37 Guevara Lynch, *Mi hijo El Che*, 104.

38 Carlos Altamirano sees this emphasis on the "two Argentinas" as part of an intellectual tradition that reaches at least as far back as the 1930s to works such as Eduardo Mallea's *Historia de una pasión argentina* (Buenos Aires: Sur, 1937). Altamirano, *Peronismo y cultura de izquierda*, 27.

39 Urban areas were not neglected; the film lamented that the "social embarrassment" of filthy tenements existed just blocks away from the presidential palace in Buenos Aires. Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires), Departamento de Cine, Audio y Video, *Justica social*, film, 16mm, seven minutes, 1948.

40 On the politics of the "construction of the new," see Maria Helena Rolim Capelato, *Multidões em cena: Propaganda política no varguismo e no peronismo* (Campinas, Brazil: Papirus, 1998), 114; and Ciria, *Política y cultura popular*, 261–63.

41 With national literacy rates at nearly 90 percent, print media was widely accessible. Information about radio and film audiences is scant, but with more than half of all households owning a radio and a two-thirds increase in cinema attendance during Perón's first term, millions of Argentines came into contact with these forms of propaganda. Torre and Pastoriza, "La democratización del bienestar," 296–97.

42 Oscar Chamosa, "Archetypes of Nationhood: Folk Culture, the Sugar Industry, and the Birth of Cultural Nationalism in Argentina, 1895–1945" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2003).

43 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 43.

44 Castañeda, *Compañero*, 71.

45 Guevara, *Back on the Road*, 92–93.

46 Richard Gillespie, *John William Cooke: El peronismo alternativo* (Buenos Aires: Cántaro Editores, 1989); and Richard Gillespie, *Soldiers of Perón: Argentina's Montoneros* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

47 Ernesto "Che" Guevara, *La guerra de guerrillas* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1989). Piglia, "Ernesto Guevara," 123–26.

48 Alma Guillermoprieto, "The Harsh Angel," *Looking for History: Dispatches from Central America* (New York: Vintage, 2002), 72–86.

Patience A. Schell

Beauty and Bounty in Che's Chile

When in 1951 Ernesto "Che" Guevara began his now legendary journey through South America, Chile beckoned; it was foreign while familiar, exotic but manageable, and it had a reputation for welcoming strangers. Chile, with its diverse landscapes, folkloric *huasos* (cowboys), and German settlers was both neighbor and sibling culture. In his *Motorcycle Diaries*, Guevara filled passages with descriptions of Chileans' easy hospitality and the attractiveness of the women, also noting the bountiful landscape. But Guevara was not alone in remarking on generosity, Chilean women, and the country's natural bounty. In isolation, his observations tell us something about the young Che but less about Chile in the 1950s. Yet Guevara's reflections mirror those of other travelers of the period, alongside them offering a wider view of Chile in the mid-twentieth century. Complimentary travel narratives discussed here, written by French, U.S., German, and English authors, also focus on the nation's beauty and bounty. Authors include a Maryknoll nun who had been a prisoner of war in the Philippines, a latter-day German romantic, and a staid British couple obsessed with their car. Like Guevara, each of these authors visited Chile on a wider tour of South America. Also like this volume's subject, these other observers reproduced a Chilean national discourse in which women's accomplishments and racialized constructions of their beauty represented Chile's progressiveness and in which its bountiful landscape constituted the nation's essence. Juxtaposed with additional foreign and Chilean sources, including a woman's magazine and the classic *Chile o una loca geografía*, as well as secondary sources, the travelogues show how these twin discourses of bounty and beauty defined Chile. Yet as this essay also addresses, foreign observers and Chileans alike

depicted and reproduced an ideal Chile that differed widely from the daily reality of millions of Chileans.

First Impressions

Guevara based his diary on notes he made during his South American journey, which he later revised into publication form.[1] This approach to documenting a journey is integral to the travel writing genre. Through this process of experience, note taking, and revision for publication, the genre allows for the invention of the self, the creation of a character, and the fashioning of a personality for the printed page.[2] As Mary Louise Pratt argues about the travels of Mungo Park in nineteenth-century Africa, "He made himself the protagonist and central figure of his own account, which takes the form of an epic series of trials, challenges, and encounters with the unpredictable."[3] Thus Guevara, the privileged, university-educated young man residing in Buenos Aires, became a trickster hero, an almost picaresque character, surviving through his wits and audacity. In Chile Guevara's account revolved around women, wine, and getting into scrapes. For Guevara, Chile, especially the country's south, constituted a space of conquest (often sexual) and a backdrop to his adventure. While we must consider the provenance and subsequent editing of the diary, a comparison between the accounts of Guevara and his traveling companion, Alberto Granado, still clearly indicate how Guevara shaped their experiences into humorous predicaments.[4]

Guevara and Granado entered Chile through the Lake District and began to travel north. Guevara had felt compelled to leave Argentina, drawn to the road and the unknown, even though the trip meant leaving his girlfriend, María del Carmen Ferreyra (Chichina), a wealthy young woman with a frivolous circle of friends. His attraction to Chichina was an attraction of opposites: his family was not wealthy and he was becoming increasingly serious and studious. Yet her letter ending the relationship, which reached Guevara in Bariloche, Argentina, broke his heart nonetheless.[5] With the end of the relationship, Guevara had lost one of his most important ties to home. His apparently cavalier attitude in southern Chile may in part have been a reaction to the breakup.

Arriving in Chile newly single, he sought after and delighted in

the country's contrast to Argentina. For Guevara, Chile's indigenous community was one remarkable difference. He observed that southern Chile was authentically "American" in a way that Argentina, for him, was not. In Valdivia he noticed "the harbor, overflowing with goods that were completely foreign to us, the market where they sold different foods, the typical Chilean wooden houses, the special clothes of the *guasos* [*sic*, Chilean cowboys], were notably different from what we knew back home; there was something indigenously American, untouched by the exoticism invading our pampas. This may be because the Anglo-Saxon immigrants in Chile do not mix, so preserving the purity of the indigenous race, which in our country is practically nonexistent."[6] While Chileans and foreigners alike often commented on the German influence in southern Chile, because Guevara sought an American "authenticity," he paid less attention to European influences—or, as in the case of German-style wooden houses, ignored their origin—seeing instead evidence of indigenous influence. As Eduardo Elena argues in his contribution to this volume, Guevara sought to be a different kind of traveler, not a tourist but a researcher into the essence of America who used travel as a methodology.

While Guevara found Chile much more indigenous than Argentina, most of the other travelers and writers discussed in this essay noticed the European influence on Chile's ethnic and cultural mix. In a fictional account of two English children's life in Chile, the father explained to his son that "the *chileno* himself is a fine chap—intelligent, self-reliant, sincere, a good friend and what the Scots call a 'bonny fighter.' They're all of European descent, mostly Spanish but with a strong dash of German, British, and Italian, as well as other nationalities; but they are very proud of the fact that among their ancestors are the Araucanians."[7] André Maurois, a noted French novelist, biographer, and member of the Académie Française who was in his sixties during his tour of South America, was also impressed by the people, which he had not expected after reading "Subercaseaux's book," no doubt *Chile, o una loca geografía*. In that personal geography Benjamín Subercaseaux did not particularly flatter his compatriots, claiming Chileans had an "indolent and apathetic" character.[8] Yet like the English father, Maurois, who mostly paid attention to Chile's elites, also saw Chileans as a version of Europeans. "I discovered here an unfettered, lively intelligence,

particularly among the women. The mixtures of races—Spanish, English, Nordic, sometimes Indian even—has produced an original and delicate type among the country's aristocracy. There are many red-blondes, with copper glints in their hair."[9]

But Europeans were not the only ones who found Chile impressive because of its familiarity. Kip Ross, a writer for *National Geographic*, felt comfortable in Chile in large part because of the recognition he experienced. "Chileans in temperament are much like North Americans [people of the United States]—industrious, bustling, sober. They are aptly called the Yankees of South America. Nowhere else below the border have I ever felt so much at home as in Chile." Moreover, according to Ross, "Indians" were seldom seen, either in Santiago or the rest of the country.[10] This lack of Indians was important because of heavily race-laden conceptions of progress that depicted indigenous and mixed-race people as a hindrance to national development. It was not only foreign observers but also Chilean elites who sought to erase or ignore evidence of indigenous and mestizo Chile. "Class uplift and economic advancement . . . were part of a process of racial whitening that would allow Chile to leave behind its degenerate mestizo past."[11] Unlike Guevara, who desired foreignness and difference, these travelers depicted Chile as a nation with the requisite European influence to ensure rapid advancement.

