Imagined Contested Spaces:
The Imaging of the Patagonian Region (1840-1881)

By Rosana Cecilia Magoia

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THESIS COMMITTEE:
Dr. Linda Arnold, chair
Dr. Sue Farquhar
Dr. Jacqueline Bixler

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(Abstract)

This study underscores the importance of press discourse as means of production and circulation of representations regarding land and people. Considering the press has a strong influence on the construction of social imaginaries, this study explores how textual images in The (London) Times and The New York Times shaped public opinion about Patagonia and Patagonians and how those images relate to the United States and British national and international political agendas and to the historical/cultural context. In other words, this study proposes to analyze the relationship between media and agency.

The time period under study is the second half of the nineteenth century the era during which Argentina focused on the need for exercising sovereignty over Patagonia as a way of expanding the state's frontier, incorporating new commercially productive lands to respond to the demands of the international market, contesting in this way the Chilean interests in the area, and responding to the demands of the aspirations of a ruling class – landed aristocrats– who wanted to attract Europeans.

The analysis of this research draws on a total number of 669 articles which have been coded with the purpose of assessing the differences between the United States and British imaging of Patagonia and Patagonians, taking into consideration that England was directly linked through financial investment to Argentina while the United States had chosen a military policy to expand its control of western lands (1865-1890), similar to the Argentine policy for controlling northern and southern lands.

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Contents

"El Desierto inconmensurable, abierto, y misterioso a sus pies se extiende; triste el semblante, solitario y taciturno como el mar, cuando un instante al crepúsculo nocturno, pone rienda a su altivez…Doquier campos y heredades del ave y bruto guaridas, doquier cielo y soledades de Dios sólo conocidas, que Él sólo puede sondar…Entonces, como el ruido que suele hacer el tronido cuando retumba lejano, se oyó en el tranquilo llano sordo y confuso clamor; se perdió... y luego violento, como baladro espantoso de turba inmensa, en el viento se dilató sonoroso, dando a los brutos pavor. Bajo la planta sonante del ágil potro arrogante el duro suelo temblaba, y envuelto en polvo cruzaba como animado tropel, velozmente cabalgando; veíanse lanzas agudas, cabezas, crines ondeando, y como formas desnudas de aspecto extraño y cruel… ¿Dónde va? ¿De dónde viene? ¿De qué su gozo proviene? ¿Por qué grita, corre, vuela, clavando al bruto la espuela, sin mirar alrededor? ¡Ved que las puntas ufanas de sus lanzas, por despojos, llevan cabezas humanas, cuyos inflamados ojos respiran aún furor!"[1]

[1] Esteban Echeverría, "La Cautiva,"in *La Cautiva. El Matadero. Ojeada Retrospectiva* (Buenos Aires: Centro editor de América Latina, 1993), 9-12.

Chapter I

Introduction

Edward Said in his book Orientalism (1979) assessed the relationship between knowledge and power by explaining how the "Orient" was historically re-created or re-presented by Western imagination (geographical discourse). Said analyzed the production of discourses and how they produced knowledge about the *Other* (object), particularly the "*Geographical Other*"[1] (cultural difference). He argued how through discourse, an idea of the *Other* could be imposed, an idea generally associated with the notions of inferiority, exoticism, and homogeneity; essentially, the image of the *Other* is minimized, simplified by enormous generalizations. While defining Orientalism, Said discussed geographical imagination as the "universal practice of designating in one's mind a familiar space which is 'ours' and an unfamiliar space beyond 'ours' which is 'theirs.'"[2] In this sense, Said's notion of Orientalism is an effort to explain how spaces are imagined and how those representations shape our thinking about specific regions.

Based on Said's idea of Orientalism, this study assesses United States and British representations of the Patagonia region[3], Southern Argentina and Chile, during the second half of the nineteenth century. In this context, this study explores how those representations relate to the historical process of nation/state formation in the context of the Argentina's incorporation into the international market.

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[1] Mark Bassin used the term Geographical Other to refer to the visions or geographical representations that Europeans had of the non-European world. See Mark Bassin, "Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian East in the Early Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review* 96:3 (June 1991): 763-794.

[2] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Random House Inc., 1979), 54.

[3] The Patagonian region lies between the river Bio-Bio in Chile and river Colorado in Argentina, south to Tierra del Fuego.

In the years following the independence, Argentina found many obstacles blocking its efforts to consolidate the state and create a sense of national belonging. Argentina was completely fragmented due to political, economic, and social differences, especially between the interior of the country and Buenos Aires ("porteños"). The economy of Buenos Aires was connected with the Atlantic market; the city controlled the port and, consequently, was originally the big beneficiary of the trade between Spain and the colonies, and later between the Argentine and European markets. As expressed by Rock, Buenos Aires was "the chief supplier of imports, the largest of the local urban markets, the chief embarkation port for exports, the main recipient of subsidies and taxation revenues, and the chief source of finance capital."[4] In contrast, the interior economy relied more on an incipient artisan manufacturing industry. These economic differences were manifested in the political arena as well: *Unitarios* and *Federales*. On the one hand, the Unitarist faction was a proponent of a centralist type of government and represented Buenos Aires' interests. On the other hand, the Federalist sector responded to the interests of the provinces and claimed the nationalization of the port revenues, the provinces' autonomy, and the free navigation of rivers.

After many years of civil wars between "interior" and "porteño" interests, Argentine political leadership prepared to consolidate its image of the state. In 1862, Argentina organized its state and the first constitutional president was elected.[5] However,

[4] David Rock, *Argentina 1516-1982: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 76.

[5] In 1854 Justo José Urquiza (1801-1870) was elected president of the Argentine Confederation. However, Buenos Aires refused to recognize and support the new elected president and decided to form a separate state.

national organization "was a theoretical construct rather than a real achievement."[6] There was an explicit need and desire to create a national identity that placed the inhabitants of the country in a common ideological frame. As Lynch argues, "politicians in the Rio de la Plata were also asking who belonged and who did not, and they were seeking, even when they did not find, a particular construct of Argentina that would bring together state and nation."[7]

At the time, plains people roamed the immense expanses of the potentially commercially productive lands in the Patagonia region that political leadership wanted to control in order to develop the country's economy and attract European immigrants, projects of the oligarchy. In this context, the plains people, often portrayed as savages, represented an "obstacle" to the economic "progress," constituting an "element" that the state should either combat or "civilize." As a result, the State defined the lands inhabited by plains people as a "desert" –uninhabited or uncivilized space– and decided to expand into the "desert" militarily ("*The Conquest of the Desert*"--as the official discourse labeled it--) to kill the plains people who contested the monopolization of the Patagonian space by external forces.

The main interest of the oligarchy resided in the possibility of using immigrants to teach work habits to the inhabitants so that the country could progress as European nations did. The concept of nation these intellectuals had was one of a "Europeanized (non-Spanish) and civilized" country. In the minds of these intellectuals, Spain was "the cradle of barbarism, the backward daughter of Europe, the poor relation to be avoided at

[6] John Lynch, *Massacre in the Pampas, 1872: Britain and Argentina in the Age of Migration* (Oklahoma: University of California Press, 1998), 8.

[7] Lynch, *Massacre in the Pampas*, 57.

all costs."[8] Therefore, the country should look at European nations, especially France, Germany, and Great Britain, as models for progress. These intellectuals thought that European immigration was the solution for all the problems Argentina had. Argentina would become a "Great Nation" "by bringing 'living pieces' of northern European culture."[9] As Alberdi states, "each European who comes to our shores brings more civilization in his habits, which will later be transmitted to our inhabitants, than many books of philosophy."[10] Clearly, the notion of civilization versus barbarism present in the discourse of these thinkers was central to the nationalistic discourse.

The rise and consolidation of the Argentine state during the second half of the nineteenth century was a product, above all, of the incorporation of Argentina into the international market and global economy. British industrial and commercial expansion during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led the empire to look for markets in which to sell excess manufactures, to invest excess capital (financial investment), and to send excess population. In this context, British and Argentine interests coincided. During this period, Argentina exported products, such as beef and wheat, to Great Britain in exchange for manufactured products. In that economic system, the oligarchy –landed aristocrats– played a hegemonic role. The Argentine-British relationship increased after the mid-nineteenth century and Patagonia became a place of strategic importance. The British government encouraged emigration to the region to expand the Argentine frontier.

[8] Nicolás Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 161.

[9] Ibid., 147.

[10] Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810-1884), as quoted in *Massacre in the Pampas*, 63.

As a result, Argentina and the British Empire structured an economic, political, and scientific alliance (*"Imperialist alliance"*).

The Argentine-British economic alliance centered on the need to extend the productive frontiers of the country to meet the demands of the international market, which led the oligarchy to think of the possibility of using the immigrants to "open up the frontier," that is, to take the lands "of those deserts and make them productive."[11] Thus, immigration was seen as the solution to open up the interior frontier (Patagonia). Politically, Patagonia was seen as the land of the future, the land on which the progress of the country could rest, a place where Argentina could find its own national destiny. Argentine concerns about Patagonia, which was seen internationally as autonomous space, as *"tierra de nadie,"* also played an important role in the decision made by the state to move the frontier and exert sovereignty over Patagonia. As Williams argued,

> Such developments also coincided with a period of concern about sovereignty over the nation's peripheral territory. Among such areas was Patagonia, a region where earlier settlement attempts had failed and which, after the establishment of Punta Arenas by Chile in 1843 and the British seizure of the Malvinas in 1833, had appeared to be *a tierra de nadie.*[12]

Additionally, the scientific alliance centered on the scientific exploration of Patagonia. Patagonia had been object of study and interest for a long time. Darwin's voyage under the Command of Capitan Fitz Roy (1831-1836), Darwin's later commentaries on Patagonia, and his theory of evolution led to a series of scientific explorations into the region with the aim of exploring "biological and cultural evolution

[11] Alvaro Barros (1827-1892), as quoted in *Massacre in the Pampas*, 30.

[12] Glyn Williams, "Industrialization and Ethnic Change in the Lower Chubut Valley, Argentina American Ethnologist," *Political Economy* 5: 3 (August 1978): 620.

and the nature of a civilized man."[13] Subsequently, a series of explorations supported not only by the government but private capital as well showed interest in the origins of the "civilized man" (*Natural History*). As Deloria states,

> With the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species in 1859, intellectuals began wondering not just about racial difference, but about its historical development…..evolutionary path that led from savage to the civilized. Indians represent a stalled branch. 'They,' anthropologists argued, are 'we' once were…The potted histories offered by late nineteenth century government policy makers, missionaries, and anthropologists, for example, place Indians on such evolutionary trajectory. [14]

Nevertheless, according to Livon-Grossman, Argentine and British motivations for the scientific exploration of Patagonia differed. For international powers, their interest became impregnated with colonialist ideology, while for the Argentine government those explorations served to project the consolidation of the state and the imposition of national sovereignty. [15] There are also differences in the imaging of the native inhabitants of the region. The author argues that the British saw the region as a potential space for exploiting and investing and its inhabitants, not as obstacles to be eradicated, but rather objects to be studied, subjugated or disregarded;[16] however, British discourse would begin to pressure Argentine government to offer security to the people living on the frontier and urge the government to end conflict on the frontier. In contrast, the Argentine

[13] Caroline Brettell, "Introduction: Travel Literature, Ethnography, and Ethnohistory," *Ethnohistory* 33: 2 (Spring 1986): 131.

[14] Philip Deloria, ed. "Historiography," in *Companion to American Indian History* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 2001), 13.

[15] Ernesto Livon-Grossman, *Geografías imaginarias. El relato del viaje y la construcción del espacio patagónico* (Rosario: Beatriz Viterbo, 2003), 13.

[16] Ibid., 27.

government portrayed Patagonian inhabitants as obstacles to the economic progress of the country and, consequently, viewed them as a "political problem."[17]

The United States was overtly aware of this close relationship between Argentina and Great Britain. That is, the country was completely conscious of British influence and Britons in Patagonia. As expressed in the *New York Times*, ". . . the tail of the British lion can hardly be tweaked in Patagonia before his avenging roar is heard from Downing-street."[18] However, it is only by the end of the nineteenth century that the United States appears to be ready to expand internationally.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the United States was engaged in domestic matters that kept it away from the international arena. In spite of the fact that the country was completely aware of the economic possibilities to be found in South America, the United States had business of its own to solve before expanding overseas. In 1852 the *New York Daily Times* suggested that South America "is opening to speculation and enterprise"[19] but,

> the United States have their hands full at the present. They cannot enter upon the project of colonizing the teeming acres that lie along this gigantic stream. They have business of their own to occupy their full attention. They have not ships enough to fulfill the demands upon their efforts. They are busy in carving out sufficient avenues to shorten their reach to their possessions on the Pacific Coast.[20]

During the years 1861-1865 the country experienced a civil war that tore the county apart for four years. Afterward, between the end of the civil war and the

[17] Ibid., 28.

[18] *New York Times*, 4 May 1858, p. 4.

[19] *New York Times*, 1 June 1852, p. 2.

[20] *New York Times*, 1 June 1852, p. 2.

beginning of the twentieth century, the United States launched a colonial enterprise expanding across the West. Therefore, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that "the United States was a budding industrial and military power that was beginning to look beyond its own 'last frontier'…Africa and Asia had already been carved up, leaving Latin America as the remaining site for U.S. place in the sun."[21] However, it is in the 1850s that the United States government began to evaluate the richness of southern lands, as Poole argued; "three U.S. government expeditions had begun a well-published effort to assess the resources and navigable rivers of Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia."[22]

Within this historical framework, this study proposes to analyze the United States and British capitalist "ideology of commercial penetration" to represent the "*Geographical Other*." Additionally, this study intends to gain insight from existing literature and assess the differences between the American and English imaging of Patagonia and Patagonians, taking into consideration that England was directly linked through financial investment to the country while the United States had chosen a military policy to expand its control of western lands (1865-1890), similar to the Argentine policy for controlling northern and southern lands.

As we know, representations are created by social actors through the use of language. Those representations attach meaning to spaces, which have some significance separated from the space itself. That is, representations are independent from the space they define. Those meanings are constantly negotiated and re-negotiated by social actors.

[21] Peter Winn, *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean* (California: University of California Press, 1999), 431.

[22] Deborah Poole, "Landscape and the Imperial Subject. U.S. Images of the Andes, 1859-1930," in *Close Encounters of Empire. Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, eds. Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo Salvatore (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998), 112.

Thus, since spaces may be constructed by different social actors in different ways, "many spaces may co-exist within the same physical space."[23] Social actors attach meaning to places by producing images: and those *"place-images,"* according to Shields, come about through oversimplification, stereotyping and labeling. Those images or metaphors are incorporated into the imagined spaces where "sites become associated with particular values, historical events, and feelings."[24] In this context, this study explores the rhetorical figures or *"place-images"* that are embedded in the newspaper discourse.

In particular, understanding discourse as a "social construction of reality" and consequently viewing "texts as a social product that embodies and reproduces attitudes of power and political interest,"[25] this study comparatively looks at the United States and the British discourses on Patagonia by analyzing how the press portrayed Southern Argentina (*Patagonia as discursive invention*). Specifically, considering that in the mid-nineteenth century newspapers spread from the upper classes to middle classes fulfilling the need for information, and recognizing that the press has a strong influence on the construction of social imaginaries, this research explores the set of images in the *(London) Times* (LT) and the *New York Times* (NYT)[26] that were brought to bear on Patagonia and Patagonians and how they relate to the countries' national and international political agendas. Hence, this study explores the relationship between media and political discourse.

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[23] Tim Richardson and Ole B. Jensen, "Linking Discourse and Space: Towards a Cultural Sociology of Space in Analyzing Spatial Policy Discourses," *Urban Studies* 40:1 (Julio 2003): 7.

[24] Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1961), 29.

[25] Michael Higgins, "Putting the Nation in the News: the Role of Location Formulation in a Selection of Scottish Newspapers," *Discourse & Society* (2004): 638.

[26] *The New York Times* first appeared in 1851 and it was originally called the New York Daily Times. It changed its name to *New York Times* in 1858. Therefore, between the years 1851-1857 the acronym NYDT will be used instead of NYT.

Timothy Shortell in "The Decline of the Public Sphere: A Semiotic Analysis of the Rhetoric of Race in New York City" dealt with the nineteenth century press and the characteristics of urban discourse. He saw newspapers as "central to life in nineteenth-century New York City in many ways,"[27] as they circulated promoting "urban sociability, based on the emerging market-oriented public space."[28] To Shortell, "the spread of news, which accompanied the spread of commerce, made possible a sense of common interest. The connection between private economic interactions and political discourse is of vital importance for the developing meaning of 'public.'"[29] He went on to explain the need of the state to have a communication network and how that network "led to a new form of power."[30] According to him, "public discourse could no longer just be the exchange of ideas."[31] Thus, he saw press discourse as shaping cultural meaning regarding different issues; as he noted, "messages in circulation in our public discourse do influence, to some extent, the way that people think about issues."[32]

Newspapers are not just simple purveyors of information; they greatly contribute to the production and circulation of discourses. Clearly, the analysis of newspaper discourse offers a model for thinking critically about the production of meaning. From this perspective, this research centers on the production, circulation, and consumption of

[27] Timothy Shortell, Forthcoming "The Decline of the Public Sphere: A semiotic Analysis of the Rhetoric of race in New York City," in *Ethnic Communities in New York City*, Volume 7, "Research in Urban Sociology," ed. Jerome Krase (New York: JAI Press), 4.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., 3.

[30] Ibid., 7.

[31] Ibid., 7.

[32] Ibid., 7.

ideas and arguments that animated British and American representations, regarding people and landscapes. This study explores the role that media plays "in the circulation and securing of dominant ideological definitions and representations,"[33] i.e., it looks at the cultural and ideological assumptions on which "*place-images*" rest. Particularly, it analyzes to what extent the representations of Patagonia and Patagonians were informed by colonialist ideology. Therefore, recognizing that the press has a strong influence on the construction of social imaginaries, this research examines "not only how language and representation produce meaning, but how the knowledge which particular discourse produces connects with power; regulates conduct; makes up or constructs identities and subjectivities; and defines the way certain things are represented, thought about, practiced and studied."[34]

Furthermore, by the second half of the nineteenth century "published travel accounts . . . moved back to the realm of the exotic and mysterious."[35] In this context, the press satisfied the need for information. "[T]he demand for newspapers spread from the upper and middle classes downward as the nineteenth century progressed, meeting a demand for information and comment on current affairs and, later, for entertainment."[36] Hence, considering that the press has been virtually excluded from studies that have analyzed Patagonia during mid-nineteenth century, which basically rely on travel

[33] Hall, Hobson, Lowe and Willis, eds., *Culture, Media and Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies* (London: Hutchinson & Co. Publishers Ltd., 1980), 118.

[34] Stuart Hall, ed., *Representations: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 1997), 6.

[35] Kristine Jones, "Nineteenth Century British Travel Accounts of Argentina," *Ethnohistory* 32:2 (Spring 1986): 200.

[36] W. B. Stephens, "Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900," *History of Education Quarterly* 30:4 (Winter 1990): 547.

accounts and governmental sources, this study intends to expand those sources through what can be regarded as a new primary source approach. As a discourse, the press is a powerful instrument that has a strong influence on the construction of social imaginaries. However, it has not yet been considered when exploring the nineteenth century discourse on Patagonia. Thus, the analysis of the newspaper discourse will add a new perspective (media) to the literature on Patagonia. By analyzing the discourse on Patagonia, this study will contribute to the conversation about imperialism and representation within the framework of postcolonial criticism on Latin America.

