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To Govern is to Educate: Race, Education, and Colonization  
in La Araucanía, Chile (1883-1920)

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in History

by

Romina Akemi Green Rioja

Dissertation Committee:  
Professor Heidi Tinsman, Chair  
Professor Steve Topik  
Associate Professor Rachel O'Toole  
Associate Professor Alex Borucki

2018



## DEDICATION

To

my unrelenting grandmothers  
who taught me to be courageous and about dedicated love;  
my grandpa Tata who always told me I would become a professor;  
my parents  
who taught me independence  
and gave me the perfect balance between science and art;  
my step-dad Charlie  
who supported my love for soccer and old cinema;  
my Chilean kitties  
who endured lack of playtime that I plan to make up;  
and my dear friends  
who were probably annoyed by my disappearance from social circles  
but, nevertheless, our bosom kinship survived.

And to family and friends who have passed away since the start of my graduate studies:

La Ti, my Chilean grandmother, Amalia Lamoza  
Tío Chalo, my oldest uncle, Oscar Rioja  
Aunt Fran, my great-aunt, Fran Bascom  
Juan Reyes, my mother's third husband  
Adriana Bo, my Argentinian roommate  
David Rioja, my dear cousin  
Pablo Avendaño, my Argentinian revolutionary comrade

If you're going to try, go all the way. Otherwise, don't even start...There is no other feeling like that. You will be alone with the gods, and the nights will flame with fire. You will ride life straight to perfect laughter. It's the only good fight there is.

— Charles Bukowski, *Factotum*



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While most of the research I accumulated from the archive of the Chilean-German League was not used in this dissertation, my comrade Juan Williams helped me locate archival materials in German and translated several documents from German to Spanish.

I want to thank my graduate cohort—Felipe, Stefanie, Shoshanna, Kat—and the many friends that I have made during my graduate studies—Josh, Amy, Kevan, Tamara, Madihah, Juhi, Jorell, and Jameelah—for making this long process fun and supportive during stressful times. My good friends Petrice Gaskin, Bree Johnson, and Michael Staudenmaier were patient in listening to my random thoughts, as well as reading and offering feedback on my work.

Lastly, my graduate studies would have not been possible without the financial and emotional support from my parents and my grandmother. While I moved in with my grandmother during my second year of the doctoral program to support her, in the end it was she who supported me through her household labor, emotional care, and ready to have a drink after a full day locked in my room either writing, reading, or grading.

# CURRICULUM VITAE

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

“To Govern is to Educate:” Race, Education, and Colonization  
in La Araucanía, Chile (1883-1920)

By

Romina Akemi Green Rioja

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Irvine, 2018

Professor Heidi Tinsman, Chair

*To Govern is to Educate* explores the relationship between state-led education and immigration policies that framed the Chilean state’s colonization goals in La Araucanía. The overarching narrative of this project is to demonstrate the continuation of colonial projects within the framework of modernity. In the mid-nineteenth-century, young Chilean intellectuals imitated the grandeur of France, but by the 1880s, a new generation of thinkers turned their gaze toward Prussia, admiring its military successes and scientific innovations. The Chilean elite’s *German turn* led to the creation of a national curriculum that integrated German education methods and an immigration policy that targeted German and Austro-Swiss migrants to populate former native Mapuche lands (La Araucanía). This study uses public and Catholic mission schools in La Araucanía as case studies, analyzing how modern education assimilated Mapuche children into the race and class complex of Chilean society. Rather than cause the cultural and biological “disappearance” of the Mapuche population, education gave the first generation of Mapuche youths under Chilean colonization a legitimate and political voice. *To Govern is to Educate* demonstrates the modernity of colonialism and how the colonial project becomes contiguous in the making of modern Chile.

## Introduction

Manuel Antonio Nekulmañ stood between two worlds. Born in 1854, he grew up in Wallmapu (modern-day La Araucanía in southern Chile) and as an adult he was an educator and politician within Chilean society. Nekulmañ's world altered when at age fifteen in 1869 he was given to Colonel Orozimbo Barbosa as a Chilean war hostage. Once captive, Nekulmañ was politically valuable as the son of Longko Huenchumilla Kalfumán and the nephew of Longko Juan de Dios Nekulmañ.<sup>1</sup> The 1869 peace treaty between Longko Külapang (José Santos Quilapán) and Colonel Cornelio Saavedra allowed Chileans to colonize a contested coastal strip north of Valdivia, near Toltén, and demanded that the defeated *longkos* hand over their eldest sons to the Chilean military as political assurance.<sup>2</sup> The agreement guaranteed the protection of Chilean property and the foundation of Catholic missions in the newly acquired lands. The treaty was also a historic victory for the Chilean elite even though it covered only a small area of land that they sought to obtain.<sup>3</sup> Col. Saavedra, who led the Chilean offensive, realized that the defeat the Mapuche army required a multi-front strategy. In taking heed from military tactics used by Spanish colonial army predecessors, Col. Saavedra understood that educating the eldest sons' of *longkos* broke the subsequent development of the next generation of warriors and weakened familial links.

The Mapuche, unlike the majority of native communities across the continent, remained in control of their lands during the era of Spanish colonial rule. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Latin American elite was embroiled in military conflicts to expand the national terrain and capture natural resources. By mid-century, the wheat, nitrate, and copper export

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<sup>1</sup> In Mapudungun *longko* refers to the head of a community and *weichafe* the temporary state of being a warrior. Kalfumán meant blue condor and Nekulmañ fast condor in Mapudungun.

<sup>2</sup> José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche: Siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago: LOM, 2008), 376.

<sup>3</sup> Wallmapu is the Mapuche ancestral territory.

<sup>4</sup> Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo*, 72.

sectors of the Chilean bourgeoisie was economically and ideologically motivated to modernize the nation and industrialize the Chilean economy to compete in the global market.<sup>4</sup> However, standing in their way from exploiting the forests and coal deposits of the southern frontier was the Mapuche Confederation. The issue sparked congressional debates about whether to initiate a costly and aggressive war against the native population or continue the policy of slow entry into the territory by brokering treaties.<sup>5</sup> Col. Saavedra favored the long-term strategy of treaty-making and assimilating Mapuche boys by placing them in mission schools.

Nekulmañ, similar to other war hostages, attended many educational institutions including the Toltén Catholic Mission and an agricultural school. Ultimately, he trained as a teacher at the Escuela de Preceptores (Normal School) in Santiago.<sup>6</sup> In 1881, Mapuche leaders seized on the opportunity to launch an uprising when Chilean troops relocated north in a war against Peru and Bolivia—known as the War of the Pacific. That same year, Nekulmañ finalized his studies and received his first teaching post at the primary school in the frontier town of Angol in La Araucanía. As the Chilean military advanced in their northern war, garrisons returned to the southern frontier to prepare the final offensive against the Mapuche Confederation. Nekulmañ accompanied Col. Gregorio Urrutia’s troops and convinced his father Kalfumán to cease participation in the revolt. By 1882, Nekulmañ was appointed by the Chilean government to head the newly created public elementary school in the Temuco Fort.<sup>7</sup> The following year, Col. Urrutia led the decisive battle defeating the Mapuche forces at Cerro Ñielol located in the

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<sup>4</sup> Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo*, 72.

<sup>5</sup> Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna described the Mapuche as enemies of civilization in his 1868 speech to congress titled “*La Conquista de Arauco*.” The following year, Col. Saavedra escalated his Pacification Plan, implementing a scorched earth policy that the historian José Bengoa calls the Extermination Campaign; Vicuña Mackenna, *La Conquista de Arauco* (Santiago, Imprenta del Ferrocarril, 1868), 7.

<sup>6</sup> Normal schools were institutions that trained teachers. The Escuela de Preceptores in Santiago opened in Santiago under the direction of the Argentine Domingo Sarmiento was the first such institution in Latin America; José Ancan Jara, “De *küme mollfüñche* a “civilizados a medias”: liderazgos étnicos e intelectuales mapuche en la Araucanía fronteriza (1883-1930),” *POLIS Revista Latinoamericana* 38 (2014): <https://journals.openedition.org/polis/10013>.

<sup>7</sup> Decreto 26 de julio de 1882, Escuela No. 3 Temuco, #1682 in *Creación de Escuelas, 1842-1933*, AN.

modern-day city of Temuco. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January of 1883 Mapuche leaders surrendered in Villarrica.

Nekulmañ's alliance with the Col. Urrutia made him an example for those Chileans who favored Mapuche assimilation as Chilean citizens. Nekulmañ's story demonstrated that education was a means to "civilize" and acculturate native peoples into Chilean society. His political trajectory was unusual in contrast to former hostages since the majority disappeared from the archives, meaning either these Mapuche passed away in captivity or returned home. Nekulmañ was, however, an emblematic figure who demonstrated that education and colonization were connected forces in the assimilation of Mapuche youth into the political and economic needs of the Chilean nation. He was the first Mapuche educator employed at a public school and mentored several Mapuche intellectuals and leaders. At the same time, Nekulmañ remained connected to his community and was the president of the first Mapuche political organization, Sociedad Caupolicán Defensora de la Araucanía (The Caupolicán Society in Defense of La Araucanía), formed in 1910.

From 1883 to 1920 education was a transformative institution that developed national unity and assimilated Mapuche children into the economic goals of the Chilean state. The Chilean elite, driven by economic demands for natural resources (nitrate, copper, coal, timber, wheat fields) and ideological dreams to become a regional power, pushed for territorial expansion north and south. Beginning in the 1860s, the Chilean military increased their offensive against the Mapuche and by the 1870s the pressure to expand the Chilean national boundaries intensified. This dissertation begins after the Chilean military concluded two major wars. In 1879, the Chilean army invaded Bolivian lands that held prized nitrate deposits, sparking a war between



Chile and the Peruvian-Bolivian alliance known as the War of the Pacific. As the Chilean army won significant victories in their northern war, seasoned soldiers were sent to the southern frontier to complete the occupation of Mapuche ancestral lands, also known as La Araucanía. By 1882 Chilean government officials foresaw the victories of their dual expansionist wars and reevaluated the industrial potential of the nation. The territorial acquisitions also marked the collapse of the frontier as a racial barrier and the inclusion of individuals—Peruvian, Bolivian, Aymara, and Mapuche—previously categorized as racial others, causing ambiguity about the racial composition of the Chilean nation.

Once the wars concluded in 1883, a confident Chilean bourgeoisie looked for a nation-building counterpart example to strengthen state institutions and industrialize the nation; finding a model in the Prussian Empire. Leading this *turn* were education reformers who traveled to Germany to learn current ideas in pedagogical science. Concurrently, the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Relations and Colonization prepared the transformation of La Araucanía by selling and distributing lands to Chilean and foreign *colonos* (settlers). The Chilean Agency of Colonization in Europe took charge in recruiting foreign colonos, primarily Austro-Swiss, Germans, and other European farm families to populate La Araucanía. Colono settlements, both Chilean and foreign, transformed La Araucanía through land privatization and the commodification of its natural resources. In the process, the native population became an obstacle to these economic projects, in particular the nascent forestry industry that in later decades would dominate the region's economy.<sup>8</sup> Even though the Germanic population never amounted to an ethnic majority, this dissertation underscores their ability to maintain an ethnic enclave and the Chilean state's appointment of German nationals in government positions related to education and land partition

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<sup>8</sup> Thomas Miller Klubock, *La Frontera: Forests and Ecological Conflict in Chile's Frontier Territory* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2014), 32.

as significant. For example, the Pedagogical Institute that decided on national curriculum and trained normal school teachers was composed of seven Germans and one Chilean. Furthermore, the German engineer Teodoro Schmidt surveyed Mapuche lands, determining on their industrial use and the resettlement of Mapuche communities.<sup>9</sup> In other words, German immigrants wielded power not by their numbers, but by their placement in positions of state power. For this reason, the Chilean elite's admiration and priority given to German methods and bodies is described in this dissertation as a *German turn*, which encompassed the modernization of state education, the economic transformation of La Araucanía, the recruitment of German and Austro-Swiss settlers, and the arrival of Bavarian Capuchin friars to lead the education of Mapuche children.

This dissertation explores the relationship between state education and immigration policies that framed the colonization goals of the Chilean state in La Araucanía. The overarching narrative of this project is to demonstrate the continuation of colonial projects within the framework of modernity. In the mid-nineteenth-century, young Chilean intellectuals imitated the grandeur of France, but by the 1880s, a new generation of thinkers turned their gaze toward Prussia, admiring its military successes and scientific innovations.<sup>10</sup> This study begins with the Mapuche *derrota* (defeat) of 1883, covering the first thirty-seven years of the Chilean occupation of Wallmapu. The Chilean victories in its dual expansionist wars meant the inclusion of people previously classified as racially *other* by the Chilean press and elite. The military victories positioned Chile as a regional power, motivating its elite to implement a series of reforms to modernize

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<sup>9</sup> Schmidt is mentioned in many Ministry of Foreign Relations documents, but a volume was compiled of his letters and reports. See: Teodoro Schmidt (1885-1893), vol. 233, FMRREE, AN.

<sup>10</sup> Jorge Pinto Rodríguez, "Proyectos de la elite chilena del siglo XIX," *ALPHA* no. 27 (diciembre 2008); William Sater and Holger Herwig, *The Grand Illusion: The Prussification of the Chilean Army* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska, 1999); George F.W. Young, *Germans in Chile: Immigration and Colonization, 1849-1914* (New York, Center for Migration Studies, 1974); Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2001).

government institutions and deepen the industrialization of its economy and infrastructure. To quell racial anxieties and hasten progress, Chilean politicians activated a nation-building strategy centered on developing a united national identity. They did so through the implementation of a national education curriculum and the recruitment of German and Austro-Swiss families to populate La Araucanía. Public and Catholic mission schools that educated the first generation of Mapuche youth under Chilean occupation exposed the children to a modern curriculum that prepared their integration into the workforce and as citizens. As this dissertation shows, the education of Mapuche children did not lead to absolute integration into the ideological apparatus of the Catholic Church and Chilean state; instead education gave native youths tools to articulate their place in Chilean society.

*To Govern is to Educate: Race, Education, and Colonization in La Araucanía, Chile (1883-1920)* demonstrates how the education reforms of the 1880s were part of a broader *German turn* that transformed Chilean state institutions and land ownership designed to assimilate La Araucanía into a Chilean territory and integrate the Mapuche people into the capitalist economy. As case studies, this dissertation focuses on public and Catholic mission schools that opened after 1883 in La Araucanía, institutions used by the Chilean state to fulfill their colonization plans. Bavarian friars from the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (O.F.M.Cap.) took over the mission project in La Araucanía in 1895 from the Italian Capuchin friars with support from the Chilean state, building modern schools and educating the majority of rural Mapuche children. The Bavarian friars functioned as political intermediaries between Mapuche communities and state officials and landowners, defending Mapuche claims for land rights and opposing injustices committed against the native populace. *To Govern is to Educate* argues that education unwittingly taught Mapuche youths how to demand social rights, combat racist

narratives, and informed the development of their own distinct political subjectivity. While Chilean state officials intended on employing education to transform the Mapuche into citizens and workers for the nation, Bavarian friars intentionally gave Mapuche children and community leaders the means to articulate their place in society. Rather than quell the elite's racial anxieties and cause the cultural and biological "disappearance" of the Mapuche population, schooling gave educated Mapuche legitimacy and a political voice.

*To Govern is to Educate* combines transnational and local historical approaches to trace global discussions about state colonization and modern education. This dissertation describes how Chilean education reformers studied German pedagogy in Berlin with the purpose of implementing its methodological approaches in the Chilean context. Chile's Agency of Colonization opened in Paris in 1882 in consequence to the Prussian state forbidding the Chilean state to recruit its citizens. This impediment did not stop Agency directors in carrying out their mandate to recruit German and Austro-Swiss families, as well as other European citizens, to populate former Mapuche lands. Throughout the 1880s, Chilean agency directors and education reformers shared a vision for the Prussianization of Chile. In the cases of Valentín Letelier and Benjamin Dávila Larraín, they easily transitioned between writing education polemics and penning propaganda pieces for the Agency of Colonization. The *German turn* was an institutional movement to transform Chilean government ministries and whiten the population, but it also projected a Chilean elite fantasy about themselves and their desired global perception of Chile.

Back in Chile, government officials supported the *German turn* by passing policies proposed by education reformers. Chilean pedagogues gathered in 1889 at a national conference to decide on new state policies, prioritizing the application of a national curriculum. The new

education plan assumed the integration of Mapuche youths and their eventual disappearance as a culture. The local case studies discussed in this dissertation demonstrate how the Temuco public high school and the Bavarian Capuchin-run native mission schools applied the modern school curriculum. Furthermore, the class character of each institution determined the social class that native pupils integrated into, either the middle class or rural trade class. Temuco High School prepared the next generation of professionals, while the Catholic mission schools offered Mapuche boys basic education and trade skills. Even though the two schools systems positioned their pupils in different social classes, graduates from both crossed paths drawn together by institutional racism and social marginalization, as well as a common culture. Both public and mission schools were institutions where a class-based racial politics in La Araucanía formed and where Mapuche youths became increasingly aware of their racialized self.<sup>11</sup> Education gave Mapuche children a consciousness of racial difference, but it also taught them the legal and political language to carve out political space in Chilean society.

To conclude, *To Govern is to Educate* underscores the importance in historicizing the institutional history of education in relation to world developments to demonstrate the modernity of colonialism and how colonial practices created modern nations. By exploring these relationships, the colonial project becomes contiguous in the making of modern Chile; education less liberatory and industrialization more confining. In analyzing the institutional history of education, this dissertation locates elite motivations and nation-building plans that would ultimately effect the indigenous populations. Pedagogy, furthermore, reflected the political needs of liberal economic interests, rather than a source of human intellectual betterment. The

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<sup>11</sup> According to historian José Bengoa, the frontier signified a racial barrier, in which the colonists self-identified as “whiter” or of purer Spanish blood than their actual racial makeup; José Bengoa, “Chile mestizo, Chile indígena” in *Manifest Destinies and Indigenous Peoples*, eds., David Maybury-Lewis et al., Series on Latin American Studies 25 (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2009).

expansion of public education highlighted the state's internal colonization strategy to form national consciousness and consolidate the economic interests of the nation. The new pedagogical approach, on the other hand, signaled the arrival of modernity through the teaching of scientific methods and the natural sciences. Modern schools and German pedagogy were critical elements in the making of modern Chile that propelled its economic future and defined the state's relationship with the Mapuche people.

### Historiography

*To Govern is to Educate* is located in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. This study follows social, economic, and political threads situated within three main historiographies: nineteenth-century nation building, the history of education, and Mapuche Studies. The historiography of Latin American nation-building has produced several analytical trends over the years from Marxism to the cultural turn. Because this project takes a transnational and local approach, the scholarship on nineteenth-century immigration and comparative regional studies in nation-building literature are the most influential. Mapuche, native and race studies, and frontier histories are vital in pushing this dissertation's analysis to rethink established historical timelines, periodization, and terminology, and exploring new methodological questions in Chilean history.

Latin American state-building historiography centers its conversation on the development of elite politics, immigration patterns, global trade and networks, and the formation of national identities.<sup>12</sup> This dissertation builds on this tradition but challenges the teleology of progress and unity by exploring how the nation-building projects of public education and land colonization

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<sup>12</sup> State-building is defined as the structures and institutions of the nation, while nation-making—using Benedict Anderson's term—is the “imagined community” of the state.

policies developed racial hierarchies within the Chilean nation. In *The Poverty of Progress* (1980) the late historian E. Bradford Burns used the cultural turn to problematize how the Latin American elite employed state modernization projects to match the progressive feats of the U.S. and European nations.<sup>13</sup> Burns challenged historians who did not question historical studies that, as he noted, overemphasized economic growth and described nation-building projects only via positive benefits to ordinary folk.<sup>14</sup> Taking inspiration from Burns's thesis, this dissertation argues that public education was vital to the positivist and liberal nineteenth-century nation building project that sought to develop a uniform citizen and political subservience to state hegemony. Another critical intervention in nation-building literature are regional case studies. Historians of Mexican history employed regional studies to de-center Mexico City, underscoring differences and anomalies from the standard national narrative.<sup>15</sup> This dissertation uses a regional analysis to compare the execution of the modern school curriculum in public and mission schools in La Araucanía with the overarching goals of the state. It demonstrates that the central government wielded power by developing a tiered school system that placed regional and rural schools in a disadvantage from Santiago-based schools.

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<sup>13</sup> E. Bradford Burns, *The Poverty of Progress: Latin America in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1980), 13, 23, 150.

<sup>14</sup> "But poverty through progress in nineteenth-century Latin America must be understood in more than material terms and declining wages, purchasing power, or nutritional levels. A tragic spiritual and cultural impoverishment debased those folk forced by circumstances to give up previously satisfactory ways of life and to accept alien ones that provided them little or not psychic benefits," from page 150 in Burns, *Poverty of Progress*.

<sup>15</sup> Steve Stern's *The Secret History of Gender* compares the place of gender-right and patriarchy in Morelos, Oaxaca, and Mexico City, extrapolating the nuances in how gender-right was differently negotiated in these regions. In *Summer of Discontent, Seasons of Upheaval*, Allen Wells and Gilbert M. Joseph present a popular, economic, and political history of Yucatan that synthesizes the rural unrest along with the role by a sector of elite politicians in containing and usurping the simmering resistance against the broader economic structure. *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico* by Jocelyn Olcott describes how peasant and working class women, as well as feminists, constructed revolutionary citizenship in the aftermath of the Mexican revolution. Focusing on regional developments, Olcott's monograph de-centers the historical narrative away from Mexico City and the traditional markers that tend to dictate advancements in female citizenry.

This research also contributes to the robust literature on education in state formation in Latin America.<sup>16</sup> The scholarship on the history of education concentrates primarily on early twentieth-century developments, describing how the growth of public education facilitated the inclusion of women and working class people into national politics and helped shape national consciousness.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the political impact of those policies and methods were rooted in modern education theories developed in the nineteenth century. As this dissertation describes state education policies in relation to colonial practices, the literature on native education in Latin America and the U.S. proved the most significant. In the case of Mexican history, Mary K. Vaughn's *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940* uses a regional study approach while highlighting subaltern agency. Vaughn demonstrates that Chiapas's indigenous communities negotiated with state education reformers to protect and include their identities and culture to form a multi-ethnic nationalism.<sup>18</sup> This study draws on this de-centering conversation by exploring how Mapuche communities used education and schools to negotiate their political place in addition to land rights. In contrast to Vaughn's study, Mapuche communities did not embrace a multi-ethnic nationalism and instead developed a distinct political subjectivity.

The history of native boarding schools is an important area of scholarship in Native American history that helps articulate the lasting policies of settler colonialism. Within Mapuche history, studies on indigenous education are few but growing. In comparing North American and

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<sup>16</sup> According to Ossenbach, the major phases in the study of Latin American education focus on education as an outside source, especially a product of Spanish and Portuguese empire during the colonial period. In the early twentieth century, when education became an important nation-building institution, the expansion of the school system was done to centralize and consolidate a national identity; Gabriela Ossenbach, "Research in to the History of Education in Latin America: Balance of the Current Situation, *Pedagogica Historica* vol. 36, no. 3 (2000).

<sup>17</sup> For an overview on Latin American histories on education up to 2000 see: Gabriela Ossenbach, "Research in to the History of Education in Latin America: Balance of the Current Situation, *Pedagogica Historica* vol. 36, no. 3 (2000); Robert Austin, *The State, Literacy and Popular Education, 1964-1990* (Lanham, Lexington Books, 2003).

<sup>18</sup> Mary K. Vaughn, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940* (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1997).



Latin America native schools, the Anglo boarding schools offered minimal space for indigenous communities to negotiate the education of their children. The historian Margaret Jacobs transnational study *White Mother to a Dark Race* describes how the Australian and the U.S. governments devised indigenous removal policies to “assimilate” and “protect” native children into the new economic and political order.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, in North American indigenous schools, children were not allowed to speak in their native tongue while in Capuchin native schools in Southern Chile those terms were negotiated with Mapuche parents. These differences between North American and Latin American native schools obscures the impact of boarding schools on native communities in Latin America as a source that fractured native familial and cultural links. U.S. studies on native schools, including Clyde Ellis’s history about Kaiwa children in the southern U.S. and the research by American Studies professors Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose on the emblematic Carlisle Indian Industrial School, underscore how state-led native schools were civilizing missions meant to eradicate indigenous culture.<sup>20</sup> Andrés Donoso Romo study on frontier schools in southern Chile makes a similar point in relation to La Araucanía schools.<sup>21</sup> While public schools in La Araucanía approached native education as a *politics of omission* that dismissed Mapuche presence and assumed their cultural disappearance, mission schools took on the practice of “respectful integration.”<sup>22</sup> The historian Daniel Cano notes that Bavarian friars who ran mission schools in La Araucanía presented themselves as mediators and

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<sup>19</sup> Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 25-26.

<sup>20</sup> Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920* (Duncan, University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); Eds. Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indian Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (San Francisco, City Lights Publishers, 2004); Matthew Steven Bentley, “*Kill the Indian, Save the Man*”: *Manhood at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918*, doctoral dissertation in American Studies (University of East Anglia, 2012).

<sup>21</sup> Andrés Donoso Romo, *Educación y nación al sur de la frontera* (Santiago, Pehuén, 2008).

<sup>22</sup> Sol Serrano, “De escuelas indígenas sin pueblos a pueblos sin escuelas indígenas: La educación en la Araucanía en el siglo XIX,” *Historia* No. 29 (Santiago, 1995-1996): 423-474; José Bengoa, *Historia de un conflicto: El Estado y los mapuches en el siglo XX* (Santiago, Editorial Planeta Chilena, 1999), 100.

defenders of the Mapuche cause, giving Mapuche communities a political opening to negotiate the terms of their children's education.<sup>23</sup> *To Govern is to Educate* contributes to this area of research by demonstrating that Bavarian friars balanced in offering native children a modern education to improve their standard of living while implementing assimilation practices to fulfill the needs of the Chilean state.

In approaching the history of education in Chile, *To Govern is to Educate* employs a postcolonial analysis to disrupt standard narratives in framing the history of Chilean education. The Chilean historians Sol Serrano, Macarena Ponce de León, and Francisca Rengifo compiled a comprehensive two-volume study about the last two hundred years of Chile's history of education detailing policies and laws.<sup>24</sup> María Loreto Egaña Baraona's research on popular primary education in nineteenth-century Chile shows how education policies reflected elite concerns about forming national consciousness to minimize class tensions. However, since this dissertation places the War of the Pacific and the Occupation of Wallmapu as watershed moments that redefined the Chilean nation in racial and economic terms, I analyze the education reforms in conversation with the dual expansionist wars. In discussing the impact of the War of the Pacific on the former Peruvian population in the Tarapacá region, the Iquiqueño historian Sergio González Miranda describes how the Chilean state assimilated the Bolivian, Peruvian, and indigenous Aymara populations into the Chilean national project through education and war

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<sup>23</sup> Daniel Cano, *Sin tierras ni letras... Historia de la educación Mapuche en el periodo reduccional (1880-1930)*, Tesis de Magíster en Historia de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Profesor de guía Sol Serrano, 2011; Daniel Cano Christiny, "La demanda educacional mapuche en el período reduccional (1883-1930)," *Rev. Pensamiento Educativo*, vols. 46-47 (2010): 317-335; Daniel Cano Christiny, "Educación para mapuches en la Araucanía durante el periodo reduccional, 1884-1929," *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia* año LXXVIII, no. 121, vol. 1 (enero-junio de 2012): 19-60.