Thus Guevara's recognition of Chile as a country including a population of Indians proved unusual in travel accounts of the time. Two other visitors, however, also saw indigenous Chile. Although he denied that Chile had an indigenous population at one point in his *National Geographic* article, Ross later wrote about the indigenous people of the Temuco area. He found particularly frustrating that they did not permit him to take their picture. In the article, the only photograph of anyone indigenous was taken without permission, using a telephoto lens. When Ross tried to take a picture of an old woman in Mapuche dress, "she whirled, marched firmly up to me, and jabbed a stubby finger into my chest. 'How dare you take a picture behind my back?' she demanded in Indian-accented Spanish. 'I have a right to my own self.' She continued with surprising eloquence, emphasizing such words as *dignidad*, *reserva*, and *derechos* (rights)."[12] Ross clearly did not expect the "Indians," especially women, to talk back to him, much less have strong and well-

expressed opinions about what was wrong with his behavior; perhaps he expected the woman to have the "primitive" fear that the camera would take her soul, not to remind him of her rights.

Ross's stolen photograph contrasts with the photograph of a Mapuche girl published in *In and Out the Andes*, the travel account of a Maryknoll nun, Sister Maria del Rey, engaged in missionary work in Latin America. Before becoming a nun, Sister del Rey had earned a bachelor of arts in journalism from the University of Pittsburgh and had worked as a reporter for the *Pittsburgh Press*. At this stage of her life she had already published two books drawing on approximately fifteen years of missionary work in Asia.[13] All her photographs of children tend to be taken from the child's level, allowing those portrayed the dignity of looking straight at the viewer. Sister del Rey's photograph of a Mapuche girl, about twelve, shows her in traditional dress, in front of a tree and a picket fence. The girl looks directly at the camera, smiling widely. Perhaps Sister del Rey's gender, her position as a nun, and her work in different communities helped her earn the trust of her subjects. Sister del Rey captioned this picture "Araucanians are a cheerful race in southern Chile,"[14] deliberately ignoring or unaware of their reputation as an "unconquerable" race of fierce warriors.

Diario de Aventuras Chilenas

While Guevara clearly had an interest in indigenous Chile, he focused much of his attention on Chilean women, regardless of their race. Moreover, his perception of southern Chile as authentically American and indigenous likely added to the allure of Chilean women. His attraction and subsequent marriage to the Peruvian Hilda Gadea (in 1955), who had both Chinese and indigenous ancestry, further indicates his desire for the "exotic."[15] Before his travels in Chile, Guevara already had a reputation among family and friends as being bold with women and having difficulties keeping his hands to himself.[16] This confidence with women and forward character was in evidence throughout southern Chile. Each town offered fresh opportunities for sexual conquest. In Los Angeles he and Granado "decided to move to the fire station lured by the charms of the caretaker's three daughters, exponents of the grace of Chilean women who, ugly or beautiful, have a certain spontaneity and freshness that

captivates immediately."[17] Granado, who did not comment on Chilean women's particular charms or beauty, noted in his own account of the journey "the greater freedom of Chilean women. The prudishness of the Argentine middle class in keeping an eye on their daughters doesn't exist here." He also observed that Argentine and Chilean women had very different attitudes toward men (and, implicitly, toward sexual encounters). In Los Angeles a double date with two local women showed him that "things" were "more possible" in Chile than in Argentina.[18]

Their narratives evidence both men's desire for sexual encounters; yet Guevara also used thwarted desires to present himself as a comical rake. On their last night in Lautaro, Guevara described how, at a party, "one of the particularly friendly mechanics from the garage [which was fixing Granado's motorcycle] asked me to dance with his wife because he'd been mixing his drinks and was not feeling very well. His wife was hot and clearly in the mood and, full of Chilean wine, I took her by the hand and tried to steer her outside. She followed me meekly but then noticed her husband watching us and told me she would stay behind. I was in no state to listen to reason and . . . I started pulling her toward one of the doors, while everybody was watching, and then she tried to kick me, and as I was pulling her she lost her balance and fell crashing to the floor."[19] Granado's account confirms Guevara's, emphasizing how the wife "took a fancy to" Che and describing how Granado (and drunkenness) floored the aggrieved husband about to hit Guevara with a wine bottle. Needless to say, Guevara and Granado fled with an angry crowd close behind.[20] The clumsy failed seduction was clearly important to the travelers. As an old man Granado recounted how watching the filming of this scene for Walter Salles's film, *The Motorcycle Diaries* (2004) "moved [him] more than [he] could say."[21] What Guevara presents as drunken foolishness certainly suggests a selfishness in him, and perhaps recklessness as well. He neither respected the woman's wishes nor the husband's prerogative of sexual fidelity from his wife, nor even felt any debt for the help the mechanic had given the penniless travelers.

Although the women in mainland Chile appealed to Guevara and Granado, stories sent their imaginations further afield. Easter Island, ostensibly of interest because of the men's leprosy research, in fact attracted them for other reasons. Guevara mused: "Easter Island! The imagination . . . turn[s] somersaults at the very thought: 'Over there, having a white 'boyfriend' is an honor'; 'Work? Ha! the women do everything—you just eat, sleep and keep them content.' This marvelous place where the weather is perfect, the women are perfect, the food perfect, the work perfect (in its beatific nonexistence). What does it matter if we stay there a year; who cares about studying, work, family, etc."[22] While later in his travels Guevara began to see himself as engaged in research on societies and politics, and he described this journey as his "serious trip" in subsequent conversations with Ricardo Rojo, in these early days his main desires were ease, sex, and wine.[23]

Guevara principally wished to find young, lovely, and sexually available women, but the day-to-day difficulties that faced Chilean women also occasionally surfaced in his narrative, especially in central and northern Chile. This shift in how he depicted Chilean women coincided with more serious general reflections and a gradual move away from the larking in southern Chile. In a Valparaíso dive, La Gioncanda, Guevara and Granado settled into eating and drinking for free, thanks to the owner's generosity. Here Guevara heard the cook, "quite crazy" Rosita, who Granado described as looking like a "medieval witch" and being on the "very threshold of senile dementia," tell of domestic violence witnessed: the attempted murder of her neighbor. Rosita never sought to inform the police of the assault because they had laughed at her during a previous attempt to denounce a crime, accusing her of inventing stories.[24] Guevara offered no comment on the incident, but such brutality was part of daily life for many Chilean women, married to or in relationships with men who believed it their right to "discipline" their female partners. The violence, as long as it stayed reasonably private, was tolerated. In his work on El Teniente copper mine, in the Andes above Rancagua, Thomas Miller Klubock shows how relatives and neighbors sometimes defended women against domestic violence, but only when the violence caused a scene in public or could lead to serious physical consequences.[25]

Poverty and lack of health care were also day-to-day problems for many Chilean women. While in Valparaíso, Guevara tended to a sick woman, bedridden due to asthma and a heart condition. Recognizing her disease, smelling the poverty in her room, he acknowledged his own helplessness when faced with the structural causes of ill-

ness. As he traveled further in Latin America, however, the poverty and health problems he had witnessed in Chile were put into sad perspective. Looking back on his time in Chile, Guevara criticized the lack of free health care, yet he recognized that in comparison to other parts of Latin America, Chile was making good progress in improving national health.[26] In fact, in 1952 the government established the Servicio Nacional de Salud (National Health Service) to offer health care to all Chileans who required it. "Henceforth, women, men, and children, workers, indigents, and housewives, would all receive equivalent care in the same clinics and hospitals."[27] Prenatal care, antibiotics, and efforts to rid the country of tuberculosis, which was the single greatest killer at that time, also helped decrease mortality rates. As a result of these initiatives, life expectancy rose about fifteen years for both men and women, although infant mortality remained among the highest in Latin America.[28]

The last Chilean woman Guevara mentions was a communist living in internal exile. Guevara had encountered a communist couple looking for work in the mines of the northern desert. Amid domestic labor conflicts and increasing Cold War tensions, the Communist Party had been outlawed in 1948, its members persecuted. Guevara briefly saw himself through the eyes of the man, whose situation had become utterly precarious because of his political affiliation. Although they shared a fire that night, Guevara recognized that for this communist, their peregrinations had nothing in common. Guevara and Granado were poor, shabby, and wandering by choice. As a result of the repression of 1947 and 1948 under President Gabriel González Videla, this man's comrades were dead. The Chilean and his wife, having left their hungry children with a kind neighbor, lived exiled in their own country; they were headed toward the mines, where his politics would not matter but his health would quickly suffer.[29] In Guevara's account, the communist wife was a silent yet exemplary figure because of her loyalty during her husband's three months in prison.[30] Granado's account of the same meeting elaborated on her silence: "Unaware she was being observed, his wife watched him as he spoke, and she showed a kind of entranced admiration that touched a sentimental chord in me. I felt something warm inside that linked me fraternally to this woman, poor in money and in culture but rich in feeling, who had faced up to a long string of setbacks, persecution and disasters and was loyal

to her companion even more in misfortune."[31] In this meeting Guevara and Granado proved acutely aware of their privilege, even while living as poor wanderers.