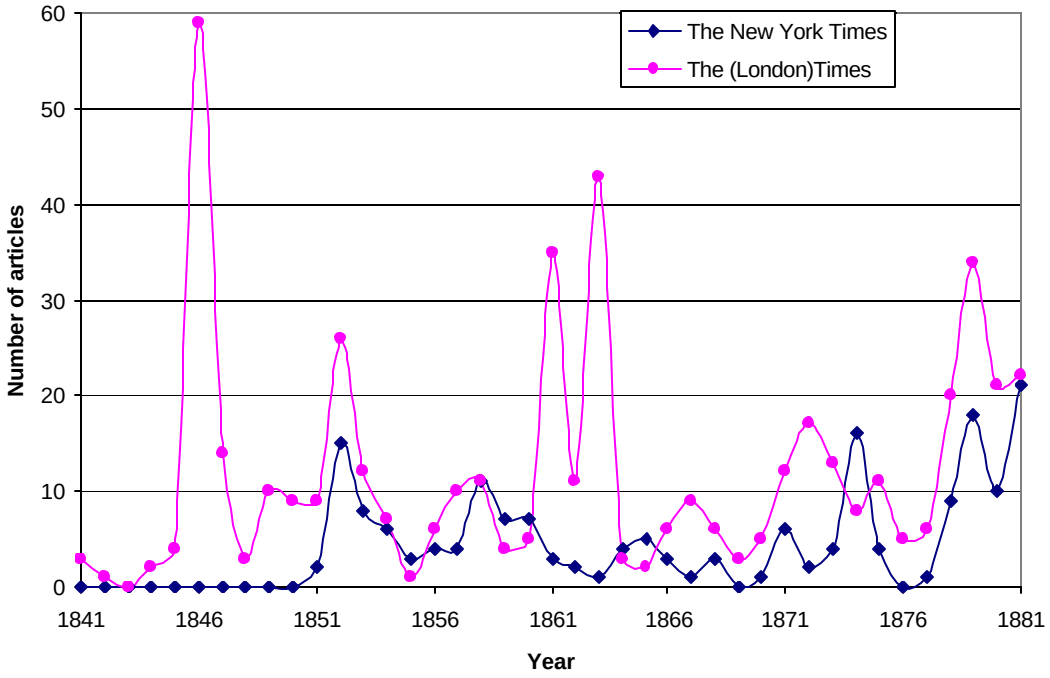
Within the time frame of this study covering the second half of the nineteenth century, the focus is on forty-one years (1840-1881), the era during which Argentina concentrated on the need to exercise sovereignty over Patagonia as a way of expanding the state's frontier, incorporating new commercially productive lands to respond to the demands of the international market. Argentina contested in this way the Chilean interests in the area, and responded to the aspirations of the ruling class –landed aristocrats– who wanted to attract Europeans. This study ends in 1881 when a treaty signed between Argentina and Chile conceded most of the Patagonian region to the Argentine State.

In sum, our sense of others (spaces and people) comes from representations; and the construction of those representations is accomplished by dominant groups. In this sense, this research aims to show how the press in the United States and England represented the South American region known as Patagonia and the people who inhabited the region (Patagonians). Certainly, there were challenges to face for the analysis of the news. The major one was the construction of a database to explore the rhetorical figures

that the LT and NYT used to portray the "*Otherness*" as a way to understand the "*Selfhood*."

The method employed for the analysis of the newspaper discourse consists of the codification of the articles of the two newspapers along with an interpretative approach to the database. In order to explore the rhetorical figures and to identify patterns of textual representation in both newspapers and with the aim of analyzing the significance of the dynamic of changing discourse, each article found in both newspapers was analyzed and coded. Over 669 articles containing the words Patagonia and/or Patagonians were coded for newspaper, date, themes, and secondary themes. The articles analyzed include news reports (shipping news, news from correspondents, pieces of information from other newspapers, money market reports, etc.), notes to the Editor, ethnographic accounts, advertisements, book reviews, etc.

GRAPHIC 1: Number of Articles per Year



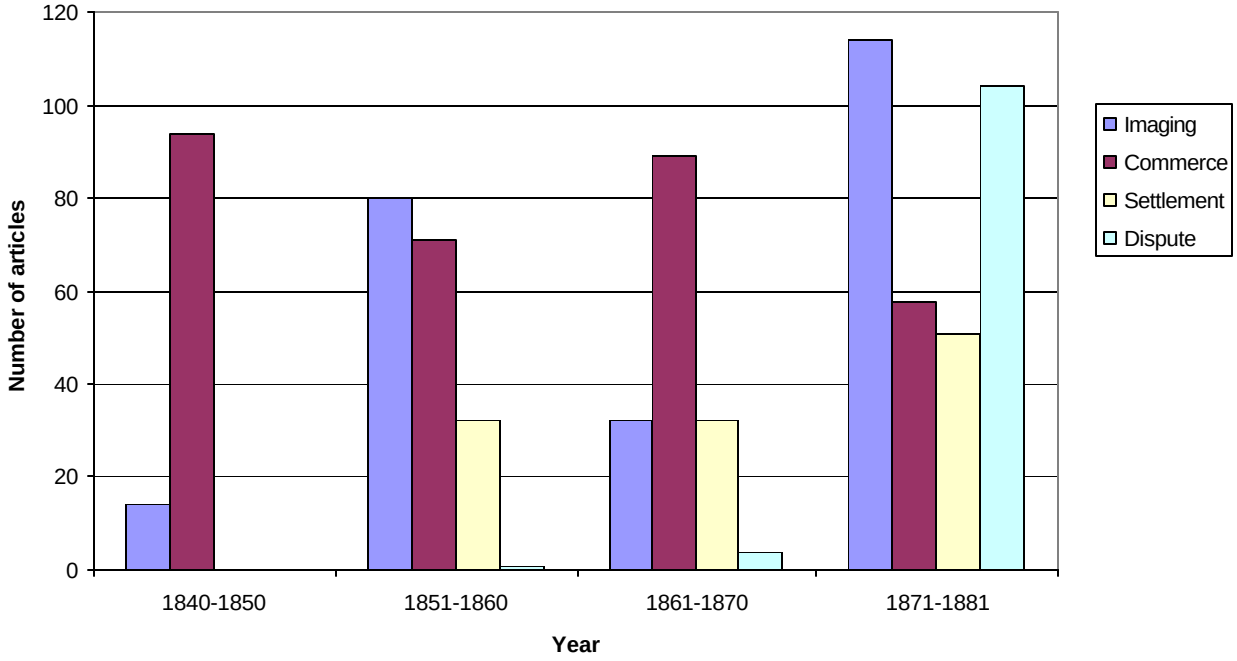
The graphic presented above illustrates the number of articles referring to Patagonia and/or Patagonians that were published in the LT and NYT during the period of time under study. From the total number of articles represented in this graphic (669), 488 correspond to the LT while 181 to the NYT. The NYT began publishing in 1851, consequently explaining the absence of articles in the first decade. However, the articles found in the LT refer basically to the guano trade, not introduced in the United States until 1848-1850. Regarding the following years, the difference in numbers of articles found an explanation in the close relationship that Great Britain and the Argentine government had during the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, this difference suggests the predominance of Great Britain in the international trade and, consequently, a strong British presence in the region.

In the case of the LT there was a sharp increase of articles in 1846, which might be the result of the discovery and exploitation of new guano deposits on the Patagonian coast. The peak in the 1860s corresponded to a change in the imaging of the Patagonia region, which offered opportunities for settlement and consequently began to be advertised in the newspapers, while the increase of articles in the early seventies was mostly due to an exchange of notes between the Argentine and British governments regarding the security and prosperity of Britons in Patagonia. Finally, the sudden surge of interest in both newspapers in the mid-1870s and in 1878-1879 was the result of tensions in the diplomatic relations between Argentina and Chile due to the dispute held over Patagonia.

Each text, as expressed by Roberto Franzosi, "is a unitary whole made up of sentences organized around a dominant theme or topic."[37] Therefore, to analyze the information found in both newspapers each article was coded for theme. In this sense, at the macrostructure level, the reading of the articles allowed the identification of four main themes: imaging, commerce, settlement, and dispute. Considering that one article sometimes included more than one topic, another page was created in the database to analyze the predominance of themes by year. In this way the number of articles increased from 669 to 776. Certainly, this categorization made possible the analysis of the articles and the identification of the ideas and concepts associated with the words Patagonia and Patagonians. Each of those categories constitutes a chapter in this thesis. The following graphic presents the results of the said codification. The distribution shown in the graphic corresponds to both newspapers:

[37] Roberto Franzosi, "From Words to Number: A Generalized and Linguistics-Based Coding Procedure for Collecting Textual Data," *Sociological Methodology* 19 (1989): 272.

GRAPHIC 2: Themes & Years (LT & NYT)



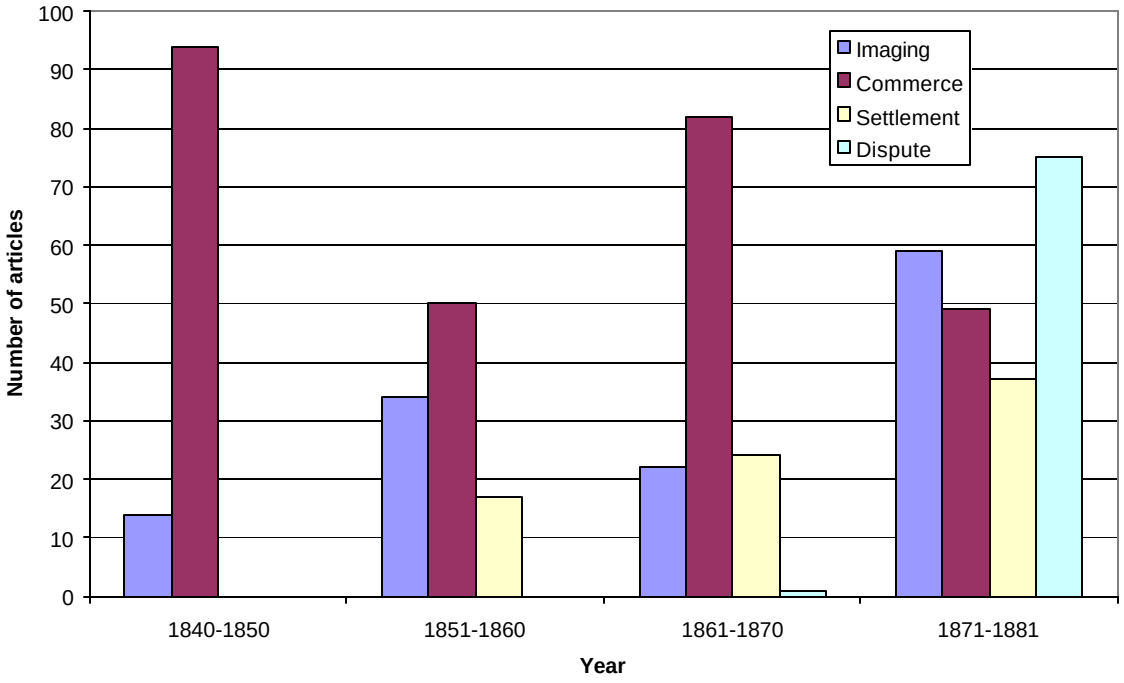
The 1840s signaled the beginning of the guano trade and this decade also witnessed an increase in the international trade thanks to the development of steam navigation. This may help explain why, as shown in the graphic, commerce emerges as predominant theme in the first decade. The next decades shows a continuance in the theme commerce and an increase in the number of articles that characterized the physical geography of Patagonia and the people inhabiting the area. This is the result of a growing interest in Patagonia and new explorations carried out in the area.

In the 1850s a number of British missionaries went to Patagonia and established missions with the purpose of Christianizing the "savages" inhabiting that region; for that reason settlement emerges as new theme in that era. Then, in the 1860s positive images of Patagonia favored immigration; and the first group of Welsh established the "first permanent settlement" in Patagonia. Finally, as can be seen from the graphic, there is a

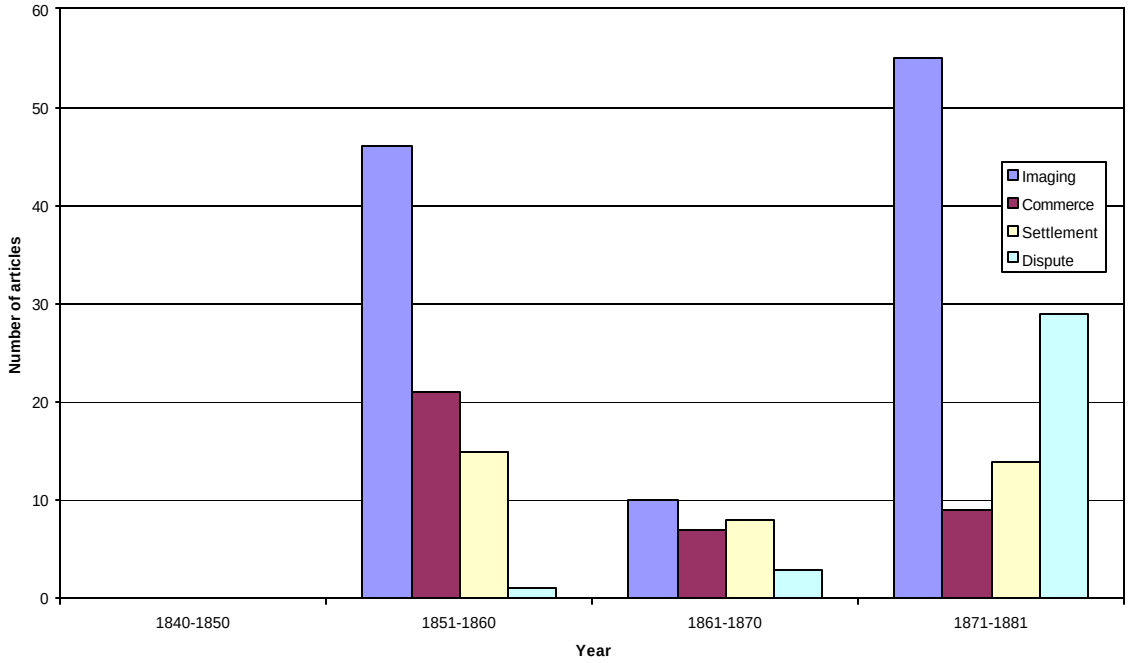
growing number of articles in the 1870's that focus on the dispute between Argentina and Chile.

In an attempt to explore possible differences in the thematic emphasis of the NYT and the LT, two graphics were created to examine the predominance of themes in each newspaper. The graphs below show the results:

GRAPHIC 3: Themes & Years (LT)



GRAPHIC 4: Themes & Years (NYT)



The theme commerce is prevalent in the LT but it is not in the NYT. References to settlement and dispute are similar in both newspapers, although the number of articles is higher in the LT. The analysis of each theme and the differences on discourse in both newspapers is further developed in subsequent chapters of this study. For a better interpretation of the data, this study builds on the work of several intellectuals whose works are cited in the bibliography. That is, secondary bibliography is used to complement and examine the information found in the articles, constituting in this way, the framework for the analysis of the information extracted from both newspapers.

In order to explore the set of images (visuals) and representations of power produced by the press, the study is divided into 6 chapters. Chapter I and VI are the Introduction and Conclusions of the research. Chapter II is more general and deals with descriptions made of Patagonia (*Physical Geography*) and Patagonians (*Geographical*

Other). Chapter III explores the articles that associate Patagonia with commerce. Mainly, this chapter refers to the guano trade. Chapter VI focuses on the attempts made by non-indigenous people to settle and colonize the Patagonian region, such as missionaries, Chileans, Argentines, and European or American settlers. Finally, the last chapter centers on the dispute over the ownership of Patagonia, exploring United States and British representations of the Chilean and Argentine claims to the Patagonian region.

Chapter II

Imaging and Popularizing Patagonia

"So we galloped; but shortly we descried dark forms coming down the side of the mountain, from a pass among the hills, one or two miles distant. Then another and another squad followed, while we rode on to meet them. The first detachment came up like a whirlwind, their long, coarse, black hair streaming, and their rough skin mantles flapping in the wind, while all were shouting in savage glee. The ground shook under the rush of their horses, and the atmosphere was clouded with dust. They surrounded us; they yelled and grinned; they were as noisy as a flock of loons and as active as a swarm of bees. . . They were large, strong, and bold men, quite independent in their bearing and perfectly conscious that they were the masters of the situation. They were dark and filthy, ignorant and brutal in the last degree. They laughed, showing splendid rows of white teeth, and in five minutes the interview ended. Every man put spurs to his horse, and, with yells and an uproarious shout, the whole band of about 20 rushed toward the Strait, leaving a long cloud of dust behind them." (A Patagonian Mission: Adventures in Patagonia by Rev. Henry M Field in The New York Times, April 12 1880, p. 3)

When confronted with this description the reader can feel aesthetic reaction experienced by Westerners in their encounter with the *Otherness*. Bodies and landscapes become objects of examination under the "*imperial eyes.*" Under this "*imperialist gaze*" "the writer literally sees the landscape of non-Western world in terms either of the promise for westernized development or the disappointment of that promise."[1] In this fragment extracted from the NYT the cultural and geographical *Other* is objectified, evaluated, and understood as mysterious, exotic, and barbarous. At the same time, the *Other* is presented to the public as a more primitive and uncivilized human being. The description connects readers to those lands, a place never seen, outside their Western

[1] David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire. Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1993), 19.

world. Certainly, this image of the *Geographical Space* (Patagonia) and *Geographical Other* (Patagonians) influenced a number of people who read the article. Such writings influenced the way they thought and imagined the *Otherness*. But how do we explain this characterization? What ideas lay behind this image? Did this image of the *Other* change through time? Did American and British perceptions of Patagonia and Patagonians differ at some point?

This chapter explores these questions through the analysis of the articles found in the LT and the NYT during the second half of the nineteenth century. That is, this section of the research examines different layers of meaning attributed to the land (Patagonia) and the people inhabiting the region (Patagonians) and how they relate to the United States and Great Britain's international as well as national agendas. As David Spurr writes, "the news media's reliance on institutional sources, their place in a market economy, and their standardized discourse produce an ideology that is fairly easily explained in terms of national policy and public opinion."[2] Certainly, the press in the nineteenth century was one of the sites used by governments and dominant groups to disseminate imperialist ideology and information about other places and people.

In this context, the images created by the press reveal the ideology that rests behind the representation of Patagonia and Patagonians. In other words, the analysis of the press discourse unveils the ideology and interests behind each newspaper's "*imperial writings*." In this sense, the writings published in both newspapers provide us with a means of exploring British and American attitudes and ideas associated with a faraway land and unknown people.

[2] Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 9.

The concepts of representation and discursive approach serve as the theoretical and analytical framework to explore the newspapers' depictions of the Patagonia region, that is, the rhetorical position from which Patagonia and the people that inhabited that region were understood, analyzed, described, or represented. Stuart Hall has defined representation as "the production of meaning through language."[3] Representation "is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the 'real' world of objects, people, or events, or indeed imaginary worlds of fictional objects, peoples, and events."[4] Thus, to Hall, meaning is created through representations which "social actors" create while using language. Consequently, Hall asserts, representations "involve the process of interpretation," where the "reader [recipient] is as important as the writer [sender] in the production of meaning."[5]

In the process of writing discourse, language has a key role. Language, as a means of reproduction and creation of discursive representations, is according to Bakhtin loaded with symbolisms, imports, ideologies. As Said pointed out, "language itself is a highly organized and encoded system, which employs many devices to express, indicate, exchange messages and information, represent, and so forth. In any instance of at least written language, there is not such a thing as a delivered presence, but a *re-presence*, or a representation."[6]

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[3] Stuart Hall, ed., *Representations: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 1997), 28.

[4] Ibid., 17.

[5] Ibid., 33.

[6] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Random House Inc., 1979), 21.

According to Said, these representations, created by language, are constructions that give meaning to spaces, which have some significance separate from the space itself (exteriority). Essentially, representations are independent from the space they define. In addition, these representations of the *Geographical Other* rely on a series of assumptions (authority) that place us in the "larger ideological complex that produced them."[7] i.e., each writer or observer "assumes . . . some previous knowledge . . ., to which he refers and on which he relies."[8] Through these "clusters of images" one can see how people perceived the world around them (a vision of the *Other*) as a way to situate themselves in a specific space (a geographical self-image) and, also, in order to explain or define their own identity (self-examination).[9]

Considering that representation of spaces reflects, legitimates, constructs, and reinforces colonialist ideology, we can identify a relationship or link between texts (discourses) and the historical and cultural contexts (institutions, values, beliefs, etc) in which texts are produced (textuality). As Said stated, "no one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of society."[10] Ideology, then, becomes a key element to consider when dealing with representations; and the "examination of ideology requires

[7] Mark Bassin, "Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian East in the Early Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review* 96:3 (June 1991): 766.

[8] Said, *Orientalism*, 20.

[9] See Said in *Orientalism* (Random House Inc., 1979), passim.

[10] Ibid., 10.

the discourse be situated with regard to power."[11] In this sense, Althusser defines ideology as "the imaginary representation of the world."[12] In other words, "ideology represents the imaginary relation of individuals to their real condition of existence,"[13] to their "real world;" and those representations always reproduce relations of power.