<sup>24</sup> Ed. Sol Serrano, Macarena Ponce de León, and Francisca Rengifo, *Historia de la Educación en Chile (1810-2010)*, Tomo II: *La educación nacional (1880-1930)* (Santiago, Taurus, 2012).

memorialization.<sup>25</sup> This dissertation used the aforementioned studied while keeping in mind arguments made by Mapuche historians, as will be discussed later, who complicated the national narrative by describing La Araucanía as an occupied territory. The anthropologist Jorge Pavez Ojeda poses a postcolonial question for modern Chilean historians:

Sin embargo, por la movilidad de los sujetos coloniales, y el estatuto doble de las repúblicas latinoamericanas, colonizadas y colonizadoras, la distinción centro/periferia adquiere una lógica fractal, reproducible en diferentes escalas, y se vuelve a tal punto móvil que en cualquier parte se puede reinscribir esta distinción: en el centro de un imperio, que tiene sus propias periferias, o en el centro de una periferia, que ejerce sus propios imperios.<sup>26</sup>

(However, because of the mobility of colonial subjects and the double statute of the colonized and colonizing Latin American republics, the center/periphery distinction acquired a fractal logic, reproducible in different scales, and returning to a mobile point that this distinction can be re-inscribed anywhere: the center of an empire has its own peripheries, or the center of a periphery exercises its own empires.)

Pavez Ojeda asks Chilean historians to free the Chilean historical narrative from being described as either an example of Latin American uniqueness or the victims of dependency and U.S. imperialism. The recognition that Chilean history functions within the dual existence of empire and periphery forces historians to reconsider the histories of indigeneous people within and without the Chilean nation.<sup>27</sup> Building on these postcolonial questions, this dissertation positions education, not only as a modernization project, but a nation-building institution that transformed race relations in La Araucanía.

The Subaltern Studies Group, including Latin Americanists such as Walter Mignolo and Florencia Mallon, challenge academics to read archival documents outside of standard paradigms that dictate, for example, the meaning of consciousness.<sup>28</sup> Ranajit Guha contested the notion that

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<sup>25</sup> Sergio González Miranda, *Chilenizando a Tunupa . La escuela pública en el Tarapacá Andino 1880-1990* (Santiago, Ediciones de la Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, Centro Barros Arana, 2002).

<sup>26</sup> Pavez Ojeda, *Laboratorios etnográficos*, 54.

<sup>27</sup> Heidi Tinsman in *Buying into the Regime* (2014) makes a similar point from a consumption perspective that will be discussed in the Methodology section of the Introduction.

<sup>28</sup> Eds. Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988); Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2000); Florencia Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *The American Historical Review* vol. 99, Issue 5, 1 (December 1994).

the peasantry expressed a “backward” and “undeveloped” class-consciousness and Mallon demonstrated that rural and native Peruvian identity developed in reaction to the invading Chilean army even though nationalism did not erase class tensions.<sup>29</sup> Within this framework, this dissertation argues that education in La Araucanía was a means to assimilate Mapuche children into the capitalist economy but ultimately did not eradicate native cultures. The methodological problem that this study explores is how to weigh the positive and negative educational experience and outcomes from the perspective of Mapuche youths. Rather than solve questions about whether education was oppressive or liberating or whether the state was ultimately successful in their quest, this study employs these methods to uncover historical developments in their making.

Latin American immigration has long been an essential part of Argentinian, Brazilian, and Caribbean historiographies, either as histories of ethnic enclaves or state policies that favored *blanqueamiento* or *branqueamento* (whitening in Spanish and Portuguese, respectively).<sup>30</sup> European immigration to Chile was smaller in comparison, but more controlled and calculated.<sup>31</sup> This dissertation incorporates the social and political significance of Chilean immigration policy in the late nineteenth century to highlight the Chilean elite’s racial-national

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<sup>29</sup> Ranajit Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency” in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, eds. Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988); Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1995).

<sup>30</sup> Peri Fagerstrom introduction includes adulation for the Dictator Augusto Pinochet. For histories about immigrant enclaves see: Jose Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998); Thomas H. Holloway, “Immigration in the Rural South,” in *Modern Brazil: Elite and Masses in Historical Perspective*, eds. Michael L. Conniff and Frank D. McCann (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Jeffery Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013); For histories that analyze whitening policies see: Pedro Navarro Flórez, “Un país sin indios: La imagen de la pampa y la Patagonia en la geografía del naciente estado argentino,” *Scripta Nova, Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* no. 51 (Barcelona, 1 de noviembre de 1999); Ed. Richard Graham, *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1990).

<sup>31</sup> While Chile’s Agency of Colonization implemented a more controlled immigration policy to assure “better quality” immigrants in contrast to Argentina who received Italians and radicals, the Agency desired higher immigration numbers than they were able to accomplish. Therefore, controlled but mildly successful.

fantasy and their vision of the ideal citizen. Furthermore, immigration policies, as argued, complemented the new pedagogical orientation by Chilean intellectuals to modernize the nation to the likeness of Europe. However, Chilean immigration studies are far from critical, and instead are apologists for *wingka* (non-Mapuche) settlements in indigenous territories. For example, René Peri Fagerstrom's *Reseña de la colonización en Chile (Overview of Colonization in Chile)* describes nineteenth century violent attacks against indigenous communities as an unfortunate passage for a necessary and better destiny.<sup>32</sup> Histories on the German and Swiss communities written by their own descendants focus on their successes as ethnic enclaves and their contributions to Chile's prosperity.<sup>33</sup> There are two major academic studies about Germans in Chile both published in 1974: *Les Allemands au Chili, 1818-1945 (The Germans in Chile, 1818-1945)* by Jean-Pierre Blancpain and *Germans in Chile: Immigration and Colonization, 1849-1949* by George F. Young. While Blancpain's study is comprehensive and detailed, Young offers more critical insight comparing the different immigration waves in the context of global politics and class variances in the ethnic enclave. This dissertation challenges uncritical Chilean immigration histories by using the scholarship on late nineteenth and early twentieth century whitening immigration policies in Latin America to contextualize the settler recruitment schemes by Chile's Agency of Colonization. Using this framework, what came to the fore was a failed whitening campaign by Chile's agency representatives. It also underscored that the Chile elite shared an immigration strategy employed by other Latin American nations to modernize and populate the Americas with European immigrants.

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<sup>32</sup> René Peri Gagersrom, *Reseña de la colonización en Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Andres Bello, 1989).

<sup>33</sup> Emilio Held Winkler, *Colonización alemana del Sur de Chile: Documentación de su origen* (Valparaíso: Impreso en los Talleres de Alba Producciones, 1996); Patricia Schifferli Coloma, *Nuestras raíces suizas* (Temuco, Graphik Chile y Imprenta Austral, 2007).

This dissertation's analysis owes a great deal to the cross-disciplinary works in Mapuche Studies. There are three topics within the field that this project is in conversation with: nineteenth-century Mapuche history, the history of the Capuchin missions, and frontier studies.<sup>34</sup> José Bengoa and Jorge Pinto Rodríguez are the most prolific historians on Mapuche history, arguing that Chilean history cannot be understood as separate from and without the inclusion of the Mapuche struggle. Pinto stresses that Mapuche resistance forced their permanence in the national history, even though the formation of the Chilean nation meant the marginalization of the indigenous world.<sup>35</sup> Bengoa challenges the language of periodization in Chilean history; for example, when referring to what is typically described as the Pacification of La Araucanía, he uses the Occupation of La Araucanía.<sup>36</sup>

The relationship between the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (O.F.M.Cap.) and Mapuche communities in La Araucanía has sparked an area of scholarship within Mapuche Studies, expanding to include the Anglican missions.<sup>37</sup> Friars wrote the first wave of Capuchin histories in La Araucanía.<sup>38</sup> However, over the last thirty years the field has grown to include local studies about particular missions and the visual analyses of the Capuchin's photographic and postcard archival collection.<sup>39</sup> This dissertation adds to Capuchin history via Mapuche

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<sup>34</sup> For testimonials see: Lonco Pascual Coño, *Testimonio de un cacique mapuche*, Texto dictado al padre Ernesto Wilhelm de Moesbach (Santiago, Pehuén Editores, 2010); Rosa Isolde Reuque Paillalef, *When a Flower is Reborn: The Life and Times of a Mapuche Feminist*, ed. Florencia E. Mallon (Durham, Duke University Press, 2002).

<sup>35</sup> Jorge Pinto Rodríguez, *La formación del estado, la nación y el pueblo mapuche: De la inclusión y la exclusión* (Temuco: Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera, 2015), 21, 222.

<sup>36</sup> José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche: Siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago: LOM, 2008), 64.

<sup>37</sup> The new scholarship on the Anglican missions includes: André Menard and Jorge Pavez Ojeda, *Mapuche y anglicanos. Vestigios fotográficos de la Misión Araucana de Kepe 1896-1908* (Santiago, Ocho Libros Editores, 2007); André Menard and Jorge Pavez Ojeda, "Documentos de la Federación Araucana y del Comité Ejecutivo de la Araucanía de Chile Los archivos del '29: derroteros y derrotas de la F. A.," *Anales de Desclasificación* vol. 1: La derrota del área cultural, n° 1 (2005).

<sup>38</sup> Reverend Father Ignacio de Pamplona, *Historia de las Misiones de los PP. Capuchinos en Chile y Argentina (1849-1911)* (Santiago, Imprenta Chile, 1911).

<sup>39</sup> Carmen Arellano Hoffman et al., *En la Araucanía: El padre Sigifredo de Frauenhäusl y el parlamento mapuche de Coz Coz de 1907*. Madrid, Iberoamericana, 2006; Jaime Flores Chávez and Alonso Azócar Avendaño,

Studies in arguing that the Bavarian friars were *reluctant modernizers*. On the one hand, they demonstrated willingness to build modern schools to teach Mapuche children agricultural science, force them to wear Western-style uniforms, and adopt the Catholic faith. Meanwhile, the friars themselves rejected modern clothes, consumerism, and elements of urban popular culture in their interactions. This contradiction underscored *who* was allowed to refuse aspects of modernity and *who* was not, emphasizing even further the friars' participation in the Chilean state's colonization project.

Frontier studies within Mapuche history have made crucial interventions in how to think about the construction of race in modern Chile. *La frontera* (the frontier) is a central historical imaginary in Chilean history. U.S. historian Thomas Klubock demonstrates that for the Chilean elite, *la frontera* was a virulent space to conquer and exploit that ultimately led to the development of the forestry industry that altered the lives of Mapuche communities and their relationship with the environment.<sup>40</sup> Chilean historians on Mapuche history, Jorge Pinto and José Bengoa, argue that Chilean colonialist conjectured the frontier in economic and racial terms. According to Pinto, geography and indigenous resistance isolated the Chilean colony from direct connection with Spain.<sup>41</sup> This forced officials to find other means to secure resources and remain relevant to the crown. Chile's relative isolation made external pressures, such as foreign invasion and production quotas, less palpable, giving the colony greater economic independence. In the political imagination of the colonists, according to Bengoa, the frontier signified a racial barrier, in which the colonists self-identified as "whiter" or of purer Spanish blood than was warranted

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*Evangelizar, civilizar y chilenizar a los mapuche: Fotografías de la acción de los misioneros capuchinos en la Araucanía* (Sevilla, Editoria Universidad de Sevilla, 2017).

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Miller Klubock, *La Frontera: Forests and Ecological Conflict in Chile's Frontier Territory* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2014).

<sup>41</sup> Pinto, *La formación del estado*, 29.

by their actual racial makeup.<sup>42</sup> These rationales helped quell the necessity for expansion, creating stability, and, over time, a cultural identity. The frontier was transformed from a place of conquest and warfare into an area of economic exchange and a burgeoning mestizo culture.

Discussing the emerging race complex throughout nineteenth-century Chile, Bengoa discerns:

Es interesante observar que el afán chileno por la “unidad racial” fue sacando a los indígenas de la zona central del discurso nacional y del imaginario de La Nación. En este caso es importante señalar que primero los indígenas fueron eliminados del discurso público y luego desaparecieron étnicamente y se fundieron en el mestizaje. Lo mismo ocurrió con la población africana, “negra”, que no era poca. De los fenotipos quedaron formas de decir, por ejemplo a las niñas del campo, “chinas” dado sus ojos rasgados y a los descendientes mestizos de los esclavos, “morenos” y a las mujeres “negra”, “mi negra” en el trato cariñoso.<sup>43</sup>

(It is interesting to note that the Chilean desire for "racial unity" was by removing the indigenous people from the central zone out of the national discourse and the imaginary of the nation. In this case, it is important to point out that first the indigenous people were eliminated from the public discourse and then they disappeared ethnically and merged into miscegenation. The same happened with the African "black" population, which was not small. From those phenotypes certain sayings remained, for example, "Chinese" about the girls in the field, given their slanted eyes and to the mestizo descendants of the slaves, "dark" and to the women "black [girl]", "my black" in a loving sense.)

For Bengoa, it was frontier politics that developed the Chilean racial imaginary and language.

While this dissertation begins with the collapse of the frontier, *To Govern is to Educate* grounds much of its racial analysis in pre-1883 frontier politics.

*To Govern is to Educate* makes underlying contributions to Mapuche scholarship by centering race and race-making in building the modern Chilean nation. By employing methods and interdisciplinary approaches used in U.S. Race Studies, including Native-American History, Black/African-American Studies, and Whiteness Studies, this dissertation positioned nineteenth century Chilean state race-making in elite anxieties following the collapse of the frontier. Race in Chilean history is often told through Mapuche bodies, while Chileans are discussed in class terms. Nevertheless, the lack of recognition by Chilean scholars that race was essential to forming Chilean social and class structures demonstrates a failure to understand how race was an

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<sup>42</sup> José Bengoa, “Chile *Mestizo*; Chile Indígena,” in *Manifest Destinies and Indigenous Peoples*, ed. David Maybury-Lewis, et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

<sup>43</sup> José Bengoa, *Mapuche, colonos y el Estado Nación* (Santiago, Catalonia, 2014), 47.



active component and historical contradiction in the development of Chile.<sup>44</sup> This historical blind spot highlights the success of modernity in Chilean society that caused the disappearance of the colonial caste language, fusing instead its racial discourse into its class categories.<sup>45</sup>

This dissertation uses multiple historiographies to ask new questions about nation-building and racial identities in Chile. Bringing together these different histories, methods, periodizations, and historical arcs was a challenge but a crucial step to disrupt the standard narrative of Chilean state-building, education, and colonization.

### Archives and Documents

The art of archival work is asking the right questions or casually coming across documents that were not foretold. While the archival research for this project began in exploring government documents related to education and land reorganization, a noticeable trend emerged, which was the presence of German professionals in both fields. In end, the documents used in this project were collected from five archives across Chile that include reports by school directors to the Ministry of Education, schoolbooks, pedagogical congresses and theoretical writings, Mapuche writings, reports from the Agencia de Colonización (Agency of Colonization), writings by German immigrants (histories and letters), and Catholic mission chronicles. The Archivo Nacional (National Archive) in Santiago is the repository for nineteenth century government documents, including *memorias* (memories) that were reports by state officials about the year's activities, finances, and requests made to the central government for

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<sup>44</sup> The historian Ranajit Guha argues that contradictions allow historians to determine historical pressures and disagreements, as well as cause and effect; Ranajit Guha, "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency" in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, eds. Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988), 67.

<sup>45</sup> Ed. Richard Graham, *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1990); Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science, Great Britain, 1800-1960* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 1982).

personnel or funds. The Ministry of Foreign Relations and Colonization (MRREE), as it was called during the time covered by this dissertation, was mandated to oversee the colonization of La Araucanía and the recruitment of European farmers to populate the territory. The MRREE oversaw the work of the Agencia de Colonización (Agency of Colonization) in Europe, whose *memorias* detail immigration targets for Chile and global immigration trends. The Agency's propaganda pamphlets, however, were located in the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library) filed under the author. The Museo de la Educación Gabriela Mistral (Gabriela Mistral Education Museum), initially the Museo Pedagógico de Chile (Pedagogy Museum of Chile), stores textbooks, manuals, letters, pictures, and artifacts that relate to the history of Chilean education. Numerous documents were used from this archive, especially geography textbooks that described how the Chilean elite positioned its racial and political legacy with Europe, and racially *othered* the Amerindian peoples. The Biblioteca y Archivo Histórico Emilio Held Winkler (The Emilio Held Winkler Historic Library and Archive) is the archive of the German community in Chile housed within the Liga Chileno-Alemana (Chilean-German League) building in the wealthy neighborhood of Vitacura next to the private hospital La Clínica Alemana (The German Clinic). The Emilio Held Winkler archive includes letters and diaries by German immigrants, a collection of German language newspapers in Chile, a library, and scholarly studies about the history of the German and Austro-Swiss immigration in Chile. And, lastly, the Archivo del Diócesis (Catholic Dioceses Archive) in Villarrica, La Araucanía proved the most accommodating and a treasure-trove of information due to the Catholic and German tradition to document. The Bavarian friars that headed the missions that this project studied left detailed chronicles about daily activities, accounting, and anecdotal stories about the mission schools and their relationship with Mapuche leaders and students.

## Chapters

This dissertation is divided into four chapters. Chapter one, “The German Turn and the Education Revolution (1879-1889)” discusses why Chilean pedagogues looked to Germany as an example for education reform, and how state education reformers complemented the Chilean state’s colonization plan for La Araucanía. Chapter two, “The Educated Mapuche and the Temuco High School (1889-1916),” moves the historical eye to La Araucanía, concentrating on the institutional history of Temuco High School. This chapter demonstrates that the school was designed to prepare the next generation of professionals in the city of Temuco and, in the process, educated a small group of Mapuche boys into the ranks of the middle class.

The following two chapters concentrate on the institutional history of Bavarian-run Capuchin mission schools in La Araucanía that educated the majority of rural Mapuche boys. Chapter three, “Capuchin Mission Schools and the Education of Rural Mapuche Boys,” discusses the institutional history of Capuchin missions, the implementation of a modern school curriculum by Bavarian friars, and how vocational training prepared the assimilation of Mapuche boys into the Chilean economy. Chapter four, “The New Racial Complex and Negotiating the Mapuche Future,” underscores two key developments: how the Bavarian presence in La Araucanía contributed to the formation of a class-based racial complex and how the mission campus became a political space for Mapuche parents and community leaders to negotiate their rights and their children’s future.

In conclusion, *To Govern is to Educate* argues that public and mission schools used education to colonize Mapuche lands and assimilate Mapuche youths. It demonstrates how in the 1880s the Chilean elite led the modern transformation of the nation within a colonial framework,

in particular in relation with the native population. While this dissertation acknowledges the hegemonic power of the Chilean state and Catholic Church, it also underscores the ability of subalterns to resist using both subtle and overt methods gained through their educational experience and relationships they built with priests and teachers. The renowned pedagogue and state builder, Valentín Letelier, once stated in Clausewitz fashion, “[G]obernar es educar, y todo buen sistema de política es un verdadero sistema de educación, así como todo sistema general de educación es un verdadero sistema político ([T]o educate is to govern, and all good political systems are fundamentally systems of education; in the same way that all general systems of education are fundamentally political systems).”<sup>46</sup> However, this dissertation raises a question: is the purpose of education to be governed or to be free from governance?

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<sup>46</sup> This quote is from a speech that Valentín Letelier gave in 1888 at the National Institute, with President Balmaceda present. The same phrase was used years later by President Pedro Aguirre Cerda in a 1939 speech that called for the expansion of public education and combat illiteracy; Valentín Letelier, *La lucha por la cultura* (Santiago, Encuadernación Barcelona, 1895), 44; President Pedro Aguirre Cerda, “Gobernar es educar (1939),” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oRfUvTP-frY>.

## Chapter One

### The German Turn and the Education Revolution (1879-1889)

The renowned Chilean scholar, Amanda Labarca, declared in her 1939 seminal work *Historia de la enseñanza en Chile (The History of Education in Chile)* that the 1880s were “la menos conservadora (the least conservative)” and “la más radical que hayamos tenido en el campo didáctico (the most radical we have seen in the didactic field).”<sup>47</sup> During this period, education reformers transformed the Chilean Ministry of Education to mirror the pedagogical and state-building achievements made by Northern European nations. As Labarca indicated, Chilean education reformers in the 1880s were at the forefront in dismantling old practices that were once deemed sacred and replaced them with new initiatives befitting a modern nation. German pedagogical practices became that example for reformers, considering the Prussian Empire’s military wins and scientific innovations were arguably rooted in their mass public education initiatives. The remodeling of Chilean education highlighted the Chilean elite’s *Querrelle des anciens et des modernes (Quarrel of ancients and moderns)* that measured this Latin American nation’s ability to keep pace with modernity.<sup>48</sup> The Chilean elite’s lustful gaze toward everything Prussian reflected a yearning to imitate and keep pace with German industrialism and military might.

Education as a social and state institution grew in importance as a nation-building practice by many Latin American nations throughout the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>49</sup> Progressive and liberal state builders viewed the public school as the institutional force guiding

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<sup>47</sup> Amanda Labarca, *Historia de la enseñanza en Chile* (Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1939), 14.

<sup>48</sup> The Quarrel was a 17<sup>th</sup>-century debate within French academia that spread to England inspiring Jonathan Swift’s *The Battle of the Books*. In the early twentieth-century, the philosopher Leo Strauss continued the debate.

<sup>49</sup> This point is elaborated in the introduction; See: Gabriela Ossenbach, “Research in to the History of Education in Latin America: Balance of the Current Situation, *Pedagogica Historica* vol. 36, no. 3 (2000).

social change, forming modern and model citizens that would expedite the pace of progress. The push for mass public education by Chilean reformers occurred at a time when Chilean state builders favored the Prussian state as the exemplary nation. For example, in 1885 President Domingo Santa María hired the German officer Emil Körner Henze, along with other German military instructors, to reorganize the prestigious Escuela Militar (Military School).<sup>50</sup> Education curriculum reforms in public schools and the military academy became leading factors in the nation-building metamorphosis meant to refashion the Chilean state away from its Spanish colonial heritage and towards a Northern European ethos.

According to the landed and industrial elite, standing in the way of the modern transformation of the Chilean nation were the native Mapuche population who ruled the southern frontier of La Araucanía. The Mapuche people, like the Diné (Navajo), Apache, and Lakota of North America, remained in control of their lands until the nineteenth century. Mapuche resistance to Spanish colonial incursion was a source of allegorical inspiration for Chilean independence figures. Following the formation of the Chilean republic, the Santiago elite perceived *la frontera* (the frontier) as a natural barrier between Chilean civilization and native “barbarism.”<sup>51</sup> By the 1840s economic pressures motivated a sector of the ruling class to look southward for natural resources and territorial expansion.<sup>52</sup> President Manuel Bulnes initiated a two-prong strategy to surround the Mapuche territory and assimilate its people. An 1845 colonization law gave the German naturalist Bernhard Eunom Philippi permission to recruit German families to build settlements on native land. As the first group of German settlers set sail

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<sup>50</sup> Körner became the Commander-and-chief of the Chilean Army in 1900; William Sater and Holger Herwig, *The Grand Illusion: The Prussianization of the Chilean Army* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska, 1999), 31.

<sup>51</sup> José Bengoa, “Chile mestizo, Chile indígena” in *Manifest Destinies and Indigenous Peoples*, eds., David Maybury-Lewis et al., Series on Latin American Studies 25 (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2009), 139.

<sup>52</sup> Julio César Jobet, *Ensayo crítico del desarrollo económico-social de Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1955); Robert Burr, *By Reason or Force: Chile and the Balancing of Power in South America, 1830-1905* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1965).

to Chile in 1848, the Chilean government and the Bologna Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (O.F.M.Cap.) made a pact to fund missionaries committed to the conversion of native Mapuche to the Catholic faith. These two groups—settlers and missionaries—represented the Chilean elite’s enclosure plan to colonize La Araucanía.

President Bulnes’s initiatives reflected growing economic pressures brought about by the spread of capitalist development and the global market. The Chilean historian Julio César Jobet noted that “[b]etween 1845 and 1860 commercial trade tripled” in Chile, signaling the growth of an export-based capitalist class. Global market demands for mineral and agricultural resources and the prospects for copper, silver, and possible wheat fields and a forestry industry beyond its national borders drove the need for territorial expansion.<sup>53</sup> The desire for new lands took form in the 1868 House of Deputies debate on Colonel Cornelio Saavedra’s proposed military offensive against the Mapuche Confederation. Some years before, in 1861, Col. Saavedra submitted to Congress a five-year plan known as the Pacification Plan that consisted of building a series of forts near the Malleco River to push the frontier line southward and split Mapuche forces. The 1868 session showed a divided and less confident Chilean elite that questioned whether to finance a costly war. The deputy from the southern city of Valdivia, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, criticized fellow statesmen who expressed doubt in supporting Saavedra’s Plan. Mackenna argued that skeptics were haunted by the ghostly image of unbeatable Mapuche warriors.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Jobet, *Ensayo crítico*, 42; As early as 1859, the newspaper *El Mercurio de Valparaíso* described the Mapuche territory as filled with “excellent woods for construction” and “fertile lands,” calling for the need to submit and possibly exterminate the indigenous population. Other newspapers, including *El Ferrocarril de Santiago*, made similar claims. See Rodrigo Andreucci Aguilera, “La incorporación de las tierras de Arauco al estado de Chile y la posición iusnaturalista de la Revista Católica,” *Revista de estudios histórico-jurídicos* n. 20: 37-84.

<sup>54</sup> Vicuña Mackenna, *La Conquista de Arauco* (Santiago, Imprenta del Ferrocarril, 1868), 1.

Congress approved Col. Saavedra's plan and the colonel implemented a scorched earth offensive in 1868. Longkos José Santos Külapang and Juan Calfucurá led the trans-national Mapuche Confederation forces against the Argentine and Chilean militaries.<sup>55</sup> Saavedra's strategy proved disastrous for the Mapuche army, its communities, and economy in what the historian José Bengoa calls the War of Extermination.<sup>56</sup> After a year of terror, Külapang met with Saavedra at the Toltén Parliament where Mapuche leaders agreed to relinquish territory and hand over longko sons as collateral. In 1878 the Argentine Minister of War, Julio Argentino Roca, initiated a policy of extermination, forcing hundreds of Mapuche refugees across the Andes mountain range towards Chile. The southward push by the Argentine army provoked a dispute between the neighboring nations over claims to Patagonia, but the Chilean elite's attention shifted north as conflict with Bolivia and Peru intensified, marking the beginning of the War of the Pacific.<sup>57</sup> In 1879 Chilean troops stationed in the southern frontier headed north to join the war effort. Aware of Chile's northern conflict, the Mapuche revolted in 1881, destroying Chilean border towns and reclaiming lands. Nevertheless, Mapuche gains were short-lived as experienced Chilean soldiers returned to the southern front. By 1883, Chile emerged as the victor on multiple fronts, expanding its national territory north and south. While losing their claim to the pampas, Chile captured the northern nitrate mines and guano deposits. After centuries of conflict, the prized forest-filled lands of the south were conquered, forever changing the lives of the Mapuche people and altering Chile's standing in South American politics.

