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos de la Penintenciaria Nacional, 1913), 159.

¹¹² As a reminder, I capitalize ‘territorial’ when referring to the National Territories in Argentina. For a legal genealogy of law enforcement in the National Territories of Argentina, see Ernesto Maggiori, *La cruzada patagónica de la Policía Fronteriza* (Gaiman: Del Cedro, 2012), pp 10-15.

Director of National Territories, not the Territorial governors.¹¹³ This provided the Executive with a more direct control of armed forces border regions of Patagonia and the northeast.

In 1913, two years after the creation of the Border Police, the Minister of Interior, Indalecio Gómez, proudly reported that “the plague of banditry has been suffocated in Río Negro and Chubut.”¹¹⁴ The much-needed policing, he argued, brought back the days in which it was safe to cross to Chile. Without providing any historical context to locate when was that time, he continued: “As those areas became more populated, bad social elements settled there and, either as intruders establishing themselves in the fiscal lands..., or resolutely throwing the mask to let the fearful populations see the sinister silhouette of the bandit.”¹¹⁵ Notice how the problem was not rooted on the border *per se*, but on legality of land occupation and the quality of settlers (“bad elements”). Hence, the two-fold solution to conclude “once and for all with the mountain banditry” encompassed eliminating unwanted population with more police forces and introducing settlers that would propagate good behavior across the Northern Patagonian Andes.¹¹⁶

The Border Police also served as a national means to monitor other state officials as it would “closely oversee the behavior of police personnel that serve those places so isolated from the main authorities.”¹¹⁷ In 1908, the residents of Ñorquinco indicted the local judge and in 1910,

¹¹³ Indalecio Gómez, *Memoria Del Ministro Del Interior Al Congreso Nacional, 1912-1913* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos de la Penitenciaría Nacional, 1913), p. 158.

¹¹⁴ “Sofocada la plaga del bandolerismo en Río Negro y Chubut”, Indalecio Gómez, *Memoria Del Ministro Del Interior Al Congreso Nacional, 1912-1913* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos de la Penitenciaría Nacional, 1913), p. 156.

¹¹⁵ “*A medida que esas zonas se iban poblando, los malos elementos sociales sentaban sus reales allí y, ya sea como intrusos estableciéndose en los campos fiscales como en dominio conquistado en buena ley, o arrojando resueltamente la máscara para dejar ver a los ojos de las poblaciones atemorizadas la siniestra silueta del bandolero*”, Gómez, *Memoria del Ministro del Interior, 1912-1913*, 158–59.

¹¹⁶ “*Al propósito de concluir de una vez por todas con el bandidaje cordillerano*”, *Ibid.*, 157–59.

¹¹⁷ “*Vigilar de cerca la conducta del personal de Policía que presta sus servicios en esos parajes tan alejados del asiento de las principales autoridades*”, Gómez, *Memoria del Ministro del Interior, 1910-1911*, 60.

the governor suspended a police officer there for suspicious behavior.¹¹⁸ Gebhard also informed governors of the corrupt behavior of police officers under their control. While the Border Police was independent from the governors of National Territories, the chief could report to them directly instead of following the police hierarchy as officers in the cordillera had to. In 1913, for instance, Gebhard reported that Lieutenant Maximiliano Montero of western Chubut had incurred in serious misdemeanors. While on the road, he tried to force his two officers to steal. Upon their objection, he himself took a saddle from a camp. In another location, a store-owner reported Montero stole some “hens, cigarette boxes, and silk scarves.”¹¹⁹ Gebhard unapologetically denounced the Chilean consul in Chubut to the Director of National Territories. The emissary granted permits to exploit woodlands on the Argentine side to Chilean residents, which he reported to the Land Inspector who, because of his drinking problem, did not do much. The consul also drank heavily, especially absinth, and quarreled frequently. In different gambling dens, he squabbled “with Juan Fardon, Chilean; with a Fasiati, Italian; with Guillermo Davies, Welsh; [and] with Alberto Caso Rosendi, Argentine father and son.”¹²⁰ If authority figures left so much to be desired, it was not surprising that there were abuses of power and that back in the capitals, senior officials construed an image of the Andes as a dangerous place.

¹¹⁸ Sumario autoridades , la nación may 20 1908; Suspension de un oficial de policia la nación 1910

¹¹⁹ Gobernación de Chubut, “Expediente N° 13639 - Nota pasada por el Inspector General de la Policia Fronteriza en la que solicita la suspensión del Comisario Caminos del Castillo y la encarcelación del Sub-Comisario Maximiliano Montero” (Archivo General de la Nación - Buenos Aires, Departamento de Archivo Intermedio, Colección Ministerio del Interior, Expedientes Generales, 1913, Caja 70, December 18, 1913), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Documentos Escritos.

¹²⁰ “*Tuvo incidentes en distintos boliches con Don Juan Fardon, chileno; con un tal Fasiati, italiano; con Guillermo Davies, galense; con Alberto Caso Rosendi, padre e hijo combos argentinos*”, Mateo Gebhard, “Carta de Mateo Gebhard, Jefe de la Policía Fronteriza del Sud, a Ruiz Moreno” (Fondo Ruiz Moreno - Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) Caja 3090, May 7, 1913), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Documentos Escritos.

That same year, Valentín Bustamante, a 54-year old Argentine businessman from Bariloche, filed a complaint with the Border Police against Vicente Fernández Palacios, a 24-year old judge of El Bolsón (Map 13). Bustamante was in the small town temporarily in charge of the “detachment of the Río Negro Police in El Bolsón.”¹²¹ They got into a fight as Bustamante tried to disarm the judge, who was drunk at a gathering firing shots. In the skirmish, Fernández Palacios whipped a riding crop that wounded Bustamante in the head and ran away. The altercation between two figures of authority, however, did not end there.

Bustamante sent a telegram to the precinct in Bariloche requesting the senior officer in charge, Guillermo Laudalde, to come to El Bolsón as he could not ride because of his head injury. This was because the police authorities in Bariloche oversaw the detachment in El Bolsón. Upon Laudalde’s inability to assist, Bustamante took the two-day ride to Bariloche and filed the complaint personally. Despite this, Laudalde refused to take his statement. Bustamante then turned to the Border Police, which opened an investigation on the judge and the officer who protected him. Fernández Palacios was found out of place and arrested, but Laudalde, the officer that was trying to protect the judge, apparently took off to Buenos Aires and never returned.¹²²

Business people, landowners, and professionals shared with authorities a collective prerogative of higher social ground that enabled them to shape regional morality. However, this common ground was not always clear, as altercations such as the one between Bustamante and Fernández Palacios revealed. The clear cut between authorities upholding high standards of

¹²¹ “*Del destacamento del Bolson de la Policia de Rio Negro*”, Policía Fronteriza de Chubut, “Testimonio de Valentín Bustamante.”

¹²² Policía Fronteriza de Chubut, “Copia de sumario instruido con motivos de denuncia formulada contra el juez de paz de El Bolsón Vicente Fernandez Palacios y comisario Laudalde” (Ministerio del Interior - Expedientes Generales, 1913 Legajo 46, March 12, 1913), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Archivo Intermedio.

morality in the name of the nation and the corrupting force of banditry was an illusion that the press helped propagate. The reality of Andes evidenced more pragmatism that responded to personal agendas blurring the good-versus-evil narrative from newspapers.

The Border Police was the target of numerous complaints of abuse of authority, violence, and nationality profiling in Argentina and Chile. Mateo Gebhard, its commander, had a reputation for being effective, but ruthless.¹²³ At some point, *La Nueva Era* questioned the success of the force. For instance, it reported in 1913 that the Border Police caught the murderer of a businessman from Pilcaniyeu but set him free. A succession of six crimes that followed, “where victims were mostly women and children,” prompting the newspaper to suggest they were committed by the same person. The editors denounced the liberty that such perpetrator enjoyed and blamed on the police force the fact that “life in the settlements of the cordillera less and less appealing.”¹²⁴ As a result, and probably coupled with high costs, the Border Police was dismantled in 1914 (and reinstated in 1921).¹²⁵

Abuse of authority was not limited to the Border Police. Evidence shows other law enforcement officers used their positions of authority for personal agendas. In 1913, José Antonio Lafquen reported to the *Intendente* of Llanquihue that the police had confiscated his horse several

¹²³ N.R. Amuchástegui, “Carta de N.R. Amuchastegui a Isidoro Ruiz Moreno, 12 de abril de 1913” (Fondo Ruiz Moreno - Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) Caja 3090, 1913); Pomar, *La Concesión Del Aysén y Valle Simpson*, 66; Ricardo Vallmitjana, *Cruzando la cordillera* (S. C. de Bariloche: Personal Edition, n/d), 8; Pilar Pérez, “Las policías fronterizas: mecanismos de control y espacialización en los territorios nacionales del sur a principios del siglo XX,” *Actas XII Jornadas Interescuelas de Historia*, 2009; Martinic Beros, *De la Trapananda al Áysen*, 165; Cikota, “Frontier Justice,” 100; Pilar Pérez, “Las primeras policías fronterizas en Río Negro y Chubut (1911-1914). Creación, desarrollo y balance de una experiencia policial.” *Cuadernos de Marte* 8, no. 13 (2017): 29, fn 16; Maggiori, *Donde los lagos no tienen nombre. La historia de Río Pico, sus pobladores, sus alrededores y la Colonia Alemana “Friedland,”* 164. Upon communications with the Austrian State Archives, I could not confirm these origins, especially since there is no record of him entering the country through the port of Buenos Aires. What is clear is that Gebhard had military experience and spoke German as a first language.

¹²⁴ “Resultado víctimas en su mayoría niños y mujeres... *La vida en las apartadas poblaciones de la zona cordillerana se presenta cada día menos apetecible*”, “Crímenes en Bariloche. Denuncia grave,” *La Nueva Era*, February 2, 1913.

¹²⁵ “Reorganización policial,” *La Nueva Era*, February 6, 1921.

times, returning “half dead” on one occasion. Lafquen was a farmer residing in Ensenada, illiterate, and probably in his mid-fifties. Police officers were within their right to request proof of property of any animal. Lafquen, however, argued he did not have the documentation, which facilitated the police confiscating his horse.¹²⁶ That same year, Mateo Gebhard received a complaint from Heriberto Ortiz, a prisoner of the Border Police, against Lieutenant Maximiliano Montero of asking for a bribe in exchange for the detainee’s freedom. In addition, Montero also had allegedly requested funding from local ranchers to transport prisoners, even though he had received monies from the Territorial police office.¹²⁷ In 1916, the Neuquén police captured a group of escapees from the local prison and massacred them. A former police officer and now journalist, Abel Chaneton, decried this abuse of authority. However, his vociferous condemnation of police violence led to his murder the following year.¹²⁸

In 1919, Natalia Toledo demanded the indictment of Benito Crespo. Toledo was a Chilean landowner and the widow of Julián Gonzalonera (whose letter to the press demanding more officers opened this chapter). She settled with her husband in their estate in Chenqueniyeñ, near Ñorquinco [map], in 1901. They brought cattle and built a house. In 1915 her husband passed away. They also owned lands in Chile so she went there with her children to sort out legal matters. She hired Benito Crespo to manage her lands in Chenqueniyeñ while she was away. Crespo was a colorful character. He was born in Carmen de Patagones to a family of municipal officers and

¹²⁶ José Antonio Lafquen, “Denuncia al carabinero que indica y se le ordene entregue el caballo que expresa.” (Archivo Nacional Histórico - Fondo Intendencia de Llanquihue, Solicitudes varias 1912-1913, Volumen 227, 1913), Archivo Histórico Nacional, Santiago de Chile.

¹²⁷ Gobernación de Chubut, “Expediente N° 13639 - Nota pasada por el Inspector General de la Policía Fronteriza en la que solicita la suspensión del Comisario Caminos del Castillo y la encarcelación del Sub-Comisario Maximiliano Montero.”

¹²⁸ Prislei, “Imaginar la Nación, modelar el desierto: los ’20 en tierras del ‘Neuquén,’” 80–81; Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, 178; Ricardo Vallmitjana, *Periodismo y otros medios en el pueblo* (S. C. de Bariloche: Personal Edition, n/d); Ruffini, *La Patagonia mirada desde arriba: El Grupo Braun Menéndez Behety y la Revista Argentina Austral (1929-1967)*, 78.

moved to Bariloche in 1905 appointed as the local judge.¹²⁹ Until his employment in Chenqueniye, Crespo gained experience managing estates in Bariloche with his brother.¹³⁰

To her horror, Toledo found in 1918 that her employee Crespo had allowed three other people to herd sheep and cattle in her land. Her land stretched across three different jurisdictions, Bariloche, Ñorquinco, and Pilcaniyeu, so she filed a report in the three police stations within months apart. While all three precincts sent officers to kick the intruders out, Toledo complained that the sergeant from Pilcaniyeu protected the squatters instead of removing them because he was friends with Crespo. She accused the men of conspiring to displace her from her own land because she was a woman. These accusations were not taken lightly by the governor, who ordered a thorough investigation. Two months later, the highest authority in the land ordered the removal of the trespassers for good and to sanction the officer who protected them.

Upon the numerous denunciations against the Border Police, the Minister of Interior disbanded it in 1914. However, it was re-installed four years later to tackle rustling, which undermined trans-Andean trading networks: “Contraband does not exist in the Andes..., what exists and needs to be dealt with is cattle-raiding.”¹³¹ In other words, the Andean region needed

¹²⁹ Ricardo Vallmitjana, *De fomento y municipio, 1907-1939 San Carlos de Bariloche* (S. C. de Bariloche: Personal Edition, n/d), 5; Ruffini, “Gestando ciudadanía en la cordillera: participación y representación política en la región andina rionegrina (1920-1945),” 14–15.

¹³⁰ Gobernación de Río Negro, “Testimonio de Luis Pefauré Ante El Comisario Dardo Reto y El Secretario Juan Aranda” (Ministerio del Interior - Expedientes Generales, 1919 Legajo 29, Expediente 8609R, Copia de actuaciones producidas con motivo de denuncia de Señora Natalia T. v. de Gonzalorená ante el Ministro Interior y Gobernación simultáneamente sobre la existencia de intrusos en el campo fiscal que ocupa en Chenqueniye y abusos por parte del Subcomisario de Ñorquinco, Irineo Bustos, May 19, 1919), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Archivo Intermedio; Gobernación de Río Negro, “Testimonio de Fermín Salaberry Ante El Comisario Dardo Reto y El Secretario Juan Aranda” (Ministerio del Interior - Expedientes Generales, 1919 Legajo 29, Expediente 8609R, Copia de actuaciones producidas con motivo de denuncia de Señora Natalia T. v. de Gonzalorená ante el Ministro Interior y Gobernación simultáneamente sobre la existencia de intrusos en el campo fiscal que ocupa en Chenqueniye y abusos por parte del Subcomisario de Ñorquinco, Irineo Bustos, May 19, 1919), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Archivo Intermedio.

¹³¹ “*En la línea montañosa de los Andes el contrabando no existe... lo que existe y es preciso combatir es el cuatrero*”, “Un reportaje,” *La Nueva Era*, May 5, 1918.

more policing, regardless of how it was called: “It seems [the Andean region] does not need a Border Police, it simply needs a police force.”¹³² Some residents of the area acknowledged that more policing of the border region had resulted in an overall improved situation. José Vereertbrugghen, resident of Bariloche assessed that “when... the Border Police arrived here...the situation was worse. Within a short time, everything changed radically and thanks to their campaign, we have enjoyed some calm years. Murderers got a good scare.”¹³³ In 1921, a gang of bandits attacked some ranches in western Río Negro, emboldened by the laborers’ uprisings in rural Santa Cruz. The Border Police, however, reacted promptly and chased them across the valleys to the north, “as they fled to Neuquén” (*se internaron en Neuquén*).¹³⁴ In the second period of the Border Police, the editors of *La Nueva Era* amplified the voices of some concerned residents of the Northern Patagonian Andes (such as Vereertbrugghen) demanding for increased police presence but for a fixed military garrison. Whether reporting the Border Police’s effectiveness in chasing down bandits or the lack of it, the editors of the Viedma-based paper made the case that “the [Border] police cannot fulfill its role... It is necessary to establish military units in strategic points.”¹³⁵

A call for military outposts in the frontier with Chile had less to do with a perceived danger at the border and more to do with the danger that the region signified. In an article about the

¹³² “Parece ser que no hacen falta policías fronterizas [en los Andes], sino simplemente policías”, “Policías fronterizas,” *La Nueva Era*, March 31, 1918.

¹³³ “Cuando... llegó aquí la policía fronteriza..., la situación era aun peor. Al poco tiempo cambió radicalmente, y gracias su campaña hemos gozado de unos años de tranquilidad. Los señores asesinos recibieron un gran susto”, Vereertbrugghen, “De la zona cordillerana: Las garantías en Bariloche”; Gobernación del Neuquén, “Expediente 11940N - Gobernación de Neuquén eleva solicitud de licencia del Subcomisario Don Pablo Valle” (Archivo General de la Nación - Buenos Aires, Departamento de Archivo Intermedio, Colección Ministerio del Interior, Expedientes Generales, 1913, Caja 61, November 15, 1913), Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) - Departamento de Documentos Escritos.