In this context, written texts may be regarded as "instruments of control"[14] by which national and international powers shape thoughts about regions so they might legitimize the control that imperialist countries exert in specific areas. Indeed, newspaper discourse is used to influence and convince readers of certain ideas regarding people or places. Newspapers published the information gathered from the colonies and increased the knowledge of the region and people, which would allow imperialist countries to dominate those specific areas.[15] In this sense Abdul R. JanMohamed argues,

> Colonialist literature is an exploration and a representation of a world at the boundaries of 'civilization,' a world that has not (yet) been domesticated by European signification or codified in detail by its ideology. That world is therefore perceived as uncontrollable, chaotic, unattainable, and ultimately evil. Motivated by this desire to conquer and dominate, the imperialist configures the colonial realm as a confrontation based on differences in race, language, social costumes, cultural values, and modes of production.[16]

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[11] Timothy Shortell, Forthcoming "The Decline of the Public Sphere: A Semiotic Analysis of the Rhetoric of race in New York City," in *Ethnic Communities in New York City*, Volume 7, "Research in Urban Sociology," ed. Jerome Krase (New York: JAI Press).

[12] Louis, Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: Monthly Review Press, 1971):164.

[13] Ibid., 162.

[14] Ashcroft B., Griffiths, G., and H. Tiffin, "Introduction. Part I: Issues and Debates," in *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*. Eds. Ashcroft B., Griffiths, G., and H. Tiffin (London and New York: Routeledge, 1995): 7-11.

[15] Julie F Codell, "Introduction: Imperial Co-histories and the British Colonial Press," in *Imperial Co-histories National Identities and the British Colonial in Press,* ed. Julie F Codell (NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), 19.

[16] Abdul R. JanMohamed, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory," in *The post-Colonial Studies Reader*, eds. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (London and New York: Routeledge, 1995), 18.

Therefore, to place the press discourse within a system of hierarchical relations, to uncover the ideological foundations of press discourse, this study applies David Spurr's ideological dimensions of colonial discourse.

For Spurr colonial discourse "does not simply reproduce an ideology or a set of ideas that must constantly be repeated. It is, rather, a way of creating and responding to reality that is infinitely adaptable in its function of preserving the basic structures of power."[17] Colonial discourse is the "system by which one culture comes to interpret, to represent, and finally to dominate another."[18] Therefore, our sense of others comes from representations (newspapers, travel accounts, etc); and the construction of representations is accomplished by the dominant (colonial power). Dominant political discourse on Patagonia was constructed on the basis of nineteenth century ideals of progress and civilization. In this sense, civilization versus barbarism was the dichotomy that served as the basis for the differentiation between Western and culturally different people.

David Spurr has enumerated what he considers the main ideological dimensions of colonial discourse: surveillance, appropriation, aestheticization, classification, debasement, negation, affirmation, idealization, insubstantialization, naturalization, eroticization, resistance. The author has explored how those modes operated when writing about non-Western people and how nineteenth century ideals of progress and civilization informed the ways of writing about the *Other*. Having in mind these ideological dimensions characteristic of imperial writing, this chapter explores how the press in the United States and Great Britain, responding to their countries' interests,

[17] Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire,* 11.

[18] Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire,* 4.

portrayed the Southern region of Patagonia and its inhabitants. Specifically, this chapter considers some of Spurr's ideological dimensions, particularly, those most reflected in nineteenth century discourses on Patagonia.

In the nineteenth century, the general public could satisfy its need for information and curiosity about an unknown land and people not only through the reading of travel writing but through the reading of articles published on newspapers as well. In this context, newspapers influenced readers in the ways they understood and represented Patagonia and Patagonians, conditioning American and British attitudes toward the region.

Representing *Otherness* in the Press

The analysis of the articles found in both newspapers allowed identifying some changes in the discourse. A close examination of the information suggests the existence of two phases in the imaging of the Patagonian region and its inhabitants. The first stage corresponded to the myth created around Patagonia and Patagonians and was the product of the limited geographical knowledge of the area and its people. The second stage resulted from new explorations in the area and, consequently, the increasing geographical knowledge of the land and its people.

From the moment it was first noticed by European in 1520, Patagonia was represented as an uncivilized, unattended, empty, inhospitable, desolate, and remote land. This image not only prevented settlers from going there but also postponed the economic exploitation of the area. The strong winds and rains on the Patagonian coast seemed to reinforce the negative views of the region. In this context, the image of Patagonia as desert became fixed in the minds of Europeans and Americans.

This image of desolation, emptiness, and wilderness was accompanied by representations of the native peoples inhabiting the region. Portrayals of Patagonians dwelled on the region's indigenous population. Those characterizations mainly rested on the Tehuelches, one of the indigenous groups that inhabited Patagonia. The first representations of Patagonians were spread by Antonio Pigafetta. As expressed by Alejandra Pero, "the Italian chronicler of Magellan's discovery expedition was the first to immortalize the natives he encountered in 1520 at San Julián Bay. . . It was through this [his] book that the Tehuelche first entered the popular imagination of the Europeans of the time as giants."[19] This myth persisted in the geographical imaginary of Westerners for a very long time. Indeed, the cultural and ethnographic characterization of Patagonians clearly established the differentiation of what the European and American societies defined as civilized and barbarous world. The creation of this *Geographical Other* and this *Geographical Space* was essential for the advancement of the "civilized world" upon those lands and people.

The scarce geographical knowledge of the area, primarily limited to the coast of Patagonia, helped to maintain these negative images of the region and the people. Patagonia and Patagonians became a popular synonym for remoteness and barbarism. However, new inland explorations and new interests in the area gave rise to a different perspective on Patagonia. All of this new geographical knowledge created new visions and writers ascribed new meanings to the land and people. Reflecting that new meaning, a writer in the NYT in 1860 commented:

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[19] Alejandra Pero, "The Tehuelche of Patagonia as Chronicled by Travelers and Explorers in the Nineteenth Century," in *Archaeological and Anthropological Perspectives on the Native Peoples of Pampa, Patagonia, and Tierra del Fuego to the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Briones y Lanata (Bergin & Garvey, 2002), 104-105.

> The appearance of [the] Patagonia coast, when first seen by us, was desolate in the extreme. Its dark bare ridges unrelieved by any verdure, wore the aspect of sterility itself . . .[But] on a nearer approach, the glass showed what had taken for barren waste to be grassy hillocks, whose vegetation was just awaking from the long and icy torpor of a Patagonian Winter . . .The soil of Patagonia is exceedingly rich, being black loam for the deep of a foot . . . It is covered on the surface with guano, and were the weather not too inclement, would, I have not doubt, yield wheat, corn, rye, barley, &c.[20]

Indeed, the negative views of Patagonia began to change by the mid-1850s and Patagonia became a good place for settlement. The vast region was depicted in a positive light; it offered great opportunities for enterprising men. Nevertheless, negative images persisted and coexisted along with positive ones. In other words, "multi-voiced" representations coexisted within the same newspaper and influenced popular perceptions of Patagonia and Patagonians. This coexistence of images might be explained in the nature of the information published on both newspapers, i.e., the information available to readers came from different sources and responded to different interests. Throughout the articles there is a constant struggle over the representation of Patagonia and Patagonians due to different interests and opinions between governments, investors, accounts by travelers or adventurers, scientific expedition reports, and public opinions in general. Consequently, the images that the NYT and the LT offered to their readers were at times contradictory.

The Myth: Between the Desert and the Giants

The first stage of representation (1841- mid-1850s) is based on reports from merchants and articles referring to the work of missionaries in the area. Patagonia is presented to the reader as inhospitable, dry, windy, wild, and unattended place. For

[20] *New York Times,* 20 July 1860, p. 3.

instance, in the LT a merchant stated, "I never saw a country so barren; nothing but sand; not a tree nor a drop of water. I enclose a seed-pod and leaf which I picked from a shrub, as remembrance of Patagonia."[21] This image corresponds to one of the ideological dimensions described by Spurr. The author explored the strategy of *negation*, "by which Western writing conceives of the "Other" as absence, emptiness, nothingness, or death."[22] Indeed, the emphasis on the representation of Patagonia as barren region (empty plains of Patagonia), common in the mid-nineteenth century, is a clear example of this dimension and it prevailed in much of the literature of the region.

Furthermore, in the mid-nineteenth century the depiction of the Patagonia as desert was related not only to the topographic characteristic of the region, as the descriptions made by the first explorers and merchants showed (representation of Patagonia as monotonous gray and arid area), but also was associated with the idea of lack of national governmental rule. Patagonia was seen by many as an autonomous space beyond any national jurisdiction, consequently ready to be studied and subjugated. Indeed, the image of Patagonia as desert was associated with the lack of "civilization." As Spurr pointed out, "Darwin's image of the vast nothingness in Patagonia serves to his official purpose, which one might call the colonization of the natural world by scientific knowledge."[23] In Spurr's view, "negation acts as a kind of provisional erasure, clearing a space for the expansion of the colonial imagination and for the pursuit of desire,"[24] From this perspective, all spaces untouched by the "civilized" world constitute a desert. That is,

[21] *Times (London)*, 24 September 1850, p. 8 col E.

[22] Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire,* 92.

[23] Ibid., 94.

[24] Ibid., 92-93.

the term desert is used "not as implying that the entire tract is a barren or unproductive waste, but simple to express a region not yet brought under the dominion of a ['civilized'] man."[25]

In this context, the image of Patagonia as barren place inhabited by uncivilized people became fixed in the social imaginary of the Western society during the nineteenth century. As Rocchietti argued:

> El Desierto es una categoría [antropológica]-política bajo la cual los blancos representaron, entre los siglos XVI y XIX, al enemigo aborigen; . . . El Desierto . . . abarca la concepción colonial de 'vacío' como negación de la ontología humana del indio y la síntesis de una guerra cultural que tuvo distintas etapas pero que terminó con el triunfo del blanco y la desaparición de las sociedades aborígenes.[26]

This image of emptiness along with the representation of Patagonians as savages justified the presence of missionaries in the area. British missionaries went to the area with the purpose of Christianizing and civilizing "the barbarous savages in those inhospitable regions."[27] The idea these missionaries had was "to convert the Patagonian Indians by exposing them to western civilized life."[28] In this context, the work done by the missionaries also formed part of the British colonial enterprise and reproduced the imperial ideology of the time. Patagonians constituted, in the eyes of missionaries,

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[25] *Times (London)*, 30 November 1868, p. 7 col A.

[26] "Desert is a political [and anthropological] category- under which whites represented, between XVI and XIX centuries, the indigenous enemy. . . Desert. . . includes the colonial conception of "emptiness" as a negation of the human ontology of the Indian and the synthesis of a cultural war that had different stages but that finished with the triumph of the white and the disappearance of the indigenous societies. . ." [*Translation mine*]. Ana Maria Rocchietti, "Arqueologia del Desierto. Problematica antropologico-politica e interaccion arqueologia-museo." Unpublished Document.

[27] *New York Daily Times*, 15 May 1852, p. 1.

[28] Maria Andrea Ncoletti and Pedro Navarro Floria, "Building an Image of the Indian People from Patagonia during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Science and Christening," in *Archeological and Anthropological Perspectives on the Native Peoples of Pampa, Patagonia, and Tierra del Fuego to the Nineteenth Centuy*, Eds. Briones y Lanata (Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 2002), 140.

primitives souls that needed to be civilized and Christianized in order to travel the road toward progress.

In addition, the image of the *savage Patagonian* was reproduced in numerous articles that gave information about commerce. Although merchants in their voyages to the Atlantic entered in contact and traded with indigenous populations, most of the articles published during the first decade of the guano trade portrayed the Tehuelches as enemies of British merchants. In general, descriptions of Patagonians found in the LT during this period represented them as savages. Acts of cannibalism and murder were published in the British newspaper. These negative views clearly indicated the danger posed by aboriginal people to the shipping industry.

One article described a number of merchants who went to Patagonia in search of minerals and who, while in the coast, made contact with natives "with the purpose of arranging the purchase of some horses."[29] As the time passed, and having received no word from the marines, the captain called them but nothing was heard; "then one of the Indians on board spoke in his own language to those on shore, and immediately afterwards the sailors were seen running into the water, attempting to escape from the Indians."[30] Persons on board of the vessel narrated the events in the following terms:

> The mate (Randall) and a sailor were drowned, another sailor was killed by a shot from the Indians and the remaining three were carried off prisoners. While this was passing on the coast, the five Indians on board suddenly attacked the rest of the people, consisting of six men, including the captain. They killed the latter in a most barbarous manner, wounded the second mate, George Wright, in the back, threw overboard Mr. Williams Douglas, the freighter of the vessel, and another person, both of whom they afterward picked up out at the sea, when they killed the captain. . .Soon after several Indians came off in a launch, steered by one of

[29] *Times (London)*, 30 August 1847, p. 2 col F.

[30] Ibid.

> the captured sailors; they plundered the ship . . . The captain's body they threw into the sea, horrible mutilated, with the head almost severed from the trunk. [31]

Certainly this representation had an impact on the reader. The description confronts the audience with an image of the *Savage Other*. While narrating their experience, merchants emphasized the murderous scene. Indeed, the crucial point is the depiction of Patagonians as the most barbarous murderers. Patagonians represented an obstacle for the British commerce; consequently images of "barbarous and uncivilized" Patagonians were prominent in British newspaper discourse during the 1840s and 1850s. This image of savagery entered the geographical imaginary of readers and influenced British and American attitudes toward the *Other*.

Another image or *topoi*[32] that long persisted in the minds of the general public and travelers who went to Patagonia was that of the *Giant Patagonian*. Indeed, the myth of the *Giant Patagonian* was one of the most enduring images regarding the people who inhabited the region. In both newspapers persistently used of words Patagonia and Patagonians in popular references as synonyms for barbarous and gigantic. For instance, let us to consider the following account published in the LT:

> INTREPIDITY OF A FEMALE.- On Monday evening last, between 8 and 9 o'clock, Mrs. Judith Hester, residing at No. 9, Union court, Holborn, having occasion to go to the coal cellar for some coals, was rather startled on arriving there by perceiving a dirty, ragged, but powerful and gigantic fellow, crouched up in one corner. With great presence of mind Mrs. Hester, who, by the way, is somewhat a Patagonian herself, sprang upon the man, seized him by the throat, dragged him from his larking place, and marched him up stairs.[33]

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Susan Noakes defined *topoi* as "commonly held notions about someone or something which is accepted as true virtually without question and carries rhetorical weight because of this special status accorded it by a particular audience." Susan Noakes, "The Rhetoric of Travel: The French Romantic Myth of Naples," *Ethnohistory* 33: 2 (Spring 1986): 141.

[33] *Times (London)*, 25 March 1842, p. 3 col D.

Every traveler who went to Patagonia was influenced by other travelers' accounts and experiences and consequently went to the region "with certain expectations of what they were going to find."[34] That is, his observations were never innocent and were always influenced by his cultural and ideological context and by the findings of previous travelers. For instance, one article published in the LT, relying on a journal kept by one member of the crew who went to the Strait of Magellan in the search of "Sir John Franklin," lost in Patagonia, recounts the events in the following terms: "our men have been continually croaking upon the dangerous to be apprehended from the attacks of the natives, who were all set down as the most murderous set of villains that disgraced humanity."[35] It is evident that previous portrayals of Patagonians as murderous savages interfered in the crew member's comments about that southern portion of Argentina. In another article, a passenger of a ship related the loss of a vessel in the Strait of Magellan; while referring to the people inhabiting those lands the, traveler commented, "We feared to light a fire lest we should attract the attention of the natives, who are well known by South Sea voyagers as cannibals of the worst description."[36]

The accounts from merchants and missionaries published in both newspapers constituted one of the paradigms from which people in the United States and Great Britain imagined Patagonia and Patagonians. In these accounts the evolutionist ideas prevailing in the nineteenth century influenced the way writers represented the *Other*. Indeed, a central component of colonial discourse was its reliance on the evolutionary

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[34] Caroline Brettell, "Introduction: Travel Literature, Ethnography, and Ethnohistory," *Ethnohistory* 33: 2 (Spring 1986): 132.

[35] *Times (London),* 3 November 1853, p. 10 col C.

[36] *Times (London),* 4 September 1856, p. 5 col F.

theory and the idea of progress attached to it which justified the Western intervention in other countries. The argument in colonialist writing, as expressed by Spurr, was built on the basis of the "rhetorical debasement of the cultural other." The negative image of *Other*, in this case Patagonians, were presented to audience as murderous and barbarous, that is, as uncivilized human beings. To evolutionists "the social and moral inequalities among races [are] produced by differences in the evolving human relation to natural environment."[37]

Darwin, Spurr noted, "shows how completely the principles of observation and classification in natural history were adaptable to the study of human races."[38] By the same token, the author analyzed the ideas behind this tendency to classify people according to the stages of advancement in the chain of natural evolution, seen as inevitable and irreversible. He argued, "this system of classification is indispensable to the ideology of colonization as well as to the actual practice of colonial rule . . . it serves to demonstrate the fundamental justice of the colonial enterprise."[39] Certainly, the principles of evolution and natural history were the theoretical frameworks for the rhetoric of colonial discourse and were present in the descriptions published in both newspapers, shaping the way Westerners perceived and imaged the *Otherness.*

Struggles of Representation: Creating New Knowledge about the *Other*

With continuing voyages and expeditions, the images of Patagonia and Patagonians began to acquire new connotations. For the first time, Patagonia was seen in

[37] Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire,* 65.

[38] Ibid., 63.

[39] Ibid., 69.

a positive light and presented to the readers as a place for adventure and exploration. We see how "the more bizarre and threatening aspects of the cultural other [are] domesticated and commodified for the tourist."[40] Patagonia became the ideal place to satisfy the spirit of curiosity. In this sense, the exotic and mysterious aspects of the land and the people are highlighted and presented to the public. As expressed in the LT, "a distant land on the other side of the Equator, endowed with the mystery of another hemisphere, unexplored wilds, and savage tribes whose minds are a *terra incognita* to us, inspire an interest and curiosity which relieve the insipidity of the everyday world around us."[41]

Clearly, interest in Patagonia was growing; and new explorations in the area were carried out with the purpose of evaluating the richness of those lands and studying the people living there. New economic possibilities brought a renewal of interest in the region. As Jones expressed, "increased investment possibilities created increased demand for information."[42] In this context, new reports regarding these unknown land and unknown people were published in both newspapers.

Patagonia came to be presented as a possible place for "pastoral and agricultural settlement." It also offered rich resources, such as an important marine fauna and minerals. The NYT in 1865 reported, "the occupation of the country [Patagonia] by native giants is a myth. It abounds with fine farming lands and valuable minerals. It has coal, salt and marble. Its coast abounds with fish."[43] Furthermore, by the late 1870s gold

[40] Ibid., 129.

[41] *Times (London),* 9 December 1859, p. 8 col E.

[42] Kristine Jones, "Nineteenth Century British Travel Accounts of Argentina," *Ethnohistory* 33:2 (Spring 1986): 199.

[43] *New York Times,* 20 April 1865, p. 3.

was discovered in Patagonia, making the region even more attractive. An item in the NYT in 1878 announced: "the Brazil and River Platte Mail declares that gold has been discovered in Patagonia in quantities giving promise of profitable mining."[44]

Indeed, international powers were becoming aware of Patagonia's natural resources, even though still seen internationally as an unconquered and unexplored land, i.e., Patagonia was considered a "*tierra de nadie.*" For instance, the French Adventurer Orelie-Antoine, who saw in Patagonia the possibility of establishing a new colony for France, adventured into the region with that purpose. In 1864 Orelie wrote: Patagonia is "gifted with a climate more uniformly temperate than that of France, where nobody ever hears of epidemics or fevers, rich in pastures, in forests, and in mines."[45]

Consequently, Argentina and Chile launched a series of new explorations in the region with the purpose of exerting sovereignty over this internally and internationally contested space each country claimed as its own. Chile was especially interested in the Strait of Magellan while Argentina needed to advance her frontier and conquer new lands to accommodate the demands of international market. In this context, Patagonia would fulfill the need for new lands and would offer a new productive space for the expected European newcomers. As a result, Argentina and Chile initiated a series of explorations as a way to affirm their rights over the region.

Argentina, helped by Great Britain's capital and settlers, began to colonize Patagonia. In this context, the newspaper became one of the means used by governments and investors to advertise Patagonia as place for settlement. A series of articles published

[44] *New York Times,* June 6 1878, p. 2.