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<sup>55</sup> The Argentine Congress approved in 1867 the occupation of the southern frontier up to the Río Negro. However, the policy of the Desert Campaign is not initiated until Julio Argentina Roca is appointed Minister of war in 1877. Külapang's death due to illness in 1875 was a significant loss for the Mapuche, but the Confederation reorganized under new leadership.

<sup>56</sup> Bengoa, 205.

<sup>57</sup> Burr, *By Reason or Force*, 135.



This chapter captures a political moment when a confident Chilean elite—after occupying Peruvian and Bolivian territories in the north and Mapuche lands in the south between 1879 and 1883—reimagined the nation’s racial origin and its role as a regional power.<sup>58</sup> The new territories offered newfangled nation-building possibilities for the Chilean elite to build a modern and industrious nation according to the likeness of Prussia. The Chilean elite’s *turn* to imitate the methods and policies of Prussian institutions underscored their future imagined nation. The *German turn* was a series of state policies that challenged longstanding habits in governance and, in the case of education, used German professionals and ideas to restructure state ministries and schools. Even though the Chilean elite previously favored European nations for political guidance, Chilean and German government officials and intellectuals cultivated a bilateral institutional relationship throughout the nineteenth century that culminated in Chile’s admiration for Imperial German as its model nation.<sup>59</sup> The Prussian state proved successful in annexing substantial territory, consolidating the German Empire in 1871. German-based propaganda described high levels of literacy as the direct causation for Germany’s military victories, in which schooling taught obedience and dedication to the nation.<sup>60</sup> In 1885 the illiteracy rate for Chileans 15 years and older was 80.2% in contrast to Germany’s 1.08% illiteracy rate that same year.<sup>61</sup> For the Chilean elite, the possibility of developing a united, patriotic, and industrious citizenry overshadowed concerns that popular education could produce an informed lower class

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<sup>58</sup> I refer to the two wars—the War of the Pacific and the Occupation of La Araucanía—as the dual expansionist wars.

<sup>59</sup> George F.W. Young, *Germans in Chile: Immigration and Colonization, 1849-1914* (New York, Center for Migration Studies, 1974).

<sup>60</sup> Sadler argues that following the 1866 Prussian army defeat of Austrian forces, many attributed Prussia’s success due to “intelligence and discipline which had been diffused throughout the German people by the elaborate organisation of State-aided schools”: See M.E. Salder, “The History of Education,” in *Germany in the Nineteenth Century: Five Lectures*, ed. J.H. Rose, M.E. Sadler et al (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1967), 110-111.

<sup>61</sup> Robert Austin, *The State, Literacy and Popular Education, 1964-1990* (Lanham, Lexington Books, 2003), 13; Sophia Twarog, “Heights and Living Standards in Germany, 1850-1939: The Case of Württemberg” in *Health and Welfare during Industrialization*, ed. Richard H. Steckel and Roderick Floud (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1997), 320.

capable of challenging the political and social power of the ruling class. The Chilean urban elite became convinced that the process of consolidating the national territory and forming loyal citizens following its victories from the dual expansionist wars required state-sponsored mass education. A comprehensive education system, some argued, eventually blossomed into an emotionally contrived patriotism and an efficient working class that labored for the prosperity of the nation and, I add, their existence.

This chapter argues that the *German turn* in Chilean education complemented the colonial ambitions of the Chilean state to whiten its populace, consolidate the national borders, and educate its citizens. Since this dissertation is primarily concerned with how state-led policies affected the social lives of the native Mapuche, particular attention is placed on the documents and events that highlight those relationships. Chilean educators, with support from the urban elite, ushered the German institutional *turn* in the 1880s that revolutionized the Chilean education system designed to mold a holistic national culture and instruct children and future citizens to become efficient modernizers for the nation. The *turn*, however, was also a transformative process that reflected global discussions about race, colonization, and progress. The first section of this chapter examines studies, reports, policies, and other texts produced by Chilean pedagogues stationed in Berlin who studied German education science with the purpose of transposing those teachings onto a Chilean context. Among the policies proposed was the hiring of German educators for positions in Chile, regarded as the embodiment of German praxis capable of propelling Chile into a competitive player in the global capitalist marketplace. I will explore how the new German pedagogy complemented the nation-building and racial-whitening visions of the Chilean intelligentsia that assumed the need to eradicate Mapuche culture. The second section traces the activities by Chile's Agency of Colonization directors in Europe who

recruited mostly German and Austro-Swiss families to populate La Araucanía meant to displace native Mapuche from their lands and incentivize the industrialization of the region. The final section returns to Chile, highlighting the education reforms of the 1880s that framed the institutional revolution. Education historians underscore the foundational importance of these policies as the basis for the modernization of Chilean education in the early twentieth century. In conclusion, this chapter demonstrates that education was part of a broader *German turn* project by the Chilean elite: to replicate Prussian polities and populate the south with Germanic colonizers that would ultimately re-make Chile into a European-oriented and -bodied nation. The proceeding chapters are local histories that analyze the success of education programs and their effect on Mapuche society, and how the Mapuche used education to negotiate their political place within the new colonial reality.

### I. The German Turn

In the 1940s the educator Gonzalo Latorre Salamanca published a biography about the life of the influential Chilean pedagogue José Abelardo Núñez (1840-1910) where he described Núñez's interest in German education theories in historical context: "El maestro de [la] escuela alemán—se decía corrientemente en esos días—había derrotado en el campo de batalla al humanismo francés (The German school teacher—it was said in those days—had defeated French humanism in the battlefield)."<sup>62</sup> In this passage, Latorre Salamanca summarizes a complex argument about the rise of public education and scientific methodology in nineteenth century Prussia that was said to be the reasons for Germany's military strength (and France's defeat); consequently giving credence to the superiority of German academia and in particular in the natural sciences. As anthropologist Andrew Zimmerman has discerned, the ascent of the Berlin anthropological

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<sup>62</sup> Gonzalo Latorre Salamanca, *La Vida Ejemplar de José Abelardo Núñez Murúa, 1840-1910* (Santiago, 1944), 20.

school in the last half of that century marked a shift toward an antihumanist position that reflected Imperial Germany's commitment to colonialism and challenged universal humanist ideas employed by early republican thought.<sup>63</sup> While Latorre Salamanca was not concerned with the colonial/imperialist influence on education and Zimmerman's study focused primarily on German anthropologists' ethnographies of African peoples and the construction of German national identity, both studies capture the historical confluence of education and empire-building that seized the attention of Chilean officials compelling them to travel to Berlin to emulate German power and global influence. The emergence of education science in the late nineteenth century reflected the tied political development of the modern school, nation-building, and the colonial politics.

The Chilean government commissioned forty-year-old José Abelardo Núñez in 1878 to investigate New York City's normal school system—schools dedicated to the training of teachers—and finalize a publishing plan with D. Appleton & Company on *The Educator's Hispanic American Library*.<sup>64</sup> The Chilean Minister of Education, Joaquín Blest Gana, chose Núñez due to his long resume in advancing education policies. Núñez joined the Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria (Primary Education Society) (f. 1856) following high school, becoming the Society's Treasury-Director by age twenty-six. In 1868 he received his first government assignment as part of the Commission of School Inspectors to evaluate the state of normal schools. Following those visits, Núñez published his reflections on *Direction Moral Pour Les Institutrices (The Moral Direction of Institutions)* (1848) by the French education theorist M. Theodore-Henri Barrau. He covered topics such as obedience, order, cleanliness, and discipline,

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<sup>63</sup> According to Zimmerman, the Berlin-based anthropological school integrated the politics of colonialism in their scientific inquiries, causing a political break with humanist ideals employed by early republican thought; Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2001), 9, 113.

<sup>64</sup> Álvaro Ceballos, "Las empresas editoriales de José Abeladro Núñez en Alemania," 1881-1905, *Historia* 41, vol. 1 (enero-junio 2008): 45-46.

because, Núñez argued, these were elements lacking in Chilean public schools.<sup>65</sup> Núñez, like his contemporaries, was initially influenced by French pedagogues and later by the writings of Horace Mann, a U.S. educator and leader of the Common School Movement, which motivated his voyage to New York.<sup>66</sup> While in New York City, Núñez split his time visiting schools and the local press. As the representative of a small and internationally marginal nation, Núñez's functions doubled as education researcher and state representative, urging local newspapers to describe Chile favorably in their coverage on the War of the Pacific.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, Núñez's stay in the U.S. was short and it is unclear what motivated him to leave. Maybe local educators told him about German advancements in public education, or perhaps he realized that Mann himself traveled to Germany in 1843, which inspired Mann's embrace of the Prussian model for U.S. education. Either way, within a few months from his arrival he placed a request to the Minister of Foreign Relations, Domingo Santa María, to continue his commission in Germany where he remained until 1885.<sup>68</sup>

Berlin in the 1880s emerged as a world intellectual center that rivaled Paris. German political thought in the late nineteenth century was influential in expanding academia—previously ruled by the humanities—that centered positivist ideas in the emerging social sciences. As Zimmerman argues, this 1880s shift in academia coincided with an emerging

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<sup>65</sup> José Abelardo Núñez Murúa, *Consejos sobre la educacion. Tomadas de M. Th. H. Barrau* (Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1868).

<sup>66</sup> Horace Mann was the leader of the Common School Movement and the founder of Normal Schools in the US. Mann's wife Mary (née Peabody) was his translator when Domingo Sarmiento visited them in Massachusetts and she translated Sarmiento's *Facundo* into English; See: Thomas Genova, "Sarmiento's *Vida de Horacio Mann*: Translation, Importation, and Entanglement" in *Hispanic Review*, 82.1 (Winter 2014): 21-41; Mann Bob Pepperman Taylor, *Horace Mann's Troubling Legacy: The Education of Democratic Citizens* (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 2010); Latorre Salamanca, *La Vida Ejemplar*, 20.

<sup>67</sup> During Núñez voyage on the Oraya steamship that he embarked in Antofagasta in March 1879, he was asked to spy on a Bolivian coronel. See: Álvaro Ceballos, "Las empresas editoriales de José Abeladro Núñez en Alemania," 1881-1905, *Historia* 41, vol. 1 (enero-junio 2008).

<sup>68</sup> See: Horace Mann, *Report of an Educational Tour in Germany, and Parts of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1846) and Henry Geitz, Jürgen Heideking, Jürgen Herbst, *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917* (New York, University of Cambridge, 1995).

colonial politic.<sup>69</sup> It was also in Berlin where European governments gathered in 1884-1885 to debate how to divide the African continent—its people and resources—into colonial territories. The purpose of the Berlin Africa Conference was to establish “equal commercial access by means of exclusive spheres of political influence.”<sup>70</sup> France, Portugal, and Great Britain dominated the “Scramble for Africa,” and Germany’s entry was due to a string of German military successes and alliances, while an isolated France was forced to concede by allowing Germany into the new global governance. It was the era of New Imperialism, or what the Germans called *Weltpolitik* (world policy).<sup>71</sup> Chilean statesmen located in Berlin were aware (and likely participants) in these discussions and discursively promoted these ideas in government reports normalizing a colonialism-as-progress worldview.

Núñez was attracted to the German capital because it was the hub for radical education reformers. Individuals such as Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) and Friedrich Wilhelm Fröbel (1782-1852), who were followers of the renowned Swiss pedagogue, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) had made mass public education a reality.<sup>72</sup> Pestalozzi’s methodology focused on the need to tailor instruction to the individual pupil and promoted the use of illustrations in classroom teachings.<sup>73</sup> Fröbel, a former student of Pestalozzi, was the founder of

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<sup>69</sup> Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*.

<sup>70</sup> Ronald Robinson, “The Conference in Berlin and the Future in Africa, 1884-1885” in *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa: The Berlin Africa Conference 1884-1885 and the Onset of Partition* eds. Stig Förster et al (The German Historical Institute London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1988), 7.

<sup>71</sup> In an article by Elfi Bendikat, she argues that Bismarck purposely organized the first sessions of the Berlin Africa Conference during the fall of 1884, right before the October elections. Bendikat explained on page 384, “The issue of colonial expansion was to lead to a polarization between parties loyal to Bismarck—as the National Liberals, free Conservatives, and German Conservatives proved to be—and those that opposed Bismarck—the left parties and the Social Democratic Party.” See: Elfi Bendikat, “The Berlin Conference in the German, French, and British Press” in *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa: The Berlin Africa Conference 1884-1885 and the Onset of Partition* eds. Stig Förster et al (The German Historical Institute London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>72</sup> The German naturalist Bernadro Eunom Phillipi who proposed and led the first German national colony formed in Valdivia between 1848 and 1852 was a former student of Pestalozzi; Latorre discusses how the three pedagogues influenced Núñez writings; Latorre Salamanca, *La Vida*, 20, 23, 25.

<sup>73</sup> Jeff Bowersox, “Classroom Colonialism: Race, Pedagogy, and Patriotism in Imperial Germany” in *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, eds. Bradley Naranch and Geoff Eley (Durham, Duke University Press, 2014), 173.

the kindergarten movement that spread first via German migrants to the Americas and became integral to the education policies of many countries.<sup>74</sup> Herbart, however, was the most influential education reformer and his texts were foundational to the development of the modern school. He elaborated methods that transformed educational practices into a science, making it measurable and standardized. His theories reflected the social and economic conditions of the time when state building and mass culture necessitated mass education.<sup>75</sup> Herbartian's pedagogy, which proved foundational in the development of psychology and metaphysics, focused on fostering good morality and ethics as integral to a child's development (or being, as he called it).<sup>76</sup> Herbartianism—the education theories produced by his followers—offered Chilean education reformers a basis to develop a uniform and standardized curriculum to be implemented in all state schools adhering to a politics of universalism and centralization. It also gave pedagogues and politicians the tools to assimilate children, especially impoverished Chilean children, and later Peruvian, Bolivian, Aymara, and Mapuche youths who fell within the new borderlines, into a single national culture and history.

In the same manner that Herbart's theories were a product of his time, classroom politics reflected political trends in Germany. Chilean pedagogues such as Núñez, and others like him, based their reports and theories on classroom observations as surveys of education texts; it is therefore important to highlight the relationship between German education theory, classroom culture, and colonial politics. The historian Jeff Bowersox argues that following the 1871 unification of the German nation-state, the German elite had to mediate “the development of

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<sup>74</sup> Miroslav Somr and Lenka Hruskova, “Herbart's Philosophy of Pedagogy and Education Teaching (The Views and Differences of Opinion)” in *Studia Edukacyjne* nr 33 (Poznan 2014): 419.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 414.

<sup>76</sup> Kant was an influential figure in Herbart writings (see footnote 47), which is why elements of Herbart's education theories included discussions about mind and early psychology. Herbart's concept about the “child's being” was later used by Martin Heidegger in developing his theories about Being.

mass commercial culture, mass education, and mass politics.”<sup>77</sup> The classroom became an important place where German national identity was developed and presented to its pupils as a more advanced civilization within “the progressiveness of races.”<sup>78</sup> As the German Empire consolidated and expanded, school geographers were on the frontlines in teaching children about Germany’s standing in the new global politics of imperialism. According to Bowersox, geography classes were used to teach children about Germany’s economic power, as well as the geographic and racial reasons for stratified world relations. Teachers used a map that partitioned the world according to racial groupings based on “skin color, skull shapes, and facial features” in which local climate and geography explained the “natural” placement of a phenotypic race within the civilization ladder. In other words, white Europeans, in particular, Germans, had a racial and “geographic advantage.”<sup>79</sup> This contrasted with French humanism, which despite its many hypocrisies, theoretically posited the notion of a universal humanity. The rise of German social sciences with its emphasis on ethnology and geography used maps and climate to justify human inequality. French humanism and German antihumanism each reflected their contemporary philosophical and economic trends: the first a product of bourgeois revolution and the latter of capitalist and colonial expansion. German education science developed alongside global colonial politics with both informing the theories and policies by Chilean education reformers.

Núñez represented a political current among Chilean education reformers who wanted to expand education’s public access and develop curriculum and protocols that were quantifiable and qualitatively scientific. During his time in Europe, Núñez produced two critical texts: *El Lector Americano (The American Reader)* (1881) and *La organización de las escuelas normales (The Organization of Normal Schools)* (1883). *El Lector* was a compilation of stories for primary

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<sup>77</sup> Bowersox, “Classroom Colonialism,” 171.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.



school students. Published the same year that the Minister of Education decreed *El Lector* an official government textbook.<sup>80</sup> *El Lector*'s pedagogical method was reminiscent of Sarmiento-era schoolbooks that focused on reading and memorization. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was an Argentine statesman who lived in Chile during political exile in the 1830s and 1840s, influencing the formation of normal schools and female education. María Isabel Orellana Rivera further argued that *El Lector* also textualized the "ideal child" in its stories that emphasized the kind and obedient child, forming expectations of citizenry.<sup>81</sup>

*La organización* was an overdue report by Núñez to the Ministry of Education about his visit to institutions in the US, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, England, and France.<sup>82</sup> Núñez argued that the state must develop criteria and higher standards for training teachers to improve public education. German normal schools, however, became the foci of his analysis. Núñez explained, "La Alemania, cuna de los grandes progresos del saber humano, fué la primera nación que elevó al carácter de ciencia la tarea del educador (Germany, the birthplace of humanity's major progressive feats, was the first nation to elevate the scientific to be defined as a teacher's duty)."<sup>83</sup> He also noted that Southern European countries failed to reach equivalent accomplishments in public education, literacy, and industrialization, even though, he conceded, they offered some contributions to pedagogical teachings. In his conclusion, Núñez proposed a series of changes to Chile's normal schools. He stated, "Nuestros establecimientos de enseñanza normal no corresponden actualmente ni a las necesidades del país, ni a los progresos de la educación moderna, i es tiempo ya de modelar su organización de acuerdo con esos necesidades i con los principios que reglan en el dia el difícil arte de enseñar (Our normal school

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<sup>80</sup> Serrano et al, *Historia de la Educacion*, 178.

<sup>81</sup> María Isabel Orellana Rivera, *Una Mirada a la escuela chilena entre la lógica y la paradoja* (Santiago, DIBAM, 2010), 99.

<sup>82</sup> José Abelardo Núñez Murúa, *La organización de las escuelas normales*, (Santiago, Imprenta de la Librería Americana, 1883), 13.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 77-78.

establishments do not correspond with the current needs of the nation, neither in progress made in modern education. It is time to model its organization per accordance with those needs along with current principles that regulate the difficult task of teaching).”<sup>84</sup> When Núñez published *La organización*, normal schools’ curriculum and techniques remained unchanged since the Sarmiento years. Instead of a drastic overhaul, Núñez proposed the continuation of established methods while constructing uniformity in student evaluations by developing milestones for individual students, urging future instructors to be cognizant of improving students’ speaking abilities; in other words, fusing old and new educational methods. Núñez also wanted to elevate the quality and social status of the professorate by placing pressure on the state to allocate more funds for infrastructure (school buildings, libraries) and personnel (directors, school inspectors).

Lastly, a central component of his proposal was the expansion of normal schools, including in the new territories the Chilean military recently occupied. When discussing northern Chile, he noted that due to “las nuevas adquisiciones” (“the new acquisitions”) as a result of Chile’s victory in the War of the Pacific, the establishment of two normal schools in the new territories was a matter of utmost importance.<sup>85</sup> In the southern provinces, alluding to “el territorio últimamente ocupado del Araucanía” (“the recently occupied territory of La Araucanía”), he proposed the construction of normal schools in either Concepción or Valdivia. Both cities were founded before the occupation and Concepción was not technically part of La Araucanía, nonetheless they were ideal for education purposes because they were accessible by sea, thus more readily defensible. Establishing normal schools in the contested territories of the southern frontier functioned, for Núñez, as a venture point to send teachers and modern education into the occupied territory to assimilate the native population. Núñez wanted to secure

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 302.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 299.

the protection of the new normal schools to outlive possible military conflict with the Mapuche. Núñez's strategy in expanding normal schools in the new territories was fundamentally about establishing state presence and assuring the hegemony of Chilean culture and history.

Núñez's *La organización* appeared at an opportune moment when Chilean statesmen and intellectuals began to conceptualize Chile as a regional power and its place in the global market. In response to this report, Congress allocated national treasury funds for the expansion of public education, when in previous decades the topic was met with resistance. José M. Muñoz Hermsillo noted that Chile's war victories forced the elite to reexamine the nation's economic and political conservatism (that he called "monotonous") and "impulsar la acción de las fuerzas vivas nacionales a levantar nuestra cultura al rango propio de una nación victoriosa (drive into action the vibrant national forces that will elevate our culture to the rank of a victorious nation)."<sup>86</sup> The dual expansionist war infused the Chilean elite with confidence, tapping into their ambitions to become competitive players in the international arena. This motivated them to invest in state infrastructure that included railways lines and industry planning that hastened capitalist development. Numerous European professionals, engineers, land surveyors, educators, and military officials, were hired to facilitate this process.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, substantial funds were made available to send Chileans to study at the best institutions in the Western world.

In 1881 Manuel Antonio Matta, founder of the Radical Party, was given the Berlin ambassadorship. He offered his son-in-law, Valentín Letelier, the position of secretary for the

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Prior to the 1880s, Chile had a long history of hiring European professionals. Some were political exiles, as in the case of Ignacio Domeyco, and others were contracted for specific projects, such as Teodoro Schmidt and Gustave Verniory.

newly established Chilean Embassy.<sup>88</sup> Letelier's fortuitous marriage and newfound employment gave him, for the first time, connections to the elite world of state politics. Born to modest circumstances in the Central Valley town of Linares, he excelled in his studies at the National Institute in Santiago and later earned a history degree.<sup>89</sup> While in Berlin, Letelier befriended Claudio Matte, a lawyer and committed pedagogue. Matte, who was researching Prussian educational methods, shared Núñez's enthusiasm for the German education system. Letelier was a big ideas person and, as a member of the Radical Party, understood public education as fundamental for middle-class political mobility to challenge oligarchic power, create a more literate populace, and, thus, a more democratic society.<sup>90</sup> Matte, on the other hand, was politically conservative and concerned with the methodological details to accelerate the learning and retention process of intellectual and practical skills. The budding friendship between Matte and Letelier proved equally beneficial, centering on a state-building similitude that placed public education as central to modernizing the nation.

Prussian education prompted a pedagogical model that it called "concentric learning," a comprehensive learning method that stressed practical experience and integrated lesson plans across multiple disciplines. Children were expected to understand the practical purpose of what they were learning and be able to relate information acquired in one course to another. For example, the lesson plan for natural science courses on the biology of flora and fauna was expected to connect with topics on topography and geology in a geography class. Concentric education was meant to facilitate knowledge-association but also recognized that schooling had

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<sup>88</sup> Eduardo Araya M. and Diego Barría T., eds., *Valentín Letelier: Estudios sobre política, gobierno y administración pública* (Santiago, Editorial Universitaria, 2011), ix.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> For examples in the development of Letelier's ideas about education in relation to nation building see: Araya and Barría edited volume *Valentín Letelier*; Carlos Sanhueza Cerda and Isidora Puga Serrano, "Noticias desde Berlin: Cartas de Valentín Letelier a Darío Risopatrón Cañas (1883-1885)," *Historia* 39, vol. 2 (julio-diciembre 2006): 557-580; Guillermo Feliú Cruz, "Las cartas inéditas de Valentín Letelier a Claudio Matte," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* núm. 107-108, año 115 (julio-diciembre 1957): 63-74.

the power to mold its students' thought processes. It exemplified how public education could assimilate the popular classes into a singular national culture and, in the case of the Mapuche, their disappearance from the nation. Education theorists' inclusion of empirical language and methods transformed pedagogy into a scientific discipline that could plan and influence a child's psychology and perception of self.

Matte was primarily interested in developing effective teaching methods. From his research in German pedagogical theories and classroom observations, he developed a learning method coined the *nuevo metodo* or the *new method*. Matte argued that instructors should organize their lesson plan using three techniques: analytics, synthetics, and phonetics. The phonetics approach emphasized a sound-image association that stood in contrast to Sarmiento's memorization approach. According to Matte, alphabet letters should be sounded out phonetically according to their usage in speech, not their alphabet sound. Furthermore, the handbook linked alphabet letters with images that children could relate to in their lives and, thus, easily remember. The most famous example used from Matte's *Nuevo método para la enseñanza simultánea de la lectura i escritura* (*The New Method in Simultaneous Teaching in Reading and Writing*) was his lesson plan about the letter 'o.'<sup>91</sup> He used 'ojo' (eye) as his word reference and alongside the word an image of two eyes and a nose, in which the image shared a likeness to the word 'ojo.' The *Nuevo método* was later retitled *Silabario del Ojo* (*The Eye Syllabary*).<sup>92</sup> Students were expected to mimic the phonetic sounds of letters and copy words below the textbook example, a method known as *lectoescritura*, or reading-writing. The analytic-synthetic approach was a philosophical approach applied widely in education science. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (who inspired Herbart's theories) explained analytic propositions as those faithful by virtue

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<sup>91</sup> Claudio Matte, *Nuevo método (fonético, analítico-sintético) para la enseñanza simultánea de la la lectura i escritura* (Leipzig, Imprenta de F.A. Brockhaus, 1884).

<sup>92</sup> Serrano et al, *Historia de la Educación*, 175-178.

to their meaning, while synthetic propositions were valid in accordance to how their meaning is interpreted and connected to the world.<sup>93</sup> The educational purpose of the analytic-synthetic approach was for students to reason, observe, relate, and, above all, retain what they learned.

Matte's new technique was radical for two reasons. First, it represented a break from Sarmiento's French education memorization approach.<sup>94</sup> Second, for the new method to be successful, it required the restructuring of Chile's entire education system from start (the training of instructors) to finish (the formation of student-citizens). Matte and Letelier agreed with Núñez's call to reorganize normal schools. Núñez's report did not include the methodological depth that Matte presented in his new method. By the time Matte published *Nuevo método* (or *Silabario*), Núñez's reputation and institutional weight were well established in the Ministry of Education. Even though *El Lector Americano* and *Nuevo método* were two different approaches to education, most government officials cared minimally about methodology or education philosophy per se. There is a third question that arises about the phonetic method unanswered in this dissertation: Was the new system meant to regiment a common accent and consolidate varying dialectics or class-differentiations in manner of speech? Unfortunately, I do not know of any research on this topic to clarify this query.

When Matte first published *Nuevo método* in Leipzig, Germany in 1884, government officials and intellectuals did not laud his study as expected. Núñez's *El Lector* had already been in circulation for three years and treated as established canon. Matte and Letelier were aware that if they wanted to convince the political establishment about the necessity to implement the new method, they would have to campaign using the legislative language of statesmen and,

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<sup>93</sup> Jobet explains that Kant influenced Herbart, while Herbart influenced Spencer's education writings; Julio César Jobet, *Doctrina y praxis de los educadores representativos chilenos* (Santiago, Editorial Andres Bello, 1970), 308; Immanuel Kant, *Education* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1960 [Original published in 1803]).

<sup>94</sup> Whether Sarmiento's education theories reflected only French methods is debatable, but Chilean education reformers of the 1880s positioned this French/German education dichotomy to argue for policy and method changes.

concurrently, relate directly to Núñez's work. A year after the release of *Nuevo método*, Matte and Letelier co-authored *La instrucción secundaria y la instrucción universitaria en Berlín* (*Secondary Education and University Education in Berlin*) (1885) to promote the social laurels achieved by the German education system.<sup>95</sup> Letelier—the man with governance on his mind—wrote the introduction directed at the Minister of Education. *La instrucción secundaria* was a detailed study of government policies that formed the high school and university systems in Berlin. They proposed the reorganization of normal schools that tapped into Núñez's well-received *La organization* published the year before. In his opening remarks, Letelier also polemicized against a newspaper article that labelled Matte's work as fantasy.<sup>96</sup> Letelier's response noted that Escuela Franklin, a night school for male workers, implemented the new method as a pilot program with great success.<sup>97</sup> The example was proof that German education methods were applied favorably in Chile.<sup>98</sup> But it also demonstrated that education reformers included male workers in the political transformation and the modernization of Chile.