¹³⁴ “Los bandoleros en plena fuga,” *La Nueva Era*, March 6, 1921.

¹³⁵ “La policía... no puede llenar satisfactoriamente su cometido... Es necesario destacar en los territorios unidades del ejército, ubicándolas en lugares estratégicos”, “Defensa de los Territorios,” *La Nueva Era*, January 30, 1921, 2.

familiar topic of bandits wandering around western Río Negro, the editors of *La Nueva Era* concluded that “given what has happened in Santa Cruz, where order and peace are not reestablished yet, it is expected that analogous events will take place in the [Territory of] Río Negro.”¹³⁶ In this context, the call for stronger police forces appeared in widely spread newspapers like *La Nueva Era* as a call for military posts in the Andes.¹³⁷ Although the Executive did not grant these petitions until the 1930s, the crime rates coupled with urban fears to create a portrayal of the Nahuel Huapi region as a place that harbored criminals.

Policing Neuquén: Statistics and geography

A look at the statistics helps illustrate the surveilling landscape in the Northern Patagonian Andes in the 1910s. At the beginning of the decade, the governor of Neuquén (Argentina) reported to the Ministry of Interior the number of officers per department. Departments were subdivisions within each National Territory; Neuquén was divided into twelve. The department with the highest number of police officers was, of course, Confluencia, where Neuquén City (the capital) was located. Capitals of each territory hosted the Territorial prison and the *Jefatura de Policía* or main police precinct.¹³⁸ As a result, Confluencia had the largest number of officers and the largest number of officers per 100 inhabitants, according to the census of 1914.

Los Lagos, the department in the southern part of the Territory, followed Confluencia in the total number of higher-ranked officers, one in each precinct: Junín de los Andes, San Martín de los Andes, and Nahuel Huapi. Los Lagos was also the second department in total number of

¹³⁶ “Visto lo sucedido en Santa Cruz, donde no se halla reestablecido aún el orden y la tranquilidad, cabe esperar ocurran hechos análogos en el Río Negro”, “Los bandoleros,” *La Nueva Era*, February 27, 1921.

¹³⁷ Vereertbrugghen, “De la zona cordillerana: Las garantías en Bariloche”; “Los bandoleros.”

¹³⁸ The prison had a total of thirty-nine officers while the *Jefatura*, thirty-six.

officers (32) and number of officers per 100 inhabitants. These statistics may suggest that the government of Neuquén responded to rising concerns about banditry in the environs of Lake Nahuel Huapi by allocating more police personnel even though the population density was one of the lowest in the Territory. For drawing these conclusions, I cross-referenced the data from the Governor's report with the census data of 1914 to calculate the number of police officers in each Department per 100 inhabitants. The results showed that residents of Los Lagos, on the northern shore of Lake Nahuel Huapi, saw more law enforcement officers than any other Department (excluding the capital). This would show that Territorial authorities of Neuquén joined their peers in Río Negro and Chubut in portraying the environs of Lake Nahuel Huapi as a dangerous place that needed surveillance. However, when we overlap these numbers to the distances officers in Los Lagos had to cover, the picture changes.

For figuring the relative numbers of police officers per 1000 square miles, I unsuccessfully searched for the Departments' areas in documents and secondary literature. As an alternative, I overlaid a section of a map of Argentina corresponding to Neuquén on Google Earth (Image 10). This 1923 map displayed the twelve Departments in the Territory. Once I overlaid the Neuquén section, I used the polygon tool on Google Earth to shade each Department. For each polygon, the tool calculated the surface, which gave me a close approximation to what the surface of each Department was in 1910-1923. Image 10 displays how this overlaying looks.¹³⁹ Once I had the area for each Department, I could compare the number of officers every 1000 square miles. Even though the Territorial government had deployed many officers in Los Lagos, this number was not as relatively high as the Governor's report and the census data could have provided initially. By

¹³⁹ Although the 1923 map showed the twelve Departments in Neuquén, it did not include any labels. Consequently, I used information for written sources, other maps, and my own knowledge to deduce which department was which.

overlapping written documents with cartographic materials and geospatial data provided by Google Earth, I could debunk my own initial conclusion. Far from receiving a relatively higher number of officers compared to other departments, Los Lagos averaged six officers every 1000 square miles, outnumbered by smaller but more densely populated departments: Chos Malal (8), Las Lajas (18), Las Minas (20), and Confluencia (30). All of these were on the northern side of Neuquén.¹⁴⁰

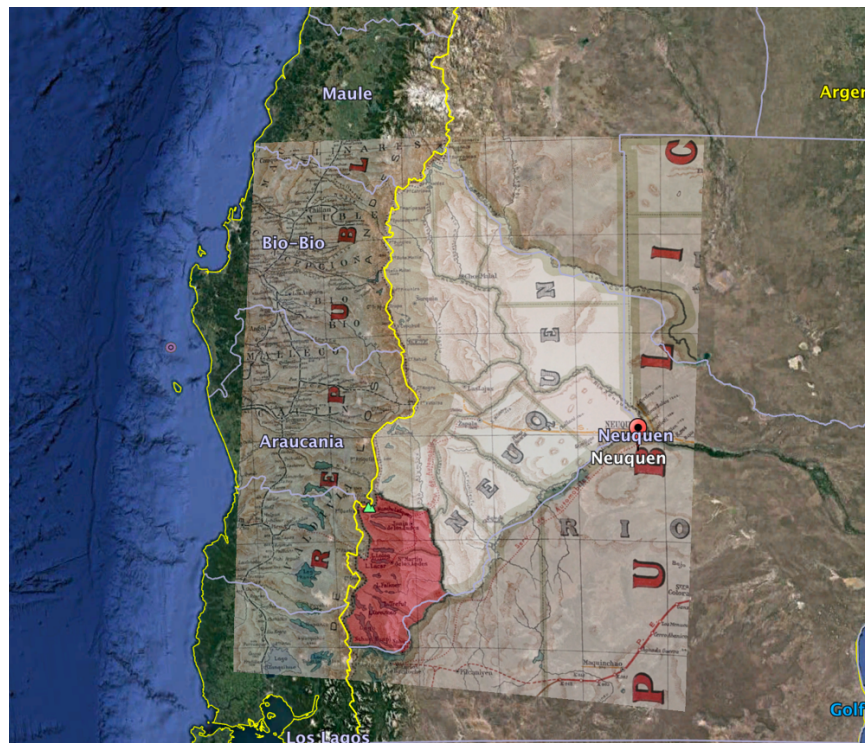


Image 10: Snapshot of a section of “Mapa geográfico-comercial con la red completa de ferrocarriles de las repúblicas Argentina, Chile, Uruguay y Paraguay” by Alfredo Weber (1923) overlaid on Google Earth. The image shows in a white shade the Departments of Neuquén, highlighting Los Lagos in red. The map of Neuquén looks tilted because I adjusted it to match the curvature of the Earth. This tilt exemplifies how maps failed to fully grasp the geography of our world.

¹⁴⁰ Gobernación del Neuquén, “Plano e informe del Territorio Nacional del Neuquen solicitado por el Ministerio del Interior”; Alfredo Weber, *Mapa geográfico-comercial con la red completa de ferrocarriles de las repúblicas Argentina, Chile, Uruguay y Paraguay* (Buenos Aires: Oficina Cartográfica, 1923).

Conclusion

Local elites constructed a discourse of danger for describing specific landscapes in Northern Patagonia articulating an increasing xenophobic idea of the nation, especially towards Chileans. Reports of crimes and the calls for action fueled collective perceptions among local elites that Northern Patagonia, and especially the Andes, needed more policing. Policing, I argued, went beyond the establishment of law enforcement to monitor behaviors that were portrayed as criminal. In this chapter, I focused especially on inebriation.

The apparent solution to improve the productivity of economic areas in Northern Patagonia was to encourage migration from cities. In reality, however, the situation was slightly different. Foreign immigration to Patagonia did peak in the 1910s and through the early 1920s. Nonetheless, so did the opposition to these newcomers by far-right, anti-labor movements groups. For instance, Italians in Bariloche received increasing attacks from residents who opposed the participation of foreigners in local business. These confrontations stemmed from the Patriotic League (*Liga Patriótica*), a paramilitary far-right group that disseminated rapidly in Patagonia.¹⁴¹ Led by physician Luis Pastor, the League opposed the Governor's appointment of five foreigners to the Development Commission (including Capraro) in 1927.¹⁴² Pamphlets against the Italian appeared in a local bar while tourists that arrived in Bariloche received a written piece of advice in anonymous envelopes: "Run away from him!" (even though Greca did not attest to this).¹⁴³ The

¹⁴¹ Sandra McGee Deutsch, *Counterrevolution in Argentina, 1900-1932: the Argentine Patriotic League* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); Luis María Caterina, *La Liga Patriótica Argentina: Un grupo de presión frente a las convulsiones sociales de la década del '20* (Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 1995).

¹⁴² "Reorganización de comisiones de fomento," *La Nueva Era*, November 19, 1927; Laura Méndez, "'El León de La Cordillera': Primo Capraro y El Desempeño Empresario de La Región de Nahuel Huapi, 1902-1932," *Boletín Americanista* 59, no. 59 (2009): 37.

¹⁴³ "Huid de él!", Méndez, "'El León de La Cordillera': Primo Capraro y El Desempeño Empresario de La Región de Nahuel Huapi, 1902-1932," 38. For more on Capraro's political struggles see Méndez, *Estado, frontera y turismo. Historia de San Carlos de Bariloche.*, 219–21.

political tension between those attracted to the League and foreigners reflects the competition of authorities and elites to reframe nationalizing discourses of morality and good behavior within the local sphere.

**Chapter 5: Locality as a National Metaphor: Travel and the Making of the
Fatherland in the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region, 1930-1945.**

“*Conocer la patria es un deber*” (To know the fatherland is a duty).¹

“*Visite los parques nacionales*” (visit the national parks).²

Introduction

In the 1930s and 1940s, these slogans appeared on the first page of the Nahuel Huapi National Park guidebooks and at the top of the first page of all official correspondence from the *Dirección de Parques Nacionales* (National Parks Bureau, DPN). Together, these words called Argentines to get to know their country by traveling to any of the seven national parks. The slogans implied that only by visiting these protected areas –Iguazú in the northeastern frontier with Brazil and the remaining in the Patagonian Andes– could one fulfill the duty of getting to know the nation.³ In other words, travelling merely to the outskirts of Buenos Aires, the wheat fields of La Pampa, or even the wineries of Mendoza did not mean that Argentines truly knew the fatherland. Knowing Argentina meant travel to very specific landscapes.

¹ Dirección de Parques Nacionales, *Parque Nacional Nahuel Huapi. Guía* (Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Agricultura, Dirección de Parques Nacionales, 1938).

² This phrase appeared sometimes beneath the first one. See, for example, Alexis Christensen, “Carta de Alexis Christensen a Exequiel Bustillo” (Fondo Bustillo - Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) Caja 3345, July 7, 1937); Julio Peña, “Carta de Julio Peña a Exequiel Bustillo” (Fondo Bustillo - Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) Caja 3345, September 21, 1938).

³ Eugenia Scarzanella, “Las bellezas naturales y la nación: Los parques nacionales en Argentina en la primera mitad del siglo XX,” *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 73 (2002): 9; Melina Piglia, “‘¡Conozca su patria: veraneé!’ Los orígenes del turismo en automóvil en la Argentina, 1920-1950” (Encuentro Internacional de Turismo, Mar del Plata, Argentina, 2011), <http://nulan.mdp.edu.ar/1515/>; Melina Piglia, “En torno a los Parques Nacionales: primeras experiencias de una política turística nacional centralizada en la Argentina (1934-1950),” *PASOS. Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural* 10, no. 1 (2012): 68; Sofia Marinaro, Ricardo Grau, and Ezequiel Aráoz, “Extensión y originalidad en la creación de parques nacionales en relación a cambios gubernamentales y económicos de la Argentina,” *Ecología Austral* 22, no. 1 (2012).

Travel publications in Chile echoed the idea that visiting the corners of one's country was a patriotic endeavor. Advertisements of the West Indian Oil Company, for instance, instructed: "Know your own country!" (*¡Conozca su propio país!*) to encourage motor vehicle travel.⁴ The Chilean *Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado* (State Railway Company, EFE), like the Argentine DPN, urged the urban upper and middle classes not only to travel, but to travel to particular places. Through its two main publications, *En Viaje*, a magazine circulated widely in Santiago and Valparaíso, and *Guía del Veraneante*, a yearly guidebook, EFE argued that the authentic national landscape was in Llanquihue and Araucanía, where Chileans could "find the original source of national history."⁵ Authorities envisioned that the beauty of the landscapes would move visitors—especially Chileans—to admire their countries. This admiration would in turn make those tourists better citizens upon their return to their daily routines. Tourism, then, was "a quest of intense patriotism."⁶

In this chapter, I analyze how authorities refashioned the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi region as national landscapes. For doing this, they introduced tourism. Thus, tourists will come to play a key role in consuming and reproducing ideas about the Northern Patagonian Andes. Ultimately, re-signifying the Andes served to reinforce state control over a frontier space. The natural landscapes of the Northern Patagonian Andes captured the essence of the nations, which contrasted with previous renderings of geographical space. Authorities in Santiago and Buenos Aires shifted their portrayals of the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi region from a production-oriented space to a site

⁴ West Indian Oil Company (Chile), "Conozca su propio país! (Advertisement)," *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, February 1937.

⁵ "Viajar por su país es educarse en las fuentes mismas de la historia patria", "Viajar es educarse," *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, December 1933.

⁶ "Una obra de intense patriotismo", Wenceslao Landaeta, "Turismos: Las bellezas naturales del país acrecentarán el Turismo entre el elemento extranjero y practicado entre conacionales, la riqueza pública.," *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, December 1933, 51, Memoria Chilena.

to be protected, admired, and visited. The national governments stopped seeing the Northern Patagonian Andes as a dynamic place with agro-industrial potential—as explorers, landowners, residents, and authorities had depicted it. Instead, national authorities now regarded it as a passive site. Its progress would rely on visitors who came as tourists to admire the views.

State agencies like DPN and EFE defined the topography of Northern Patagonia—lakes, forests, and mountains—as the location of the nation.⁷ In the first section, I show how national authorities in both countries viewed the Patagonian space in gendered ways: feminine, passive, and subject to the power of political and economic centers. Besides portraying the Northern Patagonian Andes as “virgin” spaces that needed protection, both governments also utilized modernist tropes around tourism to underpin the state’s role in the protection and development of tourist sites. As a result, traditional and modern ideas of womanhood overlapped in the depictions of the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region. In the second and third sections, I examine how each country used these tensions between fragile and modern nature to construct “national” landscapes. While EFE used a composite of mountain-lake-forest to encapsulate the essence of Chileanness, DPN relied on a specific architectonic style that became known as “Bariloche style.”⁸ Hence, authorities in each country used spatial recourses in different ways to locate the nation around either natural or built landscapes. Yet, these portrayals served the same purpose. As a result, the particulars of Northern Patagonian became a metaphor for nation in both countries.

⁷ Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

⁸ Liliana Lolich et al., “Estado y paisaje. Estudio comparativo de la arquitectura hotelera desde una perspectiva binacional,” in *Araucanía - Norpatagonia: la territorialidad en debate. Perspectivas ambientales, culturales, sociales, políticas y económicas*, ed. María Andrea Nicoletti and Paula Gabriela Núñez (San Carlos de Bariloche: IIDyPCa, 2013), 70.

In the 1930s and through the mid-1940s, the governments of Chile and Argentina developed and reproduced a tourist gaze onto the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi region.⁹ In some aspects, this chapter circles back to top-down makings of space that I examined in the first chapter of the dissertation. John Urry argued that a principle of difference underscores how people view tourist sites or landmarks. The extraordinary, the thing that contrasts with everyday life, attracts tourists. Millions of people travel to New York City every year to see the Statue of Liberty, Brooklyn Bridge, and Times Square. Similarly, local New Yorkers travel outside of Manhattan to see other sites, separate from their everyday lives. The Chilean and Argentine governments framed Northern Patagonia as an extraordinary, yet familiar landscape. In portraying the Andean landscape as extraordinary, they imposed values of beauty that educated travelers to admire it. At the same time, authorities packaged these views as national landscapes, sites where visitors could recognize their own belonging to a common idea of the nation.

The Chilean *Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado* (State Railway Company, EFE) and the Argentine *Direction de Parques Nacionales* (National Parks Bureau, DPN) enjoyed autonomy from their respective national governments, that allowed them to transform geographical space into national touristscapes. Anthropologist Erika Williams defines “touristscape” as any given set of tourist sites within a city, such as Times Square, the Statue of Liberty, and Central Park in New York City.¹⁰ Together, these places thread a tourist landscape of the city which does not necessarily coincide with what local New Yorkers experience. For the Northern Patagonian Andes, the emblematic touristscape that encapsulated the “true” nationhood in the south comprised specific places, like the cities of Puerto Montt and Bariloche, and specific views, such as the

⁹ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*.

¹⁰ Erica Williams, *Sex Tourism in Bahia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 6.

view of the Osorno volcano from the opposite shore of Lake Llanquihue. By creating national touristscapes, authorities, visitors, and writers to the Northern Patagonian Andes also participated in a shared way of looking at space.