[45] *Times (London),* 23 March 1864, p. 10 col A.

in the LT underscored the possibilities to be found in this unknown place due to the fertility of the land. For instance, in 1854 the LT, quoting from the *British Packet,*[46] announced:

> The British packet is endeavoring to call public attention to a river on the coast of Patagonia, in lat. 43°, called Chubut, which is stated by a Mr. Jones, who appears to have visited it some years ago, to be navigable for a considerable distance into the interior towards Chiloe, on the opposite side. . .The *British Packet*, taking occasion to publish a letter which appeared in *The Times* of the 23d of September, suggests the possibility of the Chubut being the shortest route for steam navigation to Australia and New Zealand, and *advises the Buenos Aires Government to lose no time in taking formal possession of the country south of Rio Negro.*[47] [Italics mine]

From the mid-1850s on, representations of Patagonia began to include images of fertility. Patagonia, a repository of fertile lands and resources, promised new possibilities to immigrants. In this regard, an article published in the NYDT in 1856 reported: "A band of military emigrants, under the command of Colonel OLIVIERI, has started to colonize Patagonia. . . Colonel OLIVIERI with a party had made an excursion into the interior, and were delighted with the appearance of the country, but the site of the future colony had not been fixed upon."[48] The idea of barren desert was contested by representations of Patagonia as a rich region ready to be economically exploited. Indeed, this new paradigm justified British's economic enterprise in Patagonia.

Regarding the people inhabiting the region, the NYDT in 1856 asserted, "It was rumored in Buenos Ayres that there were better hopes of an understanding with Indians."[49] The savage and murderous Patagonian suddenly became a *noble savage*.

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[46] The British Packet is an English newspaper published in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

[47] *Times (London)*, 17 January 1854, p. 8 col A.

[48] *New York Daily Times,* 14 May 1856, p. 1.

[49] Ibid.

Instead of plundering ships and killing merchants, Patagonians were portrayed as having a good relationship with the settlers. The NYT in 1860 reported, "The Patagonians are a peaceable race, and on uniformly good terms with the colonists. They treat persons shipwrecked on their shores with kindness."[50] While the LT affirmed that the Welsh "are in good terms with the Indians, and traffic with them."[51] The image of the Patagonian was changing from descriptions of murderous attacks to descriptions of their customs and comments about their general physical appearance, including a detailed description of each part of their bodies. Patagonians were objectified under the Westerner's eyes to be studied, observed, recorded, represented, and, for the most, dominated.

In his analysis Spurr addressed this relationship between power and visual surveillance, that is, he explored "the role of the eye in establishing knowledge of the world and authority over space."[52] In that relationship the *Other* becomes the "object of observation" and the gaze the "means of examination." To him, gaze is never innocent, on the contrary, "the writer's eye is always in some sense colonizing the landscape, mastering and portioning, fixing zones and poles, arranging and deepening the scene as the object of desire."[53]

The language employed by colonialist writers "implicitly claims the territory surveyed as the colonizer's own."[54] This proprietary vision "effaces its own mark of

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[50] *New York Times*, 20 July 1860, p. 3.

[51] *Times (London),* 3 August 1871, p. 4 col D.

[52] Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire,* 25.

[53] Ibid., 27.

[54] Ibid., 28.

appropriation by transforming it into the response to a putative appeal on the part of the colonized people and land. This appeal may take the form of chaos that calls for restoration of order, of absence that calls for affirming presence, a natural abundance that awaits the creative hands of technology."[55] According to Spurr's assertions, colonizers interpreted the natural resources of the new lands as belonging to those who represented "civilization," "rather than to the indigenous people who inhabited those lands."[56] At the same time, there was a manifest need to emphasize racial and cultural differences as a way to reaffirm cultural superiority: "a colonized people is morally improved and edified by virtue of its participation in the colonial system."[57]

Cultural and geographic distance, Spurr noted, "makes it more susceptible to a kind of aesthetic treatment . . . than is the case with subjects closer to home . . . [it] provides what writers call 'material' of a special nature: the exotic, the grotesque, the bizarre, the elemental."[58] To Spurr, it is not mistaken, for instance, to consider that the *Other* offers to the writer an image of his own more primitive being. Western writing generates a discourse that evaluates the *Other* according to Western standards of organization and culture. Therefore, the rhetorical features of imperialist writing draw upon a "condescending tone, which lectures [the *Others*] on how they should govern themselves."[59] Second, this kind of writing "set forth a single standard of economic and

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., 33.

[58] Ibid., 46.

[59] Ibid., 62.

political organization to which all nations must aspire."[60] Finally, imperialist writing measures all nations "according to their relative failure or success in meeting this standard."[61]

From this perspective, British and American societies constituted the paradigm from which Patagonia and Patagonians were analyzed, studied and categorized. As Spurr notes, "the organization and classification of things takes place according to the writer's own system of value."[62] Westerners "saw the natural resources of colonized lands as belonging rightfully to 'civilization' and 'mankind' rather than to the indigenous people who inhabited those lands."[63] He continues, "the colonizing imagination takes for granted that the land and its resources belong to those who are best able to exploit them according to the values of a Western commercial and industrial system."[64] Colonial discourse presents nature (savagery) as opposed to culture (civilization), and primitive people are those who "live in a state of nature."[65] Thus, colonial discourse "naturalizes the process of domination: it finds a natural justification for the conquest of nature and primitive peoples, those 'children of nature.'"[66] These ideas were essential for the colonization of Patagonia.

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., 16.

[63] Ibid., 28.

[64] Ibid., 31.

[65] Ibid., 117.

[66] Ibid., 156.

Therefore, from the second half of 1850s onwards a series of geographical explorations produced information about the cultural *Other* (Patagonian), which served to legitimize the colonial project. In the 1870s the scientific expeditions carried out by different countries grew in number. For instance, in 1869 George Musters, commander of the Royal Navy, traveled to Patagonia from the Strait of Magellan up to the Río Negro in the Argentine Republic's frontier, he joined the Patagonians and crossed the region with them. He lived among them for more than a year. In order to do so, "he studied their language and manners, and joined them in their hunting parties."[67] His lecturers, papers, and his book, "At home with the Patagonians: A Year's Wanderings over The Untrodden Ground from The Straits of Magellan to the Rio Negro" aroused great interest and numerous comments in both newspapers. The NYT described his book as "not only the latest and most trustworthy, but by far the fullest and most satisfactory contribution yet made to the description of this remote region."[68]

Another account was published in 1879 by Julius Beerbohm about his trip to Patagonia. His ethnographic reports, published in both newspapers, described Patagonians from an evaluative point of view; he represented the people as different, as "people on the lowest planes of civilization."[69] Beerbohm reproduced the nineteenth century ideals of progress and civilization, that is, the binary opposition primitive-savage/civilize informed his discourse. He valorized the body as "mark of innocence": "the Tehuelche is as light-hearted as a child, all mirth and contentment, and wonder fully

[67] *Times (London),* 15 December 1870, p. 7 col F.

[68] *New York Times,* 15 January 1872, p. 2.

[69] *New York Times,* 11 May 1879, p. 5.

easily moved to laughter. They are good natured, hospitable, and affectionate; their instincts are gentle; violence and ferocity are foreign to their nature; their worse vice is a strong predilection for rum."[70]Also, the body is valorized "as evidence of racial difference or inferiority."[71]

This "curious *Other*" has a lot of virtues that were not common in a civilized society. Both Beerbohm and Musters represented Patagonians as a symbol of purity and simplicity[72] not corrupted by the civilization of "white men." As Beerbohm stated, Patagonians "possess virtues that are none too frequent in civilization life . . . they are far superior not only to the other South American indigenous tribes, but also, all their disadvantages being taken into consideration, to the general run of civilized white men."[73] Similarly, Musters tell us that Patagonians are clean, that is, they "have considerable regard for personal cleanliness. As a general rule they bathe themselves regularly every morning, clean their tents and utensils carefully, and after their daily hair brushing, are very particular to burn all hairs that may be brushed out, and also to throw in the fire all parings from their nails."[74] Additionally, Patagonians were presented as not being gluttons, that is, "they do not eat at stated intervals, but only when they become hungry, and then not voraciously."[75]

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[70] *New York Times,* 11 May 1879, p. 5.

[71] Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire,* 22.

[72] This corresponds to the idealization mode described by Spurr.

[73] *New York Times,* 11 May 1879, p. 5.

[74] *New York Times,* 15 January 1872, p. 2.

[75] *New York Times,* 15 January 1872, p. 2.

The imperialist writer "treats the body as a landscape: it proceeds systematically from part to part, quantifying and spatializing, noting color and texture, and finally passing and aesthetic judgment which stressed the body's role as object to be viewed."[76] The NYT' review of Julius Beerbohm s' book exemplifies this attitude:

> They [Patagonians] are rather good-looking than otherwise, and the usual expression of their face is bright and friendly. Their foreheads are rather low, but not receding, their noses aquiline, mouths large and coarse, but their teeth extremely regular and white. Their color is reddish brown. The general carriage is extremely graceful and dignified, and their manners toward strangers and one another are polite and differential.[77]

Regarding the height of Patagonians, an article published in the NYT stated that Musters "fully confirms this general testimony to the fact that the Patagonians are above the general stature . . . The extraordinary muscular development of the arms and chest is in all particularly striking, and as a rule they are well proportioned throughout."[78] However, years later the same newspaper in a review of Musters' book affirmed "the average stature of Patagonians is simply very large, but by no means gigantic."[79] The same contradiction happened while referring to the land. In 1873 the NYT, referring to a paper written by Musters, wrote that Patagonia "is by no means the desert and rocky country it has always been supposed to be, but, on the contrary, a fertile land, consisting of hills and rich valleys, where the native tribes find ample food for themselves and pasture for their horses and cattle."[80]

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[76] Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire,* 23.

[77] *New York Times*, 11 May 1879, p. 5.

[78] *New York Times*, 15 January 1872, p. 2.

[79] *New York Times*, 11 May 1879, p. 5.

[80] *New York Times*, 28 June 1873, p. 4.

Still, as late as 1878 Patagonia continued to be portrayed as barren desert:

> With an area of from 300,000 to 350,000 square miles, Patagonia is mainly a dreary, barren land, with its mountainous part west of the Andes constantly swept by storms of cold rain and snow, and its broad pampas east of the Andes no less constantly afflicted by droughts and hurricanes . . . [but] Patagonia has one thing of much use, the Straits of Magellan.[81]

The physical location of Patagonia and specifically the Strait of Magellan proved to be of much importance and it was the main concern of the United States to keep the channel open to all countries and neutral. In those decades before the construction of the Panama Canal, the Strait of Magellan was the only the passage between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans; its control was of vital importance to international commerce. In this sense, by the mid-1870s one of the most powerful images in the NYT discourse on Patagonia is the idea of the region as an internationally contested and worthless space except for the presence of the Strait of Magellan, "Patagonia has one thing of much use the Strait of Magellan."[82] The following is an example of how the newspaper emphasized the importance of keeping the neutrality of the Strait:

> The freedom of the Strait of Magellan should be insisted upon. It would not be wise to place this great passage between the two Oceans under the exclusive control of Chili or the Argentines . . .The straits of Magellan are becoming every day of greater importance. . .The mercantile interests of all nations require that the straits should ever remain as free as they are now.[83]

In short, in the second half of the nineteenth century new information regarding Patagonia and Patagonians was published in both newspapers. The scientific explorations carried out in the area created new images of the land and people. Those images or

[81] *New York Times*, 17 October 1878, p. 4.

[82] Ibid.

[83] *New York Times*, 20 August 1874, p. 4.

representations were not always uniform and at times contradictory. That is, there were struggles over the representation of Patagonia within the same newspaper as images of the land and its people were contested or challenged. For instance, in the 1870s LT discourse ranged from warnings advising people to refrain from going to Patagonia to invitations to populate a fertile and productive space. While some reports from the LT frequently stressed the difficulty of the colonizing enterprise, others encouraged people to settle and explored this new place. Articles describing the dangers to be found in Patagonia were contested with publications about the success of the colonies already settled in the land. Images of savagery were contested with representations of Patagonians as noble savages with whom the colonizers were trading.

In addition, sometimes there were differences in the discourse between the NYT and the LT. For example, in 1870 the NYT published an incident in the coast of Patagonia under the heading "CANNIBALISM: Massacre in the Coast of Patagonia-British Sailors Slain and One of the Number Eaten." The same news was reported by the *Times* without mentioning the word Patagonia or Patagonians in the article. This difference might be explained by Great Britain's economic interests in Patagonia.

As a final point, in the beginning of the 1880s the word Patagonia in the NYT was associated to Helper's project of railroad construction. Helper proposed to build up an intercontinental railroad from Alaska to Patagonia. This new railroad was regarded by Helper "as a vertebral column which will aid magnificent consummation,"[84] and will bring "the nomads of Patagonia" the "blessings of a civilization." Indeed, the imperialist ideology is present in Helper's project. Let us not forget that the railroad was one of the

[84] *New York Times*, 31 May 1880, p. 2.

elements that helped to the western expansion of the United States. In this sense, the United States' experience in the west could be extended throughout South America.

Briefly, knowledge of Patagonia and Patagonians was augmented by geographical explorations during the second half of the nineteenth century; consequently, new layers of meanings were attributed to the land and people. Those meanings were at times contradictory due to different voices and interests articulated in the newspaper discourse. In this context, old images and myths persisted, coexisting with new representations. Echoing Briones and Lanata, it may be said that the multiple imagings of Patagonia and its inhabitants was a "disputed signifying process- a process that has, as such, always echoed and formed part of a wider economic, social, political, and ideological processes."[85]

All of those images were an object of consumption for and by the public. They entered the geographical imaginary of Americans and Britons during the second half of the nineteenth century, influencing the way people thought about and acted in the region. Despite of the presence of new images, Patagonians in American and European minds continued to be associated with *Giant*. This image persisted throughout the period in popular references and commentaries on most of literary works (travel writings) in both newspapers. The image of Patagonia as a barren desert and a land of Giants became the stereotype for those who thought about the Southern region of Argentina.

[85] C. Briones and J. L. Lanata, "Living on the Edge," in *Archeological and Anthropological Perspectives on the Native Peoples of Pampa, Patagonia, and Tierra del Fuego to the Nineteenth Century,*. eds. Briones and Lanata (Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 2002), 3.

Chapter III

Commercializing Patagonia: From Rabbits to Guano

The 1840s witnessed the development of the steam navigation which favored the communication between the "New" and "Old" worlds and consequently increased the commercial relations between "both worlds." Before that time, communication relied on "sailing vessels, the traffic of which was exposed to the inclemency of the southern gales perpetually sweeping along the coast."[1] Furthermore, the economic relationship between Great Britain and Latin America increased after Latin Americans freed themselves from the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Unquestionably, British merchant shipping played the predominant role in this new commercial enterprise. In this context, the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, "a vast [British] corporation, owing nearly 100 steamers . . ., monopoliz[ed] almost the whole steam ship trade of the West Coast of South America."[2] Indeed, during the nineteenth century Great Britain's shipping industry played a hegemonic role in international trade, facilitating the commercial exchange between the world's industrial power and those regions with natural resources being exploited for their commercial value.

In this scheme, Latin America became the supplier of raw materials and the market for excess manufactures, and a place to invest excess capital and send excess population. Additionally, it was a source of information regarding the scientific knowledge of the "New World." That is, Latin America satisfied Europeans' demands not only for farming products but scientific knowledge (natural history) as well. The

[1] *Times (London)*, 30 August 1880, p. 3 col F.

[2] *New York Times*, 18 April 1874, p. 10.

United States also played an important role in the search for scientific knowledge, but American's influence and investment in Latin America and its role in the world economy only increased substantially at the end of the nineteenth century. By the end of the first War World circumstances had changed; the United States had become an industrialized center and began its hegemonic rise in the international arena, ultimately replacing Great Britain.

Within this historical framework, the purpose of this chapter is to explore Patagonia's role in the Anglo-American/Latin-American relationship during the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, the present account focuses on the textual images displayed in newspaper discourse that relates Patagonia to commerce. The analysis is based on the data derived from the articles found in the NYT and the LT that connect Patagonia with British or American overseas markets. From the total number of articles that associate Patagonia with the theme *commerce (312)*, 275 correspond to the LT while only 37 to the NYT. This difference in numbers clearly indicated a stronger British presence in the area. According to the nature of the information, the articles analyzed may be divided into two categories: those referring to zoological, botanical and geological imports and those related to the guano trade. In the following pages, this study examines the information gathered from the articles based on that division.

Zoological, Botanical, and Geological Imports

As stated in the Introduction, Argentina was economically bounded to Great Britain. Both countries structured an economic, political and scientific alliance which benefited both during the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. In this alliance Patagonia played an important role. Patagonia was represented

as the place where the future of Argentina rested. Patagonia would provide Argentina with the necessary means to accommodate the demands of the international market. At the same time, Patagonia was a source of information for scientific knowledge and the progress of science. The Argentine-British alliance can be summarized through the words spoken by the Minister of the Argentine Republic in 1899, Don Florencio L. Dominguez, in a discussion about the paper "Explorations in Patagonia" written by Francisco Moreno:

> The Argentine Republic, as a whole, is not unknown in Great Britain. Our commerce is of great importance; we receive from the United Kingdom far more merchandise and products of the industry of her people than from any other country, and in exchange Argentine sends to this hospitable land the natural products of her soil and her camps, which contribute in some extent to the wellbeing and comfort of the sons of this great empire. There are in the museums and other institutions of this country many objects which show the Argentine Republic under a scientific aspect….it is our invariable rule not only to keep an open door, but to give free access to our territories to all of those who, seeking a high ideal, come to our shores in search of new elements, to irradiate after the light they have gathered.[3]

Therefore, Patagonia was not only a commercially exploitable place but a source of scientific information as well. Dr. Woodward, in the same paper, praised the scientific contributions made by Argentina to Great Britain as a result of the close relationship established between both countries:

> I can only testify to the great advantage which the British Museum has derived from Dr. Moreno's generous assistance, in presenting to the natural history branch of our museum numerous objects from Patagonia and from Argentine Republic generally. . . . From the Geological point of view, no doubt there is no country that has been under exploration of late years offering so grand an opportunity to the geologist and geographer; the lakes, plateaus, and river systems must afford enormous fields for investigation in pure geological work I hope we may look forward to closer inter-relationship between the Argentine Republic and this country, which will be of the greatest service in the promotion of the natural science generally.[4]

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[3] Don Florencio Dominguez; Dr. Woodward; Dr. Gregory, and Colonel Church, "Exploration in Patagonia: Discussion," *The Geographical Journal* 14: 4 (October 1899): 374.

[4] Ibid., 375.

The development of natural history museums reflected the nineteenth century concern with natural history, collection, and evolution. Exhibitions in museums helped to construct knowledge about other places and people and at the same time helped to reaffirm western identity.[5] They constituted the place where "the relationship between scientific knowledge (anthropology), popular culture, the geography of power (colonialism) and visibility (photograph, display) [were] rendered particularly overt."[6] That is, the museum "as an institution . . . legitimized certain ways of seeing and means of controlling other cultures."[7]

Exotic plants and animals brought from foreign places were displayed in those museums as a way of representing the scientific world. From this perspective, exhibitions could be interpreted as the framework for the understanding of the progress and evolution of the scientific world. Travelers, explores, and merchants brought with them specimens from different parts of the world. Those samples were donated or sold to museums, zoological gardens, parks, etc. and Patagonia was not excluded from this scientific enterprise. Animals, trees and fossils were brought from that distant land. In this sense, articles regarding the incorporations of new specimens from Patagonia are common in the LT. For instance, in 1846 the LT reported,

> Captain Gallilee, of the Cestus of this port, recently returned with guano from the coast of Patagonia, has brought home valuable specimens of natural history. . . part of which have been obtained at some risk. . . The chief curiosity is the preserved fur of a monstrous species of seal called the sea lion. . .Captain Gallilee

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[5] See Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 23.

[6] Henrietta Lidchi, "The Poetics and the Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 1997), 197.

[7] Ibid., 205.