There were two camps among educators, Letelier noted, between those who promoted the German system and those who held on to the old French methods. In response to French enthusiasts, he cheekily stated, "Sino el sentido común nos enseña que no hay conveniencia alguna para Chile en imitar a una nación en estado de crisis (But common sense teaches us that it

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<sup>95</sup> Letelier also published *Las escuelas de Berlín* (1885) that was report on behalf of the Chilean Embassy in Berlin. Some current studies confuse *Las escuelas de Berlín* and *La instrucción secundaria* as the same monograph.

<sup>96</sup> Claudio Matte and Valentín Letelier, *La instrucción secundaria y la instrucción universitaria en Berlín: Informe elevado al Supremo Gobierno por la Legación de Chile en Berlín* (Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1885), 5.

<sup>97</sup> Escuela Nocturna de Artesanos Benjamín Franklin was established in 1862 by the Santiago-based La Sociedad de Artesanos La Unión; Godoy notes that in 1876 the Ministry of Public Education recognized Escuela Franklin; Franklin Milton Godoy, "Mutualismo y Educación: Las escuelas nocturnas de artesanos, 1860-1880," *Última Década*, núm. 2 (Valparaíso, 1994): 5; Sergio González Miranda, "La Escuela en la Reivindicación Obrera Salitrera (Tarapacá, 1890-1920) Un esquema para su análisis," *Revista Ciencia Sociales* 4 (1994).

<sup>98</sup> I have yet to confirm whether Benjamin Dávila Larrain, who was then the current director the Colonization Agency, personally participated this effort at Escuela Franklin. However, it is curious since Larrain had been Escuela Franklin director for many years. See: José A. Alfonso, "Don Benjamin Dávila Larrain," *La Revista de Chile* II, no. 11 (Santiago, junio 1899): 331.

is not convenient for Chile to imitate a nation in a state of crisis).”<sup>99</sup> As Letelier underscored, the problem was not imitation, but *whom* to imitate. Therefore, by mimicking France, a country in political crisis following the demise of Napoleon and its defeat by Prussian forces during the Franco-Prussian War, Chile would be mirroring a nation that was inferior in military strength and education standards. Letelier then begged the question, “Cuáles son dignos de imitarse y cuáles se deben desechar (Who is dignified enough to imitate and who should be cast aside)?”<sup>100</sup> Letelier and Matte warned, “Si no adoptamos medidas semejantes, sin prejuicio de seguir subvencionado algunos jóvenes chilenos en Europa, no llegaremos nunca a crear el profesorado secundario o universitario (If we do not adopt similar measures, without prejudice to continue subsidizing some young Chileans in Europe, we will never create a high school or university professoriate).”<sup>101</sup> In conclusion, he presented an unquestionable endorsement for the German system in toto.

In Foucaultian terms, the modern school was an example of a state ‘technico-political’ institution, while concentric learning and the new method were its ‘moral orthopedics.’<sup>102</sup> Together they functioned as blueprints for constructing body-discipline or, more specifically, a child-to-citizen formation that reflected a new standard of governance in which the nation-state necessitated a more direct presence. Concentric education was the overarching structure that guided a child’s educational development, while the new method functioned as the mechanics that instructed the child how to think, see, and speak. The Chilean Marxist historian Julio César Jobet argued that Núñez, Matte, and Letelier sought to implement Herbart’s doctrine. I argue

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<sup>99</sup>Matte and Letelier, *La instrucción*, 5.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>102</sup> Roger Deacon, “Michel Foucault on education: a preliminary theoretical overview,” *South African Journal of Education* vol. 26, no. 2 (2016): 177–187.



that, of the three, Matte proved to be the most rigorous of Herbartianists.<sup>103</sup> The new method was about efficiency in learning and the complete indoctrination of a child's psyche that would write their societal script, influencing how they recognized their place in class, race, and gender terms. Even though Matte did not describe his new method as the praxis in citizen formation, the scientific arguments behind the new method and the concentric curriculum were envisioned as the training ground for useful, able, and forward-thinking citizens who would industrialize and modernize the nation. Sarmiento-era practices of text memorization never intended on becoming an all-encompassing education plan. Matte's method and Letelier's vision, on the other hand, bound science and education theories into the nation-building project.

Matte's *Nuevo método* was later advocated by the Pedagogical Institute (f. 1889) as the methodology to be used in its national curriculum but lacked official recognition by the Ministry of Education until the 1902 Public Education General Congress that was presided over by Matte.<sup>104</sup> Núñez had intentionally delayed state sponsorship for the *Nuevo método* due to a combination of jealousy and power play.<sup>105</sup>

There are three baseline points covered in this first section. First, the German-inspired education methods represented the philosophical and epistemological politics of the *German turn*. Second, the restructuring of public education and the inclusion of the new method in the national curriculum were not intrinsically racist policies, but in amalgamation with other state initiatives at the time. The third point is that Imperial Germany gave the Chilean elite a nation-building framework to centralize the national territory, develop industrious citizens, and, in the process, become a South American power.

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<sup>103</sup> Jobet, *Doctrina y praxis*, 295.

<sup>104</sup> *Congreso General de Enseñanza Pública de 1902* (Santiago, Imprenta, Litografía, Encuadernación Barcelona, 1904).

<sup>105</sup> Valentín Letelier, "Epistolario: Cartas de Valentin Letelier a algunos miembros de su familia," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* núm. 105, año 115 (enero-marzo 1957), 178.

## II. Colonization as the New California, Colonos as Nation Builders

In an 1883 note to the Minister of Public Education, José Abelardo Núñez wrote:

Pueblos jóvenes como el nuestro, que han entrado al comercio de la vida internacional teniendo constantemente a la vista el ejemplo de las naciones más cultas y adelantadas del Viejo Mundo, y que aspiran a disfrutar de todas las conquistas alcanzadas por una civilización, que es el resultado de la lenta y penosa evolución de muchos siglos, es natural que se sientan dominados por la irresistible ambición de imitar servilmente todo lo que es progreso.<sup>106</sup>

(Young people, like ours, who have entered the international life of commerce, constantly have in mind the example of the most educated and advanced nations of the Old World. They aspire to enjoy all the conquests achieved by a civilization, which is the result of the slow and painful evolution of many centuries. It is natural that they feel dominated by the irresistible ambition to imitate slavishly everything that is progress.)

Núñez described the work of educators and state officials as those responsible for supporting Chilean youths' impulse to learn and imitate the "advanced nations of the World." He described European progress as a historical process towards betterment within a social evolution framework. Núñez foresaw education reformers as mavericks who would break with their colonial past and embrace "the conquests achieved by [European] civilization" that would galvanize Chile into modernity. Historian Jaime Rodríguez explained that the Latin American elite's rebellion against Spain in the early nineteenth century was not rooted in an anti-Spanish ideology, but one that applauded "their unique Americanness, [while] the people of the New World also affirmed their rights as Spaniards."<sup>107</sup> The catalyst for Latin American uprising against the Spanish Crown was rooted in disillusionment over unequal treatment and the impediment placed on them to self-govern. Latin American independence and elite rebels used an anti-colonial discourse to demand political rights and control over trade but assumed independent republics would maintain institutional and familial relationships with Europe. The anomaly in these revolutions was the 1791 Haitian Revolution that declared the first black

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<sup>106</sup> Latorre Salamanca, *La Vida Ejemplar*, 18.

<sup>107</sup> Jaime O. Rodríguez, *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), 58.

republic by formerly enslaved Africans whose presence and political proclamations had rippling effects across the world, raising concerns for the Latin American slave-owning elite. Núñez's emphasis on the "Old World" as the harbinger of knowledge and progress represented the political continuity of Latin American colonialism within the new republic.

Following Chile's territorial victories in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific and the occupation of La Araucanía, the Chilean state began the process of *internal colonization* that imagined the political, cultural, and economic transformation of those territories into Chilean provinces. For education reformers, this process was an opportune moment to remake the education system to their liking and convince state builders about the need to construct more schools. It also allowed the elite and state officials to re-imagine the Chilean nation and, in particular, the racial formation and capitalist industries of the new territories. Prior to the full occupation of Mapuche territory, state officials and newspapers described the proposed transformation in colonial terms: "[L]a Araucanía desaparecerá con el tiempo y en su lugar se alzará una nueva California (The Araucanía will disappear over time and in its place will rise a New California)."<sup>108</sup> Chilean historian José Bengoa underscored that newspaper descriptions of La Araucanía as a Chilean California influenced a public perception about the region in Manifest Destiny terms as a place of conquest, civilizing, and already predestined to be part of the Chilean nation.<sup>109</sup> La Araucanía harkened colonial fantasies for the Chilean elite that emulated contemporary European debates about territorial expansion in the name of progress, resources, and new markets.

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<sup>108</sup> Quote from an 1866 newspaper article *El Meteor* de Los Ángeles in José Bengoa, *La historia del pueblo Mapuche, siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago, LOM, 2008), 160.

<sup>109</sup> See the section "El fracaso de la California chilena" in Chapter X in Bengoa, *La historia del pueblo Mapuche*, 350-351.

Since the 1840s, the Chilean government promoted the construction of German immigration settlements (*colonias*) in the southern territory to occupy the frontier and consolidate the national territory from south of the Bio Bio all the way to Magallanes. The Chilean occupation of La Araucanía brought about the collapse of the frontier that meant government officials prioritized transforming the so-called “virgin lands” of Wallmapu—Mapuche ancestral land—into an industrial and agricultural region. However, the inclusion of the frontier into the Chilean nation heightened racial anxieties since the borderlands functioned as a racial boundary that previously allowed the Chilean elite to present themselves as whiter and more European than the popular classes.<sup>110</sup> In response to this development, the Chilean elite opened a European office dedicated to the recruitment of European families to populate La Araucanía; a plan that was comparable to immigration policies in the U.S., Brazil, and Argentina, which also privileged northern European immigration as a strategy of cultural whitening.<sup>111</sup> Chilean officials, nevertheless, found that immigration policies devised by the U.S. and Argentina were too liberal, allowing radicals and communists to enter. Instead they preferred protocols that controlled the ethnic, racial, class composition, and gender parity of those who entered and where they lived.

During Letelier’s appointment at the Berlin office, he aided the newly founded Colonization Agency in Paris that opened its doors on October 2, 1882.<sup>112</sup> The German government forbade the Chilean government from recruiting *colonos* (settlers), forcing the consul offices around Prussia (listed in the Chilean government recruitment brochures) to

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<sup>110</sup> José Bengoa, “Sociedad criolla, sociedad indígena y mestizo,” *Proposiciones* vol. 12 (Santiago, Ediciones SUR, 1986).

<sup>111</sup> José Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley, California University Press, 1998); Thomas Skidmore, “Racial Ideas and social Policy in Brazil, 1870-1940,” in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1990); Nancy Stepan, *“The Hour of Eugenics”: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2015).

<sup>112</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Relations and Colonization worked closely and received support from La Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura (SNA).

carryout clandestine yet active role in recruiting families. The agency's purpose was to recruit skilled and innovative European farmers to relocate to "los campos desiertos (the deserted lands)."<sup>113</sup> As one agency director reflected, "[La] población europea animosa y emprendedora, moral y económica...métodos de cautivo y hábitos de vida que, si llegaran a generalizarse, producirían en Chile el cambio mas trascendental y saludable (The European population is courageous and enterprising, moral and economic...[they] use methods and habits of life that, if they were to become generalized, would produce in Chile the most transcendental and healthy change)."<sup>114</sup> Chile, however, was a latecomer in the continental immigration fever due to war and unfavorable geography, making it difficult to match the migration figures of Argentina and Brazil. Nevertheless, colonization agency officials assured that the nation's natural resources would entice European families to migrate; especially once the Chilean military was able to force Mapuche communities into *reducciones* (settlements) that allowed the government to classify "unused" plots as fiscal (state) lands, available for European and Chilean colonos.

The first five Agency of Colonization directors were Francisco de Borja Echeverría (1882-1884), Benjamín Dávila Larraín (1884-1887), Isidoro Errázuriz (1888), Francisco Gandarillas (1889-1892) and Nicolás Vega (1893-1895). Agency directors' duties included writing propaganda to recruit colonos, vetting future colonos, organizing transportation for colono families, and negotiating emigration quotas and legal exit visas with European countries. The directors worked in tandem with Chilean embassies and consuls across Europe to carry out government requests such as the hiring of professionals for needed positions in Chile including university and government posts. The first two directors were the most successful recruiters.

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<sup>113</sup> Quote by Minister of Foreign Relations and Colonization Luis Aldunate in 1882. In Pedro Santos Martínez, "La inmigración en Chile: El caso de los colons vascos (1882-1883)," *Historia* 22 (Santiago, 1987), 291.

<sup>114</sup> Isidoro Errázuriz, *Tres Razas: Informe de colonos europeos en Araucanía, 1887* reprinted in *Expansión capitalista y economía mapuche: 1860-1930* by Jorge Pinto Rodríguez and Iván Inostroza Córdova (Temuco, Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera, 2014), 147.

Echeverría organized contracts for 2,056 colonos, while Larraín recruited 2,187 colonos during his tenure and an additional 282 in his one-year as co-director. Of the five directors, Larraín was an established pedagogue who directed Escuela Franklin for many years.<sup>115</sup> Letelier's collaboration with the Agency also aided the promotion of his ongoing work with Matte since they were able to use the Franklin School as their pilot program to implement the new method.<sup>116</sup> It is possible that Larraín directly supported the effort through contacts or other means.

The Agency of Colonization developed two distinct immigrant categories.<sup>117</sup> Immigrants were free agents who took up residence and employment in urban centers as factory workers or small business owners. Colonos, in contrast, were family units of farmers that signed contracts with the Chilean government promising to till and work the land given to them. These family units, composed of a husband and wife plus children, were offered a plot of land in the Colonization Province of Angol (former Mapuche territory) and Magallanes (former territory of the indigenous Selk'nam).<sup>118</sup> To ensure that colono families were of "high quality," the Agency included the criteria for proof of farming abilities, literacy, health certificate, and verification of savings.<sup>119</sup> The Agency prioritized married applicants with children as a demonstration of their moral standing. In return, the colono families signed a five-year contract and were promised the financial coverage of their voyage, a plot of land (eighty to one-hundred hectares plus forty hectares for each son over the age of twelve), a government stipend, free medical care for two years, materials to build a home, and livestock (two horses and four cows). The material benefits

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<sup>115</sup> José A. Alfonso, "Don Benjamin Dávila Larrain," *La Revista de Chile* II, no. 11 (Santiago, Junio 1899), 331.

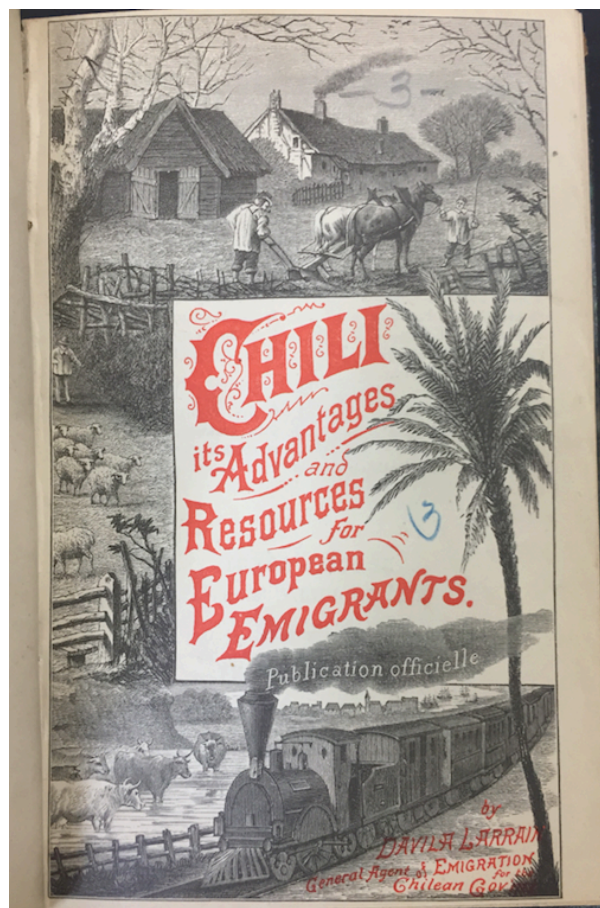
<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*; Matte and Letelier, *La instrucción secundaria*, 5.

<sup>117</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Relations and Colonization Agency stipulated this distinction in their reports and memories; Nicolás Vega, *Memoria de los Trabajos Ejecutados por la Agencia General de Colonización de Chile en Europa en 1895* (Paris, Imprimerie Paul Dupont, 1896), 4-7.

<sup>118</sup> The contract stipulated that the Chilean government paid for the colono family voyage and colonos were expected to meet productivity requirements. However, many colonos in route to Chile stayed in either Brazil or Argentina.

<sup>119</sup> Vega, *Memoria de 1895*, 5.

were significant in conjunction with the capital that the families were expected to bring, placing foreign colonos in an advantageous position in contrast to native Mapuche. In comparison, Mapuche communities were forced to relocate and rebuild their lives following years of warfare. Some Mapuche families remained on their lands and maintained their familial and political system, but many others were forced to migrate in search of work in urban centers and haciendas. Those who continued on their lands competed economically with foreign and national colonos.<sup>120</sup>



**Fig. 1.1: Front cover of Larraín's 1887 edition of *Chili*.<sup>121</sup>**

<sup>120</sup> Debates appear in the archive that not enough land was distributed for national colonos who were required to purchase plots, often citing a German bias by Chilean officials and German-born engineers.

<sup>121</sup> Benjamín Larraín, *Chili, Its Advantages and Resources for European Emigrants* (Zurich, Typ. Orell Füssli & Co., 1887), SI, BN.

Propaganda was a central component of the Agency's work, which was essential to outreach and allowed agency officials to choose the best candidates. Officials faced complications such as candidates not meeting their criteria, competition with other South American nations (especially Argentina and Brazil) for immigrants, and an unreliable government budget.

Echeverria published the Agency's first text in 1882 titled *Colonización del Sur de Chile* (*The Colonization of Southern Chile*) available in Spanish and French. The following year Letelier wrote *Chile en 1883* (*Chile in 1883*), which was distributed only in German.<sup>122</sup> Larrain proved to be the most prolific propaganda writer, penning multiple pamphlets distributed in several languages. For example, Larrain's first pamphlet was *Chili, Its Advantages and Resources for European Emigrants* was published in 1885 as a series in French, Flemish, Italian, and German and reissued in 1887 with an additional translation in English.<sup>123</sup> According to records, 20,000 copies were distributed in French and German, and 5,000 in Italian and Flemish. The front cover of the 1887 edition (see fig. 1) illustrates the colonial fantasies that Chilean Agency officials were propagating. On the top of the cover, the illustrator drew a picturesque farm with a smoke-filled chimney. In front of the farmhouse, there is a father and son (as suggested by the illustration script) tilling the land with two farm horses. There is also an abundance of livestock, including cattle and sheep. Since colono families were given four cows and two horses, the large numbers of livestock sketched on the pamphlet suggested excellent

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<sup>122</sup> *Chile en 1883* could not be located in the archive and according to Vega most of the propaganda pamphlets were lost.

<sup>123</sup> The original 1883 publication could not be found, only the 1887 publications in all their language editions.



breeding. The train — the quintessential image of progress and civilization — is featured prominently, zipping past a tall, single palm tree framing the right side of the cover.<sup>124</sup>

The pamphlet's content was informative, describing the topographic, economic, and political history of Chile. The Chilean geography, they argued, held a "striking likeness to the most fertile regions of Switzerland, Italy or France."<sup>125</sup> The section on education covered all the forms of schooling, as well as data detailing the number of schools, students, and government funds devoted to public and private education. Larraín took the liberty in exaggerating the accessibility of public education when he stated, "Primary education is dispensed in all towns and rural schools."<sup>126</sup> He also highlighted the European-born professoriate at the University of Chile and the Agricultural Institute alluding to high standards and quality of education. In the section on Technical Schools, Larraín noted that Chilean normal schools were "under the direction of German professors" and the art academies by individuals who "obtained honorable distinctions at the Paris Salons."<sup>127</sup> In describing the need to deepen the colonization process in Southern Chile, he explained, "The colonization schemes carried out by Germans at Valdivia and Puerto Montt have been so far very successful; but those settlements remain almost stationary, and, although prosperous, they have not resulted in bringing a steady flow of immigration to ensure a grand development in the future."<sup>128</sup> *Chili* ends with a detailed account of the material

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<sup>124</sup> Orell Füssli in Zurich, Switzerland was hired to publish the Agency pamphlets. The publishing house's illustrator and woodcutter was Johannes Weber, whose work focused on landscape illustrations for European travel guides, drew the images of the Chilean landscape and social life; Benjamin Schmidt's study of early modern European images demonstrates how colonial imaginations and the exotic were produced. On page 251 he stated, "And palms are pervasive, of course, in the material arts. In almost all of these cases, palm trees function not so much as a bona fide representation of landscape as the do an embellishment of an object or print or map; they add an ornamental, or 'decorative,' element that marks the scene as 'exotic'; Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World* (Pittsburgh, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

<sup>125</sup> Benjamín Dávila Larraín, *Chili, Its Advantages and Resources for European Emigrants* (Zurich, Typ. Orell Füssli & Co., 1887), 1.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>127</sup> The Education Revolution of 1885 was initiated by the hiring of German normal school teachers, which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter; *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

and financial benefits each colonizing family would receive. Beyond the approximate one-hundred hectares of land, a colono family also obtained materials to build a home (wood, nails, tools), two horses, four cows for milk, an array of tools, seeds, and free medical care for two years that included vaccines.<sup>129</sup>

Larraín's next pamphlet, *Briefe von Kolonisten aus Chile, 1885* (*Letters from Colonists from Chile, 1885*) was a collection of untranslated letters by Swiss, German, French, and English colonists who described the benefits of Chilean colonization policies. The opening line of the pamphlet stated, "Die Zukunft welche Chile den ehrbaren und arbeitsamen Auswanderern in Aussicht shellt, ist zur zeit keine unsichere mehr (The future that Chile offers to respectable and industrious emigrants is no longer uncertain)."<sup>130</sup> The pamphlet then described the "reichtum der zahlreichen deutschen Kolonisten von Valdivia und von Llanquihue (richness of numerous German colonists in Valdivia and Llanquihue)" and the overall happiness of "schweizerischen, deutschen und französischen (Swiss, German, and French colonists);" strangely the English colonists were not included in that happiness.<sup>131</sup> The opening also suggested the best currency ("gold, oder französische oder englische noten," "gold or French or English currency") to bring as capital and assured that in comparison to "the United States, Canada, and Brazil" the Chilean government offered the most benefits and grants.<sup>132</sup>

In historian Susanne Zantop's seminal study on German colonial fantasies, she argued that German desires to participate in the colonization projects in South America produced German Occidentalists analogous to Edward Said's *Orientalism*. Zantop's analysis stemmed from

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<sup>129</sup> Documents demonstrate a concern about vaccinating colonos due to outbreaks of cholera and other infectious diseases. Some of the vaccines were also made available to Chileans in rural areas, yet there was no specific discussions about making the vaccines available to Mapuche communities; René Peri Fagerstrom, *Reseña de la colonización en Chile* (Santiago, Editorial Andres Bello, 1989), 119.

<sup>130</sup> Benjamín Dávila Larraín, *Briefe von Kolonisten aus Chile, 1885* (Zürich, Typ. Orell Füssil & Co., 1885), 3.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

German short fictions and plays beginning in the late eighteenth century and gained popularity in the following century.<sup>133</sup> She explained, “This continual fascination with things South American manifest itself in countless travel collections, reeditions and translations of factual and fictional reports, odes to Columbus, conquista dramas, operas ballets, and novels, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and well into the twentieth.”<sup>134</sup> Zantop discerned that the German colonial gaze in respect to South America was in response to the inaccessibility of the Spanish colony that engendered colonial fictions set in the Latin American wilderness and jungles with ethnic Germans as their protagonists. Furthermore, she underscored, using the work by the German geographer and zoologist Eberhard August von Zimmermann, that German masculinity felt threatened by the “manliness” of the African male. Native men in the Americas, in contrast, were portrayed as effeminate (a common trope among Chilean intellectuals who described the Mapuche as warriors, yet overly sensitive) and as noble savages.<sup>135</sup>

By the 1840s colonial fantasies became real projects in the form of *Auswanderung* (emigration) in reaction to the rising social conflicts in Prussia due to the spread of industrialization that displaced artisans and small farmers. Furthermore, growing calls for regional autonomy and democratic rights culminated in the 1848 Revolution generating greater societal rifts.<sup>136</sup> Two socio-politically aligned categories of *Auswanderung* emerged.<sup>137</sup> Artisans and farmers who wanted to build German national colonies abroad that remained culturally and politically connected to the fatherland initiated the “emigrationist” position. The “economist”

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<sup>133</sup> She described German Occidentalism as analogous to Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978).

<sup>134</sup> Suzanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial German, 1770-1870* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1997), 10.

<sup>135</sup> Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 11.

<sup>136</sup> Smith’s study described the political and economic factors that contributed to *Auswanderung* and shifts in the pro and anti colonial push. However, Smith focuses on the German colonial gaze towards Africa while Young ties Smith’s findings with German colonial initiatives in Chile; Woodruff D. Smith, “The Ideology of German Colonialism, 1840-1906” in *The Journal of Modern History* vol. 46, no. 4 (Dec. 1974): 641-662; Young, *Germans in Chile*, 69-88.

<sup>137</sup> I am using Smith’s terminology that describes the two pro-emigration positions. See footnote 140.

position, on the other hand, envisioned emigration as a business transaction that supported the Prussian Empire's industrial and global interests. The German national colonies formed in Chile in the 1840s and 1850s represented the emigrationist vision, and the colonists who arrived were due to the efforts by German naturalists, geographers, and other middle-class professionals who propagated the plan and purchased the lands. By the time the Chilean Agency of Colonization in the 1880s decided to build on the legacy and economic successes of the German colonies, a new political era in favor of global colonialism emerged. Instead of being viewed as a fantasy or a mad idea by a few determined people, colonialism and territorial expansion became a *raison d'être* for national and capitalist interests to secure natural resources and control sectors of the international market.

The Chilean Agency of Colonization's pamphlets used narratives promoted by German colonial societies, German colonists, and new scientific ideas that linked race, geography, and climate. Agency propaganda described southern Chile as located in a temperate climate, resembling the Swiss countryside. The so-called "unused" and "unsettled" territory was depicted as ready for exploitation. As mentioned, the Chilean agents competed with mass immigration chains to the U.S., Argentina, and Brazil, necessitating arguments about why settling in Chile proved more prosperous. Chile was described as a small nation with a developed infrastructure and abundant in natural resources. Indigenous peoples (in particular the Mapuche who lived in La Araucanía) were either not discussed or described as friendly and inconsequential. Emphasis on Chile's temperate climate alluded to the advantages of economic prosperity and lack of tropical diseases. Descriptions of the Chilean frontier as empty of inhabitants but instead as productive forest-filled lands worked to dispel European stereotypes of Latin America as tropical

and dangerous. In other words, the Chilean landscape offered newcomers all the benefits of colonial conquests but within a European-like setting, already free of “savages.”