National Parks in the History of Chile and Argentina

The 1930s in Chile and Argentina were tumultuous times, like in much of the world. The economic depression that followed the Wall Street crash of 1929 destabilized political regimes around the world. In Chile and Argentina, political elites allied with the military to keep a strong grip over the economy. Unlike during previous financial crises, the global depression resulted in unprecedented state involvement in economic planning in Chile, Argentina, and throughout the Americas.¹¹ State intervention in the economy led to multiple development plans that affected all aspects of life, including the environment. As a result, historians have usually taken 1930 as a chronological turning point, aligning global and national events to the history of Patagonia.¹²

¹¹ Juan Carlos Korol, “La economía,” in *Nueva historia argentina: Crisis económica, avance del estado e incertidumbre política (1930-1943)*, by Alejandro Cattaruzza (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2001), 17–48; Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*; Claudio Belini, *Historia económica de la Argentina en el siglo XX* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores: Fundación OSDE, 2012).

¹² Alina Frapiccini, Gabriel Rafart, and Daniel Lvovich, “Migración y fluctuaciones del mercado de trabajo: los trabajadores chilenos de Neuquén, 1884-1930,” *Estudios migratorios latinoamericanos* 10, no. 20 (1995): 333–56; Hugo Quiroga and Martha Ruffini, eds., *Estado y territorios nacionales: política y ciudadanía en Río Negro 1912-1930* (Neuquén: EDUCO, Editorial de la Universidad Nacional del Comahue, 2011); Ernesto Bohoslavsky, *El complot patagónico: nació, conspiracionismo y violencia en el sur de Argentina y Chile siglos XIX y XX*, Colección Estudios Patagónicos (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2009); Ernesto Bohoslavsky, “¿Retraso, deformidad o improvisación? Formando la ciudadanía y el Estado en el sur argentino, 1880-1930,” in *Política y variaciones de escalas en el análisis de la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento y Prometeo Libros, 2009), 97–119; Liliana Lolich, “Estado y paisaje. Estudio comparativo de la arquitectura hotelera desde una perspectiva binacional,” in *Araucanía - Norpatagonia: la territorialidad en debate. Perspectivas ambientales, culturales, sociales, políticas y económicas*, ed. María Andrea Nicoletti and Paula Núñez (San Carlos de Bariloche: IIDyPCa, 2013); Susana Bandieri, “Cuando las fronteras fueron límites: El incremento de la penetración estatal en la Patagonia argentina,” in *Araucanía - Norpatagonia: la territorialidad en debate. Perspectivas ambientales, culturales, sociales, políticas y económicas*, ed. María Andrea Nicoletti and Paula Núñez (San Carlos de Bariloche: IIDyPCa, 2013), 137–48; Fabián Almonacid Zapata, “El problema de la propiedad de la tierra en el sur de Chile (1850-1930),” *Historia (Santiago)* 42, no. 1 (2009): 5–56; María Argeri, *De guerreros a delincuentes, de. La desarticulación de las jefaturas indígenas y el poder judicial: Norpatagonia, 1880-1930* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005); Víctor Muñoz Cortés, “El anarquismo y los orígenes del movimiento sindical

Chilean and Argentine governments tightened control over the economy, as well as politics and society. In Argentina, General José Félix Uriburu led a military coup against President Hipólito Yrigoyen (1928-1930). With the support of some factions of the Armed Forces and the paramilitary far-right Patriotic League—which had risen to prominence during the 1920s—Uriburu inaugurated a long period in Argentine history when the Armed Forces controlled politics to, in their view, protect democracy from its own dangers.¹³ Uriburu called for elections and in 1932 General Agustín P. Justo rose to the presidency (1932-1938) with Julio A. Roca, Jr. as his vice-president.¹⁴ Justo dominated the political sphere for the following ten years through an alliance with Conservatives, Radicals, and Independent Socialists.¹⁵ The president introduced development plans that enabled Argentines to overcome the economic recession.

Chile followed a similar path. In 1925, the country began experimenting with a new constitution that centralized authority in the Executive branch. Stability, however, rested on the rise to power of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, elected in 1927. Ibáñez introduced a reform agenda that set parameters on how the state would participate in the revitalization of the economy in the 1930s and 1940s by his successors. Part of the centralization efforts comprised increasing control of the national government over state agencies, such as the General Controlling Office or the National

campesino en Osorno (1930-1940),” *Fronteras* 1, no. 2 (January 30, 2015): 111–43; Ricardo Falcón, ed., *Nueva Historia Argentina*, vol. 6: Democracia, conflicto social y renovación de ideas, 1916-1930. (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2000); Alejandro Cataruzza, ed., *Nueva Historia Argentina*, vol. 7: Crisis económica, avance del estado e incertidumbre política (1930-1943) (Sudamericana, 2000). In her monograph *Historia de la Patagonia*, Susana Bandieri follows a chronological path but avoids making clear breaks, especially because regional histories not always had the same chronologies. See Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia*, Second, Historia Argentina (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2011).

¹³ Darío Macor, “Partidos, coaliciones y sistemas de poder,” in *Nueva historia argentina: Crisis económica, avance del estado e incertidumbre política (1930-1943)*, by Alejandro Cataruzza (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2001), 70–74.

¹⁴ Macor, “Partidos, coaliciones y sistemas de poder.”

¹⁵ Hugo Quiroga, “Notas sobre la historia de la democracia en la Argentina,” in *Estado y territorios nacionales: política y ciudadanía en Río Negro 1912-1930*, ed. Hugo Quiroga and Martha Ruffini (Neuquén: EDUCO, Editorial de la Universidad Nacional del Comahue, 2011), 23.

Police. Ultimately, Chile's political trajectory towards the Left differed from Argentina's inclinations to the right.

Like their Latin American neighbors, Chilean and Argentine governments turned to import-substitution industrialization to solve the economic crisis of the 1930s.¹⁶ Industrialization had begun in the previous decade, especially in Argentina. U.S. companies had established factories in Argentina, which were emulated rapidly by European competitors. In Chile, although nitrate production waned after World War I, agrarian production doubled in the 1920s.¹⁷ In addition, the incipient timber industry began expanding into the forests of Araucanía during this period. In the 1930s, the governments of both countries introduced an economic policy that lay the groundwork for import-substitution industrialization.¹⁸ Currency devaluation, higher import tariffs, and strict exchange control allowed was how the Chilean manufacturing base “both survived the Depression and flourished because of it.”¹⁹ Similarly, in Argentina, the number of factories multiplied by 25% between 1935 and 1939 in a myriad of industries.²⁰ Both governments envisioned the state as a key player in the economy, not a simple monitor of it. Drenched in Keynesian thought, the Argentine and Chilean states participated in this industrial growth by increasing state leadership in the production of energy and the expansion of communication networks.²¹ Finally, Chilean and Argentine authorities alike—much like the rest of the continent—introduced tourism as another facet of the import-substitution model.

¹⁶ Eduardo Dockemdorff, Alfredo Rodríguez, and Lucy Winchester, “Santiago de Chile: Metropolization, Globalization and Inequity,” *Environment and Urbanization* 12, no. 1 (2000): 172; Korol, “La economía”; Celso Furtado, *La economía latinoamericana: formación histórica y problemas contemporáneos* (Siglo XXI, 2001).

¹⁷ Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 203 and 218.

¹⁸ Klubock, *La Frontera*, chap. 4.

¹⁹ Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 269.

²⁰ Belini, *Historia económica de la Argentina en el siglo XX*, 94–96.

²¹ Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*, 279–80; Anahí Ballent and Adrián Gorelik, “País urbano o país rural: la modernización territorial y su crisis,” in *Nueva historia argentina: Crisis económica, avance del estado e*

Tourism supported the new economic orientation in Chile and Argentina in four ways. First, it channeled public spending towards the construction of railroads, train stations, and roads that revitalized employment and expanded the communications network. Second, the specific areas reserved for tourist activities—the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region mostly—served as an alternative to Europe for those upper classes in Santiago and Buenos Aires who, hit by the recession, could no longer afford the trans-Atlantic trip. Second, tourism provided the national governments with a platform to amplify state propaganda. Many state agencies had offices to publish reports, magazines, and pamphlets. National authorities disseminated ideas about nature, history, and society through publications devoted to travelers, like *En Viaje* and *Guía del Veraneante* (Chile) and the guidebooks of the Nahuel Huapi National Park (Argentina). Finally, tourism buttressed state-led economic plans by portraying the government’s unique mission to modernize all aspects of life, including recreation.

In Argentina, the National Parks Bureau (DPN) led a spatial transformation of Northern Patagonia. Its first director, Exequiel Bustillo (1934-1944), imprinted the scope of this transformation along the lines the new Conservative government. In fact, “new” political actors, such as Bustillo, saw themselves as part of a restoration of national values in alliance with the Armed Forces. In the same way that the newly elected government of Agustín P. Justo presented his term as a “restoration” of national values, the execution of a plan of public works in Nahuel Huapi sought to visually restore that order. For this, Bustillo positioned his political career within a genealogy of statesmen who carried out “the colonizing enterprise” (*acción colonizadora*) in Argentina and, particularly, in Patagonia, such as Julio A. Roca and Ezequiel Ramos Mejía.²² He

incertidumbre política (1930-1943), by Alejandro Cattaruzza (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2001), 143–200.

²² Exequiel Bustillo, *El despertar de Bariloche*, 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires: Editorial y Librería Goncourt, 1988), 75–76.

mingled with the political and military aristocracy of Buenos Aires, “whose most prominent members had returned to public action after the Revolution of September 6, [1930].”²³ It is not surprising, then, that Bustillo—a lawyer with no military training—inserted himself in a historical national project, but also within a political cohort that refreshed the conservative program of pre-1916 in light of the rise of military authoritarianism across the Western Hemisphere.²⁴

The patriotic rhetoric of the new government bolstered the creation of national parks in Argentina. National parks, both in North and South America, provided the federal/national governments with an “ongoing presence in the landscape.”²⁵ In the United States, the establishment of Yellowstone (1872), Yosemite (1890), and Grand Canyon (1919) “appealed to citizens’ desire to preserve what was grand or unique about [North] America, or to preserve historically meaningful landscapes.”²⁶ The creation of such protected areas responded to an U.S. need to construct “an identity that was different from Europe.”²⁷ The creation of national parks—as opposed to federal, wild, or natural—clearly encapsulated the underlying objective of defining a national landscape.²⁸

The Chilean government also introduced protected areas as an avenue to construct a visual reference for the nation. This reference grouped mountains, volcanoes, forests, lakes, and rivers

²³ “*Cuyos socios más destacados habían vuelto a la acción pública después de la revolución del 6 de setiembre*”, *Ibid.*, 79.

²⁴ Navarro Floria, “El proceso de construcción social de la región de Nahuel Huapi en la práctica simbólica y material de Exequiel Bustillo (1934-1944),” 4–5.

²⁵ Karl Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2003), 83.

²⁶ Philip Cafaro, “Patriotism as an Environmental Virtue,” *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 23, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 193, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10806-009-9189-y>.

²⁷ Teresa Bergman, *Exhibiting Patriotism Creating and Contesting Interpretations of American Historic Sites* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2013), 152.

²⁸ Norberto Fortunato, “El territorio y sus representaciones como fuente de recursos turísticos. Valores fundacionales del concepto de ‘parque nacional,’” *Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo* 14, no. 4 (2005): 316.

into a patriotic touristscape. Chilean authorities established the first national park in 1925 named after diplomat Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna where a forest reserve had existed since 1912. Although the park ceased to exist in 1929, some scholars have seen this upgrade from reserve to park as a shift from conservation of forests for the timber industry to conservation of forests for their beauty.²⁹ A second decree, this time in 1926, established the Vicente Pérez Rosales National Park on the homonymous pass across the Andes, once busy with the Chile-Argentina Company caravans.

Argentine scholarship on parks draws a simple timeline of national parks with three distinct moments. In 1903, Francisco Moreno donated part of an estate he had received for his service as an expert in the border negotiations. He donated twelve square miles to create “a national park in the environs of Pérez Rosales Pass” in the future (*un parque nacional en los alrededores del Boquete Pérez Rosales*), which became the origin of the institutional history of the DPN.³⁰ Historians have pinpointed that moment as a foundational in the Argentine history of conservation.³¹ The creation of the Southern National Park in 1922 attempted to honor Moreno’s

²⁹ Emily Wakild, “Protecting Patagonia: Science, Conservation, and the Pre-History of the Nature State on a South American Frontier, 1903-1934,” in *The Nature State: Rethinking the History of Conservation*, Routledge Environmental Humanities (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 37–54; Jens Andermann, *Tierras en trance: Arte y naturaleza después del paisaje* (Ediciones Metales Pesados, 2018); “Listado de sistema nacional de áreas protegidas silvestres del estado (SNASPE)” (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Corporación Nacional Forestal, August 2008).

³⁰ “Carta de Francisco Moreno al Ministro Vergara, 18 de Septiembre de 1904” (Archivo General de la Nación - Buenos Aires, Departamento de Documentos Escritos, Sala VII, Fondo Fransico P. Moreno, 3098, 1904); Dirección de Parques Nacionales, *Parque Nacional de Nahuel Huapi. Historia, tradiciones y etnología* (Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Agricultura, Dirección de Parques Nacionales, 1938); “Historia Institucional - Administración de Parques Nacionales,” accessed June 4, 2017, <https://www.parquesnacionales.gob.ar/institucional/historia-institucional/>. We will further visit this pass in the Epilogue.

³¹ Biedma, *Crónica histórica del lago Nahuel Huapi*, 150; Núñez, “Género, clase y etnia en un área protegida,” 90; Méndez and Muñoz Sougarret, “Economías Cordilleranas e Intereses Nacionales: Genealogía de Una Relación. El Caso de La Compañía Comercial y Ganadera Chile-Argentina (1895-1920),” 182; Emily Wakild and Adrian Howkins, “Conservation on Tour: Compating Nations, Scientists, and Parks in the Americas,” in *National Parks Beyond the Nation: Global Perspectives on “America’s Best Idea,”* vol. 1, Public Lands History Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 96–100; Wakild, “Protecting Patagonia: Science, Conservation, and the Pre-History of the Nature State on a South American Frontier, 1903-1934,” 38.

wishes, though the park only existed “on paper.”³² The institutional history of national parks in Argentina marked 1934 as the official birth of protected areas in the country with the creation of the DPN and the two first parks: Iguazú and Nahuel Huapi. Today, November 13 marks National Parks Day in Argentina in memory of Moreno’s first donation.

The linear history of national parks in Argentina and Chile presents two problems. First, it assumes that protected areas reflect a history of environmental conservation. However, the significant investment in buildings, roads, tracks, and bridges to support a booming tourist industry show that spatial interventions sought to transform the Northern Patagonian Andes rather than preserve it. Second, it reproduces national narratives that silence other understandings of space. State agencies employed visual mechanisms to impose meanings of nationality on specific sites, transforming them and reproducing touristscapes. As a result, local uses of space were silenced or even disregarded as unimportant. The governments of Chile and Argentina used tourism to create protected areas to reboot the economy. Authorities rearticulated nationalistic discourses around space to recalibrate the meanings of “Chile” and “Argentina.” By describing, depicting, and transforming the Northern Patagonian Andes, state agencies deployed an arsenal of discursive tools to wipe clean previous renderings of space and impose their versions of the nation.

Patagonia as She-land: Nature, Virginity, and Tourism

Chilean Carlota Andrée, a regular contributor to *En Viaje*, called for Latin American countries to “open... their doors in the frontier” and allow tourists to “assertively penetrate in the kingdom of panoramic beauty [:] of multiple and diverse beaches, mountains, and forests.”³³ In

³² Laura Méndez and Wladimiro Iwanow, *Bariloche: las caras del pasado* (Argentina: Manuscritos, 2001), 161.

³³ “Abrir... las puertas de sus fronteras... a penetrar decididamente el reinos de las bellezas panorámicas múltiples y

particular, she invited her fellow countrymen and women to visit southern Chile as an avenue to consolidate patriotism. As travelers “penetrated” into the south, they would discover the natural beauty of those landscapes, which in the 1930s remained “hidden from men’s gaze” (*defendidas contra la mirada del hombre*).³⁴ The overwhelming beauty of every mountain, every waterfall, and every lake would “move the spirit with contradictory emotions. As soon as a tear glimmers in the eyes of tourists, a crystalline voice will praise triumphantly this unappreciated and fine country.”³⁵ Andrée’s article epitomizes how editors of state-run publications characterized the Northern Patagonian Andes as she-land: a feminized version of space.³⁶ In portraying space as feminine, contributors to these publications supported state-led initiatives in the regions to consume and to modernize it under the guise of tourism. This section examines two sides of the same coin: how state agencies portrayed the Northern Patagonian Andes as a site that needed protection and also as a site that needed modernization through female imagery.

The resignification of Patagonia was marked by feminized language. Scholars of feminism have long examined the relationship between gender and the environment. Simone de Beauvoir (1952) first observed that patriarchal power structures subjected women and nature in similar ways, turning them into “other.” In 1974, Françoise d’Eaubonne’s classic essay *Le féminisme ou la mort* (Feminism or death) denounced how extractive approaches to women’s bodies and the environment had detrimental ecological consequences. She argued, for example, that “exploitation of female reproductive power had caused an excess of births, a hence overpopulation, which in

variadas de nuestras playas, montañas y bosques”, Carlota Andrée, “Los Bellos Paisajes de América,” En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado, June 1937, 37.