> has also brought a guanocoe, a land animal from the same country, being a species of wild deer; also penguins and shags, from which the guano is produced; and a nutra, an amphibious animal of the other species from the River Plate, a splendid collection of insects, and a great number of curiosities in the shell line.[8]

As explained in the article, those species which included sea lions, guanacos, penguins, nutrias, birds, insects, etc., were destined for natural history museums. Another article from the same newspaper stated, "The Zoological Society's collection has just received an interesting addition in the shape of a young male of the Patagonian sea-lion."[9]

Sometimes species brought from Patagonia and other places were sold in public exhibitions, for instance, the Giant Patagonian rabbit (maras o liebres patagónicas). The LT advertised those sales:

> FIRST-CLASS POULTRY FOR EXHIBITION, the Table, the Farm-yard, and the Colonies.- JOHN BAILY No. 113, Mount-street, Grosvernor-square, W., has every description of the above for SALE- Dorking, Spanish, Brahma, Cochin, game, Hamburg, Malay, and Polish fowls, Sebright, black, white, and game bantams, Aylesbury, Rouen, Buenos Ayrean, and Penguin ducks, American, Cambridge, and Norfolk turkeys, Toulouse, Canada, Egyptian and Bernacle geese, gold, silver, white, pied, and Chinese pheasants, game for turning out, Himalayan, silver gray, Patagonian and Angora rabbits. [10]

Briefly, in response to the ideology of the time, plants and animals were brought from Patagonia with the aim of contributing to the construction of the scientific knowledge which could explain the origin and evolution of the scientific world.

The Guano Trade

The early 1840s witnessed the emergence of a new market-product: guano. Guano, rich in nitrates, began to be used by farmers as natural fertilizer. Guano, which is

[8] *Times (London)*, 2 September 1846, p. 5 col E.

[9] *Times (London)*, 26 May 1879, p. 10 col B.

[10] *Times (London)*, 02 January 1861, p. 2 col A.

composed of the excrements of various sea birds, is "found in its greatest essential strength in rainless regions, and mainly on islands on rocky promontories."[11] That is, the best guano comes from "those zones of the earth in which it never or seldom rains, and from islands sufficiently elevated above the sea to protect it from the overflowing of sea-water."[12] Peru was the main exporter of guano to Europe and the United States in the nineteenth century, while less quantities were exported from other places such us Africa, Chile, and Patagonia. In this context, the guano trade emerged as one of the predominant themes associated with Patagonia.

In depth analysis of the guano trade is beyond the scope of this study. Rather, the main purpose here is to present the guano trade as one of the main themes in the nineteenth century discourse on Patagonia. In this context, the main point at issue in this chapter is to show how Patagonia fits into this scheme. To address the issue, this chapter focuses on the news found in both newspapers that refers to Patagonia and its connection with the guano trade.

Despite the fact that guano was used by the Incas, it was not until the early 1800s that the value of guano as fertilizer was first noticed by the "scientific world."[13] According to a report published on *The American Farmer*, "on his return from South America in 1806, Humboldt transmitted samples of this substance to the chemists Fourcroy and Vauquelin of Paris. Their elaborate analysis, published in the 'Annales de Chimie,' (vol. 56,) introduced it fairly to the scientific world, and caused its real

[11] R.S.F., "Statistics of guano," *Journal of the American Geographical and Statistical Society* 1:6 (June 1859): 181.

[12] "Guano," *The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal* 29, no. 50 (August 23 1856): 396.

[13] "Guano," *The American Farmer, a Monthly Magazine of Agriculture and Horticulture* 10, no. 10 (April 1855): 294.

importance to be fully recognized."[14] As expressed in the report, in 1810 a series of experiments were performed and in 1824 some practical applications were conducted; still, it was not until 1840 that the first tons of guano were imported.[15] Nevertheless, at the beginning, the application of manure to soils was not without concern:

> Notwithstanding the astonishing results from its applications to the soil, the fear that the enormous crops realized under its stimulus might exhaust the land of its productive elements, deterred the great body of the farmers from availing themselves of so valuable fertilizer. Repeated experiments, however, at length convinced the most sceptical of the error of this prejudice.[16]

Newspapers and journals contributed to the increase in awareness and acceptance of the new manure among farmers.[17] As advertised in those years, "guano is a most efficient and powerful agent in the improvement of soils, and, as consequence, in the increase of their productive capacities."[18] Guano was promoted as a new way of enriching the land. In this context, articles concerning the promotion of guano as natural fertilizer began to be published in the LT in the early 1840s,

> We are happy to hear from our agricultural friends that this new manure, which was tried in our neighborhood last year for the first time with such favorable results, has again proved itself to be one of the most valuable manures ever introduced either for field or garden crops.[19]

Clearly, this propaganda facilitated the rise of popular awareness regarding the benefits of using this manure.

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[14] R.S.F., "Statistics of guano," 181.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] W. M. Mathew, "Peru and the British Guano Market 1840-1870," *The Economic History Review, New Series* 23:1 (April 1970): 113.

[18] "Application of guano to Crops, &c," *The American Farmer and the Spirit of the Day* 5, no. 7 (January 1850): 222.

[19] *Times (London)*, 3 November 1842.

Great Britain became the first country to introduce guano as a new commercial product, essentially becoming the commercial proving grounds for farmers in other countries. Guano first entered the British market in 1841.[20] In the case of the United States, the introduction of guano "dates later than into the United Kingdom. Indeed, it was only after the absolute proof of its success that its use became common in America."[21] In other words, it is not until 1848-1850 that farmers in the United States began demanding a supply of that natural resource.

From the beginning of the guano trade, the Peruvian Government "was the sole owner of the guano deposits, and the fertilizer was disposed abroad through merchant houses enjoying exclusive rights of sale in specified markets."[22] However, in 1843, the Peruvian guano monopoly experienced competition.[23] As Mathew observed, new uninhabited or unclaimed regions showed attractive for merchants who "had to bear none of the burdens of contractual obligations to a foreign government."[24] Commercial adventures were looking for uninhabited and unclaimed lands intending to make good profits from the sale of guano. At the same time, merchants and farmers were hoping for prices to recede.

In this context, new guano varieties were introduced to the European and American markets in the nineteenth century. New guano deposits were discovered and

[20] W. M. Mathew, "Peru and the British Guano Market," 112.

[21] R.S.F., "Statistics of guano," 182.

[22] W. M. Mathew, "Peru and the British Guano Market," 117.

[23] W. M. Mathew, *The house of Gibbs and the Peruvian guano monopoly* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1981), 57.

[24] Ibid.

some of them in Patagonia. On this matter the LT in 1846 informed that boats from different ports were visiting the coast of Patagonia in search of guano: "no fewer than 300 ships from different ports in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as from France, and other foreign ports, are in the coast in search of guano and other valuables."[25] Farmers and merchants were expecting that the presence of Patagonian guano would reduce high guano prices. As stated in the LT, "it now appears there is likewise an unlimited quantity at Patagonia, which can be brought here to sell at 3l, 10s to 4l. per ton, and that this extreme low price will compensate for some inferiority of quality, the freight alone from Peru being 4l. 10s to 5l. per ton."[26]

The first articles referring to vessels with loads of guano coming from Patagonia date back to 1845. It is from the mid-1840s the LT began to publish articles connecting Patagonia with the guano trade; the first article about that trade appeared in the NYT in 1852. The information gathered from both newspapers allowed the classification of the articles into 6 categories or sub-themes: a) shipping, b) sales, c) court cases d) debt settlement, and e) dispute.

a & c. Shipping and Court Cases

Shortly after merchants began to visit the coast of Patagonia, reports about wrecks of vessels laden with guano were published in both newspapers, particularly in the LT. The coast of Patagonia was depicted as dangerous with high winds and a lot of rain. In 1846, for example, a crew member of a vessel that had sailed along the Patagonian coast

[25] *Times (London),* 16 April 1846, p. 7 col C.

[26] *Times (London),* 2 March 1846, p. 7 col C.

described a "dreadful scene" he witnessed: a number of vessels wrecked on the coast of Patagonia due to the hard winds and rain. John M'Leod, the eye-witness, explained:

> At daylight on the 3d inst., north side of Camerone's Bay, blowing hard, S.S.W., a very heavy sea setting in, all the ships were preparing for the worst, yards and masts getting down. About 9 a.m. the supposed French ship was observed driving fast; half an hour after, slipped, and got to sea; no accounts of her since. About 10 a.m. the bark Edwards drove, and was a wreck about 11; dreadful scene, mast, &c., going overboard. About half-past 11 the Exporter started, and, through a dreadful sea (her fore and mainmasts cut away), she was a total wreck in about three-quarters of an hour after. This occurred at high water.[27]

Another report extracted from the LT noted, "the Virginia, which arrived here from Montevideo and the coast of Patagonia, reports that up to the time of her sailing from Patagonia 76 vessels had been wrecked on the coast."[28]

As expressed by the LT, this situation, which generated a "great destruction to British property and British lives,"[29] caused concern among British merchants, banks, insurance companies, and shipowners. Insurance companies had to respond to the many problems that could emerge in the course of a voyage, such us loss of the ship, freights, fires, wrecks, etc.; considering the costs involved, sometimes those difficulties prevented the companies from covering vessels. Regarding this situation the LT, quoting from the *Liverpool Albion*, reported:

> By advices received from Patagonia this week, we learn that two more vessels belonging to this port, The Mary Lloyd and Aristocrat, have been wrecked on that coast. The severe losses that underwriters have sustained on these risks this year will preclude them from covering them another season; and as a considerable quantity of guano still remains there, for the future it will have to be collected at the risk of the shipowner. Low-priced vessels, therefore, will alone be employed,

[27] *Times (London),* 16 April 1846, p. 7 col C.

[28] *Times (London),* 16 January 1847, p. 8 col D.

[29] *Times (London)*, 16 April 1846, pg 7 col C.

> which it is especially desirable should be found in ground tackling, and their commanders have a thorough knowledge of the coast and places of shelter. "[30]

Negative depictions of Patagonia usually accompanied reports on shipwrecks. Images about the intensity of the winds and consequently the dangers posed to the security of vessels and merchants along the coast of Patagonia represented in a number of articles, particularly in the LT, forewarned travelers to the region. For instance, in 1846 the LT wrote: "The dust in clouds was carried by the force of the wind from the mainland to the island of Viana. Five vessels drove ashore on that island; seven were driven out of the bay, two of which were stranded, and one, the Mary Lloyd, lost."[31]

The turbulent weather on the coast of Patagonia caused severe damage to ships and freight; as a result, insurance companies received constant claims from merchants in order to make effective the insurance policies on their ships. Occasionally, there were disagreements between insurers and merchants. In this context, news regarding discrepancies between marine insurance companies and the owners of ships are common in the LT. For instance, one of the court cases covered by the newspaper referenced the owners of a ship claim for "a policy of insurance effected upon a freight on board a vessel called the Pusey Hall, at and from Patagonia to a safe port in the United Kingdom."[32] Thornton, the defendant, had refused to pay the plaintiffs because the vessel deviated from her voyage to the Falkland Islands, apparently, in the search of provisions and water. As a consequence, the defendant sustained that, "the vessel without any cause did not proceed on her voyage, but deviated there from, whereby the policy became

[30] *Times (London)*, 22 July 1846, p. 8 col C.

[31] *Times (London)*, 31 Jul 1846, p. 5 col B.

[32] *Times (London)*, 7 November 1848, p. 7 col C.

void."[33] That is, the vessel had been used for other purposes than taking in a cargo of guano. Certainly, the Patagonia region was frequented by strong winds, rains, and hurricanes which caused important losses in properties and lives. Sometimes those losses were too severe resulting in bankruptcies.

b. Sales

The popularity of guano as fertilizer increased after "advertisements were placed in a wide variety of journals and newspapers and pamphlets were published detailing successful experiments."[34] For instance in 1852 the NYDT drawing on *The Fredericksburg (Va.) Herald* published:

> One gentleman whose means were rather limited, commenced a few years ago by the application of 50 pounds. At that time his farm raised a bare sufficient corn to support the ordinary wants of his household and his stock, whilst in the way of wheat he had but small quantity to sell. He increased the application gradually as his increased crop allowed, until this year he has 150 barrels of corn to sell, besides a very fair crop of wheat.[35]

Such articles encouraging farmers to use guano as fertilizer were also accompanied by advertisements of sales. The following is an example of a classified ad published in the LT:

> "GUANO for SALE, in bags of 1 cwt. Each, Peruvian, African, and Patagonian, just landed, with a succession of cargoes to arrive. Successive years' experience has unquestionable proved that genuine guano is the simplest, cheapest, and best manure within the reach of the agriculturist. The only reasonable anxiety that remains is to procure the guano unadulterated, and to obtain such practical directions for using the manure as shall fully develop its productive powers. To secure to buyers these indispensable requisites, with each purchase will be given a warranted chymical analysis of quality, and also a copy of the recent published

[33] Ibid.

[34] W. M. Mathew, "Peru and the British Guano Market,"114.

[35] *New York Daily Times*, 24 September 1852, p. 1.

> pamphlet, 'Practical Instructions for Using Guano as Manure, illustrated by Practical Results.'"[36]

The explanation found in the article suggests that adulteration of guano was a big problem among farmers. In a note to the editor of the *Times* published in 1845, S.W. expressed:

> As the public, and particularly buyers of guano, may not be aware of the extreme adulteration of that article. I beg to inform you that, having some business at Wanstead-flats, Epping-forest, I saw a quantity of men employed sifting the fine yellow loam of that neighbourhood , and, on inquiry, was informed that, after being sifted, it was carried to Bow-bridge and shipped there in barges to be mixed with guano. As loam is very much like the color and texture of Peruvian guano, it is impossible to detect it until in use.[37]

Indeed, there were different varieties of guano and consequently different prices. Prices varied based on the chemical components of the manure. The most valued guano come from the deposits in Peru. Still, there were other varieties of less quality coming from other places, such us Africa, Chile, Bolivia, Patagonia, etc. In this context, adulterations might have occurred due to high prices and the force of the competition. In general, the Patagonian guano[38] was of less quality than those coming from other places. The literature of the nineteenth century distinguishes Patagonian guano by stating:

> This variety, from the high latitude in which it is produced, and subjected as it is to frequent rains, alternated by intense sunshine and drying winds, has usually been purchased at higher prices than its quality justifies. Its *inferiority* to Peruvian or Bolivian guanos is very marked, especially in its amount of ammonia; and from numerous analyses, it has been ascertained that it contains a considerable quantity of sand.[39]

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[36] *Times (London),* 30 November 1846, p. 8 col A.

[37] *Times (London),* 19 July 1845, p. 7 col B.

[38] Among the varieties of Patagonian guano we found; a) Shag guano from a kind of cormorant, b) Lion guano from the sea lion, c) penguin guano, and d) quarried guano. *Times (London),* 26 September 1861, p. 10 col. E.

[39] "Guano," *The American Farmer, a Monthly Magazine of Agriculture and Horticulture* 10, no. 10 (April 1855): 294.

d. Debt Settlement

News published in both newspapers mentions British investors' interest in using guano as means of liquidating the Argentine debt as had the Peruvian debt. With Rosas's downfall in 1852 and with a new Argentine government (General Urquiza), hopes of debt settlements were renewed. Bondholders, who had interests in the recovery of Argentina's economy, hoped that guano and other products found on the coast and islands of Patagonia would secure them their money. A series of resolutions approved in 1852 at the "Public Meeting of the Buenos Ayres bondholders" stated that "the guano found on the coast and islands of Patagonia (a portion of the territories of Buenos Ayres), from its quality and great abundance, will be found a useful and important source of revenue, applicable (as in the case of a sister republic, Peru) to the payment and liquidation of the Buenos Ayres English debt."[40]

Buenos Aires bondholders hoped the new government would renew Rosas' promises of a guano contract to the House of Baring made in 1849; [41] in other words, Argentina would liquidate its debt by leasing Patagonia and "its products, especially guano."[42] In this context a series of articles published in 1852 expressed the hopes of British investors of liquidating the Argentine debt by obtaining guano contracts from the new Argentine government. The problem persisted, though, because the province of Buenos Aires refused to recognize Urquiza's government and the 1853 Constitution,

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[40] *Times (London)*, 24 June 1852, p. 4 col A.

[41] Philip Ziegler, *The sixth great power: a history of one of the greatest of all banking families, the House of Barings, 1762-1929* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 232.

[42] *Times (London)*, 24 June 1852, p. 4 col A.

deciding instead to form a separate state, dashing hopes for a settlement of the Argentine debt.

e. Dispute

The conflict between Argentina and Chile regarding the ownership of Patagonia had a negative effect on the extraction of guano from the islands off the Patagonian coast. Articles concerning problems between Chile and Argentina in relation to the commercialization of the guano supply date back to the early 1870s. For example, in 1871 the LT reported,

> A difficulty is anticipated as not only possible but even probable between Chili and the Argentine Republic respecting the ownership of Patagonia, since it is said the Chilian authorities near Sandy Point, Strait of Magellan, stopped an Argentine trader who was loading guano down there a month ago, alleging that it was Chilian territory.[43]

Merchants and investors, interested in the prosperity of the countries where they invested their money, were truthfully concerned about this border dispute.

The struggle over the possession of Patagonia reached its highest point in 1878-1879. Incidents, such as seizures of vessels, were published in both newspapers. In 1878 the Chilean government seized an American vessel loading guano in Patagonia with authorization from the Argentine Government. The LT extracting the information from the *Buenos Ayres Herald*[44] informed,

> The principal and most startling event of the fortnight has been the seizure of the American barque Devonshire on the Patagonian coast at a place called the isla de Leones by the Chilian gunboat Magallanes. The Devonshire cleared form Buenos Ayres to the Falklands, and a permit was afterwards sent from the Argentine Government for her to load guano as far as 50 deg. Latitude, which is somewhere

[43] *Times (London),* 18 November 1871, p. 5 col D.

[44] English language newspaper published in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

> about the mouth of the River Santa Cruz, where the Chilians have established a small colony as a practical assertion of their claims to Patagonia.[45]

As a consequence of this incident, based on the accounts published in the LT, the Argentine government sent vessels of war (ironclads and gunboats) to escort ships whose purpose was the extraction of guano. In addition, as reported in the LT, in 1879 the Argentine Government ordered "all the vessels of the navy to be fitted out for service," some of them to be sent to Patagonia with the purpose of "assert[ing] Argentine jurisdiction and prevent[ing] guano from being removed without Argentine license."[46]

Briefly, the evidence arising from the primary sources suggests that Great Britain was dominating the overseas markets in this part of the world. In the 1840s a new product entered the international market: guano. In this context, newspapers were used to raise awareness on the use of the manure and to advertise sales. The introduction of guano as natural fertilizer and the discovery of deposits in the Patagonian coast stimulated British interest in the area. From the mid-1840s British interest in Patagonia grew as deposits of guano were discovered. However, due to the low quality of the fertilizer, the amount of Patagonian guano imported by Europe and the United States was low. Furthermore, newspapers continuously informed its readers and market investors about wrecks of vessels laden with guano on the coast of Patagonia. In this context, the losses of properties and lives contributed to the attribution of negative images of the region. Clearly, those images of desolation and devastation drew on reports from merchants and sailors who visited and traded in the region.

[45] *Times (London),* 3 December 1878, p. 8 col E.

[46] *Times (London),* 1 August 1879, p. 11 col A.

Chapter IV:

Colonizing and Re-populating Patagonia:

Patagonia as a Place for Missioners, Adventures, and Settlers

Although images of desolation, wilderness, drought, and savagery were not abandoned, after 1850 European and United States imaging of Patagonia did change. Articles regarding the fertility of the land were published in both newspapers. Indeed, international powers were alerted by Patagonia's natural resources, and about the possibilities Patagonia's agricultural lands might offer. In this context, the depiction of Patagonia as rich in mineral resources and as fertile territory suitable for farming, motivated explorations in the area.

Favorable portrayals of Patagonia, still seen internationally as an autonomous space, helped to fuel Patagonia's popularity. During the second half of the nineteenth century different powers competed for dominion in the region. Additionally, the inhabitants of Patagonia struggled for space among themselves and contested the monopolization of that space by the Argentine and Chilean governments. Finally, adventurers, encouraged by the seeming autonomy of the region, also endeavored to colonize the area, as in the case of the French lawyer Orelie Antoine de Tounens who in 1860 attempted to establish a colony for France.

In this context, Patagonia became the destination of numerous expeditions and attempts at colonization. At the same time, it became attractive to missionaries who went to the region to convert the "savage Patagonians" to Christianity and spread the "blessings of civilization." From 1852 and throughout the period under study the LT and NYT published reports on missionary work in Patagonia. At the same time, the

newspapers began to inform about the first immigrant attempts to settle in the region. From the 115 articles analyzed, 78 correspond to the LT and 37 to the NYT. The information gathered from both newspapers suggests a division of the news into three subcategories: a) missionaries, b) adventurers, and c) settlers.