In part, the Agency’s messaging worked to combat negative propaganda that presented Chile as an un-tamed and risky territory. Early reports from the Agency of Colonization and the General Inspector of Colonization mentioned foreign settlers bound to Chile disembarking in the Atlantic coastal cities of Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires.<sup>138</sup> In a study by the historian Baldomero Estrada Turra, he argued that the lack of Spanish (in particular the Basque) presence in the colonization process was the result of organized propaganda by Basque and Spanish government officials and diaspora societies.<sup>139</sup> The Minister of Foreign Relations and Colonization, Luis Aldunate, favored Basque and Spanish colonos because, he argued, their race would easily assimilate into Chilean culture. He further explained that they differed from German colonos “que jamás se confunde con el pueblo que coloniza, que vive siempre formando, como sucede en el sur de la República, una especie de pueblo aparte (that are never confused with the people they colonize, who intentionally form, as it occurs in the south of the republic, a separate species of people).”<sup>140</sup> Spanish and Basque colonizers did not reciprocate Adulante’s enthusiasm since those communities produced propaganda that described the Chilean frontier as a place filled with “puros salvajes (pure savages).”<sup>141</sup> The Montevideo-based Basque society Laurak-Bat published declarations warning Basque colonizers that they were going to “poblar un desierto, reducidos así a la condición de esclavos (populate a desert, and be reduced

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<sup>138</sup> *Ministero de Relaciones Exteriores, Inspeccion General de Colonización, 1883-1886*, FMRREE, AN.

<sup>139</sup> In an 1987 article by Pedro Santos Martínez he states, “En el Archivo de Asuntos Exteriores de España se guardan interesantes informaciones sobre las gestiones realizadas por agentes chilenos en la Madre Patria entre 1881 y 1882, con el objeto de atraer colonos vascos al país;” Pedro Santos Martínez, “La inmigración en Chile: El caso de los colons vascos (1882-1883),” *Historia* 22 (Santiago, 1987): 287-311.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 293.

<sup>141</sup> Estrada Turra, “Los Frustrados Intentos,” 6.

to the condition of slaves).”<sup>142</sup> In a letter from a group of Basque colonos who broke their contract with the Chilean government stated that they refused to make a home where they were expected to fight with “salvajes de la Araucanía, que es el destino a que estábamos destinados (savages of La Araucanía, which is the destiny that we were being sent to).”<sup>143</sup> The negative and racist propaganda magnified colonial narratives that described said destinations as places of darkness with looming endangerments in jungle-filled lands populated by unruly inhabitants with uncivilized instincts and culture.

The Chilean government allowed open immigration from European countries for individuals traveling as free agents and not participating in La Araucanía settlements. Italians quickly became a targeted unwanted group due to their role in spreading anarchist and labor politics in neighboring Argentina. In an Agency report comparing Chilean and Argentine immigration, the Agency Director Nicolás Vega noted that “Argentinean immigration is not of general good quality, and furthermore, it is still harmful, especially when [immigration] is formed almost exclusively by a single nationality, as evidenced by Graph III of this Report.”<sup>144</sup> Graph III highlighted Italians as the most significant group to enter Argentina. Also, in Graph III, it detailed the percentage of free agent immigrants to Chile as follows: Spanish 28.63%, French 21.57%, Italians 20.83%, Germans 12.37%, Swiss 8.31%, etc. Those figures are notably different in contrast to the national and ethnic makeup of colonos.

The Agency treated the recruitment of colonos differently from immigrants, targeting families of Germanic descent. In Spain they concentrated on the Basque who were viewed as racially superior because they were the ethnic group of the Chilean landed elite, and in Switzerland, they focused on the Austro-Swiss population. Agency directors made agreements

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>144</sup> Vega, *Memoria Sintética 1882 hasta 1894*, 5.

and bilateral contracts with European nations based on the “best quality” European. Other factors included the willingness by governments to negotiate exit visas and a population ready to relocate. Agency records detailed which countries the directors made arrangements with:

Echeverria	1883	Switzerland and France
Larraín	1884	Switzerland
Errázuriz	1887	Switzerland
	1887-1888	Germany
Vega	1895	Norway, Denmark <sup>145</sup>

As shown above, the German government only formalized agreements with the Chilean government between 1887 and 1888, meaning German recruits outside of those years were technically illegal contracts. Even though German artisans and farmers favored emigration to improve their life and maintain their pre-industrial lifestyle, Prussian officials viewed *Auswanderung* as loss of social and economic capital.<sup>146</sup> There were sectors of the elite that favored emigration to rid the country of potential radicals. The total numbers of colonos broken down by nationality were as follows:

Total Number of Colono Nationals Relocated to La Frontera, 1883-1890<sup>147</sup>

Italian	48
Belgians	58
Russians	65
Spanish	339
British	1,082
German	1,110
French	1,567
Swiss	2,604

The figures do not include the wave of German colonizers between 1848 and 1882 who settled in the cities of Valdivia, Osorno, and Llanquihue. According to a 1917 German-Chilean Bund Census that included Chilean-born Germans accounted for 3,968 in La Frontera, 10,239 in

<sup>145</sup> Vega, *Memoria Sintética*, 9.

<sup>146</sup> Smith, “The Ideology of German Colonialism,” 642-643.

<sup>147</sup> Figures were compiled by the Inspector General de Colonización in *Memoria del Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, 1885-1890* in: Estrada Turra, “Los Frustrados Intentos,” 11.

Valdivia and Llanquihue, and 371 in Chiloé.<sup>148</sup> These figures underscore that the German population never reached the desired numbers to fully whiten or Germanize La Araucanía. Instead, the majority of colonos who populated the southern territory were Chileans, and the major hacienda landlords were also Chilean.

To lure German colono immigration, agency recruitment pamphlets emphasized the wealth and industriousness of established German communities as a boon for settlers who would enter an established and flourishing ethnic German community. The German-speaking Swiss population coalesced culturally with the German populace.<sup>149</sup> The Swiss negotiated immigration contracts with the Agency as noted from 1883 to 1887, which explains the high number of Swiss settlers.<sup>150</sup> Even though French nationals were a large sector of the settler population, the records show that many used the colonial contracts to start businesses and relocate to urban centers. Some waited out their five-year contract by camping on the land or hiring someone to protect their property until they could sell it. Albert Hörll, a German colono and member of the Asociación Científica Alemana de Santiago (German Scientific Association of Santiago) explained, “Mientras otras nacionalidades fracasaron o renunciaron en el oficio de la colonización, los alemanes tuvieron mucho más éxito en instalarse (While other nationalities failed or gave up the job of colonization, the Germans had more success in their settlements).”<sup>151</sup> While this appears to be somewhat true, there were many German colonos who used the lands they were given by the Chilean government to jumpstart businesses as well.

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<sup>148</sup> Young, *Germans in Chile*, 16.

<sup>149</sup> Rene A. Peri Gagersrom, *Reseña de la colonización en Chile* (Santiago, Editorial Andres Bello, 1989), 94-95; Patricia Schifferli Coloma, *Nuestras raíces suizas* (Temuco, Graphik Chile, 2007).

<sup>150</sup> Larraín considered Switzerland, after Chile, to be the most well rounded country in terms of political structure and quality of citizens; Vega, *Memoria Sintética*, 9; Alfonso, “Larrain,” *La Revista de Chile*, 335.

<sup>151</sup> Albert Hörll, “La colonización alemana en Chile,” in *Conmemoración de la Asociación Científica Alemana de Santiago por el Centenario de la República* (Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1910), ME.



Considering Germans remained a small ethnic enclave in contrast to the Chilean population in La Araucanía, Germans held a disproportionate number of government posts. This development reflected the Chilean elite's bias that favored Germans for scientific-related jobs including surveying, engineering, and education. There are no statistical compilations of foreign nationals who were contracted as professionals and government employees in this period, even though a much-needed project. However, two developments explain why Germans and the Austro-Swiss acquired a high percentage of jobs in Chilean institutions.<sup>152</sup> First, German colonos expressed a clear ideological understanding of their role as colonizers. An example of this colonial politic was reflected in a letter by the German engineer Teodoro Schmidt to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Colonization in which he included the translation of a Leipzig newspaper article titled, "La cuestión de colonización en Alemania (The Colonization Question in Germany)."<sup>153</sup> The translated article exulted German academic accomplishments, highlighting that Germany accounted for an incomparable per capita of scientific professionals as the direct result of a literate population that accessed superior education. The article exclaimed, "Alemania debe ser el modo de desarrollarse economicamente en otros partes del mundo (Germany's method must be economically developed in other parts of the world)."<sup>154</sup> This article epitomized a German elite discourse that promoted the German national as the highest caliber of race capable of forming a global citizenry.<sup>155</sup> From colonial fantasies to colonial actors, from the German

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<sup>152</sup> Hörll underscored, "A pesar de ser poca la población de alemanes y chileno-alemanes (0,9% de la población), su influencia debe ser 'ponderada' y no 'sumada'. Sólo así se puede calcular el trabajo de los colonos en el sur; de sus fuertes hombres y hábiles mujeres."

<sup>153</sup> Carta de Teodoro Schmidt al Ministro fechado el 2 de abril de 1883 desde Angol. Archivo Nacional, Fondo Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, vol. 275.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Besides Yong's study in *Germans in Chile* see: Bradley Naranch, *Beyond the Fatherland: Colonial Visions, Overseas Expansion, and German Nationalism, 1848-1885*, doctoral dissertation (John Hopkins University, 2007); Regine Heberlein, *Writing a National Colony: The Hostility of Inscription in the German Settlement of Lake Llanquihue, Chile, 1830-1853*, doctoral dissertation (Brown University, 2006).

classroom to the occupation of Mapuche lands, Chilean officials treated Germans as the educators of civilization who would develop a modern Chile and a New California.

A second factor was the role of German schools in cultivating a distinct cultural and racial enclave.<sup>156</sup> In Hörll's 1910 article on German colonization, he described a letter written in the 1840s by a German colono who noted that Germans in southern Chile preserved their culture without mixing and expressed the possibility of expanding the German empire.<sup>157</sup> The German schools hired instructors from their homeland and preferred German students, but allowed non-Germans to attend, even though the extent of its racial demographics is unknown. The Chilean and German governments financed these schools, relieving colonos from the financial burden of running the schools. The first German school was built in Osorno in 1854, followed by a school in Valdivia in 1858, and a series of other schools in the southern region where Germans had settled. However, the boom of German schools happened at the turn of the century, and by 1910 there were a total of thirty-two schools (primary and secondary) across Chile.

Echeverría traveled to La Araucanía in 1886 and later published *Terrenos Fiscales i Colonización (Fiscal Lands and Colonization)*, urging a homesteading approach to land distribution. He described Chile's colonization efforts as "la ocupación tranquila de toda la Araucanía (the tranquil occupation of la Araucanía)," remarks that were meant as a rejoinder to the negative propaganda produced by the Basque and Spanish societies.<sup>158</sup> Echeverría argued for the need to continue an immigration policy that targeted European farmers while simultaneously improving Chile's education system. He explained, "Para formar un pueblo comerciante,

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<sup>156</sup> José Manuel Zavala Cepeda, "Los colonos y la escuela en la Araucanía: Los inmigrantes europeos y el surgimiento de la educación privada laica y protestante en la región de la Araucanía (1887-1915)," *Revista Universum* n° 23 Vol. 1 (2008): 268-286.

<sup>157</sup> Albert Hörll, "Die Deutsche Kolonisation in Chile," in *Deutsche Arbeit in Chile. Festschrift des Deutschen wissenschaftlichen vereins zu Santaigo. Zur Centenarfeier der Republik Chile* (Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1910).

<sup>158</sup> Francisco de Borja Echeverría, *Terrenos Fiscales i Colonización* (Santiago, Imprenta de El Correo, 1886), 1.

industrial y agricultor era menester educarlo. La educación puede obtenerse por dos medios: por las escuelas y por la enseñanza práctica, que trae la inmigración europea (To form a commercial, industrial, and agricultural people it is necessary to educate them. There were two means to obtain education: through schools and by vocational training that European immigration gives us).”<sup>159</sup> Echeverría discerned a natural convergence between education and colonization policies that exemplified Chilean state-building visions of his time. Hence, education reform and colonization shared an everyday colonial discourse that took form in the 1880s, in which Chile’s modern education system and its racist land policies became foundational to re-making a progressive and industrial nation.

### III. The Education Revolution

The 1880s was a transformative decade for public education in Chile and, as covered in this chapter, the *German turn* was central to that transformation. The decade revolutionized the national curriculum, raised the professoriate’s prestige, and expanded access to public education. However, underlying the new initiatives was a consolate and developed a uniform citizen. Education policies reflected the elite’s citizen ideal and since the quality of education determined social mobility, schools simultaneously institutionalized social exclusion and racial difference. This section highlights the education projects that recreated public education and stratified social mobility. The education policies discussed in this section demonstrate the desire for citizen uniformity, and who was included and omitted from that standard.

President Santa María, who supported Núñez and Matte’s activities abroad, signed in 1883 the most significant education reform law since 1860, setting criteria for primary schooling

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 2

and earmarking state funds for multiple projects.<sup>160</sup> The 1883 law marked the beginning of the institutionalization of German education practices in the Ministry of Education and in public schooling. The law went into effect in 1885 with the arrival of German and Austrian normal school teachers instructed to train a new type of professoriate.<sup>161</sup> For education reformers, this development was foreseen as having a trickle-down effect that would alter school curriculum as reformers awaited formal changes to the national curriculum. The foreign teachers were expected to direct schools and teach, exposing Chilean students to concentric learning and the new method. In an 1894 figure from the Ministry of Education, 44.6% of the eighty-three normal school instructors were foreign-born and, as the 1880s decade progressed, the majority of Chilean instructors were trained abroad.<sup>162</sup> The law also included subsidies for Chileans to study abroad, specifically in Dresden, Germany and Nääs, Sweden, and the purchase of foreign books for school libraries, in particular for the schools in the new territories.<sup>163</sup>

The 1883 law and Núñez's popularity brought about the revival of education journals that disseminated new education ideas to local schools. *Revista de Instrucción Primaria (Primary Education Magazine)*, the Primary Education Society's journal, ran from 1856 to 1866. Núñez reestablished the journal in September 1886 and served as its first editor.<sup>164</sup> The journal was distributed to schools across the country, giving education reformers a platform and an audience. The journal circulated articles about German pedagogy, informing readers on the latest European theories by publishing the translated writings by Pestalozzi ("Pestalozzi y sus discipulos"), Fröbel ("La educación del hombre"), and the English social Darwinist Herbert Spencer. Studies

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<sup>160</sup> Ley 11 de octubre de 1883; Labarca, *Historia de la enseñanza*, 182.

<sup>161</sup> María Loreto Egaña Baraona, *La educación primaria popular en el siglo XIX en Chile: Una práctica de política estatal* (Santiago: Dibam, 2000), 193.

<sup>162</sup> Ed. Sol Serrano, Macarena Poncede de León, and Francisca Rengifo, *Historia de la Educación en Chile (1810-2010), Tomo II: La educación nacional (1880-1930)* (Santiago, Taurus, 2012), 165.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> Archivo de la *Revista de Instrucción Primaria* en el Archivo del Museo de la Educación en Santiago.

by Chilean pedagogues, such as Matte and Letelier's *La instrucción secundaria* and Matte's *La enseñanza manual en las escuelas primarias* (1888), were also featured. The journal covered education plans and laws from other nations. Through the journal, education reformers spread pedagogical methods, suggested changes to local curriculum, and persuaded school directors and teachers to implement modern approaches to schooling.

Other education-related publications emerged in the 1880s that furthered the German turn. According to Labarca, the *Biblioteca del Maestro (The Teacher's Library)* and *La familia y la escuela pública (Family and Public Education)* were book series that compiled texts by the usual suspects of U.S. and European pedagogues, as well as James Pyle Wickersham and Otto Salomon's *slöjd* (craftwork) system.<sup>165</sup> Furthermore, the F.A. Brockhaus publishing company in Leipzig, Germany printed the majority of the monographs distributed by the Ministry of Education, including the initial print-runs of Matte's *Silabario*.<sup>166</sup>

The inauguration of Universidad de Chile's Pedagogical Institute in 1889 was another significant development, marking the influx and institutional weight of German professionals in Chilean government positions.<sup>167</sup> The Institute was mandated to train Chilean normal school instructors who were to replace the 1885 wave of German and Austrian hires. The Institute was composed of five Germans and one Chilean: Jorge Schneider was the instructor of philosophy and pedagogy, Juan Steffen taught history and geography, Federico Hansen was to instruct philosophy, Reinaldo von Lilienthal taught mathematics, Alfredo Beuthell was the physical science instructor, Federico Johow taught natural sciences, and Enrique Nercasseaux y Morán

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<sup>165</sup> Labarca, *Historia de la enseñanza*, 187.

<sup>166</sup> Receipts from Brockhaus paid for by the Ministry of Education in Fondo Ministerio de Educación, volumen 874, AN.

<sup>167</sup> Labarca, *Historia de la enseñanza*, 195.

(the sole Chilean) was the instructor of Spanish and American literature.<sup>168</sup> The year after the Institute's founding, two more Germans were added to its ranks: Federico Albert and Rodolfo Lenz.<sup>169</sup>

The First Pedagogical Congress, which gathered in Santiago in September of 1889 to discuss the state of national education and to propose a series of policies for the national government to consider, was another transformative occasion.<sup>170</sup> The Congress was an enormous feat for education reformers, who, for decades, had been marginal voices in their call for popular education and method reform. The Congress drew representatives from across the country, especially school directors, teachers, and inspectors, and gave educators and state builders a platform to showcase their theories and demonstrate their commitment to modern ideas and education's place as a nation-building institution. Participants met from September 21 to October 1 where they debated ten themes: 1) vocational education, 2) the reading-writing method (i.e., the new method), 3) financial aid for primary schools, 4) physical education and military exercises, 5) music education, 6) compulsory primary education, 7) hygiene education, 8) rural education, 9) night school for adults, and 10) courses for pre-1885 normal school graduates. Afterward, they submitted proposals to the Chilean Congress, and all except compulsory primary education passed; a project that President Balmaceda campaigned to implement.

Directing the proceedings were Núñez and Julio Bañados Espinosa—Minister of Public Education, Vice President of the Pedagogical Congress proceedings, and co-editor of *Revista Chilena* alongside Larraín—and an organizing committee that included Claudio Matte, the

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<sup>168</sup> The names of German émigrés were Spanishized. American literature refers to the Americas not the United States. Only 10 applicants were admitted yearly to the three-year program; Labarca, *Historia de la enseñanza*, 195.

<sup>169</sup> Lenz quickly became an important figure in Chilean academia beyond his role as a pedagogue. He was one of the founders of Chilean anthropology who researched Chilean working class popular culture (*La Lira Popular*) and helped develop Mapuche Studies along with Tomás Guevara, Manuel Mañkilef, and Father Félix de August.

<sup>170</sup> The Institute was an old project, first proposed in 1842 by the Polish geologist and rector of Universidad de Chile, Ignacio Domeyco. The organizing committee initially gathered in May 1889 to prepare the September congress.

German pedagogue Federico Johow, Domingo Amunátegui, to name a few. Núñez and Bañados framed the Congress's purpose in their opening remarks by underscoring the role of public education in bringing "el progreso social por medio del progreso individual (social progress through the means of individual progress)."<sup>171</sup> Bañados further emphasized that "el mundo civilizado (the civilized world)" would embrace learning based on scientific method and analysis. He harkened to the early days of the Chilean republic when its founders led their struggle in the "campo de batallas seculares contra el indómito araucanos que defendía sus chozas con heroísmo digno de la epopeya (secular battlefield against the undomesticated Araucanians who defended their huts with such heroism worthy of their epic)."<sup>172</sup> Núñez reminded those present about the importance of education in modern world politics by noting, "La escuela es, señores, la institución que con mas orgullo podrá presentar la historia de la civilización durante el siglo XIX como su mas lejitima conquista (The school is, sirs, the institution that the history of nineteenth century civilization can offer as its most legitimate conquest)."<sup>173</sup> He also reaffirmed the need for mass public education when he said that "la educación es de necesidad absoluta para todo los miembros de la especie humana (education is an absolute necessity for all members of the human species)."<sup>174</sup> In these excerpts, Bañados and Núñez declare support for the use of scientific methods in measuring the quality and impact of education, signaling to German influence. However, they also used the universal language of French Enlightenment to call for mass public education. There is a noted difference between the language used in speeches and texts versus the implementation of said policies. The universal-

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<sup>171</sup> *Congreso Nacional Pedagógico. Resumen de las discusiones, actas i memorias presentadas al Primer Congreso Pedagógico celebrado en Santiago de Chile en Setiembre de 1889* (Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1890), 3.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

ness of schooling never lost sight of class, gender, and race positions within society that dictated who could access public education.

The Congress discussion on night schools for adult workers illuminated opinions about class and education. In 1885 the illiteracy rate for Chileans fifteen years and older was 80.2% in contrast to 1.08% illiteracy rate in Germany that same year.<sup>175</sup> Even though education reformers proposed the expansion of public education so that all Chilean citizens would become literate, the politicians were less enthusiastic and voted down the proposal due to its costliness and the social repercussions of producing an educated working class. Night schools were projects established by *mancomunales* (mutual-aid worker societies)—working class organizations that were predecessors to unions—to educate mutualist members and their members’ children to build class-consciousness and organizational allegiance.<sup>176</sup> Literacy initiatives by labor organizations affected the decline of illiteracy among male workers. Mutualists such as Fermín Vivaceta, an autodidact artisan, played an important role in “cultivar la instrucción de nuestra clase obrera (cultivating education among our industrial working class).”<sup>177</sup> Vivaceta participated in the 1862 founding of the Santiago-based La Sociedad de Artesanos La Unión (The Society of Artisans, the Union) and the Society’s La Escuela Nocturna de Artesanos Benjamín Franklin (The Benjamin Franklin Artisans’ Night School).<sup>178</sup> The elite and middle class financed efforts in popular education and often supported worker libraries and night schools. For example, Benjamín Dávila Larraín, who was from an elite family and second director of the Agency of

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<sup>175</sup> Robert Austin, *The State, Literacy and Popular Education, 1964-1990* (Lanham, Lexington Books, 2003), 13; Sophia Twarog, “Heights and Living Standards in Germany, 1850-1939: The Case of Württemberg” in *Health and Welfare during Industrialization*, ed. Richard H. Steckel and Roderick Floud (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1997), 320.

<sup>176</sup> Sergion González Miranda, “La Escuela en la Reivindicación Obrera Salitrera (Tarapacá, 1890-1920) Un esquema para su análisis,” *Revista Ciencia Sociales* 4 (1994).

<sup>177</sup> Fermín Vivaceta, *Union i Fraternidad de los Trabajadores* (Valparaiso, Imprenta del Deber, 1877), 26.

<sup>178</sup> Godoy notes that in 1876 the Ministry of Public Education recognized Escuela Franklin; Franklin Milton Godoy, “Mutualismo y Educación: Las escuelas nocturnas de artesanos, 1860-1880,” *Última Década*, núm. 2 (Valparaiso, 1994), 5.



Colonization, supported La Sociedad de Artesanos and was president of Escuela Franklin for many years.<sup>179</sup> The government's decision to invest in night schools for male workers was a move by the Chilean elite to offer skilled male workers social privileges as male citizens.<sup>180</sup> The state funding of these schools was also in reaction to mounting pressure by workers' organizations and education reformers demanding political inclusion. In Robert Austin's study on Chilean education, he explained,

Denial of literacy and post-literacy education to adults spurred alternative initiative, suggestive of an unwritten history of popular adult literacy activity, beyond the purview of official accounts and the interest of commercial publishers... Workers' journalism, a popular autodidact tradition, nascent union education, women's centers, popular libraries, occasional private institutions, and worker-artisan night schools for adults—operating in a context of violent class repression—had nonetheless succeeded where the state had not.<sup>181</sup>

Mutualists would lose political influence in male worker education, yet state involvement meant male workers outside of the aristocracy of labor would have access to basic literacy while creating greater distance between working class men and women in their ability to engage in politics. In conclusion, the Congress proposed the continuation and expansion of night schools for male (urban) workers as a means to uplift the nation.

Pedagogical Congress discussions also included the issues of vocation training and rural education. The Congress proposal on vocation and manual education had two components: the need to use manual education in primary schooling and the expansion of vocational training in secondary. Manual education in primary schools centered on arts and crafts, exposing children to essential skills in accordance with their gender. For example, the manual training for girls taught skills to assist in or carryout household chores in preparation for their future profession as housewives. The Congress notes included a disclaimer against exposing young girls to luxury

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<sup>179</sup> José A. Alfonso, "Don Benjamin Dávila Larrain," *La Revista de Chile* II, no. 11 (Santiago, Junio 1899), 331.

<sup>180</sup> According to Gabriel Salazar, artisans were listed as one of the twenty-two *mérito cívico* or civic merits in the Constitution. Artisans also played an important role in forming state milicias, even though unable to move to higher ranks in contrast to class elite counterparts. In Gabriel Salazar, *Construcción de Estado en Chile, 1800-1837* (Santiago, Editorial Sudamericana, 2005), 217.

<sup>181</sup> Austin, *The State, Literacy*, 14.

items, perpetuating a mythological concern that the female sex held an innate attraction for commodity goods. On vocational training, the Congress supported the implementation of the Nääs system, as it was known in Chile, but as *slöjd* (craftwork) in Europe and the U.S. The Swedish educator Otto Salomon developed slöjd and practiced the technique at his vocational school in Nääs, Sweden. Educational handicraft, similar to music classes, was seen as essential to forming well-rounded learning. For the Chilean state, vocational and manual education prepared working class and rural male youths in the necessary skills to become active participants in the national economic system. According to David Whittaker's study on slöjd, "The original pedagogical values of *slöjd* therefore still remain the foundations of the subject and the aspirations of the teacher the same; to develop individual and mould him into a good citizen."<sup>182</sup> Salomon taught craftwork as a comprehensive skill that, he argued, involved a student's mind and body that advanced spiritual well being and developed the individual. Slöjd education was a prime example of body-mind association between technological development and citizen-making.

In secondary schooling, the type of vocational training employed at the school complemented a student's class position. For the poor and working classes, emphasis was given on vocational training as a trade skill. For middle-class and elite children vocational training prepared students to become agronomists and skills to run haciendas. Technical schools developed in conjunction with the spread of the capitalist economic systems and the destruction of an artisan socio-economic culture. E.P. Thompson demonstrated in his seminal study *The Making of the English Working-Class* how industrial capitalism and the enclosure system forced artisans and peasants to become industrial workers; Gabriel Salazar proved that a similar process

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<sup>182</sup> David Whittaker, *The Impact and Legacy of Educational Sloyd: Heads and Hands in Harness* (New York, Routledge, 2014), ebook with no pagination, find quote near footnote 104.

transpired in Chile through *campenización*.<sup>183</sup> Technical schools trained individuals in modern labor techniques and housewifery skills. Chilean artisans lost their previous social standing as they were forced to compete with industrial goods. However, Chilean artisans were able to position themselves within the new political economy, holding greater portions of the market in contrast to English artisans. The Pedagogical Congress's manual education proposal included a point about not exposing adult workers to manual training since they lacked the pedagogical knowhow to understand the subject and “es muy difícil que puedan darla sin desnaturalizar los fines educadores que ella debe perseguir (it is very difficult for them [to understand] without distorting the educative aims that it must pursue).”<sup>184</sup> In other words, modern manual and vocational education required modern schooling.