A National Resource

Other visitors and Chileans themselves shared Guevara's interest in Chilean women. Chile's middle-class and elite urban women were held as representative of and key to the nation's claim to modernity. Guevara, who had fashioned himself into a shabby vagabond, rarely had dealings with women like this in Chile—women who Chichina would have understood. His only recorded encounter of the sort was decidedly awkward. When the two travelers ran into Chilean women accompanying their acquaintances to see the view from Santa Lucia hill in Santiago, "the poor guys were embarrassed enough—unsure of whether to introduce us to these 'distinguished ladies of Chilean society,' as in the end they did, or play dumb and pretend not to know us (remember our unorthodox attire)."[32]

In his interactions with and depictions of women throughout Chilean society, Guevara was unusual: most travel writers focused on urban elite and middle-class women. In Santiago, Ross observed plenty of blue-eyed blondes who "bear witness to the heavy infusions of the same Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic blood that predominates in the United States." It was not only what these women looked like that he noticed but also what they were doing. "Particularly I was impressed by the number of young women in tailored suits or skirts and blouses who click along on spike heels to office or shop. Chile's women, unlike some of their Latin American sisters, have established their rights to work and to enter the professions, as well as to vote."[33]

Peter Schmid, a German touring South America, was fascinated by Chilean women. He begins his musings advising that "whoever observes Chile must never leave the women out of account." He then spends three pages addressing Chilean women's beauty, personality, and their contemporary situation.

> I could not help exclaiming as I walked along the streets for the first time. After an hour I took refuge in a dark café to be rid of the sight of women. . . . What shall I speak of first? Of their slim gazelle-like

figures, the soft oval faces, the dark eyes, or the natural complexion that gleams like a peach? Grace is to be found everywhere, of course, perhaps a softer and more sensitive grace than in this tropical paradise, but real beauty demands more than pretty forms. It demands a personality that flashes with the eyes, an ego that enchants you, and in my opinion the Chilean women possess this more than any of their sisters in South America. Whether it derives from the courage of the Araucanians or from English and German blood, whether. . . . [*sic*] But why bother to dig for the roots of beauty. We should merely rejoice its existence.[34]

In his lengthy reflection, Schmid depicts the characteristics of women in Chile as key to understanding the country. Still, his mention of Chile as a tropical paradise suggests that imagination and expectations were coloring his observations.

Even the fictional account of an English family's stance in Chile, written by Margaret Faraday, who had lived and traveled in South America for most of her life, addressed the subject of Chilean women's beauty and independence. In this novel for teenagers, the narrator observed about the family maid: "Carmen . . . was a cheerful soul, slim and attractive. The first time Harriet [the English daughter] saw her coming home after her afternoon off [Harriet] failed to recognize her and thought she must be a visitor, so smart did she look in her high-heeled shoes and well-cut linen suit; the lavish use of lipstick and eyebrow pencil still further altered her appearance. Harriet's mother explained to her, 'They're all like that . . . and after all, why not? Carmen's a pretty girl, and will be even prettier when she learns not to overdo her make-up. She tells me she's going to work in a shop when we leave. As long as she stays until then, I think it's a good idea. She's well educated—she went to the Liceo, and did quite well there.' "[35]

Another traveler who picked up on these discourses was Major W. T. Blake, whose previous publications included *The Royal Flying Corps in the War* and *Desert Adventures*. Blake and his wife toured the continent in a 1950 model Standard Vanguard car to prove that a British car was up to the challenge of South American roads and to strike a blow against the U.S. car industry. Thus much of his account describes in detail potholes, lack of paving, and the difficulty of finding indoor parking. Yet even Blake noticed the women of Chile when his wife, "R.," was confined to the hotel room ill: "During my wanderings in town . . . I came to the conclusion that the girls in Santiago have a much higher average of looks than in any other town that I had seen in South America, though perhaps they were not quite so smartly dressed as the women of Buenos Aires."[36]

The foreign observers addressing the beauty of Chilean women clearly keyed into a discourse of Chilean national identity. When Anne Merriman Peck, in South America during the late 1930s, traveled throughout Chile, local people often mentioned Chilean women's beauty. For example, before arriving in Santiago, Peck heard that the capital had a reputation for beautiful women.[37] She also learned the saying that Coquimbo was "famous for canaries and *las chicas bonitas*, pretty girls."[38] Once in Santiago, she observed the prosperous appearance of women on the street. A friend of hers advised her not to be fooled. " 'Don't think these women are prosperous because they have pretty clothes,' said an American friend who lives in Santiago. 'They spend everything they have on dress.' "[39] Other travelers also noticed this Chilean interest in the country's women. When Ross found himself stranded in the middle of the night at a small train station in central Chile, the ticket agent wanted to know, "What did I think of Chile? How did I like the wines? And then, inevitably, what did I think of Chilean women? I said I thought they were beautiful, which was polite—but also true."[40]

In 1954 the Chilean women's magazine *Eva* ran an article asking if Chilean woman really were as beautiful as Chilean men thought they were. The article noted that when famous foreign beauties arrived in Chile, it was common for Chilean men to say, " 'Geez . . . Chilean women are much prettier' . . . the men saying these proud and defiant comments . . . feel as knights [defending] this seemingly irrefutable truth." The magazine consulted three portrait photographers on the question. Javier Pérez, known as Rays, assured readers that 70 percent of Chilean women were beautiful, while the other 30 percent were "more than" acceptable. Their beauty came from their "intense" interior life, evident in their gestures and their provocative yet enchanting gazes. Like Guevara, Rays noticed Chilean women's indescribable appeal.

The next portrait photographer, Jorge Opazo, could not describe a "standard type" of Chilean woman; nonetheless he found the nation to have lovely women who were all tasteful in their clothing

and makeup. For Opazo, Chilean women's beauty derived as much from their spirit as from their exterior. The Chilean woman's judgment and temperament "have made her emancipate herself before any other [woman] of the continent," yet once she had obtained her liberty, she used it sensibly. Opazo argued that "the Chilean woman is capable of performing very well in all types of technical, manual, professional, artistic, and cultural activities . . . and as a housewife, she knows how to manage her home very well." Chilean women's progress represented national progress, and Chile's women were a key resource and national trait. "If you'll allow me, I can confirm that the woman is the best that we have in Chile. Our country is the most special." Arguing that Chile's geography and isolation had fostered a nation of talented yet modest people, Opazo depicted these unique women as part of the nation's identity. "These characteristics of the Chilean people—a race that was forged between the experienced Spanish culture and the young, untutored Araucanian blood—are notoriously manifest in the women of this land: they are beautiful, distinguished, elegant, charming, refined, expressive, of good lines and great creative spirit." *Eva*'s staff argued that Opazo's opinion was conclusive because of his experience photographing so many lovely women.[41] Opazo explicitly articulated an undercurrent in much of the discussion about Chilean women: they constituted one of the nation's key resources and defined a part of Chilean national identity. This view of women as a national resource had been evident earlier in the century, too. For example, the Chilean contribution to the Pan-American Exhibition in Buffalo in 1901 included a photo album with portraits of lovely Chilean women, alongside photographs of steam locomotives built in Chile and naval warships.[42]

Evident in Opazo's discussion was a class-based and racialized view of female beauty. Maurois, enchanted by the elite women he met at social events, remarked that "the working women are not so lovely."[43] He concurred with Subercaseaux who contended that working women, even the young ones, had heavy gaits and lacked grace.[44] But Subercaseaux went further, fully acknowledging the class and racial elements of what he saw as a national myth: "The beauty of the 'Chilean woman' is a myth with which we are accustomed to duping the tourist. *She is very lovely in reality, but only in a certain middle class and in the aristocracy, where the European affiliation is recent.* The 'old' Chilean, and above all the one from the popular classes, is frankly ugly. She lacks daintiness, has wide hips and sagging breasts . . . [Chilean women] are extraordinarily uniform and lacking grace."[45] For Subercaseaux, Chilean women as a group lacked femininity, and this lack resulted from their essential passivity and their lack of spark or even maternal instincts. According to Subercaseaux the latter, rather than poor health care and poverty, was one the main reasons for the country's high infant mortality rate.[46]

Thus foreigners and Chileans alike saw in the discourse about women and beauty in Chile proof of the nation's European origin and an indication of its potential for future progress.[47] Chile is not unique in using women's beauty to define part of its national identity. Venezuela's national pride in producing so many Miss World and Miss Universe winners offers another example of female beauty representing the nation. Yet women's attractiveness in Chile also had other uses. Their beauty proved a useful tool to control male behavior. For example, at El Teniente copper mine, the company newspaper's *página feminina* promoted this useful beauty: to be a good wife and mother, a woman had to pay attention to her appearance. "According to the women's page, feminine attractiveness was necessary for maintaining a healthy marital relationship." Women's attractiveness would keep their husbands sexually interested and thus support stable marriages and lure men off the streets. Women had to have firm thighs, healthy teeth, and cared-for hands. One social worker quoted in the paper noted with disapproval and disgust that she had seen many women with dirty faces in the mining camps. But it was not only the U.S.-owned copper company that promoted this useful beauty. The national Welfare Department sponsored beauty contests for women who lived in the mining camp. In both cases, ideas about "female beauty reflected middle-class images of femininity that consisted of attributes to which only women devoted to domestic activity and with sufficient resources could aspire."[48] As Peck's friend knew, attractiveness had a high financial cost.