Missionaries

From an evolutionary point of view, Patagonian Indians were regarded as primitive human beings in need of education and conversion;[1] they were deemed "child-like people, unable to control their natural impulses, since the conscience-raising feature of civilization was not part of their makeup."[2] In this context, *"reductions* and itinerant missions were both based on a plan to convert the Patagonian Indians by exposing them to western civilized life."[3]

The permanent missionary effort began before settlers established colonies in the area. Missions sponsored and carried out by the *Patagonian Missionary Society* started on 1850, although previous missionary attempts had been made.[4] A close examination of the articles published in both newspapers suggests failure with the first attempts at evangelization made by the Patagonian Missionary Society. Themes of starvation, danger, death, and hostility from the natives are persistent throughout the articles

[1] Glyn Williams, "Welsh Settlers and Native Americans in Patagonia," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 11:1 (May 1979): 55.

[2] Glyn Williams, "Welsh Settlers and Native Americans in Patagonia," 55.

[3] Maria Andrea Nicoletti and Pedro Navarro Floria, "Building an Image of the Indian People from Patagonia during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Science and Christening." In *Archaeological and Anthropological Perspectives on the Native Peoples of Pampa, Patagonia, and Tierra del Fuego to the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Briones y Lanata (Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 2002), 140.

[4] http://anglicanhistory.org/sa/every1915/sams.html, August 19, 2006

concerning missionary work on Patagonia during the 1850s. The first missionaries who served in the Patagonian region were reported to have starved to death,

> Intelligence has been received by the Patagonian Mission Society of the death of a party of seven persons . . . It appears from the journal kept by one of the party (Mr. Williams), that he and his companions encountered much hostility from the natives; but their deaths were caused, not so much by violence as by want of food and exposure to the weather.[5]

It seems that the missionary work of the Patagonian Society had little success in converting Patagonians into Christians.

In 1858 the NYT reported that a missionary station built with the purpose of converting the Patagonians was not succeeding in its intent. Missionaries were hoping they could bring some Patagonians to the station and convert them so they would "return to act as missionaries among their own tribes."[6] As explained in the article, this mission did not succeed "in persuading any Patagonians to leave their own country."[7] Years later, news coming from Patagonia informed about the murder of a party of missionaries at the hands of Patagonians,

> A short time ago the mission ship *Allan Gardner* was on the coast, and the catechist and Capt. FELL, who was a Baptist preacher, and six of the crew being on shore for service, were attacked by about 200 Indians, and all were cruelly killed with clubs and stones. The cook only escaped by being on board.[8]

In this context, portrayals of missionaries as heroes who risked their lives in the name of progress and civilization are displayed in newspaper discourse. For instance, the NYT in 1860 wrote of a missionary who lost his life:

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[5] *Times (London)*, 22 January 1852, p. 3 col A.

[6] *New York Times*, 5 July 1858, p. 3.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *New York Times*, 14 June 1860, p. 5.

> Capt. FELL was a man of uncommon energy and fidelity. He was a good ship-master and a good preacher, and several times occupied the American church in Buenos Ayres both as a preacher and as lecturer. His wife and child had but just arrived from England. I may give you more particulars when we learn more, but the worst is known- it is the loss of such heroic men.[9]

The missionary societies used such stories to raise funds for their missions in various countries in South America. A strong image of suffering for Christ was crucial to achieve economic support. Articles that advertised such suffering especially appealed to "all those interested in any way with the commerce, resources, and rapid development of South America, for which vast continent this is the only Society in Great Britain undertaking such a missionary and ministerial work."[10] Indeed, the work of the Anglican missionaries was hoped to help British penetration in the area and at the same time guarantee the securities of British merchants trading in the region.

Due to the perils suffered by these groups of "enthusiastic missionaries," some Britons at home criticized the work done by the Patagonian Society,

> Why do not you, who are blessed with abundant means, rather pluck a few hundreds or thousands of your suffering countryman from certain destruction than waste your energies upon a horde of savages separated from you by every line of demarcation which PROVIDENCE can set between human beings?[11]

The article goes on to state: "Surely it is unjust, impolitic, and unnecessary to devote the great sums which would be necessary in order to carry out any missionary expedition of an effective nature in such a region to any such a purpose while we have so mach destitution and ignorance at home."[12] These letters were contested with notes

[9] *New York Times*, 14 June 1860, p. 5

[10] *Times (London)*, 07 May 1867, p. 4 col A.

[11] *Times (London)*, 29 April 1852, p. 4 col F.

[12] *Times (London)*, 29 April 1852, p. 4 col F.

underscoring the work done by missionaries who abandoned their homes and country and suffered from all sort of privations, dangers and even death[13] for Christ and for commerce, and science.

The 1860s showed some progress in the establishment of missions at Patagonia; however, discontent and doubts persisted throughout the period,

> Two missionaries have just sailed from England, via Buenos Ayres, for Patagonia. The society having charge of that work owns a fine farm among the Falkland Islands, a schooner, and has two or three mission stations. It has lost twelve or fifteen men by starvation and by massacre, and yet has not converted one Indian.[14]

Briefly, in contrast with the scientific progress achieved by Westerners, the inhabitants of Patagonia were portrayed as more primitive human beings. Consequently, missionaries went in the name of progress and science with the aim of converting and educating the inhabitants of the plains. At the same time, such a work would guarantee the success of future colonization in the area.

Adventurers

As previously stated, new perceptions of Patagonia emerged in the mid-1850s. Newspapers began to advertise the region, encouraging emigration to the area. The new depictions of the area aroused the interest of settlers, explorers and adventurers. In this context, driven by the idea that Patagonia did not belong to any state and with the hope of pursuing the establishment of a new colony for France, the French lawyer and adventurer Orelie Antoine de Tounens adventured to Patagonia and created the Kingdom of Araucania and Patagonia in November of 1860. As the NYT wrote, "the territory has

[13] *Times (London)*, 5 May 1852, p. 8 col C.

[14] *The New York Times*, 11 December 1864, p. 3.

been given the name of La Nouvelle France. . . His Kingdom comprises Araucania and Patagonia, countries sparsely inhabited, containing, according to His Majesty's estimation, about 2,000,000 souls."[15] The minister of Finances of the Kingdom of Araucania and Patagonia expressed in 1873 that Orelie Antoine "was publicly chosen [by the Araucanians] to be their King, and proclaimed as such on the 17th day of November, 1860."[16] In addition, from the NYT we learn,

> There was in 1858 a person named Antoine de Tonnens practicing as an attorney, or *avoué,* in the town of Périgueux, and one fine day he disposed of his business to a brother lawyer and embarked for South America with a view of establishing a colony in Araucania. He found, he says, the Araucanians without a ruler, without organization, and perpetually menaced by the Chilians. He made the acquaintance of a cacique who had influence in the country, and through him offered to his countrymen to enlighten them on their rights, and to give them an organization and a government. The Araucanians accepted his offer, and named him their King. The Patagonians, jealous of the good fortune of their neighbours, also offered the Crown to M. de Tonnens, who accepted it, so that he was the Sovereign of both nations.[17]

In general, it seems that Orelie Antoine's enterprise was not taken seriously and his right to take possession of the land was questioned. Parts of a letter signed by Orelie and addressed to the editor of the French newspaper *the Gironde* was quoted in the Times,

> Among all the errors committed by some of the journals which have written on my right to the throne of Araucania and Patagonia, I am anxious to refute two, for they are capital . . .I begin by declaring that I love my country too well to think of increasing its embarrassments, and that I demand no other favour from it than to accept from my hands a colony gifted with a climate more uniformly temperate than that of France, where nobody ever hears of epidemics or fevers, rich in pasturage, in forest, and in mines; in fine, comprising 425 leagues of coast on the

[15] *New York Times,* 16 February 1873, p. 5

[16] *Times (London),* 17 May 1873, p. 10 col A.

[17] *Times (London),* 15 November 1864, p. 6 col A.

> Atlantic Ocean, and almost as many on the Pacific, with an average breadth of 200 leagues.[18]

Orelie's pretensions to Patagonia were strongly questioned by Chile and Argentina. In fact, the Chilean government in 1862 arrested Orelie Antoine; he remained in prison for nine months until he was deported back to his country, thanks to the intervention of the French government. Once in Paris, "he founded a newspaper and started a subscription to organize a national expedition to annex Patagonia."[19] Orelie issued a document with the purpose of gaining some economic support so he could go back to South America and take possession of his throne. However, he found no support; and, therefore, "he was reduced to considerable straits."[20]

After this first failure, the so-called King of Patagonia attempted to return to his Kingdom on numerous occasions. In 1869 he adventured again to the region and resided there for a year. By 1871, having no more money, he decided to go back to France to obtain economic support.[21] The LT, quoting the Minister of Finances of the "Kingdom of Araucania and Patagonia," reported in 1873 that the Government of the said Kingdom had signed some contracts with British merchants "to import into that country large quantities of British and other European merchandise, from which they have accepted bonds of the Kingdom."[22] That same year, information regarding the bankruptcy of the "agent of the government of Araucania and Patagonia" Viscount de Palma, began to

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[18] *Times (London)*, 23 March 1864, p. 10 col A.

[19] *New York Times*, 6 October 1878, p. 10.

[20] *Times (London)*, 15 November 1864, p. 6 col A.

[21] http://www.geocities.com/tourtoirac/Kap1.htm, August 19, 2006.

[22] *Times (London)*, 17 May 1873, p. 10 col A.

circulate in the LT. Creditors, wishing to recover their money, were suing the said agent. Numerous notes of public examination for the bankrupt Viscount de Palma were published in the LT. For instance, in 1874 the LT informed:

> Upon examination the bankrupt stated that he was the agent here of the King of Patagonia. He had received an advance of 12l. from Count Rosemburg, the Minister of the King. He was sure there was such a person in existence as the King of Patagonia. He was called the Prince de Tunis, and was formerly an attorney residing in Paris (A laugh). The bankrupt had endeavored to induce the English authorities to recognize the Patagonian Government.[23]

As the article suggested, Principe Orelie-Antoine's claims over Patagonia and Araucania were object of laughter. A British correspondent in Paris wrote, "It has been a fashion to laugh at him or treat him as a charlatan, or at best a wild enthusiast. However, after many years passed in extreme poverty, he did succeed in raising money enough to charter a ship and to go out to Araucania with a few faithful friends."[24] In 1874 Orelie sailed once more for Patagonia on the 17th of July 1874. Upon arriving in the region, though, Orelie Antoine was arrested by the Argentine Government. The LT reported his capture in November 1874: "M. Orélie Antoine de Tonnens, was arrested, in contempt of International Law, on the sea by an Argentine man-of-war just as he was proceeding to Patagonia for the purpose of establishing commercial relations with the Indians."[25] Once again the adventurer was deported to France.

Back in France his situation worsened: "he could not pay his bills, his creditors sued him for assuming a false title in order to gain their confidence, and the Police Court

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[23] *Times (London),* 15 January 1874, p. 10 col C.

[24] *New York Times,* 22 November 1874, p. 4.

[25] *Times (London),* 5 November 1874, p. 5 col A.

had him up for swindling." [26] However, "the judgment was given in his favor; he was recognized as the dethroned sovereign of a real country, which he had really governed, and the creditor had to foot the damages."[27] The NYT announced the death of the not so famous French adventurer-sovereign Orelie Antoine de Tounens in October 1878.

Settlers

The structure of Latin American economy changed during the nineteenth century as the newly independent countries entered into the world economy. Across the decades exports to Europe and the United States increased rapidly thanks to the improvements in communication (steam navigation, railways, etc), substantial foreign investment, and growing consumer markets. Consequently, Latin American countries devised new strategies to meet rising demands in those markets.

Changes in the international economy were also accompanied by waves of emigrating Europeans. The "New world" attracted European immigrants who came in search of new fortunes. In this context, Patagonia captured the European imagination. The land, advertised as attractive for farming, became a destination for settlers. For that reason, Argentina and Chile, concerned about the apparent autonomy of Patagonia, began to expand southwards in order to exert sovereignty over a region both countries claimed as part of their own national territory.

Chile, on the one hand, was particularly interested in the Strait of Magellan which, with the development of steam navigation, grew in importance as the interoceanic gateway. The strategic importance of the Strait led Chile to found "Fort Bulnes on the

[26] *New York Times*, 6 October 1878, p. 10.

[27] Ibid.

Brunswick Peninsula in 1843 to establish her claim to the strait and to adjacent territory in Patagonia."[28] This colony, as expressed by Perry, was relocated to Punta Arenas or Sandy Point in 1849. The colony was established at first "as a penal colony for convicts."[29] Also, "it serve[d] as a coaling port for steamers passing from ocean to ocean."[30] The population of this small village in 1875 was calculated to be around 1,100 inhabitants.[31]

Argentina, on the other hand, opted in the 1850s to expand its dominion over Patagonia and incorporate the region into the Argentine republic. In the 1850s, after Rosas's demise, Argentina began its process of state consolidation and organization. The Argentina projected by the political leadership –landed aristocrats- "needed more people, farmers, artisans, and frontier settlers."[32] In other words, Argentina's national project included extending its productive frontiers in order to meet the demands of the international market; and that project led the oligarchy to think of the possibility of using the immigrants to "open up the frontier." Their objective was to attract European settlers. As Lynch argued, "it was understood that immigration should be white and European, though for cultural rather than racial reasons; it should preferably be non-Spanish and non-Catholic in order to achieve a complete break with the past."[33] Consequently, during

[28] Richard Perry, "Argentina and Chile: The Struggle for Patagonia 1843-1881," *The Americas* 36:3 (January 1980): 349.

[29] *New York Times*, July 29 1860, p. 3.

[30] *Times (London)*, 18 January 1878, p. 3 col A.

[31] *Times (London)*, 18 January 1878, p. 3 col A.

[32] John Lynch, *Massacre in the Pampas, 1872: Britain and Argentina in the Age of Migration* (Oklahoma: University of California Press, 1998), 44.

[33] Ibid., 60.

the second half of the nineteenth century, Argentina opened its frontiers to immigration as a way "to better" society and as a way to increment its production.

Simultaneously, British industrial and commercial expansion during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had led the empire to look for markets in which to sell excess manufactures, to invest excess capital (financial investment), and to send excess population. Specifically, Great Britain was looking for raw materials, especially wool, to accommodate the demand of its textile industries.[34] Patagonia from this perspective seemed to be a possible key to the solution of this matter. In this context, British and Argentine interests coincided.

The Argentine and British relationship intensified during the mid-nineteenth century. British investments were mainly directed "by businessmen dealing directly with the Argentine authorities and private interest."[35] British businessmen invested in Argentina by establishing banks (loans), railways companies, telegraph companies, meat factories, etc.; and those investments were dependant, according to Ferns, on the "ability and willingness of the political authorities in Argentina to levy taxes with one hand and with the other to transfer an appropriate proportion of public revenues to private investors."[36]

In addition, the settlement of Argentina was promoted and the advance of the Argentine frontier was encouraged by both the British government and British companies. The British government supported emigration by giving to the people some

[34] Kristine Jones, "Nineteenth Century British Travel Accounts of Argentina," *Ethnohistory* 32:2 (Spring 1986): 199.

[35] Ibid., 146.

[36] Henry Ferns, *Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Arno Press, 1977), 327-328.

kind of security.[37] Lynch mentioned that the government approved the formation of the Emigration Commission (London), which helped people who wished to emigrate. The assistance consisted on travel tickets and financing for land grants (capital). These last two elements were regulated by the British colonizing companies and the Argentine government. The Argentine government, "tended to leave such enterprising [passage, pay, and capital advances] to private contractors, selling them large tracts of lands at a moderate price on the condition of introducing a given number of colonists."[38] According to Lynch, "there [was] no free land for settlers. The land [was] conceded to companies . . . They len[t] the colonists money for their passage and property, and the colonists [were] in effect tied to the land for five years in a sort of debt peonage."[39]

The colonization of lands in the frontier required a search for knowledge about places and people. Hence, narratives (travel accounts, the press, magazines, books, official reports, etc) were used as a way to inform and, at the same time, promote and encourage the settlement on Patagonia and other regions which would stimulate the commerce between both countries. This demand of knowledge also led to a series of explorations in different regions, among them Patagonia. In this context, the LT was one of the means used to publish reports on the suitability of Patagonia's lands. Certainly, newspaper imaging contributed to the immigration in the area.

The first news regarding the possibilities of settlement in Patagonia appeared in the LT as early as 1854. At the same time, on September 8, 1856 the Argentine Consulate

[37] Lynch, *Massacre in the Pampas,* 149.

[38] Ibid., 150.

[39] Ibid., 179.

published a note in the LT with the first regulations for the colonization of Patagonia and the administration of commerce in the area. The Argentine government, in order to promote immigration in the region, was conceding lands "in perpetual right or proprietorship" to all individuals or families who wished to settle in Patagonia and Bahia Blanca. Regarding the extension of the land concession the note stated:

> The concession to which the previous article refers will not exceed, in lands for cultivation, more than a farm allotment of 20 squares of 150 yards per side; and in pasture lands, in allotment, de estancia, of 3,000 yards of front, and 9,000 yards in depth; and in the towns that may be established, the ground allotted shall consist of 1,500 square yards.[40]

The first British group that decided to immigrate to Patagonia was formed by members of the Welsh community who in 1865 established the "first permanent settlement" in the area of Chubut River. The Welsh presence in Patagonia secured Argentina's claim over the region. Glyn Williams, who studied the Welsh settlement in Chubut, wrote, "to the Argentine government, the Welsh were a perfect foil by which they could obtain access to, and consolidate control over, a vast area of territory that was previously contested."[67] One particularly important influence on the Welsh's decision to immigrate to Patagonia was their general concern for their language. "[T]he Welsh language is speedily dying out, that with it the most valuable national peculiarities and virtues will be lost, and that the only way to preserve it as a living tongue is to establish a colony governed by Welshmen and having its affair conducted in the Welsh language."[41] They were looking for a place to be colonized by Welshman exclusively where they could preserve their culture.

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[40] *Times (London),* 8 September 1856, p. 6 col A.

[41] *Times (London),* 13 December 1862, p. 10 col D.

An enthusiast group of Welsh led by Michael Daniel Jones created the Welsh Emigration Society in 1859.[42] Representatives of the new Society went to Buenos Aires, first, in the search for a good place to settle on the Patagonian coast; and second, to negotiate land concessions with the Argentine Government.[43] These active promoters of the Welsh emigration to Patagonia also "published a *Handbook to Patagonia*, in which they pretend[ed] to quote the testimony of voyagers, from Magellan downwards, to the salubrity of the climate and the fertility of the soil."[44] The handbook, as expressed by Bowen, "discusses the reasons for the establishment of a colony, its feasibility and its chance of economic success."[45]

The first group of Welshman left England for Patagonia in 1865. After some vicissitudes, they finally arrived at the banks of the river Chubut. The LT announced their departure in the following words: "In April last 150 Welshmen left Liverpool for the banks of the Chupat, in Patagonia, intending to establish there a purely Welsh Colony to speak the Welsh language, or rather a Welsh Republic."[46] On the other hand, the NYT expressed:

> It appears the Welsh are anxious to find an outlet for their teeming population. A colony is about to locate on the coast of Patagonia. . .They are bringing with them machinery of every kind, and will establish woolen factories, mills, &c., and they are to have a line of European steamers for their use. . .The same expense directed

[42] E.G. Bowen, "The Welsh Colony in Patagonia: A Study in Historical Geography," *The Geographical Journal* 132:1(March 1966): 16 and John E. Baur, "The Welsh in Patagonia: An Example of Nationalistic Migration," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 34:4 (November 1954): 468-492.

[43] *Times (London),* December 13 1862, p. 10 col D.

[44] *Times (London),* 13 December 1862, p. 10 col D.

[45] Bowen, "The Welsh Colony in Patagonia," 16.

[46] *Times (London),* 29 January 1866, p. 12 col A.