Absent from Congress discussion was the education of indigenous children. Instead, education reformers' opinion about native education mirrored liberal politics that Mapuche children would assimilate and become citizens similar to Chilean children. The historian Sol Serrano argues that the Chilean state implemented a *politics of omission* in the case of Mapuche children, denying them a place in Chilean society.<sup>185</sup> However, as it will be discussed in the following chapters, Mapuche children entered public and mission schools. The majority of Mapuche children were educated in mission schools led by Bavarian friars from the Franciscan Order of Friar Minors Capuchin. These developments were neither accidental nor an omission of

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<sup>183</sup> Thompson stated, “The pressure of the unskilled tide, beating against the doors, broke through in different ways and with different degrees of violence. In some trades the demarcation between an honourable and dishonourable trade was already to be found in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. That the honourable trade had maintained its position despite this long-standing threat may be accounted for by several reasons. Much of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century trade was in luxury articles, demanding a quality of workmanship not obtainable by sweated labour. Moreover, in times of full employment, the small-scale dishonourable trade might actually offer better conditions than those of the society men.” In EP Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, Vintage Books, 1966), 253.

<sup>184</sup> *Congreso Nacional Pedagógico. Resumen de las discusiones, actas i memorias presentadas al Primer Congreso Pedagógico celebrado en Santiago de Chile en Setiembre de 1889* (Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1890), VIII.

<sup>185</sup> Sol Serrano, “De escuelas indígenas sin pueblos a pueblos sin escuelas indígenas: La educación en la Araucanía en el siglo XIX,” *Historia* No. 29 (Santiago, 1995-1996): 423-474.

their presence, but instead a strategy by Chilean politicians to convert Mapuche children into citizens.

The Congress agenda item on rural education exposed opinions and concerns about the restructuring of race relations in Chile following the expansion of its borders. The Congress noted the need to make public school accessible in remote areas to raise literacy levels, but the debate centered on *how* to implement such a plan. The sessions did not directly discuss race relations but focused on the logistics of rural education. For example, delegates discussed the placement of schools and maximizing the use of teachers in less populated areas. Participants debated between support for roaming (*ambulantes*) and temporary (*temporal*) schools, the first was a traveling school and the latter was semi-permanent. In the end, the Congress supported financing rural private schools and temporary schools for children located in more isolated areas. The Taltal delegate's comments summarized the Congress's opinion in placing education in the hands of generous landowners who are "muy filantrópicos (very philanthropic)."<sup>186</sup> In the rural Central Valley and southern Chile, Mapuche and Chilean rural poor labor upheld the hacienda system. According to the Taltal delegate, rural education should be entrusted in the hands of their landlords when, in actuality, they were disinterested in such an investment. The decision underscored that rural education was not a priority and the expansion of modern schools remained concentrated in urban centers.

The congress proceedings framed the assimilationist future for the indigenous peoples and other nationalities that since 1883 became inhabitants of Chile (and the Rapa Nui beginning in 1887). Chilean education reformers envisioned the entry of native youths into their schools and their eventual cultural disappearance. While the topic of assimilating native youths into the

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<sup>186</sup> *Congreso Nacional Pedagógico. Resumen de las discusiones, actas i memorias presentadas al Primer Congreso Pedagógico celebrado en Santiago de Chile en Setiembre de 1889* (Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1890), 109.

Chilean economy was not discussed in the national forum, local schools were given de facto control in its implementation. The next three chapters are local histories about the institutional histories of public and Capuchin mission schools in La Araucanía that formed the first generation of Mapuche youths under Chilean occupation.

### Conclusion

This chapter showed that the *German turn* in Chilean educational history was part of a larger transformation within Chilean government ministries. This study placed the education reforms of the 1880s in conversation with the Chilean elite's immigration policies to populate La Araucanía with German and Austro-Swiss colonos. New education theories gave state builders a means to mediate mass urban society and the formation of the individual citizen. Through this analysis, the chapter demonstrated that the *German turn* defined the confluence of modernity and colonialism in the making of modern Chile.

## Chapter Two

### Educated Mapuche & the Temuco High School (1889-1916)

On October 9, 1910, the young Mapuche intellectual, Manuel Mañkilef, read his anthropological study entitled *La faz social del pabelo Araucano (The Mapuche Social Landscape)* to his fellow members of the Chilean Folklore Society.<sup>187</sup> The Society's president, Dr. Rodolfo Lenz—a German anthropologist of Chilean popular culture, linguist of the Mapuche language, and a member of the Pedagogical Institute—became a close collaborator and supporter of Mañkilef and suggested the presentation and publication of his work. *La faz social* was Mañkilef's rejoinder to the racist discourse prominent in his time that presented Mapuche language, society, and people as backward and unable to progress. Mañkilef's scholarly prose positioned him as an authentic interlocutor of Mapuche culture in intellectual circles. Mañkilef was part of the first generation of Mapuche youth to be educated in public school following the Chilean occupation of La Araucanía. Mañkilef attended the all-boys high school in Temuco whose director and Spanish teacher, Tomás Guevara, developed a scholarly career in writing about Mapuche history and ethnology. Guevara's rectorship in a city with a concentration of Mapuche residents gave him access to native students as anthropological study subjects and field assistants who conducted interviews in Mapudungun (the Mapuche language). Chilean intellectuals who favored assimilating the native Mapuche into Chilean society heralded Mañkilef as an example of a civilized (i.e., educated) Mapuche. Education was foundational in developing Mañkilef's public platform to defend Mapuche social rights, influencing his support for legal means to achieve Mapuche land and political rights within Chile.

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<sup>187</sup> Manuel Manquilef, *Comentarios del pueblo araucano: La faz social, Revista de Folklore Chileno, Tomo II* (Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1911).

This chapter uses Liceo de Temuco (Temuco High School) as a case study from its foundation in 1889 until 1916, demonstrating that the school functioned as an assimilationist institution that molded Mapuche boys into Chilean middle-class citizens.<sup>188</sup> The first section is an institutional history that describes the school's goal to serve the children of colonos, both European and Chilean. The resulting student body was primarily Chilean and a few Mapuche youths. The second section discusses Tomás Guevara's—Liceo de Temuco's second director—race and assimilationist politics. Guevara was viewed as an authority on Mapuche history, culture, and indigenous education. Guevara also developed close relationships with native pupils, using them as translators and field researchers for his ethnographic work. Even though Guevara educated and trained Mapuche pupils at Liceo de Temuco who excelled and became successful professionals, he maintained the position that the Chilean state should build vocation schools to train Mapuche youths in agricultural skills. The final section discussed the first generation of Mapuche leaders educated at Liceo de Temuco. The high school played a central role in forming the generation of Mapuche middle-class professionals (teachers, lawyers, politicians). To conclude, this chapter demonstrates how the modern school enacted the politics of colonialism in its assimilation of Mapuche youth into the ranks of Temuco's middle-class.

### I. Building a Modern High School

During the years of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict, schools, like churches, followed the Chilean military to facilitate the longevity of Chilean settlements in Mapuche territory. As the Chilean army organized their final offensive against Mapuche forces, education continued to be an important component of military advancements. Adolfo Larenas, a local official in La

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<sup>188</sup> This chapter supports Sol Serrano's thesis that Chilean public schools accidentally became institutions of assimilation. Serrano's article is a general overview of Mapuche educational experiences in La Araucanía.

Araucanía, wrote to the Ministry of Education in 1882 about the need for a school in the Temuco Fort, noting that it was situated in the midst of a large indigenous population. He suggested the Mapuche educator Manuel Nekuľmañ for the post of instructor because “por la circunstancia de conocer la lengua y costumbres de los indígenas es adecuado para dirigir una escuela en aquel lugar (in the circumstance of knowing the indigenous language and customs he is fit to lead a school in such a place).”<sup>189</sup> Nekuľmañ, who became a Chilean war hostage in 1869, was educated at the Toltén Catholic Mission and the Escuela de Preceptores (Normal School) in Santiago, before taking up the position of primary school teacher in Temuco in 1882. In 1883 the Chilean government mandated the creation of Escuela Primaria (Primary School) No. 3 in the Temuco Fort to offer education to Mapuche children whose families fled the terrors of warfare with Nekuľmañ as the make-shift school’s instructor.

The colonization engineer, Nicanor Gana, also wrote to the governor of Cañete in 1883 on the subject of education stating:

Esta lamentable ignorancia me hizo pensar desde lugar en la apremiante necesidad que había de fundar un establecimiento de educación, no solo para los chilenos de origen extranjero, sino también para la desgraciada raza indígena, que sería el medio de formar, mas pronto, ciudadanos útiles para el país labrando al mismo tiempo su felicidad para el porvenir.<sup>190</sup>

(This lamentable ignorance had me think about the need for a place of learning. There should be an educational establishment, not only for the Chileans of foreign extraction but also for the disgraceful indigenous race, which would be the way to form, sooner than later, useful citizens for the working nation, as well as their future happiness.)

Gana described the school as primarily an institution for “Chileans of foreign extraction,” and, in addition, an opportunity to socially uplift Mapuche children to become “useful citizens for the working nation;” therefore, Mapuche integration into the capitalist economy as laborers and citizens. He underscored that educating the local population would hastened industrial growth

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<sup>189</sup> Adolfo Larénas al Señor Ministro de Instrucción Pública, Santiago, julio 17 de 1882, vol. 451, no. 72, FME, AN.

<sup>190</sup> Gana recommended a mixed gender primary school in the town of Tirúa; Letter to the Inspector General de Instrucción Primaria, quoting Nicanor Gana, Lebu, mayo 31 del 1883, vol. 378, No. 236, FME, AN.



and the exploitation of the region's natural resources; an argument shared by education reformers.

During the early and mid-1880s and following the Chilean occupation of Mapuche lands, the Chilean government consolidated its military and political power over La Araucanía's inhabitants by land theft, and the re-distribution of those lands through sales to foreign and national colonos. By the latter part of the decade there was growing concern about the lack of schools in the region. In March 1887 the Chilean government reorganized La Araucanía, creating the Cautín and Malleco Provinces. Angol became the *cabecera* (head city) of Malleco while Temuco—nicknamed “the Protestant Capital” because of its early German population—the capital of Cautín. Temuco, founded the same year as the provinces' reorganization, quickly flourished as the region's political center.<sup>191</sup> The German engineer and city planner, Teodoro Schmidt, situated Temuco in the heart of Mapuche territory to reinforce state presence and in proximity to other cities in the region to expand trade development. The city government's administrative offices dictated the legal framework of land ownership, functioned as the hegemonic regional power by securing and legitimizing the state's authority over the region.<sup>192</sup> For Schmidt, the planning of Temuco was an invitation to build a modern city that would require a high school to produce educated professionals.

According to the 1895 census, the Cautín province's population increased by 325% between 1885 and 1895 with a total of 78,221 inhabitants, accounting for 11,476 in Temuco (25,826 including the outer rural community) and 6,242 in Nuevo Imperial (40,919 including the

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<sup>191</sup> Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecino, *Organizaciones, líderes y haciendas mapuches (1900-1970)* (Santiago, Ediciones CEM, 1988), 8.

<sup>192</sup> Teodoro Schmidt rented a locale from July-October 1887 before moving, vol. 233, FMREE, AN.

external rural population).<sup>193</sup> The foreign colono populace in Temuco amounted to 997 (372 French and 292 Germans) and 352 in Nuevo Imperial (85 French, 59 British, 50 Germans).<sup>194</sup> Post-independence censuses collected information that aided government officials about the nation's progress in areas such as literacy, occupation, gender parity and marital status, vaccination rates, individuals with disabilities, and the percentage of foreign-born, as well as their religion. Absent from these figures were the old racial categories from the colonial era. When the Chilean government decided to conduct a Censo Indígena (Indigenous Census) in 1907, it reflected concern about the "Mapuche Question" or rather the realization that the indigenous population had not disappeared as planned.<sup>195</sup> According to the 1907 Census, in the provinces of Concepción, Bio Bío, Cautín, Valdivia, and Chiloé the Mapuche amassed 101,118 inhabitants and the Chilean population a total of 820,021.<sup>196</sup> The Mapuche accounted for 10.97% of the total population in those provinces; 70% located in Cautín. Tomás Guevara and Capuchin missionaries oversaw the 1907 Census.<sup>197</sup>

The Liceo de Temuco records for the years 1889 to 1913 are minimal, mostly *memorias* (*memories*) by the school directors informing the Ministry of Education about their achievements and submitting requests for funds.<sup>198</sup> There were no comprehensive school rosters but reports mentioned students by name according to who excelled in their exams. Information about Mapuche students, for this research, was traced through Guevara's academic writings, specifically when he mentioned native informants. The sources that discuss Liceo de Temuco's administrative and school life paint an institution that primarily served middle-class and

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<sup>193</sup> *Sétimo Censo Jeneral de la Población de Chile levantado el 28 de noviembre de 189*, Tomo Cuatro (Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1904), 106.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>195</sup> Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche, Siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago, LOM, 2008), 252.

<sup>196</sup> Serrano et al., *Historia de la Educación, Tomo II*, 294-295.

<sup>197</sup> Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche*, 334.

<sup>198</sup> *Memorias* were government reports by administrators detailing institutional progress.

professional Chileans with Spanish-descent last names. This study could only classify Mapuche students based on their last names or on written descriptions. Surnames, however, offer limited information about a person's racial or cultural identity. Furthermore, individuals who carried a paternal Mapuche last name were described as indigenous while those with a maternal Mapuche last name varied in their description from mestizo to Chilean, but typically not seen as fully Mapuche.<sup>199</sup> Often, the individual hid their Mapuche maternal surname. Social adherence to the father's surname demonstrates how patriarchy informed racial categories and identities during the nineteenth century. Nara Milanich noted that post-1870s court decisions about "paternal recognition of illegitimate offspring was synonymous with the conferring of class position."<sup>200</sup> I argue that paternal recognition by Chilean or European fathers of offspring with indigenous woman not only bestowed onto the child the father's class position, but their racial position as well. In cases in which Mapuche children were kidnapped and forced into servitude in the homes of wealthy families, their last names were lost either because they were too young to remember or lacked proof of legitimate recognition which led to the socio-racial category of *huacho* (orphan), creating social stigma.<sup>201</sup> In a society where a father's last name determined social and racial standing, individuals often changed—willfully or forced—their surname to create new family lineage and to open social opportunities.

Foreign-born colonos arrived in increasing numbers to the region during the 1880s and their ethnic schools multiplied by the century's end. Juan Frey noted in his history about German schools that, "De esta manera, es de esperar, que los niños de origen alemán conserven sus

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<sup>199</sup> In accordance to Chilean identity law, a person must take the father's last name first followed by the maternal. If the child was illegitimate, their mother's last name was repeated; in other words placed as the paternal and maternal. Writings at the time often describe someone as mestizo if their mother was Mapuche and father was Chilean and as Mapuche if their father was Mapuche and their mother Chilean.

<sup>200</sup> Nara Milanich, *Children of Fate: Childhood, Class, and the State in Chile, 1850-1930* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2009), 74.

<sup>201</sup> For studies about the rise of the social category and term *huacho*; Milanich, *Children of Fate*; Gabriel Salazar, *Ser niño huacho en la historia de Chile (siglo XIX)* (Santiago, LOM, 1996).

cualidades de raza y de lengua y contribuyan a la vez a transmitir a los demás las ventajas de la cultura y educación alemanas (In this manner, one would hope, that the children of German origin can conserve the qualities of their race and language, and contribute by transmitting to others the benefits of German culture and education).<sup>202</sup> The Liceo Alemán (German High School) of Temuco, when founded in 1887—two years prior the public high school Liceo de Temuco—, was the eighth German school institution and the fourth German high school (one an all-female secondary school) in Chile. Between 1888 and 1910 twenty-one German elementary schools and three German high schools were established across the country.<sup>203</sup> A total of twenty-six German elementary schools and seven high schools were created across Chile, the majority being secular.<sup>204</sup> Due to the establishment of Liceo Alemán in Temuco and other similar schools in the region, few German children attended Liceo de Temuco. The German schools promoted the continuity of German identity, but also the social reproduction of the German ethnicity through marriage and socio-economic relations.

Liceo de Temuco, which opened in 1889, was Cautín Province's first public high school (also referred to as secondary school). The first all-girls high school in Temuco was not inaugurated until 1905, which placed Mapuche girls in the Temuco area—as well as all girls—at a social disadvantage. In 1892, there were a total of fifteen public schools (six for boys, one for girls, and eight for both genders), including elementary and secondary, in the province.<sup>205</sup> By 1910 there were seventy-three schools (twenty for boys, eighteen for girls, and thirty-five for both genders), meeting greater gender parity. Even though it was not uncommon for primary

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<sup>202</sup> Juan Frey, “Los colegios alemanes en Chile,” in *Los Alemanes en Chile, Homenaje de la Sociedad Científica Alemana de Santiago a la nación chilena en el centenario de su independencia* (Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1910), 357.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 358.

<sup>204</sup> There were a few Evangelical German schools, some interfaith, and only three that were Catholic.

<sup>205</sup> Andrés Donoso Romo, *Educación y nación al sur de la frontera. Organizaciones mapuche en el umbral de nuestra contemporaneidad, 1880-1930* (Santiago, Pehuén, 2008), 95.

schools at this time to be mixed gender, secondary schools were single gender. Boys' secondary schools were also built first, prioritizing their education over young girls, a trend that supported the continuation of a patriarchal social order.

Furthermore, the 1879 education law decreed two tiers of high schools that served different academic and social class goals for its students.<sup>206</sup> First-tier high schools (*liceos de primera clase*) prepared middle- to upper-class male students in urban centers, primarily regional capitals, offering the complete six-year humanities curriculum. The most esteemed first-tier institution was the National Institute in Santiago. Liceo de Temuco was a second-tier high school, even though located in the provincial capital, meaning that the students received four years of humanities instruction instead of six.

Liceo de Temuco, as an all-boys school, was expected to serve and prepare middle-class boys in the region. The Governor of Cautín Province explained that the school “está llamado prestar servicios especialmente a los hijos de colonos (“is meant to provide services especially for the sons of colonos”).”<sup>207</sup> He noted that the Ministry of Colonization subsidized the schools in addition to money from the provincial government. The sons of colonos meant the children of all settlers, Chilean and foreign alike. Mapuche boys were not mentioned in the plan, but were not an entirely unexpected group to appear in the ranks of pupils. As Chilean historian Sol Serrano explained, “La escuela se estableció en la zona de la Araucanía junto al desarrollo incipiente del mundo urbano, como en el resto del país, intentando incorporar a los sectores populares y al mundo rural, que casi sólo por accidente, desde la perspectiva de la escuela pública, era también indígena (As in the rest of the country, the school was established in la Araucanía along with the early developments of urban areas to incorporate the popular and the rural sectors and, almost by

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<sup>206</sup> Serrano, *Historia de la Educación*, 344.

<sup>207</sup> Francisco Perez, Memoria del Intendente de Cautín, Memoria 1888, 131, FMI, AN.

accident, from the perspective of the public school, also included the indigenous population).”<sup>208</sup>

It is difficult to weigh how accidental and how intentional public schools were in educating and assimilating Mapuche youths. While documents underscore that Liceo de Temuco was established to serve the children of colonos, it would be surprising if the school’s directors and educators assumed that no native children would register at the school.

The Mapuche boys who enrolled in Temuco schools in the late nineteenth century were a small group, especially prior to the economic expansion of the city that created a pull factor in regional migration. During the 1880s, the majority of the Mapuche population lived in the rural areas surrounding Temuco. Mapuche communities, devastated by occupation, either did not have the financial means, the social knowhow, or the desire to setup a new life within the city limits. However, as Temuco flourished economically, Mapuche and rural colonos moved to the region’s capital. The Mapuche communities located near Temuco, unlike frontier or costal Mapuche communities, historically had minimal interaction with Catholic missions, making them less acquainted with the Spanish language and the Catholic religion unless they were traders in goods and livestock.

There were eight documented Mapuche students who registered at Liceo de Temuco from 1889 to 1908, although it was likely more attended. They include Francisco Melivilu, Ramón Lienan, José Segundo Painemal, Manuel Mañkilef, Manuel Nekuñmañ, Jr., as well as three other students noted by Guevara using only their last names: Collio, Melinao, and Coñueman.<sup>209</sup> Collió was most likely Martín Collió Huaiquillaf who attended the Carnegie Institute of Technology from 1918-1919, the University of Pennsylvania from 1921-1922, and collaborated with several

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<sup>208</sup> Sol Serrano, “De escuelas indígenas sin pueblos a pueblos sin escuelas indígenas: La educación en la Araucanía en el siglo XIX,” *Historia* No. 29 (Santiago, 1995-1996): 424.

<sup>209</sup> Guevara mentioned he had several Mapuche students registered in Liceo de Temuco and named a few by last name only and then added “etc”; therefore, there were probably more than eight Mapuche students; Tomás Guevara, *Psicología del pueblo araucano* (Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1908), 161.

US-based anthropologists.<sup>210</sup> Francisco Melivilu Henríquez was the only Mapuche student who probably attended the school during the directorship of Plácido Briones. Melivilu was born in Temuco in 1882, which meant he was educated at Liceo de Temuco in the mid-1890s; three years in preparatory school and two years in humanities.<sup>211</sup> He planned to become an electrician, but excelled in mathematics and law that led him to a career in politics. In describing Melivilu's quick rise, Bengoa discerns, "La segunda generación después de la pérdida de la independencia, actuó directamente en la política nacional representando los intereses de los mapuches (The second generation following the loss of independence, directly partook in national politics representing the Mapuche interests)."<sup>212</sup> Bengoa underscores how the Mapuche used education to participate in Chilean politics. Unfortunately, Melivilu died at the age of fifty-two and there is a limited record about his life.

Manuel Mañkilef—the most well-known of the eight students—was born in Maquehue in 1887, from a Mapuche father, Fermín Trekamañ Mañkilef, and a Chilean mother, Trinidad González. At age one he was handed over to his paternal grandmother and raised with his Mapuche family in Pelal near Quepe. Mañkilef was socialized into Mapuche culture and learned the language, customs, and rituals. He played *palín* (a game that resembles field hockey but used for rituals, decision-making, and physique building) and participated in rituals such as *choike purün*. In describing his childhood, he noted that "todos mis compañeros de juego sabían que era hijo de una chilena y como practicase las costumbres igual y, a veces, mejor que ellos, designáronme con el apodo de *Cheuntu*, que quiere decir: el que se vuelve gente (all my play

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<sup>210</sup> According to the anthropologist Dr. Donald Brand, he met Martín Collió Huiquillaf by chance sometime in the late 1930s and early 1940s during a train ride. Brand realized he was the same subject mentioned in an article published in 1924 by Dr. Frank Speck. See: Martín Collió Huiquillaf and Donald D. Brand, "A Tri-Lingual Text by Martín Collió Huiquillaf" in *New Mexico Anthropologist* vol. 5, no. 2 (April-June 1941): 36-52.

<sup>211</sup> There are conflicting birthdates, but according to the Chilean National Congress Library archive, Melivilu was born in 1882; Carlos Waykigürü Rain, "Francisco Melivilu Henríquez: Biografía del talentoso y dinámico primer diputado araucano fallecido," *Arauco de ayer y de hoy* 1 (1966): 23-25.

<sup>212</sup> Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche*, 331, 385.

friends knew that I was the son of a Chilean woman and since I practiced all the customs equally, sometimes, even better than them, they nicknamed me *cheuntu*, which means: he who returns to the people).”<sup>213</sup> Mañkilef’s parents eventually took custody once more, enrolling him at the primary school in Temuco under the instruction of Manuel Nekulmañ. Mañkilef studied for two years at Liceo de Temuco, where Guevara was his Spanish instructor, and graduated from the Chillan Normal School in 1906. Mañkilef, with Guevara’s support, obtained a position as the librarian at Liceo de Temuco for a short period where and, in his words, explained that “lei constantemente y muy a menudo consultaba a mi jefe, llegando a adquirir con el Señor Guevara “relaciones de íntima seriedad” (I read constantly and I continuously sought advice from my boss, developing a “sincere and intimate relationship” with Mr. Guevara).”<sup>214</sup> Mañkilef taught Mapudungun at the Anglican Mission in Quepe and other subjects in nearby institutions before securing a job as the calligraphy and physical education instructor at Liceo de Temuco.<sup>215</sup>

Francisco Melivilu Henríquez and Manuel Mañkilef González held some commonalities that set them apart from other Mapuche leaders during this historical moment. Both men were mixed race with Mapuche fathers and Chilean mothers, but identified as Mapuche. They both carried Mapuche surnames, abiding by Chilean society’s patriarchal norms and defined their Mapuche-ness. Rodolfo Lenz, for example, described Mañkilef as an “indio moderno (modern Indian).”<sup>216</sup> Melivilu and Mañkilef both married Chilean women from middle-class families, highlighting that race was not an impediment and maybe their education was a factor that allowed those marriage alliances. Furthermore, both Melivilu and Mañkilef were elected as the first and second Mapuche congressional deputies in 1924 for the Democratic Party and 1926 for

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<sup>213</sup> Manquilef, *La faz social*, 6.

<sup>214</sup> According to Mañkilef, the quote was pulled from a certificate that Guevara wrote about his relationship with Mañkilef; Mañkilef, *La faz social*, 7.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>216</sup> Rodolfo Lenz, Preface to *Comentarios del pueblo araucano II: La gimnasia nacional* by Manuel Manquilef in *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 134: 240.



the Liberal Party, respectively. Both men were ardent supporters of progress and education as a means of Mapuche social uplift.<sup>217</sup> Education gave Mañkilef and Melivilu the ability to politically and socially function in two worlds, and enough legitimacy in Chilean society to be given a political platform. They agreed with assimilationists on two fronts: the need to expand public education to rural areas and viewed private property as a means for the Mapuche to be treated equally as Chilean citizens.

Liceo de Temuco's first director was Plácido Briones who described the school's purpose as educating middle-class professionals pursuing liberal, industrial, and commercial careers, as well as future politicians and small business owners.<sup>218</sup> Briones took minimal interest in his Mapuche pupils and, as noted, only one Mapuche student, Francisco Melivilu Henríquez, attended the school during his tenure. Tomás Guevara, the second director, an aspiring anthropologist, took an interest in his Mapuche pupils primarily as study subjects and research assistants, but not in assisting their pursuit of social equality.<sup>219</sup> Neither Briones nor Guevara mentioned native students in government reports, representing liberal assimilationist politics in which the universality of citizenship assured the social and cultural disappearance of indigenous children.

Briones was an experienced educator who worked as a state school inspector, a teacher at Liceo de Copiapó, and director of the San Carlos Superior School.<sup>220</sup> Briones's appointment to the new high school in Temuco did not bring him prestige since it was a new rural-based school, but the job was a promotion. It was difficult for him to run the institution with limited

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<sup>217</sup> Foerster and Montecino, *Organizaciones*, 23.