Chilean women's attractiveness also derived from their activities, not just their looks. The ideal woman was to be fit and physically active. In El Teniente, women's exercise was pushed as a means to develop "grace" and "elegance," while also promoting health and self-discipline. The mine newspaper "counseled women that to

govern their bodies they should take cold showers and exercise regularly. Exercise and cosmetic care would promote modesty, restraint, and grace in women's behavior." Thus exercise, a middle-class activity, would inspire middle class–sanctioned lives.[49]

Organized sports further promoted women's physical activity. Chile had an internationally successful women's basketball team composed of players from different social classes and backgrounds. According to the women's magazine *Eva*, which ran many articles on women and sports, Chilean women's characteristics contributed to the basketball team's success. "Generally, the Chilean woman meets the basic requirements for the good cultivation of this sport. She is agile, perspicacious, quick in her reactions, and possesses a clear intelligence that allows her to organize her game well, confronting the adversary." The basketball team, which won the South American championship in the sixth international competition played in Quito, was described as made up of "simple young women," including factory workers, a teacher, a lawyer, and a mother. Although they all worked long hours and had other responsibilities, "they always have time to dedicate to the sport to make Chile's name stand out through basketball."[50] These women embodied ideal femininity while earning respect for Chile internationally and further proving what Chilean women could achieve.

As this description of the basketball team makes clear, it was not only a discourse about the singular beauty of Chilean women that foreigners, including Guevara, picked up on. Women in mid-twentieth-century Chile were doing things that women in other parts of Latin America were not—a fact that Guevara missed completely. Peck's interest was not just in women's appearance, but also in what they did. In Santiago she observed that attractive and well-dressed women—working, shopping, or heading to social activities—constantly filled the streets.[51] Peck concluded that "in all my associations with the people of Santiago I was most favorably impressed with the women. There are, of course, plenty of interesting men, but the women are outstanding. I had seen the pretty frivolous ones in tea shops and met some of them at parties. I had met the aristocrat who is the sympathetic *patrón*, and the aristocrat who combines interest in the arts with social service, and there were interesting contacts with other delightful women who are educators, teachers and writers."[52]

As these travelers noted, Chilean women did have many more professional opportunities than women in other countries, and they had a longer history in the professions. Women had first been admitted to the Universidad de Chile in 1877, from which the first few women doctors graduated in 1886.[53] Still, in the early twentieth century, women who sought learning were subjected to insults, social exclusion, and threats. Although more women were training as lawyers and doctors by the late 1920s,[54] clear gender divisions continued to exist among the professions. During the 1930s and 1940s, parents tried to keep their daughters from studying law or medicine for fear that they would become old maids. Other professions, like social work or pharmacology, were considered more appropriate for women.[55]

Regardless of these difficulties, the activities of Chilean women still served as proof of the nation's progressiveness. At a speech to the United Nations (UN) in 1946, the feminist Amanda Labarca noted the high number of women in paid labor: one-third of the working population. The nation, she argued, was proud of the "high culture and magnificent services of our [female] teachers, doctors, social workers, judges, engineers, and so on, in a word of the professional women." But Chile was also proud of women industrial workers, who increased the nation's production. All these women engaged in paid work while maintaining their social and maternal responsibilities. For Labarca, Gabriela Mistral's Nobel Prize was proof of the heights to which Chilean women could rise.[56]

In the 1950s, as earlier, women proved essential to the official and unofficial workforce. In 1952 an estimated 25 percent of the official workforce (2,155,243 workers) was female.[57] In the same year, 24 percent of women were classified as working in manufacturing (131,850) and 32 percent worked in domestic service (171,330).[58] Regardless of what Labarca argued in front of the UN, in some cases the appeal of hiring women workers resulted from gender inequalities. Management at the Yarur cotton mill, for example, preferred women "as machine operators because they earned 30 percent less than men for the same work, were more reliable, and were more receptive to . . . paternalistic charms." With the passage of effective equal-pay and maternity-leave legislation in the mid-1950s, women, who had made up 60 percent of that factory's labor force, began to be phased out as too expensive. This kind of decision was not

unique to Yarur but formed part of a wider issue for women workers who had already found that improvements in their legal status could reduce their appeal to employers.[59] For many women, work meant finding informal opportunities that did not clash with their domestic responsibilities. Klubock describes the informal labor of many of the women living in the mining town of Sewell (home to the U.S. Braden Copper Company—which owned El Teniente mine); there, women sold homemade empanadas or candy door to door, took in boarders, washed clothing, and prepared meals for the men who worked in the mine.[60]

Regardless of their high participation in the labor force, women were seen both by the labor movement and by political leaders as having their proper place in the home; neither group valued female work in domestic service or the informal economy as real labor.[61] The company newspaper for El Teniente joined with Welfare Department social workers to argue that in a "modern" family, men earned the wages and women administered them, figuring out how to make these wages meet the family's needs.[62] Because women in paid labor were not seen as breadwinners, women workers continued to find themselves depicted as interlopers in a masculine realm.[63]

Seeking New Politics

Even though many travelers focused on women's activities, Schmid was the only foreign observer discussed here who addressed women's roles in contemporary politics, especially their roles in the recent presidential election. Women had gained the right to vote in municipal elections in 1934, but with separate polling stations and separate voter registries, making politics a highly gendered activity. Not until 1949 did women finally gain the right to vote in national elections.[64] In the years after women's suffrage became national law, strong, independent women's political parties made a clear (and potentially threatening) impact on political life, at a moment of crisis in Chilean party politics.[65] Women's parties and their vote proved particularly important in the election of Carlos Ibañez del Campo to the presidency in 1952. Ibañez brought together leftists and right-wing nationalists in an uneasy alliance. His appeal for both groups stemmed from a widespread dissatisfaction with the

elitism and corruption of all politics. Ibañez's supporters saw him as an apolitical outsider, one therefore not beholden to party politics.[66] For his opponents, however, he was a Chilean version of Perón, like Ibañez a military leader "whose popular support threatened the interests of the oligarchy."[67] The opposition characterized Ibañez's previous presidency (1927–31) as a dictatorship that used illegal detention, torture, and the surveillance of telephone and postal communication to eliminate political and union opposition. Yet eight women's organizations endorsed the election of the populist general.[68]

Schmid did not talk about women's wide-ranging participation but, rather, noticed the showiest campaigner: María de la Cruz, the leader of the Partido Femenino Chileno. De la Cruz had a "raw sensual voice" and during her rallies "succumbed to passion, burst[ing] into uncontrollable sobbing and fl[inging] out her arms as though she were being pilloried." He was not impressed by her fervor and concluded that "Chile's soil and Chile's women are volcanic, and unfortunately so is Chile's social and political situation."[69] In her campaign to support Ibañez, de la Cruz became known for exactly the sort of performance that Schmid described. If Ibañez reminded voters of Perón, de la Cruz became an Evita figure. "As a senator with close ties to Ibañez, de la Cruz threatened conventional gender norms as well as standard practices in the economic and political realms." Members of her own party feared that she was acting more on her own behalf than representing them. De la Cruz's successful senatorial campaign increased the skepticism; Ibañez's belief that his strong polling among women (he won 43 percent of the women's vote) was down to de la Cruz proved their fears right.[70] But de la Cruz's career was cut short when she was accused of accepting a bribe. Although the charge proved unfounded, the story left her so discredited that she resigned.[71]

Another bribe accusation ended the period of successful, independent women's parties. In 1953, Ibañez, seeing the efficacy that organized women brought to his Argentine counterpart, planned a meeting between Perón himself and Chilean women's groups. After this meeting, at which Perón spoke of the importance that a unified women's movement had in Argentina, Chilean women's organizations met with two Argentine congresswomen. "The Argentines presented the Chilean women with a check, a gift that was to remain

secret—ostensibly a bribe to get the women's groups to give up their independence and formally join Ibañez." When news of this bribe reached the media, the resulting scandal prompted the disbanding of all the women's groups that had participated in the Ibañez campaign. This revelation of corruption proved particularly damaging at a moment when women had only recently gained full participation in national politics, in part by claiming to stand above the everyday dirt of male politics. The Ibañez government and mainstream political parties, who feared that strong women's political parties and groups could threaten politics as usual, benefited from the scandal. Following the corruption incident politically active women joined traditional parties, doubting their ability to organize themselves independently. They had lost the moral superiority that had partially justified their political activity.