> towards settlements in the western part of the United States would yield earlier and better returns.[47]

The article suggests that United States' perceptions of the Southern American Republics were pessimistic. In general, the United States regarded most of the settlements established in South America as complete failures. In 1867 the NYT asserted "wherever a settlement has been effected the result has been disappointing . . . the Southern colonies, as colonies, are dead failures."[48]

The first years spent in Patagonia resulted in complete disappointment for the Welsh immigrants. Due to accounts of failure coming from the Welsh colony established in Chubut, in 1866 the first warning to prospective immigrants to the Patagonian region was published in the LT:

> the colony had fallen a prey to famine and drought. The colony is entirely dependant for support from Buenos Ayres, which is nearly 1,000 miles distant. A treaty existed between the colonist and the Argentine Republic, the latter agreeing to supply the colonists with corn, &c., but apparently no provision were to be obtained.[49]

The advice suggested prospective emigrants wait for further information before sailing for Patagonia. In addition, reports from "Mr. Ford, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation at Buenos Ayres" informed that the colonists were suffering from isolation and the only contact they had was with Indians. Besides, as reported, they were living basically from what was provided by the Argentine government.[50] Those accounts of disappointment about the future of Welsh immigrants in Patagonia were denied in subsequent articles in

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[47] *The New York Times*, 23 July 1865, p. 3

[48] *The New York Times*, 11 December 1867, p. 4.

[49] *Times (London)*, 29 January 1866, p. 12 col A.

[50] *Times (London)*, 22 March 1867, p. 9 col E.

the LT and by the end of 1867 the situation seemed to change. Indeed, information about the colony over the subsequent two years was more auspicious. For example, a 1869 LT item reported, "the news of the new English settlements in Patagonia and Bahia Blanca, to the south of this province, is very favorable."[51]Then, in 1869, a British correspondent at Buenos Ayres stated, "the affairs of this settlement have at length taken a prosperous turn, thanks to the assistance and interest taken in their position by the national Government of this republic."[52] On the matter Bowen argued, "the success of the colony was assured and canals were dug and irrigation channels opened."[53]

In spite of the notes informing about the apparent prosperity of the colonists in the Chubut area, the Board of Emigration in 1870 began to circulate negative reports regarding the situation of British emigrants in the Argentine Republic.[54] The reports informed that British settlers were suffering from some deprivations and that some were exposed to continuous attacks from the Indians. Furthermore, some notes to the Editor published in the LT testified that the Argentine government was not offering any kind of security and that the British settlements in that country were complete failures. As a British correspondent at Buenos Ayres wrote, "security is a plant of slow growth and of very tender fibre, and society here, both in town and country, is always haunted by a sense of a coming evil."[55] In this context, the emigration commissioners recommended avoiding the River Plate as place for settlement.

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[51] *Times (London),* 6 October 1868, p. 6 col A.

[52] *Times (London),* 8 June 1869, p. 10 col D.

[53] Bowen, "The Welsh Colony in Patagonia," 24.

[54] See John Lynch in *Massacre in the Pampas.*

[55] *Times (London),* 8 September 1880, p. 4 col A.

The Argentine government along with British representatives of land and colonizing companies, who were interested in the colonization of the country, denied the reports given by the emigration commissioners. For instance, D. Lewis from the National College at Buenos Aires, in an extended note published in the LT argued, "of all the countries into which the great continent is divided, the Argentine Republic is the most thriving, liberal and generous. The foreigner is nowhere else so well received, his property nowhere safer, nor perhaps his personal security more certain."[56] In addition, Argentine representatives and land companies stated that, different from what has been published, emigrants were not given free passages but on the contrary, that they were spontaneously immigrating to the Argentine Republic, increasing in number every day.[57]

A report from the commander of "Her Majesty's Ship Cracker" in 1871 affirmed: "I found the colonists in excellent health and spirits." Nevertheless, they had been suffering from isolation and lack of supplies. As stated in the report, "the whole colony has been without any descriptions of groceries for ten months. . . [and] the only means of communication that exist at present with Buenos Ayres is by land, *via* Patagones."[58] Despite these difficulties the colonists were confident in the future of the colony and felt grateful for the help given by the Argentine Government. Regarding the danger posed by the Indians, the commander stated that the colonists were in good term with them and that the colonists and Patagonians engaged in commerce with one another.[59]

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[56] *Times (London)*, 18 May 1870, p. 14 col C.

[57] *Times (London)*, 15 November 1872, p. 12 col B.

[58] *Times (London)*, 19 June 1871, p. 10 col B.

[59] Ibid.

The image of the "Savage Indian" portrayed in British official reports was contested by both the Argentine government as well as British commercial interests. In a note to the editor of the LT Franco Torrome, General Agent for the Argentine Republic, denied previous reports on the situation of the Welsh colonies in Patagonia and stated that the Indians are not savages as described by the London Emigration Commissioners. Torrome asserted that security in Patagonia or some other part of Argentina is as great as it is in Great Britain.[60] While referring to the Welsh in Patagonia he added, "The Welsh colony has been established since 1865 on the south frontier of Patagonia, on the Chupat, and there has not been one case of any Welshman being carried off."[61]

In 1873 the LT published a report given by the British Charge d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, Mr. Mcdonnell, regarding the situation of the Welsh colonists in Patagonia. The article stated the Welsh colony was not doing well. He described the land "as being unsuitable for cultivation"[62] and insisted that "the colonists have been left to depend for subsistence upon the export of ostrich feathers and guanaco and other skins, obtained by barter from the Indians."[63] However, he added, the colonists had decided to stay in the settlement.

This verbal confrontation between British and Argentine representatives was accompanied by new bills passed by the Argentine congress in its effort to promote immigration. By 1873 the Argentine government was offering "a premium of $50 a head on the first hundred thousand Europeans that settle in the country." In addition, the new

[60] *Times (London),* 31 July 1872, p. 10 col B.

[61] *Times (London),* 31 July 31 1872, p. 10 col B.

[62] *Times (London),* February 19 1873, p. 5 col E.

[63] Ibid.

bill guaranteed that "colonists established on the sections marked out under this law are to be exempt from taxes for ten years, and are to be allowed to bring into the country all seeds, implements, arms, and baggage duty free."[64] British government warnings persisted, though; in 1876 the Emigration commissioners once again warned against emigrating to the Welsh colony. Official published accounts stated that the Welsh "'colony is in a very critical condition, some of the new comers finding themselves threatened with privations, and without shelter or work;' . . .and unless the Government is able and willing to assist and employ them, the settlers will probably be exposed to great distress."[65] As before, those government comments were rejected and countered with positive reports on the state of the colony:

> Mr. George Earle Welby, of the British Legation at Buenos Ayres, accompanied Captain Fairfax to Patagonia, and they visited together the Welsh colony of Chubut, of which Mr. Welby gives a favorable report. The old settlers are thriving and happy; they showed the utmost hospitality to their visitors, and expressed their satisfaction at the kindness always shown them by the Argentine Government. The new settlers are making a canal to improve the irrigation of the valley, which now counts over 800 Welsh settlers.[66]

And the Argentine government persisted in its efforts to promote British immigration, granting a concession for 10 years to the firm Messrs. Dobbins and Co. of some islands off the coast of Patagonia. Additionally, the Argentine government decided that "all immigrants permanently settling the islands the Government [be] allo[tted] 200 acres of land free of cost, with permission to purchase 600 acres more at one piastre per acre, and

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[64] *New York Times*, 15 August 1873, p. 4.

[65] *Times (London)*, 7 February 1876, p. 11 col C.

[66] *Times (London)*, 2 June 1876, p. 7 col E.

200 acres grant[ed] as a premium to the contracting firm for every family settling in the island or on the adjoining coast."

In essence, the British government, eager for its investors to increase their stakes in the frontier region, was interested in the pacification of the frontier and wanted immediate action from the Argentine government. In this sense, these notices of warnings published in the LT can be interpreted as a way of pressuring the Argentine government to solve the "question of the frontier" in order to assure the safety of the settlers living in Argentina and especially the ones living in the frontier region.[67] Indeed, letters sent to the LT pressed for action. The Argentine government responded with positive reports and a stronger immigration policy. New concessions of lands were given in different parts of the country.

The Argentine government also pursued a military security program in the region. As the "campaign to the desert" advanced over the frontier, more auspicious notes were published in the LT. For instance, extracting information form the *Buenos Ayres Herald*, the LT in 1879 wrote: "Indian hostility seems to be subsiding. Their power has been broken and their principal chiefs are captives, thus opening to the extended civilization some of the richest lands in the Republic."[68] In the same year news regarding the advance of Argentine troops over the Patagonian lands were published,

> The troops of the Government have gained fresh victories over the Indians in the far South, and it may be said now that there are no longer any Indians to give trouble, since almost every steamer from our southern ports brings up hundreds of Indian families who have surrendered to the Government, and who are now being forwarded to the Interior to work in sugar plantations.[69]

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[67] Lynch, *Massacre in the Pampas,* 201.

[68] *Times (London),* 21 February 1879, p. 7 col F.

[69] *Times (London),* 7 March 1879, p. 11 col F.

Reports of the advances made by Argentine troops in the foreign press imaged a government focused on security in the region, security for colonists living there, and encouragement for new immigrants.

To summarize, during the nineteenth century, fundamental international market changes included the incorporation of Latin America into the British market. Latin Americans obtained their independence and significantly increased their participation in the international market. This was accompanied by the expansion of British interests and influence in the region's markets and subsequently the development of steam navigation, which increased the commerce between the "New" and "Old" world. In this context, Latin America countries accommodated their economies to respond to the demands of the international market. In the case of Argentina, its policy preference to expand its territorial and economic frontier to incorporate new lands led the country to expand northwards (Chaco) and southwards (Patagonia). In order to do that, Argentina needed more people, consequently, "after 1862, immigration became a national policy and offices were set up in Europe, though the government did not finance the process, leaving passage and settlement to private enterprise."[70] On the other hand, Great Britain, which needed new markets for product sales and new resources to fuel its growing industrial base, knew that "trade and investment were expanding . . . [that] Argentina was being transformed into something more acceptable to European ideas of civilization." Consequently, Great Britain decided to increase its investment in the country and promote emigration to the region. In this context, newspaper discourse played an important role in the British enterprise. It produced the images that encouraged

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[70] Lynch, *Massacre in the Pampas*, 44.

immigration in the area and promoted Patagonia as place for settlement. At the same time, when the British government felt there was need to pressure Argentine government, it published negative reports.

Meanwhile, the United States, which was projecting westwards at the expenses of the indigenous population, was also competing for European immigrants. The North American press imaged South American republics as chaotic, where European colonies failed. As expressed in the NYT, colonies in the United States would project better results than those planted in any South American country.

Clearly, newspaper discourse reflected the international and national agendas of the United States and Great Britain. The images of the non-Western world projected by both countries' newspapers entered into the minds of Britons and Americans, shaping in the way they thought about and acted on Patagonia. Indeed, American and British newspapers broadly shaped and reflected public opinion about domestic and international political, economic, and social agendas.

Chapter V:

Argentine and Chilean Boundary Dispute: The United States and British's Representations of the Conflict

One of the legacies of Spanish colonial rule for Argentina and Chile was ill-defined territorial limits; boundaries, as expressed by Smith, "were vaguely defined and usually ran through deserted territories, so that when explorations opened up these areas, and economic interests appeared, disputes ensued between many republics."[1] In the case of Patagonia, the change in the value of the territory due to explorations in the area contributed to the beginning of a significant boundary dispute between Argentina and Chile. Sovereign possession of Patagonia which by the mid-1850s appeared as a region rich in mineral resources, appropriate for farming, and possessed a vital interoceanic highway, the Strait of Magellan, became the center of that dispute.

Chile and Argentina both alleged that the region formed part of their respective countries, basing their arguments on "confusing, contradictory, and overlapping colonial titles."[2] Both countries claimed they inherited Patagonia at independence. Nevertheless, European countries, which began to show interest in the area, regarded the region as an autonomous space. Most of the early and mid-19th century published maps showed Patagonia as a separate region, independent from either Chile or Argentina.[3]

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[1] Geoffrey S. Smith, "The Role of Jose M. Balmaceda in Preserving Argentine Neutrality in the War of the Pacific," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 29:2 (May 1969): 254.

[2] George v. Rauch, *Conflict in the Southern Cone: The Argentine Military and Boundary Dispute with Chile, 1870-1902* (London: Praeger, 1999), 194.

[3] Mateo Martinic Beros, *Presencia de Chile en la Patagonia Austral 1843-1879* (Santiago de Chile: Andres Bello, 1971), 33.

Consequently, when Chile and Argentina began to expand into the area in order to exert sovereignty, the region became an internationally and internally contested space.

The first nation to project southward was Chile with the establishment of Fort Bulnes in 1843. Despite the fact that Argentina opposed the founding of the colony as a violation of its territorial rights, the country, torn by internal conflicts, could not respond to the Chilean initiative.[4] Not until 1856 did the two countries sign an initial agreement. However, both countries failed to act in accordance with their "Treaty of Friendship, Peace, Commerce, and Navigation" and proceeded to explore and occupy Patagonia. As expressed by Rauch:

> While the search for solutions continued, Chile sought to occupy the Atlantic coast of Patagonia, thus violating the treaty of 1856 under which both nations had agreed to respect the status quo of 1810. Argentina countered Chilean moves by exercising acts of sovereignty in the disputed area.[5]

This chapter assesses United States and British representations of the Chilean and Argentine claims over the Patagonian region as they relate to those external actors' national and international agendas. In exploring these images, the work of scholars that have researched the conflict served as the framework for the analysis of the articles found in both newspapers.

From the early 1860s a number of articles published in the LT and NYT focused on the controversy. Specifically, there are 109 articles that associate Patagonia with the territorial dispute, 33 corresponding to the NYT and 76 to the LT. Although, before that date there are a number of short comments in both newspapers evidencing uncertainties about Argentine or Chilean ownership of Patagonia, which in the minds of Europeans and

[4] Rauch, *Conflict in the Southern Cone*, 193.

[5] Ibid., 27.

Americans was considered to be an autonomous space. For instance in 1854 the LT argued that the boundaries of the Argentine Republic "either by conquest or settlement, have never been carried beyond the Rio Negro."[6] In another example the LT pointed out that,

> Whatever may be the intrinsic rights of Buenos Aires to that part of South America, it seems probable her claim to it will not be contested, and it has been suggested that the committee of English bondholders might obtain a grant of it as a portion of any security that may be offered them in the ultimate arrangement of their claims.[7]

That optimism aside, the discovery of natural resources, the need for economically profitable lands, and the increase in maritime trade with the advent of steam navigation led both Argentina and Chile to expand into and claim sovereignty over Patagonia during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Struggle over the Control of Natural Resources: Argentina and Chile's Interests in the Patagonian Region

Following the development of the steam navigation in the 1840s, merchant ships could more safely traverse the Strait of Magellan; and that waterway between the Atlantic to the Pacific became a major interoceanic passage. Before that date, the route around Africa's Cape Horn, a much safer passage for sailing vessels, had been the passage preferred by mariners who sailed from ocean to ocean. Steam navigation, which permitted much greater control of ocean going vessels, open up a more secure and faster way of communication. Indeed, steam navigation eliminated the "vast amount of the terrors with which the imagination of past ages peopled the Magellanic Strait."[8] The

[6] *Times (London)*, 27 January 1854, p. 5 col A.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *Times (London)*, 30 August 1880, p. 3 col F.

Strait of Magellan, as interoceanic highway, shortly became the preferred route for steamers trying to avoid the storms and difficulties of rounding the Cape Horn.

Chile, which "emerged as a strong nation in the 1840s,"[9] wanted not only to exert control over the Strait but also to have an Atlantic port to improve her commerce and consolidate her position in the South. Clearly, the ownership of Patagonia would guarantee both. On this matter, the NYT pointed out on 1878,

> Chile, on her part, found her attraction for Patagonia partly in the important Strait of Magellan, an international highway on which she planted the first permanent colony, and partly, perhaps, on the hope that even these unfavorable harbors on the Atlantic sea-board might some say be of commercial advantage to her.[10]

Consequently, in 1843 Chile founded the first settlement in the area which was of importance for the steamers since it served as coaling port. With this colony, Chile "establish[ed] her claim to the strait and to the adjacent territory in Patagonia."[11] Argentina opposed the establishment of the Chilean colony in Patagonia, but the country "was torn by the never-ending wars between Unitarians and Federals and could not deal with what she considered the Chilean challenge."[12]

New explorations carried out in Patagonia during the 1850s called the region to Argentina's attention, a region Argentina began vigorously to assert her claim "as hers by right." With its vast livestock trade and sale of hides and salted meats to the British, Argentina wanted to expand into productive lands to respond to the demands of the

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[9] Rauch, *Conflict in the Southern Cone*, X.

[10] *New York Times*, 9 August 1881, p. 4.

[11] Richard Perry, "Argentina and Chile: The Struggle for Patagonia 1843-1881," *The Americas* 36:3 (January 1980), 349.

[12] Rauch, *Conflict in the Southern Cone*, X.

international market. As the NYT pointed out in 1878: "about ten years ago; [Argentina] extending itself, in the great commercial growth which has marked this country in our day . . . began to find possibilities and products in Patagonia worthy of its attention."[13] In addition, the advance of the national frontier would also allow the country to break Chilean interests in the area and respond to the demands of the aspirations of a ruling class –landed aristocrats– who wanted to attract Europeans. Clearly, only after Argentina achieved national unity did that the country embark on its colonizing enterprise in Patagonia.

In this context, Argentina territorial expansion over Patagonia began in 1859 when Captain Luis Piedrabuena founded a "trading post at Santa Cruz and Staten Island."[14] Several years later in 1865, the Argentine government granted lands in the region to a group of Welsh immigrants who established the "first permanent settlement" in the Chubut region of Patagonia. Furthermore, the Argentine government began to issue licenses to foreign countries to extract guano from the Patagonian coast.[15] Chile, of course, objected to all the permits and concessions on the part of the Argentine government in the disputed area. Chile claimed Argentine actions violated the understanding reached after Argentine had objected to Chilean settlements in the region.[16]

[13] *New York Times*, 17 October 1878, p. 4.

[14] Rauch, *Conflict in the Southern Cone*, 27.

[15] Ibid.

[16] *New York Times*, 17 October 1878, p. 4.

Contest over Territory: the United States and British's Representation of the Frontier Dispute

As previously stated, the expanding states of Argentina and Chile initiated a series of explorations in Patagonia with the aim of establishing settlements in the area; in addition they granted concessions of land and issued licenses to exploit the natural resources of the region. Various protests were made as each country advanced across the contested area, eroding the relationships between the neighboring states.

In this context, the official actions of Argentine and Chilean governments regarding the controversy might be divided into two periods. The first period corresponded to the initial phase of the controversy when both countries decided to expand into the disputed area as a way to affirm their rights in the region. That first period spans the years from independence to 1870. During that stage both countries signed an initial agreement in 1856 "under which both parties agree to recognized the *utis possidetis*[17] of 1810 and pledged to solve the boundary dispute by peaceful means and to submit to arbitration if direct negotiation failed compromising to solve the postponing the solution of the conflict."[18] In this way, the solutions to the conflict were postponed. In addition, in 1865 a diplomatic legation was sent to Argentina to negotiate a territorial agreement but due to other compromises the situation was left aside.

In the second period, tensions between both governments intensified. Indeed, the decade 1870 - 1881 can be signaled as perhaps the most critical period in Argentine and Chilean relations. In 1874 the NYT reported, "we hear rumors that war-ships are on the

[17] *Utis possidetis* is "a concept of international law that defines borders of newly sovereign states on the basis of their previous administrative frontiers." http://operationkosovo.kentlaw.edu/symposium/resources/hasani-fletcher.htm, August 26, 2006.

[18] Rauch, *Conflict in the Southern Cone*, 23.

way to size important points in the Straits of Magellan, and sharp notes are exchanged between the respective Governments in consequence. Whether this will lead a war or not can hardly be stated yet."[19]

Beginning in 1870 most of the articles mentioning the Patagonian region published in both the LT and NYT focused on the dispute. Within this context the information in both newspapers centered primarily around three issues: the French adventurer Antoine Orelie, the extraction and commercialization of guano, and the territorial expansion of Argentina and Chile. Regarding the first issue, naturally, Orelie's pretensions to Patagonia were strongly questioned by both Chile and Argentina. Chile challenged him first in 1862, arresting and incarcerating the French adventurer for nine months before deporting. Argentina in the following decade arrested him as he entered Argentine territorial waters in 1874.

The guano question began when both governments issued licenses to load guano from the Patagonian coast. For instance, in 1871 the LT reported,

> A difficulty is anticipated as not only possible but even probable between Chili and the Argentine Republic respecting the ownership of Patagonia, since it is said the Chilian authorities near Sandy Point, Straits of Magellan, stopped an Argentine trader who was loading guano down there a month ago, alleging that it was Chilian territory.[20]

As a result of this episode and in response to what Argentina considered a violation of her rights over Patagonia, a bill was presented to the Argentine Senate "declaring the Magellan territory to be comprised within the limits of the Argentine Republic."[21] On the

[19] *New York Times*, 25 April 1874, p. 4.