³⁴ Ibid., 38.

³⁵ “Emocionan el espíritu con contradictorios sentimientos. Tan pronto el llanto noble puebla los ojos del turista, como una voz argentina grita triunfante una alabanza para este nunca bien ponderado y bello país”, Ibid., 37.

³⁶ Núñez, “The ‘She-Land,’ Social Consequences of the Sexualized Construction of Landscape in North Patagonia,” 1446–47.

turn, exploited natural resources to the point of their destruction.”³⁷ This logic of dominion structured all social relations between man and the subaltern, namely women, people of color, and non-human animals. In this context, the figure of the man represented reason, while the subaltern stood closer to nature as a site for the non-rational. It followed that nature/the subaltern required paternal care of men. By portraying nature as feminine, governments justified colonialism around the world.³⁸

Although feminized discourses about Patagonia had been circulating for decades, in the 1930s national governments of Chile and Argentina standardized them as descriptors of specific landscapes in the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi region. Feminized portrayals of nature in guidebooks and magazines mirrored patriarchal understandings of nature. Descriptions of Patagonia as a space subdued by men in positions of authority were not a novelty of the 1930s. Since the 1870s, as I examined in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, explorers, the military, settlers, land-holding companies, and law-enforcement penetrated the Argentine Patagonia. Similarly, Chilean authorities surveyed and distributed the land to immigrant families while deploying a bureaucratic maze of intendents, governors, police officers, engineers, and inspectors. By the 1930s, when the national governments of both countries refashioned the Northern Patagonian Andes into a site for tourist consumption, they applied feminized descriptions of nature to serve a new audience: tourists.

Feminized portrayals of Patagonia (and the Northern Patagonian Andes specifically) mirrored social hierarchies. Since the state-sponsored explorations in the second half of the nineteenth century, political elites in Santiago and Buenos Aires had regarded Patagonia as a no-place, a site with no relational identity and no meaning. This geographical subordination enabled

³⁷ Trish Glazebrook, “Karen Warren’s Ecofeminism,” *Ethics and the Environment* 7, no. 2 (2002): 12.

³⁸ Paula Gabriela Núñez, *Distancias entre la ecología y la praxis ambiental. Una lectura crítica desde el ecofeminismo*, Biblioteca Crítica de Feminismo y Género (La Plata: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 2011).

authorities to justify the displacement of indigenous people. For instance, in the 1900s, two *lonko* (Mapuche chiefs or caciques), Ignacio Andriau and José María Paisil, received land titles for a lot on the northern shore of Lake Nahuel Huapi, at the crossroads of a trans-Andean pass and a natural harbor on the lake.³⁹ In the 1930s, the Argentine National Parks Bureau (DPN) removed these families by increasing taxes, destroying documents, and using criminal records to dispossess them.⁴⁰ This episode shows how indigenous populations did not receive guarantees on their property, reinforcing their social subordination to non-indigenous newcomers.

In the 1930s and 1940s, state officers reinforced this hierarchical relationship between political centers and peripheral spaces by mimicking social interactions between men and women, especially those leading to or about marriage. *En Viaje*, for example, included sections addressed to women that served men in the household: “Advice for Home” and “For the Diligent Woman.” These sections provided women with tips on how to get rid of moths, how to wash white silk, and how to make a necklace, to name a few.⁴¹ Some articles also provided marriage advice. “How to win an Argument,” for example, listed six steps for women to win a discussion with their husbands, and “Marriage Commandments” gave ten pieces of advice for women on how to be better wives.⁴²

The feminization of Patagonia depicted it as a site where its residents could not make their own decisions or act in their own best interests.⁴³ This portrayal of space impacted how people in

³⁹ Vallmitjana, *A cien años de la colonia agrícola Nahuel Huapi, 1902-2002*, 17.

⁴⁰ Garcia and Valverde pp 118-121.

⁴¹ Núñez, “The ‘She-Land,’ Social Consequences of the Sexualized Construction of Landscape in North Patagonia,” 1446–47.

⁴² “Cómo Ganar Una Discusión,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de Los Ferrocarriles Del Estado*, December 1933; André Maurois, “Los mandamientos matrimoniales,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, January 1943.

⁴³ Paula Gabriela Núñez, “The ‘She-Land,’ Social Consequences of the Sexualized Construction of Landscape in North Patagonia,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 22, no. 10 (2015): 1445–48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2014.991695>. See also, Gülsüm Baydar, “Sexualised Productions of Space,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 19, no. 6 (2012): 699–706.

Patagonia experienced their citizenship. For instance, in Argentina, all adults received the right to vote in 1910. However, residents of Patagonia could not exercise this right to vote, except in local elections. National authorities argued that sparse population and political inexperience of the residents of the National Territories meant that they could not participate in national elections.⁴⁴ In the realm of material development, Patagonia was only valuable if it supported the progress of “central” areas: the mining North in Chile and the agricultural plains in Argentina. This explains why the national governments of both countries created national parks and protected areas in the Patagonian Andes while simultaneously introducing policies that would boost production of export-oriented areas. Protecting nature served the nascent tourism industry from the political centers.

Untouched Nature: Virginity and Travel

By and large, authors and editors of travel magazines used the imagery of virgin forests to attract to tourists to penetrate them, like Carlota Andrée’s article evidenced above. In Argentina, the 1938 Nahuel Huapi National Park guide provided historical accounts of the expeditions of Eduardo O’Connor he “penetrated” one of Lake Nahuel Huapi’s branches that he named Lake Moreno in the 1880s.⁴⁵ In addition, “penetration” could also refer to conquest, evoking the violence of rape. Another historical account, this time in *En Viaje*, described how in the mid-nineteenth

⁴⁴ María Teresa Varela, ed., “La inconclusa instalación de las legislaturas territoriales. Debates y perspectivas desde la prensa rionegrina (1922-1930),” in *Nacionalismo, Migraciones y Ciudadanía. Algunos aportes desde las Ciencias Sociales* (Buenos Aires: Autores de Argentina, 2009), 61–82; Martha Ruffini, *La Patagonia mirada desde arriba: El Grupo Braun Menéndez Behety y la Revista Argentina Austral (1929-1967)* (Rosario, Argentina: Prohistoria Ediciones, 2017), 121–24. For more on the relationship between civic rights and citizenship in the National Territories, especially Río Negro, see Hugo Quiroga and Martha Ruffini, eds., *Estado y territorios nacionales: política y ciudadanía en Río Negro 1912-1930* (Neuquén: EDUCO, Editorial de la Universidad Nacional del Comahue, 2011).

⁴⁵ Dirección de Parques Nacionales, *Parque Nacional de Nahuel Huapi. Historia, tradiciones y etnología*, 33.

century, explorers of Chile turned away from desert in the north towards the rainforest in the south, which proved hard to penetrate. In 1936, an editorial note of *En Viaje* announced that foreign travelers would not need tourist visas to enter Chile. The article anticipated the possibility that more visitors would arrive in the south “to get to know the natural beauties, to get to know the national progress and to acquire approximation with our history and with our customs.”⁴⁶ Tourism represented another way to subdue the environment by penetrating it.

Authors described nature as virgin, especially when referring to rainforests (*selvas*). In a meeting with Elsie Brown, Director of the Bulletin of the Pan American Union, Domingo Oyarzún Moreno, Head of Tourism Services in Chile, described the silhouette of southern Chile “with volcanoes and virgin forests.”⁴⁷ An anonymous contributor to *En Viaje* reported on the “virgin nature” on the eastern shore of Lake Llanquihue and in the surrounding area of Lake Ranco.⁴⁸ Another one described a section of Araucanía with flirtatious eloquence: “There is the impenetrable rainforest, majestic in its millenary grandiosity; there is the river, graceful and silver, like the body of a giant woman.”⁴⁹ A third contributor of *En Viaje* paralleled the feeling of visiting the Southern Chile with that of falling in love: “What a joy to fall prisoner in the wonderful traps that Chilean landscapes laid for us, there where we would want to root our feet! We have never felt our bodies and souls so imprisoned by the magical and deep voice of a virgin forest which with a blow of breeze gives us its most pure accents.”⁵⁰

⁴⁶ “Con fines de conocer las bellezas naturales, compenetrarse del progreso nacional y adquirir aproximación con nuestra historia y con nuestras costumbres”, “Facilidades al turismo extranjero,” *En Viaje*, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado, January 1936.

⁴⁷ “Miss Elsie Brown, turista del mundo, conquistada por Chile,” *En Viaje*, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado, December 1937, 36.

⁴⁸ “Del 16 de marzo al 2 de abril por la region de los lagos,” *En Viaje*, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado, June 1934, 33–34.

⁴⁹ “Cautín,” *En Viaje*, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado, December 1945.

⁵⁰ “¡Y qué hermoso caer prisionero en las celadas maravillosas que nos tienden los paisajes de Chile, aquellos en donde el pie quisiera echar raíces! Nunca sentimos más aprisionado el cuerpo y el alma que ante la mágica y

Authorities and travelers often used the image of virgin rainforests—often coupled with crystalline streams—to describe Southern Chile in the broadest sense of the word. By this I mean that as time went by, the pages of *En Viaje* increasingly included the Araucanía as part of this larger version of the south. “Virgin forests” repeatedly appeared in descriptions of the environs of Concepción, Cañete, and Lake Lleu-Lleu.⁵¹ The *Guía del Veraneante* carefully contrasted the “almost virgin” (*casi vírgenes*) forests north of Villarrica to the “fully” virgin woods of the south. “Exuberant nature” and “almost virgin forests” surrounded the beaches of Llico, a small town 150 miles south of Santiago, and decorated the train journey south of Temuco.⁵² Not far out from this city, Lake Colico presented “exuberant vegetation, mostly virgin.”⁵³ Farther south and east to Lake Ranco, sat small lake–Maihue—“surrounded by virgin forests of enormous centennial trees.”⁵⁴ A possible exception to the almost virgin/fully virgin dichotomy was Pilmaiquén Falls. This set of seven waterfalls over seventeen meters represented one of Osorno’s earliest tourist attractions. By 1941, the Chilean state had expropriated much of the area to build a hiking path and a restaurant to facilitate access. To reflect these accommodations, the editors of the *Guía* could not describe forests in Pilmaiquén as virgin, but only partly.⁵⁵

Turismo Austral, a magazine published by the Valdivia hotel-owners, limited tropes of green virginity to describe Valdivia and Llanquihue, south of Lake Villarrica. “Virgin forests”

profunda voz de un bosque virgen, que en el soplo quedo de la brisa nos va entregando todos sus acentos puros”, Stella Corvalán, “Paisajes de Chile,” *En Viaje*, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado, February 1942.

⁵¹ Juan Esteban Iriarte, “Juan Antonio Ríos: Recuerdos Juveniles,” *En Viaje*, Revista Mensual de Los Ferrocarriles Del Estado, April 1942, 70.

⁵² Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado, *Guía Del Veraneante* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Talleres Gráficos de los FF. CC. del E, 1943), 94 and 129.

⁵³ “*Exuberancia de su vegetación en gran parte virgen*”, Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado, *Guía Del Veraneante* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Talleres Gráficos de los FF. CC. del E, 1941), 138. See also Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado, *Guía Del Veraneante* (Santiago de Chile, Chile: Talleres Gráficos de los FF. CC. del E, 1940), 121.

⁵⁴ “*Selvas vírgenes con inmensos árboles centenarios*”, Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado, *Guía Del Veraneante*, 1941, 169. See also Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado, *Guía Del Veraneante*, 1940, 144.

⁵⁵ Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado, *Guía Del Veraneante*, 1941, 176.

populated the surroundings of Calbuco, the plains near Lake Ranco and Bueno River, and the railway journey between Ancud and Castro.⁵⁶ Some writers, however, denounced the overuse of such metaphors. In 1935, renowned journalist Carlos Silva Vildosola called on writers to recycle the vocabulary that they had overused to describe the southern landscapes: “I am convinced [we need] journalistic and literary regulations that forbid descriptions of lakes, forests, and volcanoes for ten years so that... a new terminology develops.”⁵⁷ In the same article, the author described the “dreamy drive that runs on the slopes of Osorno Volcano along the shore of Lake Llanquihue and then into virgin forests.”⁵⁸ In any case, the virginity metaphor, ubiquitous across publications, described spaces untouched by western societies.

Virgin forests, nevertheless, could also evoke wilderness, which some people found unattractive. Wilderness implied the absence of tourist facilities such as lodging, transportation, and meals: an empty space for tourism purposes. Like the explorers of Patagonia of the nineteenth century, writers of travel magazines and tourist guides in the 1930s and 1940s resolved the conundrum in two ways. Some authors examined how tourism and sports tamed nature. Skiing, for example, effectively subdued the snowy hillsides in the Central Andes.⁵⁹ While streams of white water carved the steep slopes and high peaks rose into clouds, attested collaborator Santiago Koch, skiing blossomed out of need before it became fun. He reproduced the legend of an anonymous mail carrier crossing into Argentina after a snowstorm and improvising two boards to

⁵⁶ F. Schmohl, “El turismo deportivo en la impresionante región de Lago Ranco y Río Bueno,” *Turismo Austral, revista mensual pro-fomento del turismo en la zona austral de Chile*, Agosto 1934, 31; “Excursiones en Chiloé y Puerto Montt,” *Turismo Austral, revista mensual pro-fomento del turismo en la zona austral de Chile*, February 1935, 43.

⁵⁷ Carlos Silva Vildosola, “Turismo estrangulado,” *Turismo Austral, revista mensual pro-fomento del turismo en la zona austral de Chile*, January 1935, 46.

⁵⁸ “*Ese camino de ensueño que corre por falta del volcán Osorno, a orillas del Lago Llanquihue y luego entre bosques vírgenes*”, Ibid.

⁵⁹ Santiago Koch, “El ski conquista los Andes,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, August 1938.

slide down a mountain.⁶⁰ For the Llanquihue region, fishing stood as *the* sport tourists could practice in every lake reinforcing the comprehensive touristscape with no name—a mountain, a body of water, and a forest— that typified the pages of *En Viaje* and *Guía del Veraneante*. Pucón, “[fly-] fishermen’s paradise,” was where EFE had built its first hotel in 1935. It is not surprising, then, that fishing accompanied any references to this town: “Pucón has become famous for its salmons and trout.”⁶¹

Women, modernity, and landscape

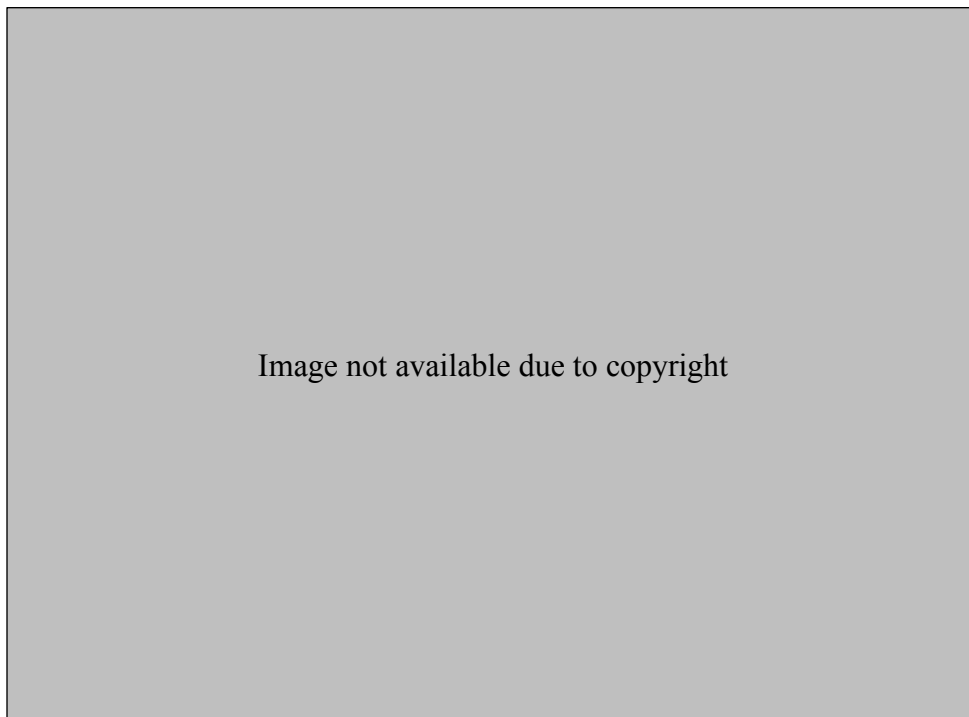


Image 11: State railroads advertisement in Guía del Veraneante, 1943 p. 9

The *Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado*’s advertisements (State Railways Company, EFE, Image 11) announced ticket sales to “beaches, thermal waters, and specially the south of

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ “Pucón se ha hecho célebre por sus salmones y sus truchas”, “Ir al Sur,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, February 1940.