Thus the intense mobilization of women ceased shortly after women had finally gained the vote. As the Left gained strength in Chilean politics, women's issues were slowly displaced by class issues; left-wing women's groups lost their membership to political parties.[72] Meanwhile, as in Argentina, the unelected position of first lady came to have political significance. After women gained the vote in Chile, the first lady became an informal national leader of women's movements. She represented the voice of a conservative, Catholic, family-oriented anticommunist women's movement tied to the government.[73]

Traveling before the Ibañez elections, Guevara remained unaware of or uninterested in women's intense political mobilization, yet both he and Granado noticed many Chileans' expectation that life for working people would improve under Ibañez. In southern Chile, Granado took note of the common conviction that "only Ibañez can save the country. . . . People believe in him as if he were a godsend." Granado's one attempt to persuade a tenant farmer of the need for land reform failed because the farmer was convinced that Ibañez would ensure fair rural wages.[74] At the other end of the country, Ibañez was held in equal esteem. When Guevara and Granado showed up at the vast open-pit copper mine of Chuquicamata, owned and operated by the U.S. Anaconda Copper Company, they were grudgingly allowed to look around ahead of an expected strike. Their guide told them that the "imbecilic gringos" were foolishly "losing thousands of *pesos* every day in a strike so as not to give a poor worker a few more *centavos*. When my General Ibañez comes to power that'll all be over."[75] But Ibañez did not improve the lives of Chile's working people as they had hoped, leaving structural problems and economic inequalities intact.

Generous Hosts

One of the Chilean characteristics that most stood out to Guevara was the people's friendliness and quick hospitality. In Osorno he reported, "The Chileans, exceedingly friendly people, were warm and welcoming wherever we went."[76] In Valparaíso he mused, "To meet in Chile signifies a certain hospitality and neither of us was in a position to turn down this manna from heaven."[77] In Santiago the travelers finagled an invitation to "one of those Chilean-style meals that go something like, 'have some ham, try some cheese, drink a little more wine,' and that you stand up from—if you can—straining all the thorax muscles in your body."[78] According to Guevara's account, he and Granado accepted this consistent hospitality with a studied nonchalance that fit with his image of them as shrewd vagabonds.

They did not always adequately repay this hospitality. A German immigrant family in southern Chile gave Guevara and Granado a bed for the night and treated them "very well." In the night, awoken by his weak stomach, Guevara defecated out the window, rather than leave a mess in the bedpan, and (unintentionally) fouled peaches drying on the ground outside. In the morning, seeing the distasteful mess, he and Granado quickly departed, leaving the people who had taken care of them an unpleasant surprise.[79] Of another family who took them in, believing them to be internationally renowned leprosy experts, Guevara wrote, "basking in their admiration, we said goodbye to those people we remember nothing about, not even their names."[80] Perhaps age and bravado explain Guevara's self-depiction as a shameless con artist.

Guevara was not the only foreigner to find Chileans warm and hospitable. Perhaps Sister del Rey's own liveliness helped her see and bring out the cheerfulness in others. "There's such a vibrant life and gayety in Chile!"[81] she remarked, basing her observation on the pleasure and humor that people took from everyday situations. She described Galvarino, a town of fifteen hundred people between the

coastal mountain range and Temuco as not having much in the way of modern infrastructure, adding, "But in a big way it goes in for friendliness, zest for living and bright-eyed children."[82] She was also amused and pleased at how much Chileans appeared to like Chile. "A great part of the charm of Chile, I've come to think, is that every Chilean thanks God from the bottom of his heart that he is a Chilean." In her experience of traveling, while most people from other countries were interested in information about the United States, Chileans wanted to talk about Chile. When the visitor suggested to a Chilean that the country was beautiful, " 'Yes!' he agrees. 'The mountains and the sea! Have you seen our national flower, the *copihue*? Everybody in Chile loves the *copihue*; we have it everywhere.' " At the suggestion that Chileans were "progressive," this imaginary Chilean would agree and argue that it was one of the country's unique characteristics.[83] She even titled one of her chapters, "Chile—The Chileans Like It!"

Ross agreed. In his *National Geographic* article, he reflected, "Everywhere I found the people a delight. The friendliness I have mentioned marked my contacts in every part of the country."[84] Ross opened his article describing how he stood on a street corner in Valdivia, feeling downhearted because of the rain. He was startled when a scooter-mounted student, Roberto González, told him to "get on" (in English). González wanted to give Ross a tour of the city. "This encounter was by no means my first experience with Chileans, but it symbolized adventures that marked my every step throughout their country. . . . Chile is without a doubt the friendliest land I know."[85] He concluded his article by reflecting, "I feel that Chile's real wealth lies in the breadth of her people and their capacity for friendship."[86]

Even bored Blake (motoring around South America in his British car) was struck by Chilean hospitality, which he often wished he could demur because of his own fastidiousness. Descending from the Portillo pass to Santiago, Blake and his wife found a picnic spot on the side of the road in Los Andes. "In a few minutes one man with an extremely dirty child came, with great hospitality, to ask us if we should not be more at our ease if we took our lunch in his house. . . . We made what we hoped were suitable excuses for not accepting his invitation [and] gave the child a bar of chocolate." Later in the day, when they stopped by a muddy stream to refill the radiator, a police officer appeared offering help, taking them back to the police station to fetch clean water.[87]

Similarly, near La Serena, Blake and his wife stopped to watch men threshing grain on horseback. One of the men "invited us to come in and take some refreshment with them." The couple received a close-up view of the threshing, and then "one of the women of the household . . . came out and invited us to sit on the veranda where we were given plates heaped up with boiled wheat, with castor sugar and water to mix with the grain." Blake and his wife doubted the water's quality, as it came from a local well, but "courtesy demanded that we should eat it up and I think we did our duty rather nobly."[88] Despite his reservations about the hospitality, Blake reflected, "The more I see of other parts of the world the more I realize what a curiously inhospitable lot of people we are in England."[89]

Many of these travelers, although not Guevara, Granado, or Sister del Rey, remained unaware that the generosity and cheerfulness that so charmed them took place in the context of an increasingly difficult economic situation, especially for industrial and rural workers. Ibañez's presidency did not bring improvements. Instead, the cost of living rose dramatically, as did inflation: in 1953 there was a 50 percent rise in the cost of living, which grew to 58 percent in 1954 and 88 percent in 1955. In 1955 inflation itself was at 86 percent. Unemployment also rose precipitously, almost doubling. Meanwhile, the peso lost two-thirds of its value; people with money bought dollars. The tax burden, moreover, was increasingly felt by those least able to afford it. Between 1946 and 1952 government revenues derived from direct taxes fell from 4.3 percent to 4 percent, while at the same time revenue from indirect taxes increased from 7.8 percent to 9.2 percent of the total. By 1956, estimates suggest, the rich were paying 14.7 percent of their income in taxes, while spending 64.3 percent of their income on consumer goods.[90] Chilean hospitality was costing poor and middle-class Chileans far more than these foreigners realized.

A Chilean Cornucopia

The admiration for people's friendliness was matched by wonder at the country's natural bounty. The depiction of Chile as blessed with fertile lands was a common one for Chileans and foreigners alike.