[20] *Times (London)*, 18 November 1871, p. 5 col B.

[21] *Times (London)*, 12 December 1871, p. 6 col E.

other hand, the Chilean Minister Alberto Blest Gana on behalf of the government of Chile sent the *Times* a series of notes warning British merchants and shipowners intending to extract and load guano or other minerals either in the Strait of Magellan or Tierra del Fuego. Under the heading "Straits of Magellan and Tierra del Fuego," the notes declared that those lands were in Chilean jurisdiction and consequently "it [was] forbidden to any vessel or vessels, to whatever nationality such a vessel or vessels may belong, under penalty of being forfeited, together with their cargo, to approach or anchor at or near said islands and coasts."[22] Both governments were fully decided to exert sovereignty over the disputed area.

One controversy arose with the seizure of the French vessel *Jeanne Amelie* in 1876 and another with the seizure of the United State ship *Devonshire* in 1878. From the LT we learn that the Argentine government was issuing licenses to foreign vessels to take guano from the Santa Cruz area in Patagonia; that angered the Chilean government which stopped the French vessel in 1876 and the American vessel two years later when both were loading guano under Argentine licensure. The LT quoting from the *Buenos Ayres Herald*, reported:

> The Devonshire cleared from Buenos Ayres for the Falkland Islands, and a permit was, afterwards sent from the Argentine Government for her to load guano as far south as 50 deg. latitude, which is somewhere about the mouth of the River Santa Cruz, where the Chilians have established a small colony as a practical assertion of their claims to Patagonia.[23]

[22] *Times (London)*, 21 March 1872, p. 8 col A.

[23] *Times (London)*, 3 December 1878, pg 8 col E.

The seizure of the vessels irritated the Argentine government. On this matter, the LT informed that days after these episodes both governments were sending gunboats to Patagonia. For instance, on September 24, 1874 the LT announced,

> [The Argentine Government] ordered all vessels of the navy to be fitted out for service, and has sent part to the south in order to assert Argentine jurisdiction and prevent guano from being removed without Argentine license. Congress has also given power to the Executive to buy one ironclad of the first class and two of the second.[24]

As a result, Chile and Argentina broke diplomatic relations in 1878 and the Argentine government withdrew her representatives from the Chilean capital while Chile did the same.[25] Both countries were strengthening their naval forces in the region. Clearly, tensions were running high.

However, neither of the governments wanted to a war. Chile had focused its attention on the northern nitrate region in the Atacama desert and disputes with its neighbors there, Peru and Bolivia; and Argentina's military policy focused on the pacification and incorporation of Patagonia, rather than a sea based policy. Therefore, to settle the question of the frontier dispute peacefully new negotiations began between the General Consul of Argentina (Sarratea) and the Chilean Foreign Minister (Fierro); those two reached an initial agreement was reached in December 1878. In that agreement both countries compromised and agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration.[26] As expressed by Rauch, the treaty specified that,

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[24] *Times (London)*, 24 September 1879, p. 4 col F.

[25] *New York Times*, 7 October 1874, p. 4.

[26] See Smith "The Role of Jose M. Balmaceda in Preserving Argentine Neutrality in the War of the Pacific;" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 29:2 (May 1969):256; Richard Perry, "Argentina and Chile: The Struggle for Patagonia 1843-1881," *The Americas* 36:3 (January 1980): 361; and Rauch George, *Conflict in the Southern Cone: The Argentine Military and Boundary Dispute with Chile, 1870-1902* (London: Praeger, 1999), 30.

> both governments would appoint representatives who would constitute as tribunal. Pending arbitration, Chile would exercise jurisdiction over the waters and shores of the Straits of Magellan while Argentina exercised similar rights over the waters and shores of the Atlantic as well as adjacent islands.[27]

As for arbitration, the document stipulated that "a mixed tribunal is to be appointed to decide upon the conflicting rights of the two countries . . . [In addition] the treaty declare[d] the Straits free to the flags of all nations, both in time of war and peace."[28]

By the time the agreement was reached, Chile was involved in a war with its northern neighbors. The war of the Pacific broke out in 1879.[29] Simultaneously, the Argentine military had stepped up its desert campaign in the south, where "a vicious military attack involving five divisions was initiated [by the Argentine troops] against the native Americans."[30] That operation was officially labeled "Conquest of the Desert."

Argentina's campaign in the "desert" led us to the third issue addressed in the NYT and the LT regarding the controversy: territorial expansion. As previously stated, the importance attached to Patagonia increased as a result of new explorations in the area. In the 1870s the number of hinterland explorations carried out by the Argentine government increased remarkably. This growing interest on Patagonia led the Argentine government to grant concessions of Patagonia land area as a way to exert control over the region and as a way to incorporate new fertile lands to meet the demands of the growing international market. On the other hand, as stated by Rauch,

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[27] Rauch, *Conflict in the Southern Cone*, 30.

[28] *Times (London)*, 3 January 1879, p. 3 col A.

[29] The War of the Pacific (1879-1883) is a territorial conflict between Chile, Bolivia and Peru over the control of the Atacama Desert, a region rich in nitrates.

[30] Williams, "Welsh Settlers and Native Americans in Patagonia," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 11: 1 (May 1979): 58.

> the drain of resources occasioned by the maintenance of the frontier forces and the system of forts, the devastation visited upon frontier settlements as well as the siphoning of livestock that would eventually find its way to the Chilean market, were no longer tolerable to a nation which at last was tapping long-dormant energies and beginning to modernize its infrastructure and populate its empty spaces with agricultural colonies.[31]

Furthermore, responding to the pressures of the British government, which demanded Argentina guarantee the safety of British immigrants in the Republic, the Argentine military began its "Conquest of the Desert." Argentine expansion over the "desert" could not be contested by the Chilean government due to its prosecution of its naval and land campaigns against Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific.

Because Chile's attention was directed toward the mineral rich Atacama Desert, it wanted to close its controversy with Argentina as soon as possible in order to keep Argentina neutral in the conflict. As suggested by the NYT, it seemed Chile was "willing to buy Argentine neutrality."[32] Thus, "at the time when [the Argentine minister of War] Roca was about launch his Patagonian campaign, Chile sent José M. Balmaceda as envoy to Argentina to expedite a boundary settlement."[33]

Meanwhile, Bolivia and Peru tried to persuade Argentina to enter the conflict on their side.[34] For instance, in 1879 the Bolivian president H. Daza sent a mission to Buenos Aires "with probably the object of inducing the Confederation to improve the opportunity of Chili being occupied at the Pacific, and to enforce its claims on the disputed Patagonian territory, constituting itself at the same time as an ally of Bolivia in

[31] Rauch, *Conflict in the Southern Cone*, 40.

[32] *New York Times*, 10 February 1880, p. 4.

[33] Rauch, *Conflict in the Southern Cone*, 47.

[34] Smith, "The Role of Jose M. Balmaceda in Preserving Argentine Neutrality," 260-261.

the past conflict."[35] However, Argentina declared its neutrality. Argentina's attitude regarding the conflict was praised in both newspapers. On the matter, the NYT pointed out,

> The sudden breaking out of the war between Chili, Peru, and Bolivia for a time postponed the settlement of the Patagonian question. It is creditable to the Argentine Republic that she was not so short sighted as to size this occasion for making common cause with the allies, and so obtaining from Chili by force the settlement which, to be stable, must be made of free will. It is known that Peru and Bolivia urged her to join them.[36]

Similarly, the LT wrote, "the Argentines deserve great praise for their forbearance, as nothing would have been easier for them than to call the Chilians to account at the time in which the issue of the war with Peru and Bolivia was still doubtful."[37]

To settle the dispute Chile offered Argentina "the maintenance of the *statu[s] quo*, and postpone[d] the ratification of the Treaty of 1878 for ten years. The Argentine Confederation [was] to retain jurisdiction in Patagonia as far as the eastern entrance of the Straits, Chili holding jurisdiction along the straits, the waters of which [were] to be declared neutral. "[38] But, the Argentina Republic refused to sign the ratification of the Fierro-Sarratea treaty. As the LT informed, "Intelligence from the Argentine Republic confirms the report of the rejection by a large majority in the Senate of the proposed treaty with Chili regarding the vexed question of the Patagonian possessions."[39]

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[35] *Times (London)*, 14 April 1879, p. 3 col F.

[36] *New York Times*, 9 August 1881, p. 4.

[37] *Times (London)*, 22 April 1880, p. 4 col E.

[38] *Times (London)*, 11 July 1879, p. 5 col A.

[39] *New York Times*, 2 August 1879, p. 2.

Finally, the territorial dispute was solved peacefully under the arbitration of the United States. Both governments signed and ratified that treaty in 1881. The agreement established that

> the Andes will form the dividing line in Patagonia between Chili and the Argentine Republic, precisely as they always have done further north. All east belongs to the latter, and all west to the former. The Argentine territory will run down the Atlantic coast to Cape Virgins, which is the eastern entrance of the Straits. . .Chili therefore gets the Straits and that small portion of the adjacent mainland which is south of the line run from Virgins Cape to the Andes. . .where Chilians have acquired a valid ownership of lands now conceded to be in Argentine limits, or the Argentine Republic an ownership of lands in Chilian limits, the value will be settled by arbitration, and paid. . .The Straits are declared free to all nations, and both parties bind themselves not to put forts on them, or to defend them by war-ships.[40]

In other words, Argentina retained most of the Patagonian region, while Chile kept jurisdiction over the Strait of Magellan, promising to preserve the neutrality of the interoceanic waterway.

Regarding this last point, it might be said that one of the most distinctive features of the NYT discourse is the portrayal of Patagonia as worthless place except for the Strait of Magellan whose neutrality needed to be guaranteed and defended. Patagonia in the eyes of the United States was a dull and barren region with no value attached. An article published in 1881 stated,

> the huge peninsula itself, comprising three or four hundred thousand square miles, is, for the most part, bleak and barren. Even the broad pampas east of the Andes, which include most of its valuable inland territory, are swept by terrible blast from the mountains, rendering them almost uninhabitable save by the natives, whose aboriginal rights are entirely left out of the question between Chili and Argentine as were those of the North American Indians in the disputed sovereignty of Great Britain and France."[41]

[40] *New York Times,* 9 August 1881, p. 4.

[41] *New York Times,* 9 August 1881, p. 4.

Clearly, Patagonia was a desolate and empty space in the geographical imaginary of the United States. However, there was one thing of much value in the whole region: the Strait of Magellan. The use of the interoceanic highway saved considerable time for steamers and allowed them to avoid the complications of rounding Cape Horn and crossing the Indian and Pacific Oceans to reach the west coast of the United States.[42] Therefore, from the perspective of the United States the neutrality of the passage was to be defended at all costs. Regarding the need of preserving the neutrality of the Strait of Magellan, the NYT wrote:

> As trade with the west coast is farther developed, the straits will probably become the general highway for most of the vessels in that region, and then, if it be in the power of any local government either to stop the navigation or to impose dues, serious complications may arise. . . The mercantile interests of all other nations require that the straits should ever remain as free as they are now.[43]

In contrast to the depiction of Patagonia as worthless space in the NYT, and while concerns regarding the neutrality of the Strait were manifested in both newspapers, LT discourse definitely did not depict Patagonia as worthless space. On the contrary, the image of fertility is present in most of the news regarding the dispute. This may be explained in the British international policy and her interests over the area. Furthermore, even though there is no formal recognition of Argentina's rights over Patagonia, Great Britain in alliance with the Argentine government encouraged immigration to the area with the aim of opening up the frontier to incorporate new farming lands into production.

Clearly, the Patagonian dispute was driven by the possession of Patagonia's natural resources and the control over the Strait of Magellan. Argentina and Chile

[42] *New York Times,* 20 August 1874, p. 4.

[43] Ibid.

claimed Patagonia and the Strait of Magellan "on the basis of maps, colonial explorations and the *utis possidetis* of 1810."[44] Each country regarded the region as its own and expanded territorially in the area. Although, the dispute grew in importance during the 1870s and the chances of a war were very high, the boundary controversy was peacefully solved in 1881.[45]

[44] Rauch, *Conflict in the Southern Cone*, 20.

[45] Although the 1881 agreement was a significant step toward negotiating the Chilean-Argentine boundary dispute, persistent disagreements continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and into the twentieth-first century.

Chapter VI:

Conclusions

Considering that spaces are linguistically represented and constructed and that those representations are ideologically grounded, this research has examined the set of images or representations of the non-Western world produced by the press, specifically by two newspapers: the *(London) Times* and the *New York Times*. Those images of the non-Western world were consumed by British and American audiences, shaping in this way their understanding of *Geographical Others* and *Geographical Spaces*. Indeed, American and British newspapers shaped and reflected public opinion. In this context, this study looked at newspapers discourses as they relate to agency (domestic and international agendas) and the historical/socio-cultural context. In other words, the analysis presented has searched for different layers of meanings attributed to land and people, and at the same time explored the motives behind those representations.

Social actors attach meaning to places and people by producing images. It is through the use of language that individuals produce meanings and create representations. As Hall argued, "language is the privileged medium in which we 'make sense' of things, in which meaning is produced and exchange . . . so language is central to meaning and culture."[1] From this perspective, the analysis presented here focused on the emergence of circulating images (patterns of representation) of Patagonia and Patagonians by analyzing newspaper discourse. Specifically, this thesis explored how the press in the United States

[1] Stuart Hall, ed., *Representations: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 1997), 1.

and England perceived and represented the South American region known as Patagonia and the people inhabiting the area.

To analyze the NYT and LT discourse on Patagonia and Patagonians this study has considered all the articles published in both newspapers containing the word "Patagonia" and/or "Patagonians" from the period 1840 through 1881. As a result, a large number of articles were coded and analyzed with the purpose of identifying the significances of the dynamics of changing discourses. Certainly, the articles published in both newspapers give accounts about Patagonia and Patagonians and those accounts are charged with meaning.

The textual images emerging from the LT and NYT helped Americans and Britons form ideas about the *Otherness*. In its articles both newspapers presented to the Western eyes the non-Western world. Indeed, the images advertised are the lenses through which the readers looked out at the region and its people. In this sense, Stuart Hall has defined advertising as "one means by which imperial project was given visual form in a popular medium, forging the link between Empire and the domestic imagination…advertising translate *things* into fantasy visual display of *signs* and *symbols*. "[2] In accordance with Hall's definition it might be said that the advertising of representations of Patagonia and Patagonians served the purpose of connecting American and British audiences with an unknown land and people shaping the way people thought about the region. Clearly, the issues at played in the images portrayed in both discourses are associated to the United States and Great Britain's national and international agendas.

The traffic of ideas associated with Patagonia showed that competing views of the region were at play in NYT and LT discourses. Indeed, the NYT and LT discourses offer

[2] Stuart Hall, ed., *Representations,* 240.

a more dynamic site for the contestation of meaning creating a complexity we do not see in travel accounts. The discourses in both newspapers reveal the co-existence of different views regarding Patagonia. During this period different images of Patagonia and Patagonian coexisted due to enduring and emerging perceptions that came about from different social actors, such as travelers, merchants, government officials, investors, etc. As a site for the diffusion of images, the press called on readers to think about Patagonia in different terms, that is, in terms of a region where the explanation of the origin of the species could be found (scientific knowledge), a barren desert, a commercially productive zone to be incorporated into the international market, and a place to settle. In addition, what emerged from the analysis of newspaper discourse is a view of Patagonia as an autonomous contested space. The inhabitants of Patagonia struggled for the control of the space among themselves and they also contested the monopolization of that space by external forces.

The struggle for the representation of Patagonia responded to the emergence of different perspectives on the possibilities offered by the space. Those constructions satisfied the needs and aspirations of British and American enterprises. In the case of Great Britain, the country was financially involved in Patagonia, first through commerce; second through the establishment of missions with the purpose of converting the Indians to Christianity and securing the trade and business interests in the area; and, finally, through settlement. There were no American missionaries or colonists in Patagonia, explaining in part the persistence of the image of desolation, emptiness, and wilderness in the NYT than the LT. Indeed, British investors were interested in the economic prosperity of Argentina and consequently portrayed the region in a positive light. By the

end of the period under study, the NYT emphasized the importance of the Strait of Magellan. The continuous remarks made by the NYT about the need for keeping the neutrality of the Strait of Magellan showed the issues at play in the United States' agenda for Patagonia. Indeed, the main concern of the United States was her interest in the maintenance the neutrality of the Strait. The Strait was the most viable the passage between the United States Pacific and Atlantic ports; therefore, free navigation was of vital importance to its domestic as well as international commerce. Furthermore, in general the NYT projected an image of South American republics as chaotic, projecting an image of failed republican projects, compared obviously to the self-asessed success of the American republican project. These negative views accompanied the country's awareness of the natural resources in South America. In this sense, as geographical explorations increased during the second half of the nineteenth century, the United States likely expected her experience in the west could be extended towards South America, but in the end decided against parallel presents and, consequently, parallel futures for the new republics of the western hemisphere. The British on the other hand were well into their global project and were not excluding any region from the potential benefits of trade, settlement, and commercial profits.

Clearly, the cultural production of the *Geographical Other* was related to Great Britain and the United States' interests in the Patagonia. In general, these views always reinforced white superiority over indigenous populations. Patagonians were evaluated within the evolutionary scheme that goes from savagery to civilization. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century newspaper discourse reflected nineteenth century ideas about the Darwinian evolution of peoples; and the dualist dichotomy of

civilization/barbarism fed the geographical imaginary of Western society. Certainly, discourse on Patagonia re-enforced beliefs in the existence of superior and inferior races present in the social imaginary in both societies. As stated in LT, it is "doubtful whether any schooling could induce an Indian, a negro, or a half-caste race of men to do more than is absolutely necessary to supply their own wants."[3] Descriptions of the people found in the newspapers reveal thoughts of British and American cultural superiority. This belief helped to justify the appropriation of the *Other* and the spaces occupied by that *Other*.

This notion of civilization versus barbarism was also present in the hegemonic discourse of Argentina's ruling class. This dichotomy allowed the Argentine state to portrayed Patagonia as an empty or inhabited space (desert), thus justifying the military campaign against the peoples who lived in the region. Indeed, the control exerted by the state over indigenous territory facilitated the incorporation of Argentina into the international market. This inclusion into the world economy played an important role in consolidating the image of that nation-state

To conclude, by foregrounding the images produced by "print capitalism," the present study hopes to contribute to the ongoing debates on the relationship between language and the creation of knowledge. Specifically, the analysis presented here aims to contribute to the growing literature that focuses on the analysis of the relationships between discourse, power, and space. Certainly, the analysis of newspapers discourse offers a model for thinking critically about the production of meaning. Newspapers are not just simple purveyors of information; they significantly contribute to the production of discourses.

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[3] *Times (London)*, 10 September 1880, p. 3 col C.

Appendixes

Appendix A

Number of articles per Year

Year	*NYT*	*LT*
1841	0	3
1842	0	1
1843	0	0
1844	0	2
1845	0	4
1846	0	59
1847	0	14
1848	0	3
1849	0	10
1850	0	9
1851	2	9
1852	15	26
1853	8	12
1854	6	7
1855	3	1
1856	4	6
1857	4	10
1858	11	11
1859	7	4
1860	7	5
1861	3	35
1862	2	11
1863	1	43
1864	4	3
1865	5	2
1866	3	6
1867	1	9
1868	3	6
1869	0	3
1870	1	5
1871	6	12
1872	2	17
1873	4	13
1874	16	8
1875	4	11
1876	0	5
1877	1	6
1878	9	20
1879	18	34
1880	10	21
1881	21	22

Appendix B

Themes & Years: NYT & LT

Bin	*Imaging*	*Commerce*	*Settlement*	*Dispute*
1840-1850	14	94	0	0
1851-1860	80	71	32	1
1861-1870	32	89	32	4
1871-1881	114	58	51	104

Themes & Years: LT

Bin	*Imaging*	*Commerce*	*Settlement*	*Dispute*
1840-1850	14	94	0	0
1851-1860	34	50	17	0
1861-1870	22	82	24	1
1871-1881	59	49	37	75

Themes & Years: NYT

Bin	*Imaging*	*Commerce*	*Settlement*	*Dispute*
1840-1850	0	0	0	0
1851-1860	46	21	15	1
1861-1870	10	7	8	3
1871-1881	55	9	14	29

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