Chile,” where “the south of Chile” appeared in a larger font.⁶² The image accompanying the text shows a group of five adults (four women and one man) at the beach. At first sight this might look like a reference to seaside resorts. However, the picture showed one of the women returning from fishing for fresh water trout. A smoking volcano provided the necessary geographical reference to locate this scene in the Patagonian Andes.⁶³ The label of “the south” as an overarching category to refer to a section of the Andes was also present in subsequent EFE advertisements.

⁶² Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado, *Guía Del Veraneante*, 1943, 9.

⁶³ Present-day Chilean Mining and Geology Service reckons a total of ninety “potentially active” volcanoes in the country where two-thirds of these have shown activity in the last two hundred years. The majority of these recently-active volcanoes are located south of Santiago, especially in the Llanquihue and Araucanía Regions “ABC de Los Volcanes | SERNAGEOMIN,” accessed March 1, 2019, <http://www.sernageomin.cl/abc/>; Jon J. Major and Luis E. Lara, “Overview of Chaitén Volcano, Chile, and Its 2008-2009 Eruption,” *Andean Geology* 40, no. 2 (2013): 198.



Image 12: EFE Advertisement in *En Viaje*, December 1945, p. 39 – *Memoria Chilena*

The use of feminized language in descriptions of the Northern Patagonian Andes appeared in the form of modern, urban women in visual depictions of the south. Image 12 shows an advertisement published in *En Viaje* in December 1945 using the imagery of fishing, mountains, and women to attract visitors. The upper section reads, “Visit southern Chile,” and the bottom one says, “Take advantage of tourist tickets. State Railways.”⁶⁴ Like the previous example, women draw the viewer’s attention. In Image 12, two women appear on the foreground dressed in urban

⁶⁴ Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado, “Publicidad: ‘Visite el Sur de Chile,’” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, December 1945.

attire while two men get ready to fish in a lake. The backdrop shows a mountain, a tree, what appears to be the moon, and a locomotive. The elegant women symbolized the attraction of southern Chile: youth and modernity. The excitement of traveling to a new place mirrored the adventure of courting a young, beautiful woman. Tourists could best travel to southern Chile by train, shown randomly floating in the upper left corner of the advert. The railway, a symbol of Chilean modernity in the 1930s and 1940s, matched the women's latest fashion.⁶⁵

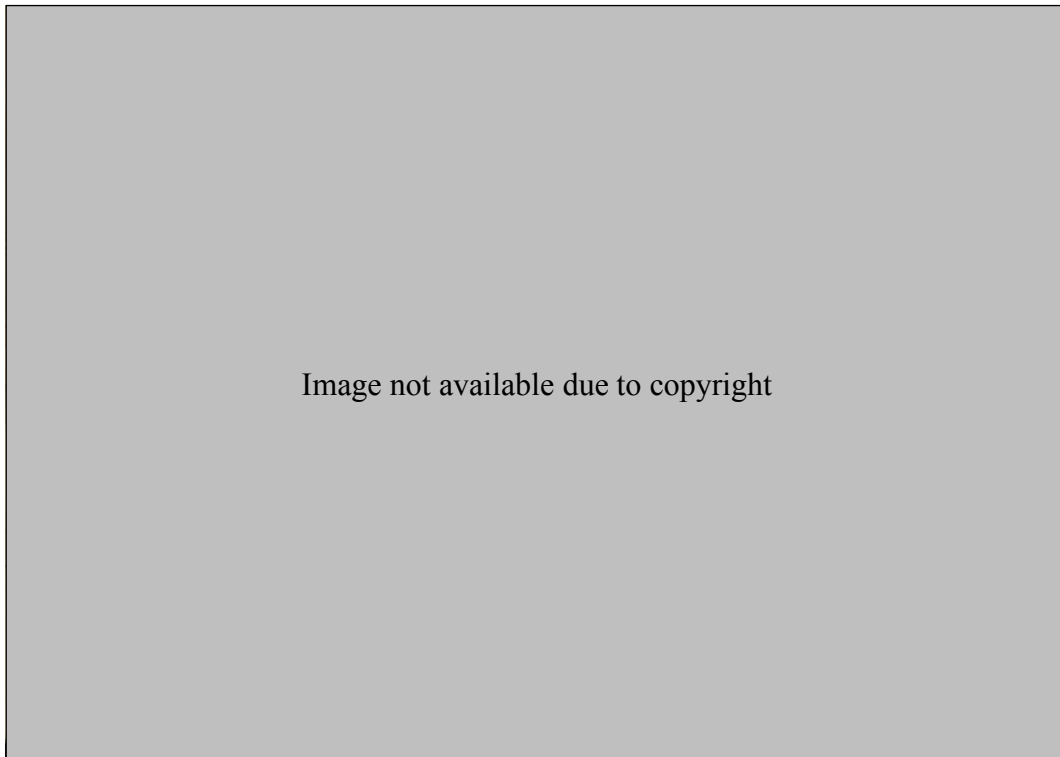


Image 13: Back cover of Guía del Veraneante, 1942 – Emory University

⁶⁵ “Los rieles marcan el camino de la chilenidad,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, 1941. For more on tourism and women’s fashion, see Regina G. Schlüter, “Mujer y turismo. Vestimenta e interacción social en los centros turísticos de Argetnina durante la década de 1930,” *Cuadernos de Turismo*, no. 21 (2008): 181–99; Gisela Kaczan and Graciela Zuppa, “Miradas, estrategias, exposiciones. Representaciones del cuerpo en la cultura visual, circa 1920-1940,” *Anales del IAA* 45, no. 1 (2016): 101–18; Andrea Torricella, “Imágenes personales, corporalidades femeninas y repertorios visuales. Una mujer con cámara de fotos en 1930,” *Trabajos y comunicaciones*, no. 48 (July 5, 2018): e061, <https://doi.org/10.24215/23468971e061>.

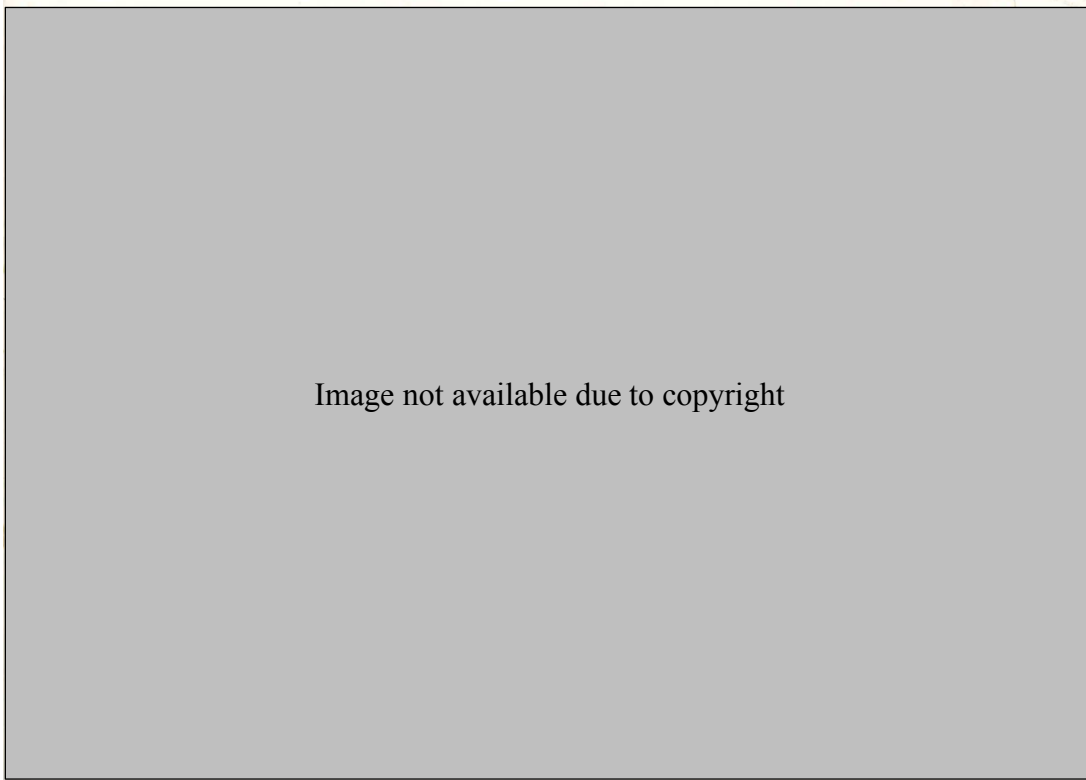


Image 14: Inside back cover of Guía del Veraneante, 1942 – Emory University

The images of women, either drawn or photographed, to promote tourism in southern Chile also portrayed an ideal of womanhood. Image 13 shows a blond woman in a two-part swimming suit blissfully balancing with help of sail ropes in a boat. The view behind her displays a lake, a forest, and a mountain, a relative common composite to refer to southern Chile, as I argue in the next section. We cannot tell exactly where the woman is, but the small Chilean flag and the peak-forest-water triad tie the landscape and the woman to national ideas of beauty. The only way to get to this woman and this view was by train, as encapsulated in the bottom right corner. Image 14, a photograph, shows a similar composition. A woman balances on a banister with the help of a pole, looking at the scenery behind her: the Pucón Grand Hotel on the shores of Lake Villarrica and the silhouette of the homonymous volcano next to it. The hotel synthesized EFE's transformation of the landscape: a modern building recognizable in every image that quickly transported viewers to the beaches of Lake Villarrica.

A healthy female body also represented a reproductive ideal. Thus, editors of tourist publications usually coupled imagery of beauty with the descriptors of fertile abundance. An editorial note in *En Viaje* praised the month of February as the best time to visit southern Chile: “The miraculous southern rivers emerge with Nature’s overwhelming beauty, abundant in fish and in sunny beaches, where golden sands mix with the polychromous array of swimsuits in restful warmth.”⁶⁶ Far from framing the fertility of the southern valleys in terms of agricultural production, the State Railway Company of Chile insisted on its reproductive lure that brought men outdoors: “It’s the resurrection of men drawn by this irresistible force that co-participates him in the joy of nature.”⁶⁷

Finally, the feminization of the Northern Patagonian Andes implied visitors played the role of the male, drawn to the south by its beauty, like women’s bodies attracted men, encapsulated in feminized descriptions of nature. These articles were aimed at the middle and upper urban classes residing in the Central Valley (Santiago and Valparaíso). On occasion, editors of *En Viaje* used the masculine imagery of the mining North to highlight the femininity of the south: “The South calls the men of the North and invites them to enjoy its majestic views.”⁶⁸ Just as a man would court a woman and “discover” her, visitors planned their travels and “discovered” the destinations in the south of Chile. Rather than covering their bodies, the women in both images showed them wearing summer clothes. With this, editors of *Guía del Veraneante* condensed the attractiveness of southern

⁶⁶ “Junto a esta hermosura deslumbrante de la Naturaleza, surge el milagro de los ríos sureños, con abundante pesca y de las playas rutilantes de sol, donde en una fiesta policroma de trajes de baño, la arena dorada se hace tibia para el reposo y el descanso”, “Febrero y el turismo,” *En Viaje*, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado, February 1942.

⁶⁷ “Es la resurrección del hombre frente a esa irresistible fuerza que lo hace participar de una naturaleza que se renueva” “Week end,” *En Viaje*, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado, October 1941.

⁶⁸ “El Sur llama a los hombres del Norte, invitándolos a disfrutar de la majestad de sus panoramas”, “El llamado del sur,” *En Viaje*, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado, December 1939.

Chile in the female body. Using healthy, young bodies to represent nature also spoke to the excitement of traveling to the south. The anticipation of traveling southwards would up the excitement: “The spirit rejoices seeing the succession of landscapes while looking out the train window.”⁶⁹ Once at their destinations, tourists “contemplate the superb views of Nature [with] emotional enjoyment, which comforts the body and soul.”⁷⁰ Natural landscapes enabled middle classes to break the monotony of the business week with views that “stimulate the body and distract the soul.”⁷¹

The Peak, the Forest, and the Water: Depictions of a National Touristscape in Chile

Official publications such as *En Viaje* simplified “the south” to nameless images of mountains, volcanoes, forests, lakes, and rivers. The use of images without names, or with little reference, mimicked how explorers had stripped Patagonia from meaning thirty or forty years before. By portraying “the south” as space with no names, authorities symbolically rooted the nation into space. It did not matter what view these images referred to, as long as the audience would directly connect them to the Northern Patagonian Andes and, specifically, to Lake Llanquihue and Lake Nahuel Huapi. State-run publications like *En Viaje*, *Guía del Veraneante*, and the Nahuel Huapi guidebooks conflated “the south” into the Northern Patagonian Andes and with Chile or Argentina more broadly.

The Feminization of Landscapes in Chilean Publications

⁶⁹ “Goza el espíritu ante la rápida sucesión del paisaje que se tiene ante nuestros ojos”, “Una revista para los que viajan,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, November 1933.

⁷⁰ “Junto con disfrutar de sus emociones, reconforta su organismo y su espíritu en la contemplación del soberbio panorama de la Naturaleza”, “Boletos de invierno,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, June 1936.

⁷¹ “Week end.”

The visualization of “the South” as a composite of specific elements (a peak, a forest, and a body of water) flooded the readership of *En Viaje* and *Guía del Veraneante* with a common image across publications. Image 17 illustrates the frequency of visual elements in each cover of *En Viaje* between November 1933 and December 1945. After noting all the visual elements per cover, I collapsed singular and plural labels (man/men, tree/trees, woman/women), though I did not merge “tree/s” with “forest” because some covers showed trees in urban settings. The data shows that editors of *En Viaje* used female bodies more than any other imagery to attract visitors to southern Chile. Out of 132 covers, women appeared in forty, followed by mountains (36), tree/s (33), and men (27) (Table 1). Women appeared almost three times more frequently alone or with other women (28) than accompanied by men (8) or children (2). Grouped together, the mountains, volcano, forest, tree/s, lake, and river categories amounted to a total of 101 appearances followed by what I identified as human components (man/men, woman/women, children, couple, and people) in 79 incidents. Far behind came the set for ocean, beach, boat/s, and harbors with 42 appearances. Notice also how transportation services –markers of modern travel– were not as frequent as images of nature or people.

Table 1: Number of occurrences of each visual component in the available covers of En Viaje, 1933-1945.

Woman/women	40
Mountain	36
Tree/s	33
Man/Men	27
Lake	20
Snow	16
Boat/s	15
Forest	15

Beach	12
Train	12
Ocean	9
River	9
City	8
Volcano	8



Image 15: Cover of *En Viaje*, November 1941
– *Memoria Chilena*.



Image 16: Cover of *En Viaje*, March 1942 –
Memoria Chilena.

Women's images in the covers of *En Viaje*, advertisements, and photographs portrayed southern Chile as attractive. These women captured the beauty standards of the time but did not necessarily reflect how most Chilean women looked. For instance, many of the women that appeared on the covers were blond, showing off their bodies in pictures taken from suggestive angles (Image 15) or wearing nothing but a hat (Image 16). However, in several of *En Viaje*'s

photographic displays of elite women from across the country, Chilean women appeared different: dark hair (with a few exceptions), tight collars, and knee-long or ankle-long dresses.⁷² Women on the covers of *En Viaje*, most of them unaccompanied, signified the vitality of youth to escape the comfort zone of dresses and throw on vacation gear. Their freedom to travel, often alone, signaled their social status—well off and single—and their racial profile—of European (and probably Northern European) descent. Thus, social, racial, and aesthetic elements carefully construed an ideal of the vacation-goer: Who did not want to be a privileged woman having fun on the shore of Lake Villarrica? Who did not want to be the man hanging out with her?

⁷² “Damas de Antofagasta,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, March 1942; “Damas de La Serena,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, March 1942; “Bellezas serenenses,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, March 1942; “Damas de Coquimbo,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, March 1942; “Damas de Arica,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, March 1942; “Damas de Viña del Mar,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, May 1942; “Damas de Valparaíso,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, May 1942; “En los campos de Cuncumén todavía se hacen auténticas trillas chilenas,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, March 1942; “Damas de Osorno,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, January 1944; “Damas de Magallanes,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, February 1944; “Damas de Punta Arenas,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, February 1944.

The very precise composite of aesthetic elements, the peak-forest-water triad, evoked a national sentiment. According to the EFE, passive attraction of the South made Chile an exceptional country: “The insurmountable Lakes District [is] where tourists find the natural and striking beauties that made Chile a privileged country.”⁷³ The cities of Temuco (Chile) and Neuquén (Argentina) marked the starting point of “the South.”⁷⁴ Along the train journey from Santiago to Puerto Montt, the Andes served as a backdrop to the north-south valley, the main branch of the railway. The north-south valley is a wide corridor between the Cordillera de los Andes in the east and the Cordillera de la Costa, a lower range that skirts the Pacific Ocean in the west. The main railway and highway—present-day Route 5—ran along the valley with many branches stemming east and west. Any traveler riding the state trains would see the silhouette of the Andes gliding in the distance from their moving windows. The omnipresence of the anonymous mountains on *En Viaje* covers mirrored the constant presence of the Andes as part of the train journey.