<sup>218</sup> Plácido Briones, *Memoria leída por el rector del Liceo de Temuco el 25 de diciembre de 1893* (Santiago, Imprenta Albion, 1894), 7, BN.

<sup>219</sup> Tomás Guevara, *Reseña histórica sobre el Liceo de Temuco* (Temuco, Imprenta Alemana, 1903). BN.

<sup>220</sup> Boletín de Instrucción Primaria in *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, vol. 74, 2<sup>a</sup> sección (Santiago, Imprenta del Siglo, julio a diciembre de 1888), 354, BN; Plácido Briones, *La Instrucción en Chile i la Pedagogia Moderna* (Santiago, Imprenta Gutenberg, 1888). BN.

government resources and was disappointed when Temuco did not become an economically and politically relevant city. Furthermore, the students from nearby primary schools were not academically prepared to enter the high school directly requiring the creation of a three-year preparatory school that trained students to pass the liceo's qualifying exams.<sup>221</sup> Briones was not convinced that Temuco was the ideal city in the region to concentrate state educational resources. In his initial reports to the Ministry of Education, Briones wanted to transfer the high school to Nuevo Imperial, which had a smaller population, but a more developed state infrastructure.

Briones implemented three policies that defined the institution's foundation: popular education, secularization, and teaching the German language. Liceo de Temuco implemented these policies even though the central government did not. Popular education was central for education reformers to expand the reach of learning and literacy to all citizens, even though the "all" came with a caveat that depended on a child's class, gender, race, and geographic placement. Briones explained, "Esta enseñanza está al alcance de todos los que deseen ser alumnos del Liceo, cualquiera que sean las ideas religiosas de sus padres y los recursos con que cuente (This institution of learning is available to all who wish to become Liceo students; no matter the religious ideas of their parents nor the resources they may have)."<sup>222</sup> Public figures such as Valentín Letelier spoke openly about the need for secular and scientific education.<sup>223</sup> Briones linked popular education with religious freedom and, like education reformers, viewed school secularization as a strategy to facilitate the inclusion of scientific methods into lesson plans. Briones made his support for secularization known by declaring religion an optional

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<sup>221</sup> As explained in the previous page, Labarca explained in her study that the preparatory schools were a norm for liceos because prior to 1889, since there were no universal standards set that intended to prepare students in elementary school to eventually enter liceos; Labarca, *Historia de la Enseñanza*, 214.

<sup>222</sup> Plácido Briones, Temuco, Octubre 21 de 1892, vol. 955, no. 1195, FME, AN.

<sup>223</sup> Valentín Letelier, *La lucha por la cultura* (Santiago, Encuadernación Barcelona, 1895), SG, BN.

course, using an 1880 decree that gave rural students—who missed school to work during the harvesting season— attendance flexibility to remain registered.<sup>224</sup> He explained that this decision was in reaction to “cuyos padres o apoderados manifiestan al Rector el deseo de que sus hijos o pupilos no cursen dicho ramo (parents and guardians who complained to the director that their children or wards not to take the course).”<sup>225</sup> Since Chile was a Catholic nation, the policy also allowed the children of Protestants and free thinkers to opt out.<sup>226</sup> According to Briones’s 1894 *memoria*, twelve students matriculated as second-year students and ten took religion, while eight matriculated as third-year students and three opted out of religion.<sup>227</sup> Briones was forthcoming about this move in his report; meaning Ministry of Education officials supported him.

The state took a different approach in regards Mapuche religious freedom since state-sponsored programs aided the expansion of Catholic indigenous boarding schools as the primary form of education for Mapuche youth. Indoctrination into Christianity was considered as a stepping-stone for the Mapuche to assimilate into Chilean society while, in contrast, Europeans and Chileans held the individual right to choose religious freedom because they were deemed intellectually and spiritually advanced. Religion, however, continued to be taught in public schools until the passing of the 1925 Constitution that declared separation of Church and State.<sup>228</sup> Nevertheless, the Briones’s embrace of secularism demonstrated an attempt to make the school inclusive to different nationalities and denominations.

Lastly, the inclusion of the German language into the Liceo’s curriculum was typical for high schools in La Araucania, but nevertheless politically significant. In terms of language

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<sup>224</sup> Decree from the Ministry of Education on November 8, 1880.

<sup>225</sup> Plácido Briones, Temuco, Octubre 21 de 1892, vol. 955, no. 1195, FME, AN.

<sup>226</sup> The 1895 Census detailed the numbers of dissidents, free thinkers, Protestants, Lutherans, and Muslims among the immigration population.

<sup>227</sup> Plácido Briones, Temuco, Abril 19 de 1894, vol. 955, no. 34, FME, AN.

<sup>228</sup> Religion courses were reintroduced to public schools in 1973 by decree under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet.

education, the 1889 Pedagogical Congress defined the distinction between first- and second-tier high schools in that first-tier schools included courses in Latin in addition to French and the third option being either English or German. Second-tier schools taught two languages, either English or German in addition to French. The French language, at the time, was the lingua franca for international diplomacy and intellectual circles. In December 1893, Briones made an unusual request to the Ministry of Education asking for professor wages in English and German.<sup>229</sup> The Liceo received a German language instructor from Germany in 1894 and, in response, scheduled humanities (non-preparatory) students for two hours of French and three hours of German per week, placing greater emphasis on German.<sup>230</sup> Over the years, the hours devoted to the German language increased.

Paternalism was the hegemonic relationship between instructor and student that formed the school's cultural life. Briones's 1893 *memoria* quoted the English pedagogue and social Darwinist Herbert Spencer who argued that the instructor needed to become a student's "segundo padre (second father)" teaching students about "las incomparables bellezas del árbol de las ciencias (the incomparable beauty of the science tree)."<sup>231</sup> He also cited the U.S. pedagogue James Pyle Wickersham who famously stated, "El niño es como un jérmén copado al instructor, y es deber de este suplir las condiciones necesarias a su completo desarrollo (A child is a germ put into the hands of the educator, and it is his duty to supply the conditions necessary to its development)."<sup>232</sup> Chilean education reformers shared Wickersham's perspective that a child was an empty vessel who needed to be nurtured and trained; an essential concept in concentric

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<sup>229</sup> Plácido Briones, *Memoria leída por el rector del Liceo de Temuco el 25 de diciembre de 1893* (Santiago, Imprenta Albion, 1894), 7.

<sup>230</sup> Plácido Briones, Carta al Ministerio de Educación, Temuco, abril 19 de 1894, vol. 955, FME, AN.

<sup>231</sup> Plácido Briones, *Memoria leída por el rector del Liceo de Temuco el 25 de diciembre de 1893* (Santiago, Imprenta Albion, 1894), 4, SG, BN.

<sup>232</sup> Plácido Briones, Temuco, Octubre 21 de 1892, vol. 955, no. 1195, FME, AN; James Pyle Wickersham, *Methods of Instruction* (Philadelphia, J.P. Lipincott & Co., 1871), 142.

education theory that expected teachers to be students' intellectual guide. Yet, a contradiction arose between concentric education and paternalism; paternalism dissuades creative thinking, but the necessity for the teacher to assert power over their students outweighed the limitations.<sup>233</sup>

Popular education, secularization, and paternalism were guiding principles for education reformers and foundational elements that defined Liceo de Temuco early on. Schools that existed prior to the 1889 Pedagogical Congress resisted the new concentric curriculum, but Liceo de Temuco's first two directors were ardent supporters of the *German turn* and were doubtlessly chosen for that reason.

## II. Guevara's Race and Assimilation Politics

This section will analyze Tomás Guevara's assimilation politics during his rectorship at Liceo de Temuco from 1899 to 1916. Guevara was a respected intellectual in political and academic circles seen as an authority on Mapuche history, culture, and education. This gave him latitude to propose and dictate state policies pertaining to Mapuche education, even though that influence waned in Santiago where the central government formulated nation-building priorities and Mapuche related topics were often thrown to the bottom of the pile. Yet, Guevara's academic writings and proposals resonated and continued to be referred to years later. This section analyzes Guevara's race and assimilation arguments for two purposes: to understand the environment and ideas that Mapuche students functioned and how those ideas affected racial politics in the region and the broader national climate. Lastly, this section will show that the social success of Mapuche pupils did not alter Guevara's views on race or his opinions about the Mapuche's place as laborers in the agricultural economy.

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<sup>233</sup>Og DeSouza, Eraldo Lima, Ronaldo Reis Jr., and Angelo Pallini, "Teaching Entomology: Moving from Paternalism to Active Learning" in *Anais da Sociedade Entomológica do Brasil* vol. 28, no. 3 (1999): 365-373 (accessed May 10, 2018), <https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0301-80591999000300001>.

In *Reseña histórica sobre el Liceo de Temuco (A Historical Overview of Liceo de Temuco)* (1903), Guevara offered a short history about the school he took over in 1899. He noted the difficulties that former director Briones faced in implementing the concentric curriculum following the 1889 Pedagogical Congress due to teacher resignations by those who opposed the new system and the additional turmoil that resulted from the 1891 Civil War.<sup>234</sup> Guevara explained, “A pesar de la implantacion del sistema concéntrico, siguió predominando la enseñanza del tipo antiguo (Even with the installment of the concentric system, the old style of teaching continued to dominate),” in which Guevara noted that his appointment marked a new era.<sup>235</sup> In historical retrospect, Guevara’s directorship was significant, but maybe not for the self-congratulatory reasons he alluded to. Unlike Briones, Guevara had taken an interest in anthropology and ethnography, and developed a career studying the Mapuche.

At the time of his appointment to Liceo de Temuco, Guevara was the Spanish instructor at Liceo de Angol. There were underlining interpersonal and political concerns about his selection, including the snubbing of Liceo de Temuco’s Spanish instructor, Manuel Sepúlveda, who was the natural successor. And there was the issue of tense correspondence that took place in 1895 between the Ministry of Education and Malleco officials regarding Guevara’s six-year service bonus due to his sporadic employment during the 1891 Civil War. In a letter to the Ministry, an illegible signer from Malleco opposed awarding Guevara the bonus, noting Guevara accepted a teacher’s post due to his support from “el gobierno de la “Dictadura” el 1o de Mayo de 1891 (the May 1, 1891 “dictatorial” government).”<sup>236</sup> Nevertheless, Guevara secured his position as director.

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<sup>234</sup> Tomás Guevara, *Reseña histórica sobre el Liceo de Temuco* (Temuco, Imprenta Alemana, 1903), 13-15.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

<sup>236</sup> Signed to the Minister of Education, 20 de julio de 1895, vol. 1091, FME, AN.

Why did the Ministry choose Guevara over Sepúlveda? An important factor appears to be that in 1898 Guevara published the three-part series *Historia de la civilización de Araucanía* (*The History of Civilization in Araucanía*) in the prestigious *Anales Universidad de Chile*. Publishing appeared to be a significant consideration by the Ministry of Education in their appointments. For example, Briones published *La Instrucción Primaria y la Pedagogía Moderna* (*Primary Education and Modern Pedagogy*) in 1888, a year prior to his appointment. The Ministry of Education's emphasis on publishing demonstrated a concern with placing directors who understood the new pedagogical goals, and, in the case of Guevara, understood regional issues and histories. As education reformers captured higher-level posts in the Ministry of Education, they appointed individuals who advanced concentric and scientific learning, using appointments to bypass the slow pace of reforms.

Liceo de Temuco's student body, including its three-year preparatory section and four-year humanities section, tripled between 1889 and 1902 from one-hundred and thirteen to three-hundred and thirty-three students (ninety-three to two-hundred and eighty-five, respectively, those with registered regular attendance).<sup>237</sup> Guevara inherited a fully functioning high school and continued Briones's legacy in reaching educational milestones pushed by education reformers. However, Guevara made some changes in the curriculum by adding courses in vocational training and agricultural science such as zoology, agricultural chemistry, commercial geography, and rural engineering to prepare agricultural professionals in the new scientific methods. He also expanded class hours devoted to the German language. Briones included

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<sup>237</sup> Guevara, *Reseña histórica*, 50-51.

German in the school curriculum in 1894 allotting three hours per week, while Guevara raised it to eight hours per week.<sup>238</sup>

Unlike Briones, Guevara developed relationships with his Mapuche students. Yet they were opportunistic relationships to advance his academic queries. Guevara used his Mapuche students as research assistants, translators, and informants, relying on them to compile Mapuche historical memory, culture, language, and political organization. In *Las Últimas Familias y Costumbres Araucanas (The Last Families and Araucanian Customs)* (1912), Guevara mentioned three Mapuche students who aided his research: Ramón Lienan, José Segundo Painemal, and Manuel Mañkilef. The latter two came from families who supported the Chilean army, while the Lienan family had resisted.<sup>239</sup> There were other Mapuche informants hired who were educated in the Friar Minors Capuchin missions. According to the anthropologist Jorge Pavez Ojeda, the directorship allowed Guevara to “ampliar su red de relaciones, entrando también en contacto con los hijos de familias mapuches que llegan a estudiar al liceo (widen his network of relations, connecting him with the sons of Mapuche families who studied at the high school).”<sup>240</sup> While his motivation was self-interest, his academic pursuits nevertheless pushed Mapuche students at Liceo de Temuco’s out of the shadows in contrast to the Briones years. José Ankañ and Pavez Ojeda noted Guevara’s lack of recognition for his Mapuche research assistants and how he used their intellectual labor for his own intellectual success.<sup>241</sup> This does not minimize Guevara’s capacities as an autodidact academic, but his “evolutionary historicism” and

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<sup>238</sup> In 1902, 16 hours were devoted to Spanish, 20 to Mathematics, 14 to Physical Education, 12 to German, 12 to History and Geography, 8 to English, and 6 to French; *Ibid.*, 54-55.

<sup>239</sup> Jorge Pavez Ojeda, “Mapuche ñi nutram chilkatun/Escribir la historia mapuche: Estudio Posliminar de Trokinche Mūfu Ñi Piel. Historias de Familias. Siglo XIX,” *Revista de Historia Indígena* no. 7 (Santiago, Universidad de Chile, 2016), 17-18.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.



position of power in relation to his indigenous researchers illuminates the role of racism in proportion to his accolades.<sup>242</sup>

Nevertheless, Guevara's relationship with his Mapuche pupils indicates an early interest by the Chilean state and educators in studying the Mapuche as a distinct cultural group. In the process, Guevara trained a generation of Mapuche students in scholarly research methods. This relationship also signaled a coming together of modernity and colonialism as a microcosm of the German turn. While this relationship was neither planned nor heavily documented, the political aftermath was significant and even contrary to Guevara's own visions about native education.

Before dissecting Guevara's position on indigenous education and his views about the Mapuche place in the Chilean economy, it is important to review Guevara's perspective about the role of education in developing La Araucanía. In *Reseña histórica sobre el Liceo de Temuco* Guevara devoted a chapter on "Influencia de los liceos en la cultura del sur del país (The Cultural Influence of the High Schools in the South of the Country)," expounding that the institutions of learning—even with defects—elevated the region's cultural level from "barbarism" to "civilized." Education, for Guevara, was central in forming indigenous peoples into proselytizers for progress. He explained,

Los hijos de estos primeros habitantes del sur ingresaron a los liceos; porque la enseñanza particular no existía, como no existe aun sino en la forma rudimental, nula y anticuada de uno que otros colegio particular. Estos educandos desempeñaron, pues, el papel de agentes civilizadores en la sociedad en que vivieron, y andando el tiempo obtuvieron un título profesional o entraron a colegios de enseñanza especial, como la escuela normal y la de oficios; se dedicaron a empleos públicos y privados, o al trabajo libre de la agricultura y del comercio. Hubo así una benéfica evolución hacia el mejoramiento de las costumbres y la extensión de trabajo.<sup>243</sup>

(The children of the first southern dwellers entered the high schools since private learning did not exist and continues to be available only on a rudimentary basis, null and outdated with some exceptions being private schools. The educated ones played the role, well, of civilizing agents in the society in which they lived and, with time, they obtained professional titles or entered schools of specialized learning, such as normal schools and those of other professions. They dedicated themselves to public and private

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<sup>242</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., 47.

employment, or in agricultural and commercial free labor. That is how an evolutionary benefit took place towards betterment of customs and long-term employment.)

Guevara's remark about "the children of the first dwellers" can be read as either referring to national or foreign colonos. And when he noted that the children's schooling and labor opportunities led to the "betterment of customs," Guevara easily alluded to both rural Chileans and Mapuche offspring. However, Guevara briefly recognized the importance in educating Mapuche children to become "civilized" and good workers.

In 1902, Guevara presented a proposal to the *Congreso General de Enseñanza Pública* (*Public Education General Congress*) titled "Enseñanza Indígena (Indigenous Education)." He offered a comprehensive overview about the state of education that targeted the indigenous population with the purpose of "civilizing" native children to become productive members of Chilean society. In conclusion, Guevara argued against educating indigenous children in the same institutions as Chilean children and instead developed an alternative plan. Guevara explained that to educate the Mapuche, the state needed to remove the children from their ancestral lands and place them in boarding schools away from their family to fully immerse into Chilean culture and the Christian religion. He described the shortcomings of Catholic-led education during the colonial and early republic periods, highlighting the tendency by Mapuche students to runaway and return home forgetting the Spanish language. As an example about the limits of assimilation, Guevara told the story of Lorenzo Koliman, a son of a longko and Col. Saavedra's hostage, who studied at the Collipulli Mission and the Escuela de Preceptores (School for Preceptors) in Santiago. After fighting for Chile in the War of the Pacific and living in Chilean society for many years, Koliman returned to his familial Mapuche community where

he began to “vivir de ruca a ruca (live from hut to hut).”<sup>244</sup> Guevara described Koliman’s return as a setback for Chilean civilization and as an example of Mapuche inability to assimilate. Koliman returned to his ancestral lands, married a Mapuche woman, and worked where he could, using his literacy and bilingual skills. Koliman was also Guevara’s first translator and colleague, collecting information and conducting interviews.<sup>245</sup> Guevara’s critique of Koliman reflected bewilderment that someone rejected, as he saw, a more advanced form of social relations. In contrast to Guevara’s Eurocentric position, analyzing Koliman’s story through an anti-colonial lens by centering the traumatic rupture produced by Chilean colonialism, a different narrative emerges. Koliman’s return is discerned instead as either an act of resistance, love for his family, or spiritual unification; in the same manner that Mapuche students who ran away from indigenous boarding schools to return home was a manifestation of agency and subversion to the new colonial order. Guevara’s inability to sympathize with the Mapuche social experience is especially alarming coming from a person who claimed to be a specialist on Mapuche history and culture.

Guevara used Rodolfo Lenz’s study on the Mapuche language to measure Mapuche mental capacities.<sup>246</sup> According to Guevara, Lenz demonstrated that Amerindian languages, in general, were linguistically simple and infantile in character, proving Mapuche inability to grasp ideas and concepts needed to function in Chilean society. He offered a Lamarkian evolution explanation in how to uplift Mapuche cognitive abilities, presenting a two-part program: the study of European languages to develop the mind and manual labor to acquire useful skills in the

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<sup>244</sup> Original spelling for the title: Tomás Guevara, “Enseñanza Indígena” in *Congreso Jeneral de Enseñanza Pública de 1902* (Santiago, Imprenta, Litografía, Encuadernación Barcelona, 1904), 175.

<sup>245</sup> Guevara mentioned his collaborative efforts in his 1902 report; Stefanie Gänger, *Relics of the Past: The Collecting and Studying of Pre-Colombian Antiquities in Peru and Chile, 1837-1911* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014), 197; Pavez Ojeda makes a similar observation about Guevara’s description of Kolliman using other writings by the school director; Pavez Ojeda, “Mapuche ñi nutram chilkatun/Escribir la historia mapuche,” 14-15.

<sup>246</sup> Rodolfo Lenz, *Estudios Araucanos: Materiales para el estudio de la lengua, la literatura y las costumbres de los indios Mapuche o Araucanos* (Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1895-1897).

capitalist economy.<sup>247</sup> He explained in a footnote that the Mapuche appeared to have talent as cultivators, herders, and merchants, even though those were not “natural” talents but trade relationships that flourished for centuries, only to be destroyed by the Chilean occupying army.<sup>248</sup>

Framing “Enseñanza Indígena” was Guevara’s overall position that the Mapuche were inferior and less developed than Chileans. Guevara proposed to incorporate Mapuche labor power into the capitalist economy through an education program centered on vocational training. To substantiate this claim, he worked with Eulojio Robles, the Protector de Indígenas (Protector of Indians) in Malleco, in which Robles produced seven questions that were sent out to the directors of mission schools catering to Mapuche education: 1) number of indigenous children; 2) average school attendance; 3) courses taught; 4) the mental capacity of the indigenous students; 5) Mapuche students’ abilities in manual and agricultural labor; 6) whether indigenous parents resisted educating and civilizing their children; 7) the best methods to educate Mapuche children in primary school and in industrial and agricultural training.<sup>249</sup> The questions were undoubtedly skewed, emphasizing vocational skills and questioning Mapuche intelligence. While the majority of respondents stated that Mapuche children learned quickly and equally to Chilean children, Guevara still devoted an entire section in his report asserting his argument about Mapuche mental deficiency under the subheading “Como piensa el indio” (“How the Indian Thinks”).

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<sup>247</sup> Historian Nancy Stepan described in “*The Hour of Eugenics*” that late nineteenth and early twentieth century Latin American policy-makers and scientists were just as enamored with eugenics as their European counterparts. In contrast, however, Latin Americans interpreted racial mixture as an avenue for racial improvement (“mejorar la raza” or improve the race) rather than social degeneration, which sparked sterilization and euthanasia policies in the U.S. and Europe. Latin American intellectuals preferred Lamarckian evolutionary theory that “assumed that external influences” could manipulate lasting hereditary changes, meaning the offspring could inherit “acquired [physical] characteristics”; Nancy Stepan, “*The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*” (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991), 25.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>249</sup> Guevara, “Enseñanza Indígena,” 173-175.

From the responses to Robles's queries, Guevara highlighted Charles Sadlier's report.

Sadlier, the Canadian director of the Anglican mission schools in Quepe and Chol-Chol, stated,

VII. Viendo los grandes resultados de escuelas industriales de América del Norte y otros países entre indígenas, fué acordado en el año 1897 establecer una escuela industrial entre los indígenas de Chile, adoptando el mismo sistema de la famosa Escuela Industrial de Carlisle Pa. en los Estados Unidos, uniendo el trabajo con la enseñanza secular.<sup>250</sup>

(VII. After observing the great results from North American and other nations industrial schools for Indians, it was determined in 1897 to establish an industrial school for the Indians of Chile, adopting the same system as the Industrial School in Carlisle, Pa in the United States; uniting work with secular labor.)

Guevara shared Sadlier's enthusiasm for the US-based Carlisle Indian Industrial School since the school's overarching assimilationist politics matched Guevara's.

Why is this significant? The Carlisle Indian Industrial School opened in 1879 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania under the direction of Captain Richard Pratt. Pratt, who was described in a 1935 biography by an Anglo assimilationist educator as "the Red Man's Moses," proposed to the federal government the transformation of an old army barrack for the purpose of "civilizing" indigenous children.<sup>251</sup> An 1887 newspaper article in the *The Christian Union* noted,

[I]n pursuance of a theory, which [Pratt] had held for some time, that the true way to civilize the Indian youth was to take him away from tribal influences, he proposed to the Interior and War Departments to remove to an unused military post two hundred and fifty or three hundred Indian children, who might there receive a training of head, heart and hand—with the demoralizing influence of camp life during vacations—and with the still further advantage of being thrown into the midst of civilization.<sup>252</sup>

Pratt's plan promoted the removal and geographic distance of indigenous children from their family and communities. Guevara, who intentionally highlighted Koliman's story, did so to prove his point: that even if the state educated the Mapuche, they would eventually return to

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>251</sup> Elaine Goodale Eastman, a Massachusetts-born poet and supporter of Indian cultural assimilation, wrote Pratt's biography. Goodale married Dr. Charles Eastman Ohíye S'a, of Santee Dakota origin, who was often depicted as an assimilationist success story. Dr. Eastman cared for the wounded after at the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre and is portrayed, along with his wife, in the HBO film *Bury My Heart in Wounded Knee*; Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1935).

<sup>252</sup> See *The Christian Union*, volume 35, ed. Henry Ward Beecher (accessed May 10, 2018):

<https://books.google.com/books?id=JNdirmtY7TMC&pg=RA24-PA1&lpg=RA24-PA1&dq=1887+christian+union+newspaper+Carlisle&source=bl&ots=wa7JOXpX4h&sig=1p4AIVqGwmNe47kP2YFbbdF0ryY&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewj15ZmR75fbAhWKylkKHfRHAYkQ6AEIPDAE#v=onepage&q=Pratt%20Carlisle&f=false>.

“their ways.” It is not known the extent of information that Guevara received about the Carlisle Indian School, but he knew enough to see the institution’s practices worth mimicking.<sup>253</sup>

Guevara concluded “Enseñanza Indígena” by proposing the creation of Carlisle-like industrial schools across the region. He noted, “De aquí se pasa sin violencia al punto fundamental del programa: hacer del indio un cultivador útil de sus campos, donde lo retengan los beneficios de sus esfuerzos y el amor tan arraigado en sus costumbre al suelo de sus antepasados (From here it passes without violence the fundamental point for this program: to turn the Indian into a useful cultivator in the fields, where they can benefit from their efforts and the love that they hold for their customs and the soil of their ancestors).”<sup>254</sup> In other words, Guevara believed that an indigenous person could never assimilate as a social equal since they were driven by other instincts such as returning to their ancestral lands. Guevara most likely supported the Carlisle motto—“Kill the Indian, Save the Man”—, as seen in his schema for cognitive improvement through language skills and selective labor.<sup>255</sup> By creating separate schools, Guevara foresaw a strategy to fully acculturate Mapuche children by developing their “natural” talents for herding and cultivation and use their labor for the needs of the Chilean nation.

Guevara’s prose articulated a belief that indigenous people were less developed in contrast to Chileans. But how did he view individuals of mixed-race ancestry? In *Psicología del pueblo araucano (The Psychology of the Araucanian People)* (1908) he explained,

Los *campurrias* o araucanos españolizados son, pues, abundantes en los grupos indígenas actuales; hasta caciques de fama llevan en su sangre mezcla de la casta que los ha suplantado. Pero es preciso observar que casi todos ellos quedan viviendo en las reducciones, se unen a familias netamente araucanas y dan así a la cruz una dirección regresiva. La población nacional, chilena, con esto nada ha ganado por el momento.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Guevara’s footnotes mention the school multiple times, but he does not cite a specific reading.

<sup>254</sup> Guevara, “Enseñanza Indígena,” 187.

<sup>255</sup> Matthew Steven Bentley, “*Kill the Indian, Save the Man*”: *Manhood at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918*, doctoral dissertation in American Studies (University of East Anglia, 2012).

<sup>256</sup> Tomás Guevara, *Psicología del pueblo araucano* (Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1908), 161.

The *champurrias* or Spanishized Araucanians are, well, abundant among current-day indigenous groups. Even some famous caciques carry mixed *casta* blood of those who have tricked them. But it is necessary to observe that almost all of them continue to live in *reducciones* as part of distinctly Araucanian families; thus leading toward a regressive direction. The Chilean national population has currently not gained from this.