Subercaseaux titled one of the chapters in his geography of Chile, "Where the Agricultural Part Begins, Which Some Confuse with Chile."[91] Like other visitors, Guevara had noticed the fertile farmland, placing it in stark contrast to Argentine Patagonia, which he framed as a desert. "We arrived in Osorno, we scrounged around in Osorno, we left Osorno and continued ever northward through the delightful Chilean countryside, divided into plots, every bit farmed, in stark contrast to our own arid south."[92] Granado also reflected on the stunning and productive landscape: "The beauty of the Andes, the small farms golden with wheat, the rich orchards dripping with apples and pears," although he also noticed "the downtrodden huasos, poorly dressed in their unfailing ponchos and frayed, wide-brimmed hats, on small horses as famished as the riders themselves."[93]

Schmid was as lyrical about the land as he had been about the women. He asked himself, "Why is it that everyone in this country is not a poet?" He then reflected that "Chile is the most indolent of the South American lands. Her fields are a riot of flowers and the blossoms assail even the houses like a flood. . . . Vines grow in the plains with heavy bunches of grapes . . . nowhere does the wine turn out so nobly as here. . . . Wine is akin to poetry. It is no coincidence that this soil produced the finest lyrics in the Spanish tongue; Gabriela Mistral and Pablo Neruda are children of this land."[94] Hardly interested in Chile or its inhabitants, even Blake joined in the chorus depicting Chile as a natural garden, famed for its profusion of flowers.[95]

Sister del Rey, too, was captivated by Chile's bounty and beauty, which she understood through her religious vocation: "It does something to you to see broad fields, in which the curving lines the plow has made, stretch far off to a splendid line of poplar trees marking off one neighbor's farm from another. It does you good to see the two-wheeled carts piled high with big cabbages, carrots, radishes, and onions that make your mouth water; to talk to men riding majestic horses and wearing the *manta* [poncho] which might well be an emperor's uniform; to sink your teeth into beautiful apples and oranges. And then almost anywhere in Chile you can lift your eyes to a panorama of snow-covered mountains. It is as if God has put a fence around Chile and said, 'This much is My special property.' "[96]

Ross felt equally impressed with the farmland in central Chile. "From the Aconcagua south to the Bío-Bío, the land smiles bountifully on the farmer. There the brown of foothills and deserts yields to green. Rows of eucalyptus trees line fields of cereal grains, orchards, endless expanses of grapes, and pastures filled with Friesians [cows]."[97] The fertility of the Aconcagua Valley, one of Chile's most productive regions in the 1950s, was indeed remarkable: 36,600 hectares of land in cultivation yielded close to 10 percent of Chile's annual agricultural production. The crops of the Aconcagua Valley included fruit, wine grapes, wheat, hemp, alfalfa, vegetables, and flowers, cultivated during multiple growing seasons nurtured by the temperate climate. Subercaseaux wrote of it, "It is enough to look out the train window for the Biblical image of the land of plenty to come to mind." The image shifted at the various little stations, where vendors sold not "fruits of the Orient" but cherimoyas, avocados, grapes, and figs. He described it as a "fruity exuberance."[98]

Yet these travelers found bounty throughout Chile. In the far south, which no other traveler discussed in this chapter visited, Ross observed further fertility. Mario Habit, the chief agronomist for the Tierra del Fuego Development Society, had proudly told Ross that "we can grow almost anything here," the only impediment being the brush. That vegetation was being cleared as quickly as possible by burning or Caterpillar tractors hauling chains across the land.[99]

Schmid also observed this clearing of the land for cultivation in the Lake District, witnessing a process begun a hundred years before. Foreign immigration to that region had begun in the mid-nineteenth century when the Chilean government encouraged Germans to settle and farm the land, displacing the indigenous Mapuche. Visiting a German settler, who was burning vegetation to create fields for cultivation, Schmid observed, "Here and there a withered or burnt branch from some undestroyed tree seems to curse God and man that it had become a cripple. Each tree had become a kind of personality. They adorned the landscape as far as the town—memorials to the primeval forest which a few hundred years ago still knocked on its doors." Schmid described the landscape in the Lake District as "primeval . . . which offers itself with open arms to the bold colonist."[100] This discussion about the "primeval" land, of course, legitimized the clearing and colonization, erased its history, and put the place in a suspended state of timeless-

ness, as if the land had remained trapped in amber until the European colonist came to free it from indigenous underuse. The "open arms" of the land also suggest a well-worn trope sexualizing the landscape and its conquest.

Once the land was clear of these withered and angry trees, Schmid observed the same fecundity that other travelers noted elsewhere: "Each seed here possessed a devastating fertility. All the flowers and fruits of the old country yield threefold on this young soil. Someone imported blackberries and soon they grew in profusion over all the fields. Had they been allowed to grow unhindered they would have turned Osorno into a sleeping beauty's castle."[101] Chile provided a clear lesson to these visitors in how productive subdued nature could be.

While these comments on fertility were based on observations of the Central Valley and the south, even the north shared in the miracle. In the Huasco Valley, a small family of English farmers marveled at the fertility of the irrigated desert. E. B. Herivel expressed amazement at the results her inexperienced hands could produce in her garden. When she began to make a flower garden, "It was then that the true miracle of soil and climate became apparent to me. There was nothing that would not grow. Cuttings of roses . . . surreptitiously and feloniously snicked off by me with a pair of embroidery scissors, not only struck at once but rapidly grew into huge bushes of flowering sweetness. . . . They grew with such an alarming speed and vigour that it was not unusual for them to make nine to ten metres of growth in the year."[102]

Not only foreign visitors tried to understand Chile through its landscape. Chileans also partially attributed their country's uniqueness to its geographic variety. Gabriela Mistral wrote to Subercaseaux that although other countries had variety, in the "reduced" section of the planet that was Chile, this diversity proved near miraculous, ranging from icebergs to rainforest to gardens.[103] Subercaseaux himself argued that this plurality turned into unity in Chile. Chile's geography made it "eternal and immutable."[104] His musing on Chilean nationality and geography, *Chile o una loca geografía*, clearly resonated with Chileans. The book went into a second edition in only six months and into a third edition within two years, a remarkable success in Chile's publishing history.[105]

The discussion of geographic variety and fertility so common in travel accounts ignored a structural problem in the Chilean economy and dramatic inequalities, to which most of these visitors seem blind. The problem lay with the inequality of land ownership and the system of unpaid labor, *inquilinaje*, to work that land. Although Guevara does not reflect on the concentration of land ownership in his account, Granado noted the problem and attempted to convince at least one (unreceptive) tenant farmer of the need for land redistribution, as I mentioned earlier.[106] The concentration of land in the hands of a few Chileans was indeed striking. Fewer than 9 percent of property owners controlled 82 percent of land under irrigation in 1955. Workers labored on the big farms and in return received rights to small plots, pasture, fuel, housing, and food. Workers also had to donate a portion of their produce to the estates they worked on. Indicating the extent of the problem, a law of 1954 stipulated that landowners must provide cash for at least 20 percent of their workers' salaries. Yet these same rural workers were legally prohibited from organizing, and protests were disbanded. During seasonal highs additional labor was provided by waged workers who might also receive in-kind payments, but no rights to land. These landless rural laborers and subsistence farmers, who made up the majority of the population, began work very young and only had a life expectancy of forty-five, while suffering from some of the "nation's highest rates of illiteracy, malnutrition, and infant mortality."[107] Moreover, low food prices and the inefficiency of the *fundos* (large farms), as well as low rural salaries, combined to reduce agricultural output compared to the population, so that Chile had to import food. By the end of the 1950s agricultural imports were greater than 45 million dollars per year.[108] And while the population in the same period was growing at a rate of 2 percent, agricultural production only rose by 1.4 percent.[109] The lyrical descriptions of natural cornucopias ignored that in the 1950s Chile could not feed itself.

Visits to the Capital

While the accounts considered here agreed that some essence of Chile could be captured in rural scenes, Santiago represented Chile's claim to modernity. Guevara had little to say about the Chilean capital, hurrying on to Valparaíso and its promise of a lift to the tropical paradise of Easter Island. To him the city resembled

Argentina's Córdoba, except for having a faster pace and more traffic.[110] Santiago also reminded Granado of Córdoba, although it was bigger, more modern, and closer to the Andes than his home city.[111] Subercaseaux noted the existence of more than one Santiago: "There is a Santiago that only the tourist sees. (It is very important.) There is a Santiago for the person who lives there. There is a Santiago for those who visit its fields and hills. There is a Santiago for those who arrive from the south; another, for those who arrive from the north. Finally, there is our own Santiago according to the neighborhood in which we live."[112] Subercaseaux suspected that tourists would find the city surprisingly uncolonial, lively, and its population white.[113] He was right. Maurois described Santiago as "alive and up to date." Its regular streets pleased the French traveler, as did the arcades and newspaper kiosks that reminded him of home. The flowers in suburban gardens particularly enchanted him: "Yellow and pink trees, outlined against the distant snowclad heights, have the airy grace of some Chinese paintings."[114] Subercaseaux agreed that a combination of factors gave the capital its charm, including its views of the snowcapped Andes, fronted by little one-storey homes and the tall buildings and churches of the center.[115]

Ross liked the city because he recognized its energy. One intersection reminded him of the "corner of State and Madison in Chicago." Santiago "defies the popular conception of a Latin American city. No romantic guitar-playing caballeros lounge about her streets. No languid-eyed señoritas wait behind barred windows for serenades." Ross's expectations about what he would find in a Latin American city appear to be based on some loose "Latin" combination of Andalusia and Mexico. Finding nothing languid about Santiago, Ross described the capital's modern and bustling atmosphere, which he believed derived from its (northern) European origins.[116] Subercaseaux agreed that this bustle would appeal to the tourist: "At mid-day and in the afternoon, when the offices close, the city presents an unusual aspect with that avalanche of people who return home."[117]

The national capital would clearly attract the attention of most international tourists, but more important, by the 1950s Chile was already a predominantly urban country, and it was the capital that realized remarkable population growth. That urban population included the fastest growing among the social groups: the middle class and the urban working class. Depending on the precise definition of class, the middle class made up between 15 and 33 percent of the population. The lower figure is based only on income, the higher one on education and self-description. In the difficult economic times of the 1950s, aspirations and education did not necessarily equate financial stability. Moreover, even though high migration to urban areas was a feature of the 1950s, city life did not necessarily improve a migrant's standard of living. Urban and rural workers (approximately 74 percent of the economically active population) faced similar economic difficulties: although the urban worker earned three times the wages of a farm worker, the higher cost of city living kept the benefits of that income down.