Editors of *En Viaje* and *Guía del Veraneante* used feminized language to describe the passive attraction of southern Chile that sustained state-led projects to build of tourism infrastructure. The cover of *En Viaje* of January 1941 coupled the image of a woman with a suggestive caption that entangled beauty, nation, and tourism (Image 18). The woman posed with a seaside or lakeside banister wearing only a swimsuit. No immediate reference tells the reader in where she might be. The caption read: “Due to its many beauties, Chile is a tourist’s paradise” (*Por sus muchas bellezas, Chile es el paraíso del turismo*). “Beauties” could mean landscapes or women, implying that Chile was a popular destination for tourists because of the attraction of its

⁷³ “La imponderable Región de Los Lagos [es] donde el turista halla las bellezas naturales sorprendentes que han hecho de Chile un país de privilegio”, Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado, *Guía Del Veraneante*, 1943, 129.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; Dirección de Parques Nacionales, *Parque Nacional Nahuel Huapi. Guía*, 33.

views or its women, evidenced in the woman-and-landscape composite of the cover (see also Image 19). Moreover, the image of the woman appears to have been cut and pasted into the natural background, which would further illustrate how editors constructed ideas about natural and female beauty to attract tourism.



Image 18: Cover of *En Viaje*, January 1941 – *Memoria Chilena*. The caption reads: “Due to its many beauties, Chile is a tourist’s paradise.”



Image 19: Cover of *En Viaje*, January 1937 – *Memoria Chilena*

The Allure of Chilean Volcanoes

The Villarrica and the dormant Osorno volcanoes encapsulated “the South” and Chile more broadly to the readers of *En Viaje* and *Guía del Veraneante*. The larger Llanquihue region, spanning as far north as Pucón and as far south as Palena, comprised several active volcanoes. Yet, the

photogenic Villarrica's and the Osorno's conic shapes and closeness to lakes catapulted them to the covers of *En Viaje* and *Guía del Veraneante*, eclipsing all other mounts. Even though the Puntigudo and Tronador volcanoes would also appear in some covers (Image 20 and Image 21), EFE editors crowned the Villarrica and the Osorno as the representative images of southern Chile.

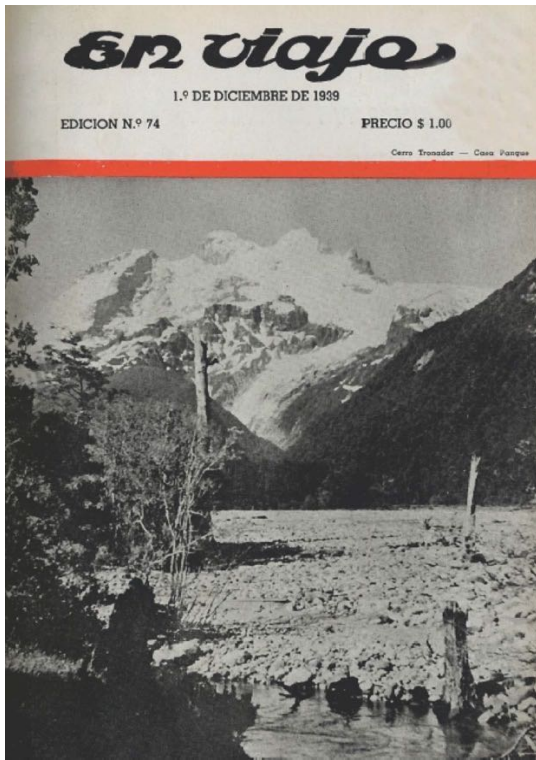


Image 20: Cover of *En Viaje*, December 1939 – *Memoria Chilena*

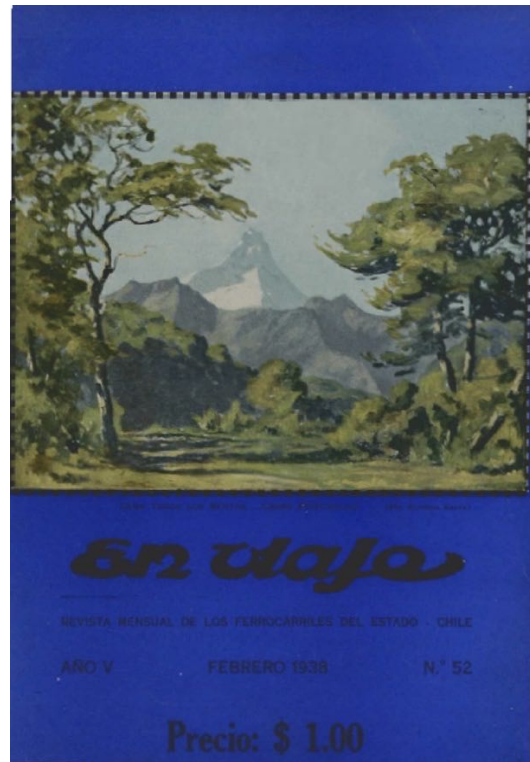


Image 21: Cover of *En Viaje*, February 1938 – *Memoria Chilena*

Besides the attributes of beauty associated with its shape and location, the Osorno volcano also posed as an attractive site because of its inactivity, dormant since 1835.⁷⁵ Osorno's eruptions only made it to the tourist articles as “ancient” (*antiguos*) discharges.⁷⁶ These past events, however, surfaced as “chocolate-colored tracks” (*huella color chocolate*) and “burnt rocks” (*pedras*

⁷⁵ Alvaro Guerrero, “Volcán Osorno,” *SERNAGEOMIN* (blog), accessed August 17, 2018, <http://www.sernageomin.cl/volcan-osorno/>.

⁷⁶ La hermosa región austral de Chile, llamada la “Suiza Chilena”; *En viaje* p. 31 1934.

calcinadas) for the visitors walking around Lake Llanquihue.⁷⁷ By subtly narrating the geological history of the Llanquihue region, editors of *En Viaje* accomplished two things. First, they located the making of the region in a primordial time to reinforce the idea that those views were a gift from God to Chile (even before Chile existed). Second, editors of *En Viaje* reinforced feminized language to describe the Chilean landscape by ascribing to it a history (or childhood) and a present-day age. In the same editorial note of 1943, the EFE magazine rendered the lakes of the south:

“The miracle of those lakes is lost in the night of geological mysteries... It is said that Fueguinos keep oral traditions of a memory of a Flood... How much time was necessary for the southern lakes to be clean mirrors of water?... Nature has patiently embellished that region. Today, those lakes are of young age, completely beautiful, and delightfully graceful. There are lakes which, like society women, are in fashion... such as the case of Pucón. Yet, there are other lakes that are waiting in line, such as [lake] Calafquén. It is a lake which has not debuted in society but it is getting ready for it.”⁷⁸

Editors of *En Viaje* also used the conic shape of the Villarrica volcano just ten miles south of the homonymous lake to synthesize Chile in one image. Unlike the Osorno, the Villarrica is an active volcano. Nevertheless, EFE used the touristcape lake-volcano to draw visitors to its new hotel in Pucón. The 1937 cover of *En Viaje* (Image 19) depicted the lake-volcano-hotel touristcape as the background for lakeside leisure. The train as a means to get to the tourist destinations and the hotel to enjoy those views mediated between people and environs to consolidate an interpretation of nature.⁷⁹ The reason for this was not so much the salmon yields of Lake Villarrica because otherwise editors of the *Guía* would use the name of the lake in the captions, as they did with other fishing grounds. Instead, *Guía del Veraneante* as well as *En Viaje* used Pucón as a

⁷⁷ Mercedes Urizar en *En Viaje* p. 56 and Mercedes Urizar by Durand (book) p. 224; *En Viaje* Lagos de Chile 1943.

⁷⁸ “*El milagro de esos lagos se pierde en la noche de los misterios geológicos... Se dice que los fueguinos conservan, por tradición oral, el recuerdo de un diluvio universal... ¿Cuánto tiempo ha sido necesario para que los lagos del sur sean límpidos espejos de agua?... La naturaleza pacientemente fue hermozeando esa región. Hoy esos lagos están en la edad moza. En pleno poder de belleza. En deslumbrante plenitud de gracia. Hay lagos que, como las muchachas de sociedad, están de moda... Es el caso de Pucón, pero hay otros lagos que están esperando su turno, por ejemplo, el de Calafquén. Es un lago que no ha salido a sociedad, pero se está preparando para su debut turístico*”, “Lagos de Chile,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, February 1943.

⁷⁹ Rodrigo Booth and Cynthia Lavín, “Un hotel para contener el sur,” *ARQ (Santiago)*, no. 83 (April 2013): 57.

default reference for fishing and for “the South” more broadly because in 1934, EFE had built a Grand Hotel on the shore of the lake. The Villarrica Volcano adorned the view of the hotel from the lake, adding the human element to the peak-forest-water triad. This view circulated so widely, that *Life* magazine used it as an example of a peaceful site away from World War II (Image 22).

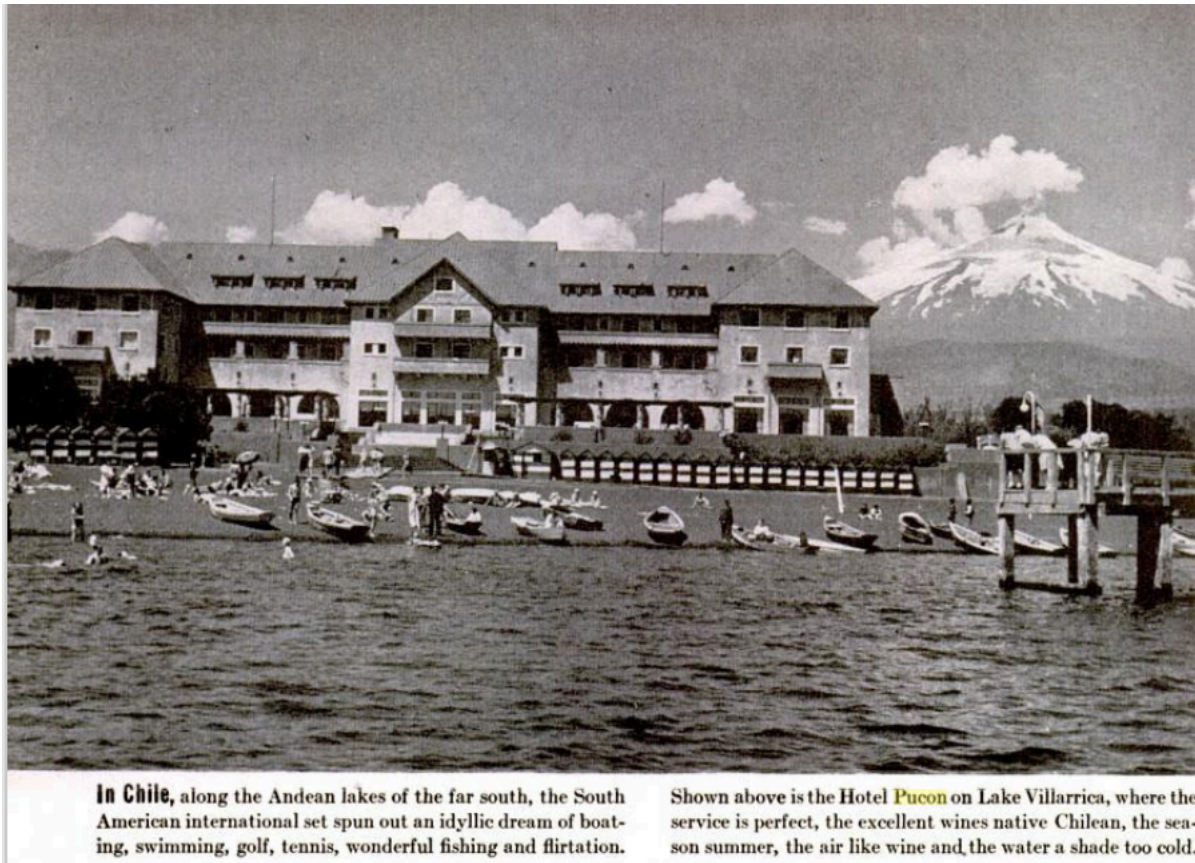


Image 22: Gran Hotel Pucón, built by EFE in 1934, with the Villarrica volcano as a scenic backdrop. Hart Preston, “The World War without a War: LIFE Photographer Hart Preston Finds No Fighting in 21 Nations,” Life, July 19, 1943.

Although none of EFE’s publications addressed the eruptive activity of the Villarrica or Llama Volcanoes, they did use the adrenaline of volcanic discharge—or at least the possibility of it— as a touristic attraction. Only 60 of the more than 2,000 volcanoes in Chile register historic eruptions, which means that they discharged lava or other materials at least once in the last 500 years. Both the Osorno and Villarrica Volcanoes fall within this category, as they last erupted in

1853 and 2015 respectively. In the 1930s, the previous Villarrica discharge had been in 1908.⁸⁰ Other craters also tempted tourists to visit southern Chile. In 1937, *En Viaje* published an article that challenged the audience: “Where else can one ski down the slopes of an active volcano?”⁸¹ The author, Jewel Byer de Bonilla, published the original article in English in the U.S. *DuPont Magazine*. This version included four images that *En Viaje* did not reproduce. One of these pictures displayed a group of skiers enjoying the lower slopes of Llaima volcano and its crowning vapor fume (Image 23). In contrast, the editors of *En Viaje* accompanied the Spanish translation with a photograph of Valle Morales (different from the one the in the original article) and view of the snowy slopes of the Osorno volcano. None of these images, however, evoked the adventure of an “active volcano” that Byer de Bonilla displayed in the English version. The editors of *En Viaje* recounted in 1934 a tour to Llaima volcano, near the city of Temuco, which was “generally active without posing danger.” Infrequently, the volcano emitted eruptions “of certain magnitude.”⁸² The eruptive history of this cone contradicted the soothing words of *En Viaje*. Llaima has such an active record that it ranks among the most active volcanoes in South America, with five incidents between 1922 and 1937.⁸³ Hence, the Chilean magazine attempted to strike a balance between the attraction and the danger of volcanoes.

⁸⁰ Servicio Nacional de Geología y Minería (Chile), “Las Erupciones Históricas Del Volcán Villarrica,” accessed August 17, 2018, <http://www2.latercera.com/noticia/las-erupciones-historicas-del-volcan-villarrica/>; Proyecto Volcán Villarrica de la Fundación Volcanes de Chile, “Cronología Eruptiva Histórica Del Volcán Villarrica (Preliminar),” accessed August 17, 2018, <http://www.povi.cl/history.html>; Guerrero, “Volcán Osorno.”

⁸¹ The English version of this article appeared in *DuPont Magazine* the same month that it appeared in *En Viaje*. The editors of *En Viaje* translated the original to Spanish as an example of the international perception of Chilean ski destinations. Jewel Byer de Bonilla, “Ski Time in the Andes,” *The Du Pont Magazine*, September 1938, Hagley Digital Archives; Jewel Byer de Bonilla, “Las carreras de ski en los Andes,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, September 1938.

⁸² “*El Llaima se encuentra, generalmente, en actividad pero sin ofrecer peligros. De tarde en tarde suele tener erupciones de cierta magnitud*,” “Temuco y sus alrededores son centros admirables para el turismo,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, February 1934, 31.

⁸³ Memoria Chilena, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, “Llaima,” accessed August 17, 2018, <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-95658.html>; VolcanoDiscovery.com, “Llaima Volcano, Chile - facts & information,” accessed August 17, 2018, <https://www.volcanodiscovery.com/es/llaima.html>; “Volcán Llaima -



Image 23: Skiers on the slopes of Llaima Volcano. Source: Jewel Byer de Bonilla, "Ski Time in the Andes." The Du Pont Magazine, September 1938. Hagley Digital Archives.

In the 1930s, Chilean publications initially spotlighted the peak-forest-water triad leaving human intervention to the margins. The first cover of *En Viaje* portrayed an anonymous peak whose snow melted into a quiet lake. A tree on the left and a train on the right framed the view



Image 24: Cover of *En Viaje*, November 1933 – *Memoria Chilena*

(Image 24). The train showed that tourists could enjoy the southern landscapes only temporarily. Except for the Pucón Grand Hotel and its multiple activities at the lake, EFE guides and magazines depicted the Northern Patagonian Andes as a touristscape to see, but not as a place to settle. Tourists contemplated nature and later shared those thoughts with fellow citizens back home, which visitors invested in space meanings of Chileanness. The 1943 cover of the *Guía del Veraneante* best immortalized the intersection of contemplation with Chileanness (Image

25). The train showed that tourists could enjoy the southern landscapes only transiently. Except for the Pucón Grand Hotel and its multiple activities in the lake, EFE guides and magazines depicted the Northern Patagonian Andes as a touristscape to see but not to stay. It was in the contemplation of nature and its subsequent sharing with fellow citizens back home that visitors invested in space meanings of Chileanness. Probably the 1943 cover of the *Guía del Veraneante* best immortalized the intersection of contemplation with Chileanness (Image 25). Against a black-and-white scenery of a lake and an unidentified snowcapped mountain, a Chilean flag flutters in

bright colors. Clearly on board of a boat, the images gives the impression of a brief excursion, a temporary observation of the beauty of the landscape encapsulated in the Chilean flag.

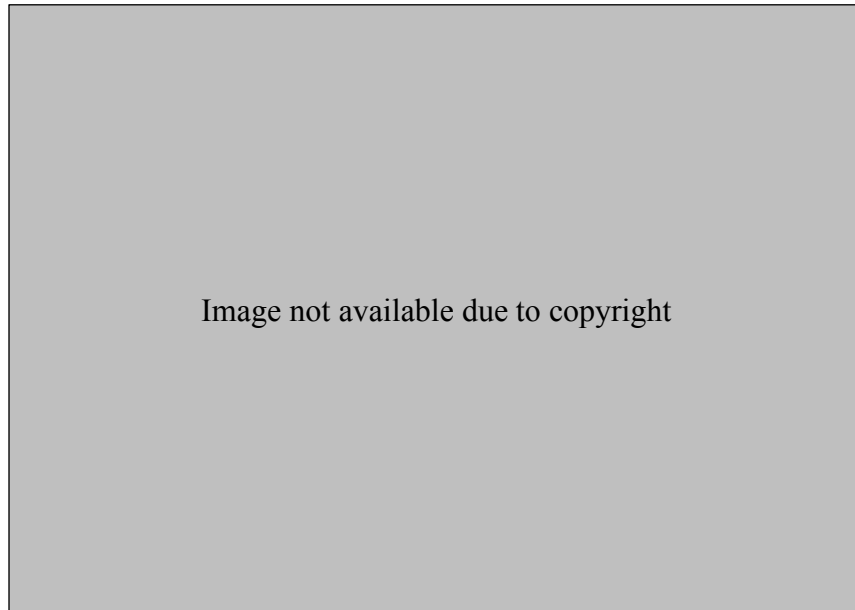


Image 25: Back cover of Guía del Veraneante, 1943.

Appropriation of Visual Discourses

Visitors that collaborated with *En Viaje* or *Guía del Veraneante* appropriated the peaks-forest-water triad and transformed it into a lived experience in the EFE's publications as well as in regional and national newspapers. Far from simply reporting individual anecdotes, these impressions of the south represented what every traveler hoped to experience. During the 1930s, hotel-owners and the local press—whose owners descended from German immigrants to Valdivia and Llanquihue—threaded the history of German immigration with the national touristscapes of southern Chile. For example, the Osorno volcano had “as many names as the German princes,” claimed an anonymous contributor to *En Viaje*.⁸⁴ This inclusion evidenced a local intervention in

⁸⁴ “[El Osorno], como los príncipes alemanes, tiene tantos nombres como aquellos”, “Como espejos de agua brillan

the depiction of the Llanquihue region through the Europeanization of space. Hotel-owners of German descent used their ethnic heritage as a marketing tool. Otto José Weber advertised his hotel in Temuco as “the only German hotel on the [main] square.”⁸⁵ Harriet Harris vividly described that a German philosopher lived relatively secluded in Lake Todos Los Santos, but organized excursions for tourists. Far from being an anomaly, the German man typified Southern Chile in her portrayal: Chile was more Chilean because of its German heritage.⁸⁶ The many articles in German discussing the tourist business in *Turismo Austral* suggested that local elites (not national authorities) incorporated their German heritage as part of the broader Chilean landscape.

Another way for local residents and tourists to appropriate the peak-forest-water triad was by interpreting top-down discourses about space. *En Viaje* collaborator Marcial Cordovez Aguirre published an opinion note in the magazine where he used “the South” (with capital S) and “Chile” interchangeably. For him, Chile was the South and the South was Chile. This note received an honorary mention from the jury of a literary contest organized by the city of Concepción’s Transport Department. The fact that it appeared on *En Viaje* suggests that the editors, at the very least, shared his views (especially the praises to the train services). In 1941, the editors of *En Viaje* published a note big on photographs and with a short, probably imagined conversation between a Chilean and a foreign tourist. The latter asked the local: “Do you think the Chilean landscape is any less than the Swiss landscape?”⁸⁷ The Chilean response explained that the beautiful Chilean landscapes had nothing to envy the European counterparts. According to the fictitious resident,

los lagos del sur,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, December 1941.

⁸⁵ “El único hotel alemán en la plaza”, *Turismo Austral: Revista pro fomento del turismo en la zona austral de Chile* (Valdivia, Chile, 1934), 57.

⁸⁶ Harriet Harris, “Chile’s Land of Lakes,” *Turismo Austral, Revista Mensual pro-Fomento Del Turismo En La Zona Austral de Chile*, September 1934.

⁸⁷ “Ud. Cree que el paisaje chileno tiene algo que envidiar al paisaje suizo?” Marcial Cordovez Aguirre, “El cielo en la Tierra,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de los Ferrocarriles del Estado*, July 1936.

“Switzerland has, without a doubt, delicious views but it lacks the primitive and autochthonous charm that has the impressive Chilean landscape.”⁸⁸ Specifically, the local voice described the Lakes District, conflating the Llanquihue Region with Chile more broadly. The Atacama Desert or the wooden houses of Valparaíso perching to the cliffs did not belong to the Chilean touristscape as the southern landscapes did.

Building an Argentine Touristscape

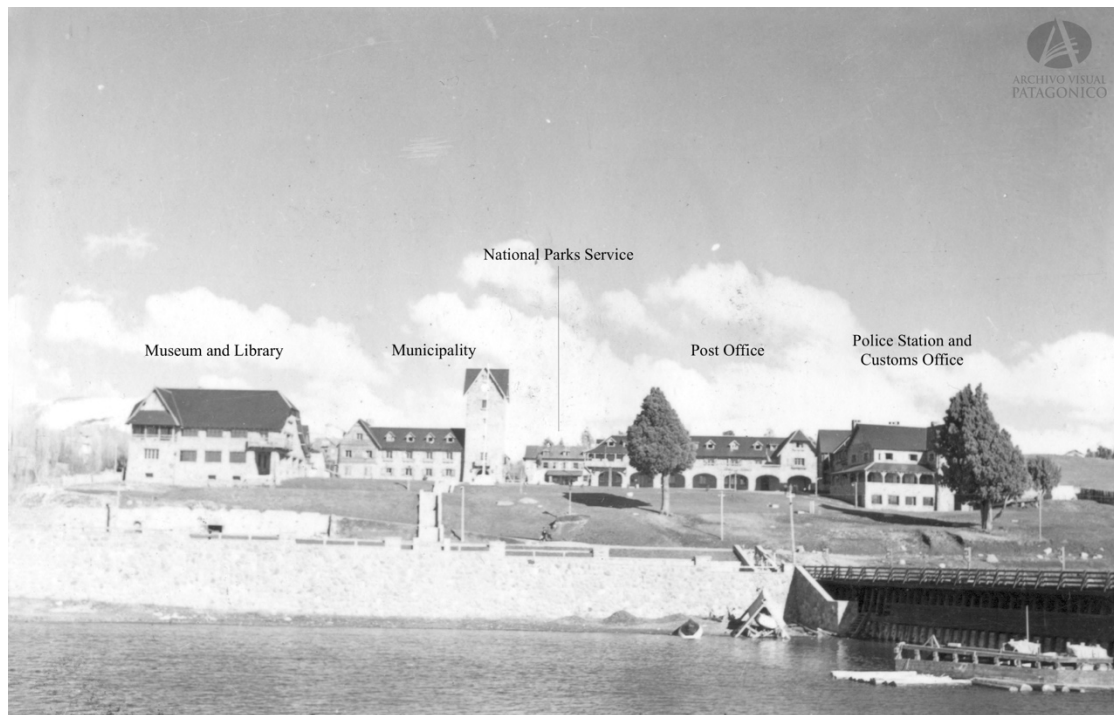


Image 26: The Civic Center in Bariloche seen from Lake Nahuel Huapi, ca. 1942. The National Parks Bureau building was located one block away – Archivo Visual Patagónico

Chilean authorities created a template of national landscape founded on the composite of the peak-forest-lake triad. By contrast, authorities in Buenos Aires condensed in a built

⁸⁸ “Suiza... tiene, que duda cabe, panoramas deliciosos, pero desprovistos de ese encanto primitivo y autóctono que tiene el imponente paisaje chileno”, “Paisaje Chileno Campeón Del Mundo,” *En Viaje, Revista Mensual de Los Ferrocarriles Del Estado*, April 1941.

environment—the Civic Center in Bariloche, Image 26— the values they wanted to instill in the surrounding space: this is not Chile. The Civic Center represents today one of the main attractions in Bariloche, and probably the only one in the city. The first director of the *Dirección de Parques Nacionales* (DPN)—Exequiel Bustillo (1934-1944)—commissioned the design of the Civic Center to a young architect trained in France, Ernesto de Estrada. I will examine further the influence of French modernism in the Argentine urban development of the 1930s in the next section. For now, let us focus on the structure of the Civic Center. Stone buildings with wooden windowsills flank three sides of a square, the fourth side overlooks Lake Nahuel Huapi. Two archways allow traffic to flow from the square into the main artery, Mitre Street. A clock tower marks the mechanization of time as one of the most visual facets of modernity introduced in the city, together with the train station.⁸⁹ A statue of a tired old man crowns the conglomerate immortalizing Julio A. Roca, who commanded the military campaign to the Negro River in 1879. Evoking the St. Bernard Pass in the Swiss-Italian Alps, photographers sell pictures with leashed St. Bernard dogs and their decorative beer barrels around their necks.⁹⁰ In addition, the alpine taste flows into the culinary options across town, including several of the most renowned chocolate factories in the country. Designed in 1940 to house a police station, the customs office, the municipality, a museum, a library, and a post office, the Civic Center illustrates how national authorities transformed the landscape to create an image of how Nahuel Huapi should embody the nation through Alpine motifs. Since its origins, the Civic Center was designed to become the epicenter of an Argentine touristscape.

⁸⁹ Ritika Prasad, “‘Time-Sense’: Railways and Temporality in Colonial India,” *Modern Asian Studies* 47, no. 4 (2013): 1252–82.

⁹⁰ Andrew Beattie, *The Alps: A Cultural History* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 73–75.

The *Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado* in Chile (EFE) and DPN executed many projects to transform the Northern Patagonian Andes from a productive to an attractive space. Scholars have argued that this increased participation of Chilean and Argentine state agencies in the visual makeover of the territory responded to a rising concern among the highest ranks of government about environmental conservation. Discourses of conservation articulated the Northern Patagonian Andes as an exceptional place which required protections because of its beauty and resources.⁹¹ Alternatively, I show that by depicting the Northern Patagonian Andes as unique, visitors and authorities ascribed homogenizing ideas about the nation. Exceptionality only served the greater purpose of standardizing.

The touristic experience of visitors, not the parochial ordinariness of residents, transformed landscapes into “national” touristscapes. Both the journey and the destination to the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi region were part of a carefully designed refashioning of the Northern Patagonian Andes. EFE and DPN outlined an aesthetic compound to visualize how national authorities and political elites imagined the nation. EFE portrayed a snowcapped mountain covered in evergreen forests accompanied by a stream or a lake multiplied across platforms in both countries. Many times, though not always, a small hint of human intervention would adorn such views: a train gliding at the edge of the lake, a dirt road, or a couple overlooking the panorama. The DPN, on the other hand, led by its first director Exequiel Bustillo, largely assembled the urban landscape of

⁹¹ Antônio Carlos Sant’Ana Diegues, *El mito moderno de la naturaleza intocada* (Editorial Abya Yala, 2000), chap. 5; Fortunato, “El territorio y sus representaciones como fuente de recursos turísticos. Valores fundacionales del concepto de ‘parque nacional’”; Núñez, “Género, clase y etnia en un área protegida”; Lolich et al., “Estado y paisaje. Estudio comparativo de la arquitectura hotelera desde una perspectiva binacional”; Klubock, *La Frontera*, 20–21; Wakild, “Protecting Patagonia: Science, Conservation, and the Pre-History of the Nature State on a South American Frontier, 1903-1934.”

Bariloche, commissioning the construction of a constellation of public buildings that became the postal view of the town.

French influencers in Argentine urban design

Exequiel Bustillo appointed his brother Alejandro as head of the technical division of the DPN. Although this office overlooked building planning in the two national parks, Nahuel Huapi in northern Patagonia and Iguazú in the northeast, it focused on the transformation of Bariloche. Indeed, “most towns and cities in our country [are] all the same, cut by the same pair of scissors,” argued Exequiel Bustillo. Far from seeing this conformity as an homogenizing force that made them all part of the same country, he was horrified by their “rudimentary culture.” Bariloche could not be part of that: “Our goal was to turn Bariloche into a city of local characteristics. One of those colorful mountain cities that charm Switzerland and the Tyrol.”⁹² Alejandro Bustillo and his protégé, Ernesto de Estrada, recast the urban landscape of Bariloche to imprint on the Nahuel Huapi Region a series of interconnected tourist villages (*villas turísticas*).⁹³

Ernesto de Estrada’s graduate education in France reinvigorated a history of French cultural influence in Argentina while bringing a fresh perspective on the latest landscape studies to the DPN. Since at least the end of the nineteenth century, Argentine architects and urban planners had implemented French scholarship for urban design. As J.P. Daughton has shown, Frenchmen residing in Buenos Aires “insisted that Argentina had strong historical, cultural, and even racial

⁹² “La mayoría de los pueblos y ciudades de nuestro país [son] todos iguales, cortados por una misma tijera y expresión de una cultura rudimentaria, [que] francamente nos horrorizaba. Nuestra ambición era hacer, pues, de Bariloche una ciudad de rasgos típicos, con cierta gracia arquitectónica y con algo de europeo. Una de esas pintorescas ciudades de montaña que son el encanto de Suiza y del Tirol”, Bustillo, *El despertar de Bariloche*, 201.

⁹³ Liliana Lolich, “Ernesto de Estrada. San Carlos de Bariloche, 1938,” in *Experiencias de urbanismo y planificación en la Argentina, 1909-1955*, by Patricia Méndez (Buenos Aires, Argentina: CEDODAL - Centro de Documentación de Arte y Arquitectura Latinoamericana, 2012), 63.

ties to France,” which positioned it as a “natural, though distinctly superior, partner.” Under French mentorship, Argentina could “achieve the rank of a modern European nation.”⁹⁴ In this context, for example, French landscape architect Charles Thays developed many promenades, boulevards, and parks of Buenos Aires.⁹⁵ In addition, as early as 1902, he designed what in 1934 became the Iguazú National Park in northeastern Argentina. For architects in training at the University of Buenos Aires, like Ernesto de Estrada, the French *Beaux Arts* (fine arts) became a necessary source of technical inspiration. The imprint of the Belle Époque in Argentine architectural and landscape design evoked the conservative period prior to 1916.

The 1930s also witnessed a shift in architectural and planning trends in France, which echoed in the Argentine context. While de Estrada attended the Free School of Social Sciences in Paris (today, Science Po), the modernist movement gained force in France in the form of the *Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne* (International Congresses of Modern Architecture, commonly known as CIAM). In terms of city planning, the forum agreed on four categories that made a city functional: living, working, recreation, and circulation. CIAM became the most relevant international forum for city planning and architecture through the 1960s, underscoring post-World War II reconstruction projects and even the new capital of Brazil, Brasília.⁹⁶ In consequence, Exequiel Bustillo’s appointment of de Estrada and the choice, as we shall see, of

⁹⁴ J. P. Daughton, “When Argentina Was ‘French’: Rethinking Cultural Politics and European Imperialism in Belle-Époque Buenos Aires,” *The Journal of Modern History* 80, no. 4 (2008): 835, <https://doi.org/10.1086/591112>.

⁹⁵ Alicia Novick, “Planes versus proyectos. Algunos problemas constitutivos del Urbanismo Moderno. Buenos Aires (1910-1936),” *Revista de Urbanismo* 3 (2000); Sonia Berjman, “Una mirada a los espacios verdes públicos de Buenos Aires durante el siglo XX,” *Revista de Arquitectura* 8 (2006): 29; Sonia Berjman, “Tipologías: una mirada al paisajismo del cono Sur Americano,” *Paisagem e Ambiente*, no. 25 (2008): 9–35; Frederico Freitas, “Argentinizing the Border: Conservation and Coonization in the Iguazú National Park, 18902-1950s,” in *Big Water: The Making of the Borderlands between Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay*, ed. Jacob Blanc and Frederico Freitas (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2018), 108.

⁹⁶ James Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia* (University of Chicago Press, 1989), 31–58. As a place of discussion, CIAM did not have a unitary voice. For more on the internal history towards consensus see Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002).

French inspiration for the architectonic style in Bariloche directly praised the pre-1916 political order, installing in Northern Patagonia the discourse of restoration while at the same time introducing a fresh perspective of the (recreational) city.

The new political elites understood that the crisis of 1930 called for a greater state investment in public works not only to generate jobs but also to modernize an outdated productive infrastructure.⁹⁷ As a result, the Ministry of Public Works focused on developing an efficient road system to accompany new buildings, warehouses, and grain elevators. If the government wanted to boost production and trade, the transportation network needed improvement. The national government sought to project an image of industrial efficacy, both in the capital city and in the productive regions of the country. In preparation for the 400th anniversary of the city of Buenos Aires, the Executive implemented an ambitious plan to re-design it in accordance to the functional city paradigms of CIAM. These projects included the construction of a perimeter highway that clearly delimited Buenos Aires, the opening of the 9 de Julio Avenue with seven lanes on each side, and the 60-day building of the Obelisk.⁹⁸ The new 9 de Julio parkway, evoking the boulevards opened prior to 1916, intersected at Belgrano Avenue with the first state-built skyscraper in the country, a modernist building that housed Ministry of Public Works. The visual aesthetics of the 1930s displaced earlier Belle Époque's architectural inspirations in Buenos Aires to favor modernist, and usually monumental, buildings.