Regardless of the cost of living, people kept moving to the city. In 1952, 30 percent of Chile's total population resided in the capital, and fully 60 percent of the population was urban.[118] By the early 1960s Santiago had more than 2 million inhabitants, up from only five hundred thousand in the 1930s. The growth of the city stratified its spaces socially, as the better off moved out of the center to the new, eastern suburbs of the *barrio alto*, while the south became predominantly working class. The observers discussed in the present article based their comments on the city center or the *barrio alto*. What these foreigners, with one exception, did not see were the shantytowns, called *callampas* (mushrooms), growing around the city. These neighborhoods lacked adequate infrastructure (such as drinking water, electricity, paved streets, schools, and health care), and most of the inhabitants struggled to survive in a situation of under- or unemployment. By the mid-1960s an estimated five hundred thousand people lived in these communities.[119]

The exceptional foreigner who not only saw but also worked in the shantytowns was Sister del Rey. She lived in Santiago's Buzeta neighborhood, for several months working in the Maryknoll parish school there, founded in March 1953, as well as acting as a de facto visiting nurse and social worker with some of the other nuns. When she observed that "Chile has deep social problems," she knew of them firsthand. Her introduction to Buzeta's reputation came when a taxi driver refused to take the missionaries there: he was not worried about getting stuck in the muddy streets but about what the local residents might do to him. He warned the nuns that "a lot of tough characters live in Buzeta." Even after her many years of mis-

sionary work in Asia and Hawaii, the nun remarked that the neighborhood "could not be surpassed for utter destitution." Sister del Rey described the area as "just a collection of huts and shacks and tumble-down lean-to's that people put up until they can afford something better." She recounted shivering children standing in mud, a derelict car, a horse surrounded by its own manure, and women trying to cook in tin cans over wood fires: "It made one sick at heart to know that human beings have to live thus." A photograph she included of the area shows a barefoot little girl, in a white pinafore, grinning up at a nun in her full habit, while a little boy looks carefully at his bare foot. Wooden shacks, laundry, and piles of sticks—perhaps for weaving into baskets and barriers—can be seen in the background.[120] The modern hustle and bustle of Santiago that so impressed Ross was built, in part, on the labor force of neighborhoods like Buzeta.

Che's Chilean Legacy

As this essay has shown, Guevara was just one among many travelers and Chileans seeking to understand the essence of the country in the 1950s. While stealing wine and being chased by angry husbands, Guevara also observed and reproduced interlinking discourses of Chilean national identity: friendly people, a fruitful landscape, and lovely women. In his account of his few weeks in Chile, Guevara depicted himself as a young man with a sense of fairness coming face to face with structural injustice, yet one still more interested his own sensual experiences. Yet regardless of his limited observations, he still recognized that Chile was a country with a significant indigenous population, and he experienced, albeit superficially, the country's deep social problems. Although Guevara clearly held a view of Chile that was partial and incomplete, he, unlike other travel writers of the period, had experiences and encounters with poor and working Chileans. The bustling facade of Santiago or the stylish women there did not blind Guevara. Yet as much as he imagined himself engaged in "scientific inquiry,"[121] his diary lacked real insight into the situations he witnessed. At times his compassion was aroused, but he remained fundamentally untouched by the people and places he visited. His account was, he admitted, "perhaps a little flashy and somewhat removed from the intended spirit of scientific inquiry." Although he reflected on Chile in a subsequent chapter of his published journal, "Chile, a Vision from Afar,"[122] the country seemingly did not influence his later development and thinking. The trip through Chile washed over Guevara without changing him.

Yet Guevara would fundamentally alter Chile, not because of this trip but because of his participation in the Cuban Revolution and his legacy as the quintessential romantic revolutionary. We see his most direct legacy in the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR); Guevara provided part of the inspiration for this Marxist-Leninist coalition of urban student groups founded in Santiago in August 1965. Determined to radicalize the Chilean Left and foment a Cuban-style popular revolution, the group sought recruits and supporters among the peasants in Chile's agricultural regions and those same *callampas* that so shocked Sister del Rey. Guevara's influence came not only through his ideology and experience but also through his image. Che's handsome face, bearded and framed by long hair, projected the romantic ideal of the masculine revolutionary hero, and his appeal "crossed class, ethnic, and political lines."[123]

Although both the MIR and Guevara sought to create revolutionary fervor at the grass-roots level in Chilean and Cuban societies respectively, as with others at the vanguard of revolutions, their socioeconomic backgrounds were markedly opposed to those they sought to liberate. Guevara hailed from Argentina's professional educated classes and the leadership of the MIR was more bourgeois elite than Chilean proletariat. The radical group of privileged origin, whose activities included land invasions and bank robberies, never had its roots among Chile's working people.

Seeking to create violent revolution from below, the MIR viewed Salvador Allende's election as a false promise of radical change. Nonetheless, Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) government felt reluctant to repress them; they were the idealistic and misguided younger generation with whom the president shared his goals. But in not taking stronger measures against them, the UP government ended up confronting enemies and critics on both the Left and the Right. The Pinochet dictatorship had no qualms about repressing the MIR once it seized power. By 1976 the organization had become signifi-

cantly weakened by the exile of its leaders and the capture, torture, and murder of many of its militants. The MIR leadership, "after fomenting a climate of confrontation, revolutionary violence, and a hegemonic masculinity of long-haired, daring youth . . . simply pulled out. The peasants at the local level did not have that same option. Arrested, imprisoned, and tortured, they would have engraved on their bodies the consequences of this short-lived revolutionary romance."[124]

But Guevara's legacy in Chile can also be understood well beyond the MIR. Cuba's successful revolutionary example and the model for revolutionary action that Guevara promoted in *Guerrilla Warfare*, among his other writings, not only inspired left-wing radical movements but also prompted the United States to fund a variety of counterinsurgency programs through military, political, and civic means. In Chile, the overt repercussions of this policy included Alliance for Progress funding under President Jorge Alessandri toward educational, housing, and land-reform projects, while President Eduardo Frei's government welcomed the first Peace Corps volunteers to Chile.[125] Covertly, the Kennedy administration (and later the Johnson administration), recognizing that previous U.S. support for conservative oligarchies only strengthened the radical Left, sought to make conditions right for a middle-class revolution, rather than a socialist one. Four million dollars to ensure Frei's election victory in 1964 and 3 million to ensure Allende's defeat in the same election were to create the conditions for these reformist politics. Additionally, Chile received 1.2 billion dollars in grants and loans, 91 million as military aid, between 1962 and 1970.

Allende's election in 1970 meant the failure of a decade-long U.S. policy to keep him from La Moneda, the Chilean presidential palace. At the same time, the previous decade of overt and covert intervention had made U.S. policymakers and politicians believe in their entitlement to overrule Chile's democratic institutions.[126] Meanwhile, within Chile, military elites drew the conclusion that "only a military regime could confront the dual challenges of modernization and the threat to national security posed by Communist insurgency."[127] The very success of the Cuban Revolution amid the tensions of the Cold War had polarized domestic and international politics in Latin America, diminishing the possibility of another Cuba.

Notes

My thanks to Paulo Drinot, Stuart Durkin, Fernanda Peñaloza, Natalie Zacek, the Nottingham University Hispanic Studies Research Seminar participants, and two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this essay. My research was partially funded by the School of Languages, Linguistics, and Cultures at the University of Manchester.

1 Jorge G. Casteñada, *Compañero: The Life and Death of Che Guevara*, trans. Marina Casteñada (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1997), 46.

2 Susan Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender," *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 234.

3 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 75.

4 See, for example, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), 56, 57, 62–63, 65, 76–77; and Alberto Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara: The Making of a Revolutionary*, trans. Lucía Alvarez de Toledo (New York: Newmarket Press, 2004), 34, 41–42, 45–46, 54–55.