Making the City in the Park

⁹⁷ Ballent and Gorelik, "País urbano o país rural: la modernización territorial y su crisis," 151.

⁹⁸ Adrián Gorelik, *La grilla y el parque : espacio público y cultura urbana en Buenos Aires, 1887-1936*, Ideología argentina (Universidad Nacional de Quilmes) (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 1998), 364–400.

The modernist new works carried out in Buenos Aires and the cattle-breeding and farming areas of the Argentine plains (Pampa) permeated into the offices of the National Parks Bureau (DPN) in the form of recreational planning. De Estrada, Alejandro Bustillo, and others working on Bariloche aimed to correct the urban plan to match the physical geography. The lots that the government distributed at the beginning of the century did not contemplate the ruggedness of the terrain. The grid that typified town centers made the streets that went uphill difficult to circulate. De Estrada proposed to open diagonal streets and stairs to make different areas more accessible. In addition, he created parks and plazas and imposed a height limit for buildings around these open spaces.⁹⁹ His most salient legacy can still be seen today in the Bariloche Civic Center.

A complex of four buildings located on three sides of a square, the Civic Center housed the public library, the local museum, the police station, the municipality, and the post office (today, the local council, Image 26). The North side exhibits an open view of Lake Nahuel Huapi. The square has a double-circulation street to the south that connects it to the offices of the DPN. Finished in 1940, the Civic Center provided Bariloche a “social, cultural, and spatial reference point” that transformed the mountain village into garden city.¹⁰⁰ The concept of garden city reserved green spaces around building complexes and green belts around the cities. Thus, the DPN not only bought the area where the Civic Center would be built, but also purchased the surrounding blocks for parks. A partial look of the Center, Image 27 shows the view from the door of the DPN building in Bariloche facing north. Straight ahead, a statue honors Julio Roca’s leadership in the military raid against the Mapuche in 1879. Bustillo’s enterprise to make national parks a reality

⁹⁹ Lolich, “Ernesto de Estrada. San Carlos de Bariloche, 1938,” 63–65.

¹⁰⁰ “*Punto de referencia social, cultural y espacial*”, Ramón Gutiérrez, ed., “Los inicios del urbanismo en la Argentina. El aporte francés y la acción de Ernesto de Estrada,” in *Ernesto de Estrada. El arquitecto frente al paisaje* (Buenos Aires: CEDODAL - Centro de Documentación de Arte y Arquitectura Latinoamericana, 2007), 44.

sealed Roca's colonizing venture. The Civic Center articulated a definite triumph of society in controlling the environment.



Image 27: Civic Center in Bariloche seen from the building of the National Parks Bureau (ca 1950) – Archivo Visual Patagónico

The DPN visually transformed Bariloche, which it accomplished by resignifying space. For example, the DPN demolished Primo Capraro's sawmill, which had been an emblematic site of the town until his tragic suicide in 1932.¹⁰¹ Capraro's business had belonged to Carlos Wiederhold and the Chile-Argentina Trading Company. Thus, removing buildings from the local

¹⁰¹ Julio Comezaña, "Carta de Julio Comezaña a Vicente San Martín, 29 de mayo de 1938" (Fondo Bustillo - Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) Caja 3345, 1938); Alexis Christensen, "Carta de Alexis Christensen a Exequiel Bustillo" (Fondo Bustillo - Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) Caja 3345, August 2, 1938); Graciela Blanco, "Las sociedades anónimas cruzan los Andes: los inversores chilenos en Neuquén al comenzar el siglo XX," *América Latina en la historia económica* 19, no. 2 (2012): 122.

skyline to build the Center erased the visual reference to the pre-DPN Bariloche. For the director, the Civic Center provided the “correct” stylistic tone that the rest of the locality could mimic. Not withholding his authoritarian side, Bustillo stated that Bariloche, “as a town destined to become one of the most important cities [in the country] had to be controlled from the beginning so that its growth followed certain aesthetics.”¹⁰² Place articulated meanings, even if sometimes they conflicted with previous understandings of space. Exequiel Bustillo’s called his memoirs *El Despertar de Bariloche* (The Awakening of Bariloche), in which he argued that Bariloche only came to life because of his own work through the National Parks Bureau and as part of previous nationalizing efforts on the frontier. The spatial history of the town, however, shows that the DPN gave different meanings to space.

The DPN made Bariloche the hub for six recently-founded tourist villages around Nahuel Huapi following a garden city approach: Llao-Llao, La Angostura, Catedral, Mascardi, Traful, and Tacul. The garden city movement proposed a balanced distribution of work, residence, and recreation in urban design, incorporating green spaces –parks, boulevards, and gardens– to everyday life.¹⁰³ Immersed in a national park, Bariloche became a city garden *par excellence*, both as an entry point to the surrounding landscape and as template of style and design for the subsequent tourist villages.

The Llao-Llao Grand Hotel at the center of the homonymous tourist village shows how these ideas worked in practice. The hotel is located 15 miles west of Bariloche and was inaugurated

¹⁰² “Un pueblo llamado a convertirse en una de nuestras más importantes ciudades debía, desde un principio, ser controlado para que en su crecimiento se ajustase a normas que le asegurasen cierta estética”, Bustillo, *El despertar de Bariloche*, 212.

¹⁰³ Robert Beevers, *The Garden City Utopia: A Critical Biography of Ebenezer Howard* (Springer, 1988), 109; Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (Oxford University Press, 1990); Luciano Fernández, Paola Rosake, and Patricia Rosell, “El bosque encantado de Pehuen-Co (Argentina) como recurso turístico. Una propuesta conciliadora entre ambiente y sociedad.” *InterEspaço: Revista de Geografia e Interdisciplinaridade* 4, no. 15 (2018): 35–57.

in 1940.¹⁰⁴ The recreational space of the village was the golf course flanking the hotel. A small church mirrored the location of the hotel at the top of a small hill on the other side of the course. Like this, not even on Sundays did visitors need to travel to Bariloche. The combination of lake views and golf lawns colored lots for sales with a glimmer of exclusivity. Soon, the hotel became “the emblematic image for not only Bariloche but the Park.” Alejandro Bustillo replicated the style in most of the private residences he designed nearby, conflating the Argentine Switzerland touristscape with an architectonic style widely known as “Bustillo” or “Bariloche” style.¹⁰⁵ The DPN’s construction of the hotel and the transformation of its surroundings, channeled national state’s ideas about space and nation directly to the center of the Nahuel Huapi National Park.

The grandiloquence of the 169 rooms in the Llao-Llao Hotel encapsulated the DPN’s goals. First, its location on a hill between Lake Nahuel Huapi and Lake Moreno, with the rocky backdrop of Mount López, provided a unique postcard view. Second, designed by Alejandro Bustillo, brother to the DPN director, the architectural style merged the British picturesque with French regionalism. Both styles prioritized the use of local materials, such as wood and stone, and a harmonious position within the surrounding landscape (Image 28). Third, the hotel’s self-sufficiency epitomized its modernity. In addition to having a small movie theater, ballroom, hairdresser’s, and retail wing, the hotel also included a bakery, a sparkling water factory, a laundry facility, its own electric power plant, mechanic garage, stables, and small printing press. When it opened in December 1938, a boat ride was the fastest route to Bariloche. The DPN purchased the natural

¹⁰⁴ The hotel opened its doors first on December 31, 1938 and was officially inaugurated a week later. Ten months after the first inauguration, a fire destroyed it almost entirely. The reconstruction took less than a year and the hotel was opened for good in 1940. Liliana Lolich, ed., “Ernesto de Estrada Como Urbanista Pionero En La Patagonia,” in *Ernesto de Estrada. El Arquitecto Frente Al Paisaje* (Buenos Aires: CEDODAL - Centro de Documentación de Arte y Arquitectura Latinoamericana, 2007), 51.

¹⁰⁵ Lolich et al., “Estado y paisaje. Estudio comparativo de la arquitectura hotelera desde una perspectiva binacional,” 71.

harbor across from the hotel known as Puerto Pañuelo.¹⁰⁶ Like the Civic Center, the hotel incorporated the lake as part of its landscape. However, the lake did not symbolize a connecting avenue between productive hubs, but rather became a silent recipient of the tourist gaze.



Image 28: Vista del Hotel Llao Llao y Cerro López I Llao Llao, Bariloche (ca. 1942) – Archivo Visual Patagónico

Across Lake Nahuel Huapi, on the northwestern shore, architect de Estrada designed Villa La Angostura near Bustillo’s estate, Cumelén. These plans did not appear out of thin air. The decree that officially founded Bariloche in 1902 reserved two lots on the opposite side of the lake for another farming colony. The first recipients of one of these lots were two *lonko* (Mapuche chiefs or caciques), Ignacio Andriau and José María Paisil.¹⁰⁷ Thus, while indigenous peoples had access

¹⁰⁶ Lolich et al., “Estado y paisaje. Estudio comparativo de la arquitectura hotelera desde una perspectiva binacional.”

¹⁰⁷ Vallmitjana, *A cien años de la colonia agrícola Nahuel Huapi, 1902-2002*, 17.

to land tenure in the early years of the twentieth century, the DPN introduced several mechanisms to expel them in the 1930s. The Andriau and Paisil families saw their taxes increase and their documents disappear from official records. When the situation could not continue any longer, they sold their lands to the DPN at below market price.¹⁰⁸

The National Parks Bureau (DPN), through its director, meant to transform the built environment. Based on the garden city model, where urbanists planned villages encased in green spaces, planners replicated the Alpine style in every public building in every new town surrounding Bariloche. When local plans did not fulfill the beauty standards, park intendants contacted the DPN technicians, such as architect de Estrada, to improve them.¹⁰⁹ The buildings represented the national state acting in the locality of the Andean valleys.

Conclusion

The national governments of Chile and Argentina, through EFE and DPN respectively, synthesized their versions of the nation in touristscapes of Northern Patagonia. By feminizing nature, articulating specific sites, and using aesthetics in particular ways, they reframed the Llanquihue-Nahuel Huapi Region as a space to admire, to protect, and to keep the landscape separate from everyday industrial life. The idea that nature, like the nation, could remain pure in some corner of the territory served previous renderings of Patagonia as an empty space. These continuities prevailed throughout much of the twentieth century.

¹⁰⁸ Analía García and Sebastián Valverde, “Políticas estatales y procesos de etnogénesis en el caso de poblaciones mapuche de Villa La Angostura, provincia de Neuquén, Argentina,” *Cuadernos de antropología social*, no. 25 (2007): 111–32.

¹⁰⁹ “Carta del Intendente del Parque Nacional ‘Los Alerces’ a Exequiel Bustillo” (Fondo Bustillo - Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina) Caja 3345, November 10, 1938).

The governments of Chile and Argentina transformed how people saw the Northern Patagonian Andes by framing the nation within its imagined limits. They did so by employing written, visual, and geospatial tools that threaded together specific sites in the form of national touristscapes. This argument pushes against a one-dimensional history of conservation and tourism in both countries. By portraying the Northern Patagonian Andes as “she-land,” a site of inferiority while at the same time of majestic beauty, I show how these changes, though transformative, served older versions of the nation where Patagonia remained on the periphery of national geography, though the strategic use of space.

In the second and third sections, I focused on how authorities created national touristscapes. First, I showed how EFE’s publications used the peak-forest-lake triad to make silent references to the south of the country. Its oscillation between anonymous views and concrete places exemplified how authorities boiled down their versions of Chilean national landscapes to specific views: a volcano or a specific volcano, for example. I also analyzed the DPN’s architectural endeavor in Bariloche that remodeled the mountain village into a first-class tourist town. The patriotic rhetoric ubiquitous in the documents evidenced how Bustillo and the rest of the DPN created an architectonic style that represented the national park at large.

Epilogue



Image 29: Replica of 'La Poderosa,' Ernesto 'Che' Guevara's motorcycle that he used in his first trip across Latin America with Alberto Granado (1952), Puerto Frías, March 2017.

Indigenous peoples traversed the Northern Patagonian Andes for centuries before the arrival of Spaniards. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, missionaries crossed from Chiloé Island to Lake Nahuel Huapi, though their missions failed. In the late eighteenth century, Fray Francisco Menéndez hacked through the pass that Francisco Fonck and Fernando Hess would reopen in the mid-nineteenth century. Forty years after the German pair, Carlos Wiederhold traveled from Puerto Varas and established a business on the southeastern shore of Lake Nahuel Huapi. Since then, the route known today as “Pérez Rosales Pass” has remained open to traffic.

In March 2017, I crossed the Andes for the umpteenth time. This was, however, my first trip along the Pérez Rosales Pass. Despite its long history of connecting both sides of the Andes, today the pass can be accessed only as part of a 10-hour tour operated by two companies, one based in Chile and the other in Argentina. Departing from a port fifteen miles west of Bariloche, a

catamaran takes tourists to Puerto Blest. There they hop on a bus to Puerto Alegre, on the shores of Lake Frías, a green lagoon flanked by pronounced cliffs where condors nest. In Puerto Frías, on the other side of the lagoon, tourists take photos of a seemingly dissonant object: a replica of *La Poderosa*, the motorcycle that carried Ernesto Che Guevara and Alberto Granado on their 1952 trip across Latin America.¹ *La Poderosa* disrupts the natural environment by emphasizing the human presence in the Northern Patagonian Andes (Image 29). It reminds visitors that even after the decline of trans-Andean trade in the 1920s, the pass was the only route connecting Bariloche with Puerto Montt. After taking photos of Guevara's motorcycle, tourists take a one-way winding road across the Andes. The highest point, which signals the international border, is the next photo stop. When I took the tour, the guides hyped this moment but several of my fellow travelers were disappointed. Looking at the temperate rainforest, thick vegetation, and the non-descript landmark, someone wondered aloud: "*This is the border?*" (Image 30 and Image 31).

The display of Guevara's motorcycle and the modest border landmark challenge two of the ways that people have produced and reproduced ideas about space in Patagonia. One is as Patagonia as an untouched space. Another very different way is the demand for a clear borderline. Visitors to the Pérez Rosales Pass were surprised not to see a well-made border landmark. Travelers' expectations about the border stemmed from present-day news outlets, economic interests, and political agendas that cast borderlines as markers of difference. Governments take for granted that the border is a symbol for the nation and thus supersedes ecological continuities or social networks.² In contrast, the regional experiences of residents, local authorities, and

¹ Che Guevara, Ernesto Guevara, and Cintio Vitier, *The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey* (Ocean Press, 2003), 54–55. When I passed through Puerto Frías, guides of the National Park were just beginning to mount the display of the motorcycle. Today, it is loaded with make-believe luggage and backdropped against a map of Guevara's journey and some photos.

² Harald Bauder, "Toward a Critical Geography of the Border: Engaging the Dialectic of Practice and Meaning,"

passers-by that I have examined in this dissertation revealed other understandings of the Northern Patagonian Andes. For many of these people, the border did not need a robust landmark.



Image 30: Me at the border marker in Pérez Rosales Pass, March 2017.

Visitors of the Pérez Rosales Pass were also surprised to see Guevara's motorcycle on display in Puerto Frías. They expected to travel across a route showed the Patagonian Andes as they had imagined it: almost devoid of human activity. The presence of Guevara's *La Poderosa* disrupts the idea that the Patagonian Andes are untouched by placing human history amidst the temperate forest. Thus, travelers simultaneously imagined the Patagonian Andes as a place with little human intervention yet with a clear border marker.

These two seemingly contradictory ideas emerge out of the myth of untouched nature created by the Chilean and Argentine states in the 1930s. The myths continue to permeate travelers'

Annals of the Association of American Geographers 101, no. 5 (September 1, 2011): 1126–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2011.577356>; N. Parker and N. Vaughan-Williams, "Critical Border Studies: Broadening and Deepening the 'Lines in the Sand' Agenda," *Geopolitics* 17, no. 4 (2012): 727–733, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2012.706111>.

imaginaries and a simple search on Google images illustrates the point. “Patagonia” appears as a sequence of mountainous landscapes, usually with a body of water in view, just like the *Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado*’s triad of mountain-lake-forest. Occasionally, the images show a hiker, reminding viewers that temporary travelers are critical. The visual results of a “Patagonia” search rarely depict urban settlements or other environments beyond the cordillera.



Image 31: Pérez Rosales Pass at the border, March 2017.

Residents border regions may have different ideas about the nation than people who live in other places, which includes tourists and national authorities. Regional and often cross-border experiences of space underpin how residents, authorities, and passers-by make sense of the nation. These three categories of people sometimes see the border as a marker of difference and as a site of encounter. For business people, the Pérez Rosales Pass represented an opportunity. For others, it was a route that allowed bandits from Chile into Argentina. For my fellow travelers in 2017, it was a site that challenged their ideas about nature and the border. These multiple experiences of a border region illustrate how people contributed to nation-making by landscaping Patagonia.

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