5 Casteñada, *Compañero*, 38–43. See also Ernesto Guevara Lynch, *The Young Che: Memories of Che Guevara*, trans. Lúcia Alvarez de Toledo (London: Vintage, 2007), 140–41.

6 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 57.

7 Margaret Faraday, *The Young Traveller in South America* (London: Phoenix House, 1957), 59.

8 Benjamín Subercaseaux, *Chile, o una loca geografía*, 3rd edn. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Ercilla, 1940), 47.

9 André Maurois, *My Latin-American Diary*, trans. Frank Jackson (London: Falcon Press, 1953), 58–59.

10 Kip Ross, "Chile: The Long and Narrow Land," *National Geographic*, February 1960, 187.

11 Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920–1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 38.

12 Ross, "Chile," 213–14.

13 "Sister Maria del Rey Danforth, O.P.," CatholicAuthors.com (accessed 20 December 2007).

14 Sister Maria del Rey, *In and Out the Andes: Mission Trails from Yucatan to Chile* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1955), photographs between 186–87.

15 Casteñada, *Compañero*, 65–67.

16 Ibid., 36.

17 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 64.

18 Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 41, 44–45.
19 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 61–62.
20 Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 40.
21 Ibid., xiv.
22 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 69.
23 Ricardo Rojo, *My Friend Ché*, trans. Julian Casart (New York: Grove, 1969), 16–17.
24 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 71; and Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 50.
25 Thomas Miller Klubock, *Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904–1951* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 214.
26 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 70–71, 87.
27 Rosemblatt, *Gendered Compromises*, 147.
28 Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808–1994* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 289. On child mortality in an earlier period, see Asunción Lavrin, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 100–101.
29 Klubock, *Contested Communities*, 13.
30 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 77–78.
31 Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 58.
32 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 67.
33 Ross, "Chile," 188.
34 Peter Schmid, *Beggars on Golden Stools: A Journey through Latin America*, trans. Mervyn Savill (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1956), 293–94.
35 Faraday, *The Young Traveller in South America*, 60.
36 W. T. Blake, *The Pampas and the Andes* (London: Travel Book Club, 1950), 51.
37 Anne Merriman Peck, *Roundabout South America* (New York: Harper, 1940), 147.
38 Ibid., 138.
39 Ibid., 145.
40 Ross, "Chile," 235.
41 "¿Es realmente hermosa la mujer chilena"? *Eva*, 3 December 1954, 6–7.
42 Chile: Comisión para la Exposición Pan-Americana, Buffalo, *Chile at the Pan-American Exposition: Brief Notes on Chile and General Catalogue of Chile Exhibitions* (Buffalo, n.p., 1901).
43 Maurois, *My Latin-American Diary*, 59.
44 Subercaseaux, *Chile*, 187.

45 Ibid., 191–92; emphasis original.
46 Ibid., 192–93.
47 Rosemblatt, *Gendered Compromises*, 110.
48 Klubock, *Contested Communities*, 65.
49 Ibid., 65–66.
50 Marlore Anwandter and Graciela Romero, "Las doce Chilenas invictas," *Eva*, 31 August 1956, 30, 31.
51 Peck, *Roundabout South America*, 145.
52 Ibid., 156–57.
53 Amanda Labarca H., *Feminismo contemporáneo* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Zig-Zag, 1947), 125.
54 Julieta Kirkwood, *Ser política en Chile: Las feministas y los partidos* (Santiago de Chile: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 1986), 87–88.
55 Rosemblatt, *Gendered Compromises*, 137.
56 Labarca, *Feminismo contemporáneo*, 126–27.
57 Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, "Charity, Rights, and Entitlement: Gender, Labor, and Welfare in Early-Twentieth-Century Chile," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81:3–4 (2001), 565. On women in the official workforce earlier in the twentieth century, see Lavrin, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change*, 62–65.
58 Rosemblatt, "Charity, Rights, and Entitlement," 569.
59 Kirkwood, *Ser política en Chile*, 139; and Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 43–44, quote on 43. On earlier legislation to protect women workers, see Lavrin, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change*, 78–85.
60 Klubock, *Contested Communities*, 204–5.
61 Rosemblatt, *Gendered Compromises*, 51, 276.
62 Klubock, *Contested Communities*, 63.
63 Rosemblatt, *Gendered Compromises*, 76–79.
64 Lisa Baldez, *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 24–26.
65 Jean Grugel, "Populism and the Political System in Chile: Ibañismo (1952–1958)," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 11:2 (1992), 175; and Kirkwood, *Ser política en Chile*, 56, 81.
66 Grugel, "Populism and the Political System in Chile," 175–77.
67 Baldez, *Why Women Protest*, 28.
68 Ibid., 27; and Elizabeth Lira et al., *Historia, política y ética de la verdad en Chile, 1891–2001: Reflexiones sobre la paz social y la impunidad* (Santiago de Chile: LOM Ediciones, 2001), 48.
69 Schmid, *Beggars on Golden Stools*, 296.
70 Baldez, *Why Women Protest*, 28–29.

71 Ibid., 28; and Annie G. Dandavati, *The Women's Movement and the Transition to Democracy in Chile* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 19. See also Kirkwood, *Ser política en Chile*, 152–53.
72 Baldez, *Why Women Protest*, 30–31; and Kirkwood, *Ser política en Chile*, 153–55.
73 Kirkwood, *Ser política en Chile*, 56.
74 Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 35–36.
75 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 79.
76 Ibid., 56.
77 Ibid., 68.
78 Ibid., 67.
79 Ibid., 63. Granado omits this episode.
80 Ibid., 59.
81 Del Rey, *In and Out the Andes*, 140.
82 Ibid., 166.
83 Ibid., 141–42.
84 Ross, "Chile," 217–18.
85 Ibid., 185–87.
86 Ibid., 233.
87 Blake, *The Pampas and the Andes*, 46–47.
88 Ibid., 66.
89 Ibid., 67.
90 Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, 278; Mario Góngora, *Ensayo histórico sobre la noción de estado en Chile en los siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones de la Ciudad, 1981), 123; and Jay Kinsbruner, *Chile: A Historical Interpretation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 139–41.
91 Subercaseaux, *Chile*, 170.
92 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 56.
93 Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 43.
94 Schmid, *Beggars on Golden Stools*, 276.
95 Blake, *The Pampas and the Andes*, 42.
96 Del Rey, *In and Out the Andes*, 141.
97 Ross, "Chile," 217.
98 Heidi Tinsman, *Partners in Conflict: The Politics of Gender, Sexuality, and Labor in the Chilean Agrarian Reform, 1950–1973* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 19. The direct quote is taken from Subercaseaux, *Chile*, 139–40.
99 Ross, "Chile," 187, quote on 201.
100 Schmid, *Beggars on Golden Stools*, 280–81.
101 Ibid., 281.
102 E. B. Lambert Herivel, *We Farmed a Desert* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), 107.

103 Gabriela Mistral, "Contadores de patrias," quoted in Subercaseaux, *Chile*, 16.
104 Subercaseaux, *Chile*, 24.
105 Ibid., 25, 28.
106 Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 35–36.
107 Arnold J. Bauer, "Industry and the Missing Bourgeoisie: Consumption and Development in Chile, 1850–1950," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 70:2 (1990), 238; and Tinsman, *Partners in Conflict*, 21–25.
108 John L. Rector, *The History of Chile* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2003), 141.
109 Jay Kinsbruner, *Chile: A Historical Interpretation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 150.
110 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 66.
111 Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 46, 48.
112 Subercaseaux, *Chile*, 110.
113 Ibid., 116.
114 Maurois, *My Latin-American Diary*, 58.
115 Subercaseaux, *Chile*, 114.
116 Ross, "Chile," 187.
117 Subercaseaux, *Chile*, 114.
118 Rector, *The History of Chile*, 139. See also Góngora, *Ensayo histórico sobre la noción de estado en Chile*, 124.
119 Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, 291–92.
120 Del Rey, *In and Out the Andes*, 135–42, quotes on 135, 136–37, 142, photograph between 186–87.
121 Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, 86.
122 Ibid., 86.
123 Florencia E. Mallon, "Barbudos, Warriors, and Rotos: The MIR, Masculinity, and Power in the Chilean Agrarian Reform, 1965–74," in *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America*, ed. Matthew C. Gutmann (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 179–215, quote on 211.
124 Mallon, "Barbudos, Warriors, and Rotos", 202–3. See also Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*, 2nd edn. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 292, 315; Gabriel Smirnow, *The Revolution Disarmed: Chile, 1970–1973* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), 30, 105, 149; Steve J. Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London, 1998* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 17, 24.
125 Rector, *The History of Chile*, 161, 165.
126 Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: New Press, 2003), 3–6.
127 Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare: With an Introduction and Case Studies by Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies, Jr.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 27–29, quote on 29.