The term *champurria* is used interchangeably with *mestizo*, but interestingly enough Guevara does not use *mestizo* but “Spanishized Araucanian.” Guevara’s emphasis alludes to Mapuche assuming aspects of Spanish culture and the Spanish culture as the active agent affecting the Mapuche. The majority of documents reviewed for this dissertation did not employ the word *mestizo*, but when writers employed *mestizo* it reflected ideas about racial social standing. For example, some government officials in La Araucanía and Catholic priests used *mestizo* to underscore an individual’s racial mixed origin, but if that same individual described as *mestizo* were part of a group of Mapuche students they were most likely not seen as racially distinct. Following the above quoted passage, Guevara listed Mapuche pupils that came from elite Mapuche families and explained that “*todos han ido a buscar esposa a las rucas de sus antepasados, aun cuando han adquirido en las aulas de este colegio una instrucción que podía haberlos acercado a la familia chilena (all have gone to look for a wife at their ancestral rucas, even though they were given an education in these classrooms that could have brought them closer to the Chilean family).*”<sup>257</sup>

Guevara’s avoidance of the term *mestizo* reflected his views on race and social evolution. He believed in the existence of racial mixing, even noting that the history of Spain is one of racial mixing over the centuries. Some years prior to publishing *Psicología del pueblo araucano*, Guevara polemicized against Nicolás Palacios’s *Raza Chilena (The Chilean Race)* (1904). Palacios argued that the Chilean popular classes—referred to by the derogatory term *roto* or

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<sup>257</sup> The Mapuche students he named were “Painemal, Collio, Melinao, Coñueman, Neculman, etc.”; Ibid.

broken ones—were the heart of the Chilean race and national culture.<sup>258</sup> Palacios further stated that the Chilean race originated from the offspring of Mapuche and Germanic Spaniards during the first years of Spanish colonization. Guevara disproved Palacio’s theory that the Chilean race developed from the union between Mapuche and blonde and blue-eyed Germanic Spaniards. However, Guevara’s main examples used against Palacios were that the Mapuche rejected unions with other *castas* (race)—therefore the development of a distinctive Chilean racial group was impossible—and the *champurrias* tended to live in *reducciones* (settlements), meaning they were resistant to civilization. Guevara explained further,

Tal es la repulsión genésica que existe en el araucano, que conocemos casos de prostitución en Imperial y otros lugares no ejercida jamás con chilenos, sino cuando la mujer se hallaba en estado de ebriedad. Si esto pasa ahora, puede calcularse lo que sucedería antes, cuando el odio de las dos razas era implacable y cuando las agrupaciones indígenas vivían aisladas y con las armas en la mano.<sup>259</sup>

(Such is the genetic revulsion that exists within the Araucanian that we know cases of prostitution in Imperial and other places in which they never copulated with Chileans, but only when the women were in a state of intoxication. If this happens now, it can be calculated what happened before when hatred between the two races was implacable and when the indigenous groups lived isolated and with weapons in their hands.)

Guevara conceded that racial mixing occurred, but was skeptical about the formation of a mestizo race in Chile. In the end, he envisioned—similar to contemporary anthropologists—the disappearance of the Mapuche race once they submitted to the civilization practices of the “superior race” that would eventually diminish Mapuche ability to reproduce.<sup>260</sup>

Another important question to answer is what Guevara meant by assimilation and why he thought Mapuche assimilation into Chilean society was not possible. According to Guevara, assimilation meant full and equal inclusion into Chilean society. He never discussed assimilation

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<sup>258</sup> Nicolás Palacios, *Raza Chilena: un libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos. Tomo I. Segunda Edición* (Santiago, Editorial Chilena, [1904] 1918).

<sup>259</sup> Tomás Guevara, *El libro ‘Raza Chilena’ I sus referencias sobre el sur* (Temuco, Imprenta Alemana, 1905), 22-23.

<sup>260</sup> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the idea that indigenous people would vanish was a common theory by anthropologists who rushed to study native subjects. While some tribes were lost due to violent extermination and disease, many cultures continued despite the hardships produced by colonialism.



as a process, but as the end result; and to achieve assimilation meant to reach social and civil equality. Proponents of assimilation can be divided between two camps of race theory: cultural and biological. The cultural assimilationists promoted the social uplift of a racial group, in particular through education and good hygiene. The pedagogue John Dewey was a well-known proponent of cultural racism who restrained from “biologizing race while still naturalizing systems of racism.”<sup>261</sup> Cultural racism used the language of social uplift casting a wider net of support and impact, influencing communities of color to view the method as a way into hegemonic acceptance.<sup>262</sup>

The second wing of assimilationists described social problems as rooted in biological difference. Herbert Spencer, fell into this camp. In contrast to cultural racism, biological racism was resolute and less accommodating to a person of color. Biological racists, however, reinforced limited assimilation while asserting the need for racial purity. In the U.S., the mantra of “separate but equal” underscores this concept that supported certain rights and protections for native and African descent peoples as long as those rights remained separate and secondary to white society. Cultural racism offered a tactic for integration (education, hygiene, etc), while biological racism understood race as determining and racial mixture as either degenerative or a whitening process. In Guevara’s writings, he vacillated between both positions; at times asserting biological limitations and other times noting cultural betterment. As an example, Guevara stated, “La raza indígena ha llegado a un período en que la extinción es más efectiva que la absorción del elemento étnico superior en contacto con ella (The indigenous race has reached a point in

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<sup>261</sup> John Wesley Jones, *John Dewey and Cultural Racism*, MA Thesis in Education Policy Studies (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2012), 55.

<sup>262</sup> There are numerous studies about how assimilationist and social uplift ideas evolved into respectability politics that was embraced by middle-class and property owning African-Americans in the U.S. that they in turn used to police poor and working class Blacks in order to position themselves as socially *more* acceptable to white middle and elite classes. See: Robin D.G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina Press, 1990).

which their extinction is more effective than absorption by the superior ethnic element that they have contact with).”<sup>263</sup> Guevara imagined the disappearance of the Mapuche race, not through sexual mixing with the so-called “superior ethnic element” but due to lack of sexual partners and the unclear concept of being consumed by civilization.<sup>264</sup> It is safe to say, Guevara’s assumption about “the vanishing race” sits alongside similar archaic notions in the archives that never came to fruition.

Assimilation methods purported by cultural racism was described as a kinder option than extermination or “vanishing,” in the same manner that the good cop is projected as helpful in contrast to the bad cop, rationalizing degrees of violence in the name of progress. Australian Aboriginal historians have rightly highlighted that assimilation functioned as a slow extermination.<sup>265</sup> Franz Fanon painfully described colonialism as the feeling of not existing or in the case of the Mapuche existing as a warrior caricatures. In discussing the Aboriginal experience in Australia, the historian Jennifer Clark explains, “The aim of assimilation was to gather the remnants of Aboriginal society and, in a spirit of democratic equality, merge Aboriginal into white culture. It was against the thrust of assimilation for the government to promote community independence.”<sup>266</sup> In Chile, assimilationist policies became integral to the institutions of civil society and central to national education reforms. Schools were the archetypical institution to build the universal citizen. Mapuche students were required to assimilate to survive economically and socially. Yet, assimilation never rid the Mapuche of the racial markers that denied them full integration into Chilean society.

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<sup>263</sup> Guevara, *Psicología*, 172.

<sup>264</sup> Guevara did not explain what he meant how being consumed by civilization would affect the Mapuche and cause them to reproduce less.

<sup>265</sup> Jennifer Clark, *Aborigines & Activism: Race, Aborigines & the Coming of the Sixties to Australia* (Crawley, University of Western Australia Press, 2008), 99.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

### III. The Educated Mapuche

The contradiction in educating Mapuche boys in an institution like Liceo de Temuco that prepared them for a middle-class professional life also meant that these boys turned men were equipped to respond to institutional racism and social inequalities. Because of their social standing as learned men, educated Mapuche employed their understanding of Chilean society's legal and political language to delineate social rights for the Mapuche. There were four developments by educated Mapuche that encapsulated their response to Chilean racism and the continuation of a distinct Mapuche political subjectivity within Chilean society. First, Mapuche men felt obligated to prove themselves as equals to Chilean men, exemplified in their educational achievements and military service. Second, educated Mapuche organized societies to garner public support and present demands for education and land rights. Thirdly, a tactic used by few but nevertheless significant was to run for political office. And lastly, the example of Manuel Mañkilef who utilized anthropology as the arena to challenge Guevara's racial narratives.

This section will demonstrate that Liceo de Temuco's Mapuche students became middle-class professionals and used their talents and class standing to uplift and defend the Mapuche people. The middle-class success stories by Mapuche boys are often described as individual feats. But placing them as Liceo de Temuco pupils complicates that thesis, underscoring instead how the students reflected a generation educated in Chilean schools that utilized the *German turn* curriculum. This section focuses on how educated Mapuche used societies, anthropology, and their education to negotiate Mapuche rights. Furthermore, this section also shows that the class position of these men influenced their conservative approach to politics that will be analyzed in

contrast in coming chapters with rurally based and less educated Mapuche who were on the frontlines of land conflicts.

While many Latin American nations share stories of educated indigenous figures becoming college graduates—typically representing a very small group—, Mañkilef stands out in being a native man who wrote academic prose and polemicized against racism. How did this transpire? As Mañkilef worked with Guevara, the Mapuche student also learned about anthropological fieldwork methods and how to write academic articles. Guevara hired Mañkilef in 1907 as Liceo de Temuco’s librarian, giving him access to over one thousand and twenty books and journals and *tête-à-tête*’s about his readings with Guevara himself.<sup>267</sup>

In an interesting move by Mañkilef, he used Rodolfo Lenz’s *Lengua y Literatura del Pueblo Araucano* (*The Araucanian People’s Language and Literature*) (1895-1897), a compilation of writings that includes *De la lengua araucana* (*The Araucanian language*) (1895) to counter Guevara’s arguments used in “Enseñanza Indígena” (1902) and who had also used a study by Lenz. In the Introduction to *La faz social*—the study that Mañkilef presented to the Chilean Folklore Society in 1910 and published by the *Revista de Folklore Chileno* in 1911—Mañkilef underscored the special place that the Mapuche held in native histories of the Americas by having resisted Spanish colonialism, highlighting their heroism as a people. He then quoted Lenz who noted the importance of documenting the Mapuche language and in a footnote stated “Palabras de doctor Rodolfo Lenz (Words by Doctor Rodolfo Lenz)” making it unclear whether Lenz was quoted from personal conversation or from one of his studies. Mañkilef continued by explaining,

... así se demuestra que la lengua araucana es, ante todo, sonora, clara de oído, fácil de pronunciar, sobria en aspiraciones, despojada de detalles de pronunciación que parecen natural a los indígenas. Por lo que se

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<sup>267</sup> Tomás Guevara, *Reseña Histórica sobre el Liceo de Temuco* (Temuco, Imprenta Alemana, 1903), 56-57.

refiere a su sonoridad, claridad y a la facilidad de sus articulaciones, el idioma araucano es casi perfecto. Calidad preciosa de idioma es, también, la sencillez de su estructura y la de su mecanismo.<sup>268</sup>

(...this shows that the Araucanian language is, above all, sonorous, clear of hearing, easy to pronounce, sober in aspirations, stripped of details of pronunciation that seem natural to the natives. In regards to its sound—clarity and the ease of its articulations—the Araucanian language is almost perfect. The precious quality of this language is also the simplicity of its structure and mechanisms.)

Mañkilef purposely used Lenz's authority to make the political point that the Mapuche language is perfect and the Mapuche people are racially equal to Chileans. Lenz's work did not make such claims, but Lenz also did not discredit Mañkilef's position. Lenz was undoubtedly closer to Mañkilef demonstrated by ongoing correspondence and academic collaboration.

The Sociedad Caupolicán Defensora de la Araucanía (The Caupolicán Society in Defense of La Araucanía) was formed in 1910—twenty-seven years following Chilean occupation—, representing the political worldview of educated Mapuche. It is not a surprise that Manuel Nekulmañ, the first Mapuche educator, became the Sociedad's first president since he was the primary school teacher of younger society members, including Mañkilef. Among Sociedad members were Liceo de Temuco alumni such as Manuel Mañkilef, José Segundo Painemal, and Ramón Lienan, and other educated Mapuche who worked as teachers and government translators.<sup>269</sup> The Sociedad's purpose was to defend the Mapuche against injustices committed by colonos, wingkas, and the Chilean state. Their campaigns included promoting Mapuche education, opposition to the taxation of *reducciones* (settlements) and the use of alcohol, and “difundir la civilización que necesitan para su bienestar (spread civilization, which they need for their well-being).” The Sociedad's politics represented the ideals of cultural assimilation in defending Mapuche civic rights while promoting the concept that Chilean Christian and “civilized” society were the means to reach social equality. In describing the Sociedad's race politics, anthropologists Rolf Foerster and Sonia Mendocino explain, “Podemos apreciar que las

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<sup>268</sup> Manquilef, *La faz social*, 13-14.

<sup>269</sup> Foerster, *Organizaciones*, 17.

ideas indigenistas de la Sociedad Caupolicán se afincaron en la noción de igualdad del mapuche con el huinca (“somos hermanos”). Sin embargo, esta equiparidad no era real por cuanto se hacía de la “razón” una fuente de poder en manos del blanco (We can appreciate the Caupolican Society’s *indigenista* ideas that settled on the notion of equality between Mapuche and huinca (“we are brothers”). However, this equiparity was not recognized when “reason” was concerned which was seen as a source of power in the hands of the whites).<sup>270</sup> The educated Mapuche not only stood between two worlds but actively attempted to bring those two worlds closer together. Their political strategy reflected a compromise that created political space for themselves as Mapuche leaders and in which Mapuche acceptance in Chilean society was determined by Chilean political figures such as Tomás Guevara.

The Sociedad’s first year anniversary dinner took place in July 1911 at the Bar Alemán (German Bar) in Temuco. Present at the dinner was Tomás Guevara, the Sociedad’s honorary member. *El Diario Austral* reported on the events. The main speakers included the Mayor of Temuco, Manuel Nekuľmañ, Tomás Guevara, Gerómino Melillán, and the up-and-coming education reformer who received his doctorate from New York University, Darío Salas Díaz.<sup>271</sup> There were other speakers including Carlos Sadlier from the Anglican Mission in Quepe, as well as numerous longkos representing their communities; among them Manuel Mañkilef as the longko of Pelal. Guevara’s speech was partially recorded in which he noted, “Antes [los mapuche] se defendían con las armas, ahora deben defenderse con la instrucción: para no quedar totalmente vencidos manden sus hijos a las escuelas, al liceo, etc. Así la generación venidera

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<sup>270</sup> Foerster, *Organizaciones*, 18.

<sup>271</sup> Gerómino Melillán was the longko from Tromén, who was a friend of Carlos Sadlier and converted to the Anglican faith. He was bilingual and organized the Sociedad de Protección Mutua Mapuche in 1906 along with Antonio Painemal and Domingo Painevilu and later joined the Sociedad Caupolicán Defensora de la Araucanía; Joge Pavez Ojeda, *Laboratorios etnográficos: Los archivos de la antropología en Chile (1880-1980)* (Santiago, Ediciones Alberto Hurtado, 2015), 341, 345.

reemplazará dignamente a sus antecesores (Before [the Mapuche] defended themselves with arms, but now they must defend themselves through education: to not be entirely defeated, send your sons to school, to the Liceo, etc. In that way, this generation will replace their ancestors with dignity).”<sup>272</sup> Guevara alluded to the Mapuche warrior stereotype, emphasizing that in a civil and democratic society the Mapuche would defend their rights using knowledge rather than the armed struggle. Mañkilef spoke after his boss and former instructor, stating, “Todos tenemos una misma sangre, una misma corazón. De aquí, pues, que los pensamientos de cualquiera de nosotros sean considerados en conjunto como la idea de una raza (We all have the same blood and heart. From here on out, whoever’s thoughts be considered in unison as the idea of one race).”<sup>273</sup> Mañkilef’s statement was bold arguing that Chileans and Mapuche were one in the same—a stance that Guevara and maybe other representatives from the Chilean state and religious missions disagreed with. Some years later, in 1916, at the Araucanian Catholic Congress in Santiago, Mañkilef noted, “[L]a inferioridad de nuestra raza está sólo en la mente del usurpador, seremos un pueblo atrasado; pero no somos raza inferior, sino desgraciada (The inferiority of our race is only in the minds of the usurper; we may be a backward people, but we are not an inferior race, only disgraced).”<sup>274</sup> Mañkilef simultaneously asserted opposition to biological determinism, while demonstrating support in the superiority of Chilean and Western civilization.

The Sociedad’s middle-class conservatism has to be counter-balanced by explaining the organization’s significance for rural Mapuche, at least for a certain period of time. For example, Foerster and Mendocino note that beginning in 1912, the Sociedad supported calls to denounce

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<sup>272</sup> Foerster, *Organizaciones*, 17.

<sup>273</sup> Foerster, *Organizaciones*, 18.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 22; André Menard and Jorge Pavez Ojeda, “Documentos de la Federación Araucana y del Comité Ejecutivo de la Araucanía de Chile Los archivos del ‘29: derrotos y derrotas de la F. A.,” *Anales de Desclasificación* vol. 1: La derrota del área cultural, n° 1 (2005).

abuses committed against Mapuche individuals and communities. In one such occasion, in 1913, an act was organized in the town of Imperial to publicly speak-out against injustices where José Painemal—former Liceo de Temuco and Sociedad member—gave a fiery speech.<sup>275</sup> In the early 1910s, the Sociedad played an important role in supporting rural Mapuche demands. While some Sociedad members placed education as a central avenue for uplift, land rights quickly became an overarching concern. This was most likely the result from outside pressure and pleas by rural Mapuche reaching out to the Sociedad.

In 1916, when Mañkilef took over the presidency of the Sociedad from Nekulmañ, the Sociedad took a more conservative turn that resulted in a political split within the politically active Mapuche. Soon after assuming his new position, Mañkilef spoke at an event hosted by the Araucanian Catholic Congress in Santiago, where he used the platform to express public support for expanding Mapuche private property that required the break up of collective land holdings. This position was widely opposed by the majority of rural Mapuche, eventually forcing Mañkilef to take a less public role on behalf of the organization.<sup>276</sup> As the longko of Pielal, Mañkilef continued to play a part in regional politics. Mañkilef's political disagreements with rural Mapuche could be a reason why he turned to electoral politics; more for personal advancement than collective Mapuche uplift. However, Mañkilef was praised for his support for land privatization by Chilean politicians and from *El Estudiante*—Liceo de Temuco's school newspaper. *El Estudiante* published an excerpt from Mañkilef's writings titled "El Último Cacique (The Last Cacique)" where he argued against people who claimed that the problem with land cultivation on the reducciones were "los indios (the Indians)," responding that the problem

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>276</sup> The Federación Araucana politically displaced Mañkilef and la Sociedad Caupolicán. The Anglican educated Manuel Aburto Panguilef who, in contrast to Mañkilef, had made the reducciones the Federación's political cause and rural Mapuche the organization's base, proved more successful, amounting ninety percent of Mapuche support; Ibid., 23, 45.



was collective ownership.<sup>277</sup> That same year, Manuel Aburto Panguilef, who was educated in the Anglican Mission in Quepe led by Carlos Sadler, formed the Federación Araucana (Araucanian Federation) to represent rural interests.<sup>278</sup> The Anglican Mission did not offer a formal education curriculum like Liceo de Temuco and educated the Mapuche in their native language. The quality of education determined the social class of Mapuche graduates, creating fissures between the middle class and rural Mapuche, even though at times common ground was reached. Education integrated Mapuche youth into class society, exposed them to political ideologies, and informed the development of their political subjectivity within Chilean society.

### Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that Liceo de Temuco is an example of how the modern school furthered the goals of state colonialism. While the school was created to educate colono children, Liceo de Temuco proved formative in training the first generation of educated Mapuche into middle-class professionals. Liceo de Temuco's second school director, Tomás Guevara, was an important Chilean intellectual who taught and mentored Mapuche students in his academic projects. These youths were hired as informants and researchers, gaining new skills and learned scholarly prose. Nevertheless, Guevara argued that the economic future and usefulness of Mapuche children was as agricultural laborers. Guevara, nevertheless, functioned as an interlocutor between modernity and colonialism by teaching Mapuche youth skills in scientific research and assimilating them in the values of Chilean citizenry. Mañkilef and other educated Mapuche mediated between, as they saw it, the positive elements of Western society and demands for Mapuche civil rights. Education gave educated Mapuche the means to function as

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<sup>277</sup> Manuel Manquilef G., "El Último Cacique," *El Estudiante: Seminario de profunda sinceridad* año 1, núm. 10 (Mayo 28 de 1916), BN.

<sup>278</sup>Foerster, *Organizaciones*, 33-52.

middle-class professionals and represent Mapuche interests in the Chilean political arena. The history of Liceo de Temuco highlights that schools were assimilationist institutions that, in the end, did not erase Mapuche identity but offered Mapuche boys the ability to articulate their political place within Chilean society.

### Chapter 3

## Capuchin Mission Schools and the Education of Rural Mapuche Boys, 1848-1910

During the *periodo reduccional* (1883-1920), the majority of Mapuche children in La Araucanía were educated at Capuchin mission schools run by Bavarian friars.<sup>279</sup> These Mapuche boys and girls were the first generation educated under Chilean occupation. This chapter traces the history of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (O.F.M.Cap.) mission in La Araucanía and their educational impact on the Mapuche population from 1848 to 1918. This chapter argues that the Bavarian friars led the construction of a modern school system in La Araucanía that educated and trained Mapuche boys to become artisans or skilled workers.

The first section (1848-1895) describes the political goals behind the alliance between the Chilean state and the Capuchin Bologna Order to Christianize Mapuche children. The mission schools in this period were seen primarily as institutions for conversion to support the Chilean army's plan to hasten the incorporation of Wallmapu into the Chilean nation. Throughout the nineteenth century, conflicts between the Catholic Church officials and Chilean politicians were often over liberal and secular ideas and policies. Yet, on the matter of colonizing the Mapuche people, both institutions agreed. For the Church, it was about conversion and social influence and for Chilean politicians to usurp Mapuche lands and gain access to natural resources. The second section (1895-1915) begins with the 1895 arrival of Bavarian friars who replaced the Bologna Order radically and altered Capuchin mission schools to better dovetail with the Chilean state's objectives. As *reluctant modernizers*, the Bavarian Capuchin priests understood the

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<sup>279</sup> The *periodo reduccional* (1883-1920) refers to the period when the Chilean state reorganized Mapuche lands into *reducciones*; Daniel Cano Christiny, "La demanda educacional mapuche en el período reduccional (1883-1930)," *Rev. Pensamiento Educativo*, vols. 46-47 (2010): 317-335.

importance in developing modern schools to accumulate political and social influence in the region and over the local population. The Capuchin school curriculum represented ongoing regional power struggles between local men on behalf of powerful institutions, in particular between the Chilean state and Anglican Missions, and in addition with Mapuche parents. The modern school curriculum implemented in mission schools highlighted that the friars did not only seek to convert native youth, but also teach them useful skills, demonstrated by their vocational workshops. The final section analyzes how discipline was incorporated into the curriculum and campus culture, exemplifying the friars' assimilationist politics and modern sensibilities. Instituting body-discipline through disciplinary actions and teaching trade skills, the Bavarian priests targeted specific behaviors and societal philosophies in Mapuche social relations to transform the Mapuche into Chilean citizens.

Both chapters three and four concentrate their analysis in four mission schools: Panguipulli, Padres Las Casas, Villarrica, and Coñaripe. The four missions had a large student body and were located in territories not controlled by the Chilean state prior to 1883.

### I. Institutional History: The new missions, missionaries, and their school

The history of Capuchin-run native boarding schools in Chile underscores the historical alliance between the Capuchin Order and the Chilean state to colonize native peoples. As the first group of German colonists sailed to Chile in 1848, President Bulnes instructed Chilean emissaries in Rome to negotiate with the Catholic Church a request for missionaries committed to the evangelization of the Mapuche population. While there were growing signs of tensions between the Chilean Republic and the Catholic Church following independence from Spain, the Church throughout the nineteenth century continued to influence the lives of Chileans, from *el bajo*

*pueblo* to the elite.<sup>280</sup> The Chilean bourgeoisie came to view religious conversion as a useful colonization method for the Amerindian peoples to accept Chilean colonial rule. President Bulnes's conversion plan intended to turn the Mapuche in Christians to ultimately gain control of the southern territory's natural resources. The pact demonstrated that Chilean liberal politicians continued the legacy of the Spanish Empire as the nation-state revived colonial methods to colonize native populations.

The Capuchins were a sixteenth-century offshoot from the Order of Friars Minor (also known as the Franciscan Order). The Capuchins determined that the Franciscan Order had strayed from Saint Francis of Assisi's original doctrine of leading frugal lives and serving the needy. However, the Franciscan brotherhood, including the Capuchins, shared a proselytizing vision as described in the co-authored article by the historian Jorge Pinto Rodríguez and the Capuchin Friar Sergio Uribe Gutiérrez:

Una característica y dimensión típica de todo misionero franciscano—característica que recibió de su fundador, San Francisco—es la de ir entre los infieles. Así se lo manda su Regla y así lo ha vivido la Orden en sus siete siglos. No se trata de ir a los infieles para predicarles, sino de ir a incorporarse, a meterse en la realidad de la propia vida de los infieles, Y desde allí anunciará a esos infieles la Palabra del Evangelio. Si bien esta característica no es monopolio de una familia religiosa en la Iglesia, este vivir entre los infieles constituyó un método distintivo para los hijos del santo de Asís...Esta forma de evangelizar permitía al misionero un acercamiento y contacto mucho más personal con el indígena y, como consecuencia, un conocimiento también más profundo de sus virtudes y defectos que posteriormente ampliará o reducirá su trabajo pastoral con él.<sup>281</sup>

(A characteristic and typical dimension of every Franciscan missionary—characteristic that they received from their founder, St. Francis—is to go among the infidels. This is how their Rule is commanded and is what the Order has lived by in its seven centuries. It is not a question of going to the infidels to preach to them, but rather joining in the reality of the infidel's life, and from there he will announce to those infidels the Word of the Gospel. Although this characteristic is not a monopoly of a religious family in the Church, this living among the infidels was a distinctive method for the children of the Saint of Assisi...This way of evangelizing allowed the missionary a more personal approach and contact with the native and, as a consequence, a deeper knowledge of his virtues and defects that later will expand or reduce his pastoral work with him.)

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<sup>280</sup> Sol Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República? Política y secularización en Chile (1845-1885)* (Santiago, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008).

<sup>281</sup> Jorge Pinto Rodríguez and Friar Sergio Uribe Gutiérrez, "Misiones Religiosas y Araucanía. Perspectivas para el enfoque histórico de un espacio regional," *Cultura, Hombre y Sociedad* (1986), 325-326.

Pinto and Uribe described the followers of Assisi as conductors of ethnographic fieldwork who learned the language, customs, and cosmology of their target subjects. While other Catholic orders developed close friendships with native communities to affect conversion, the Capuchins immersed themselves into the life of their pastoral community, creating a relatable proselytizing discourse that an indigenous person could understand. This element in entering the lives of native people could explain why President Bulnes thought the Capuchins were the ideal missionaries to carry out their work among the Mapuche.

The Capuchin Bologna Order and the Chilean government agreed to a contract with six stipulations. The first provision required twelve Capuchin missionaries to preach and convert “las tribus indígenas, que pueblan parte del territorio de dicha Republica (the indigenous tribes that populate a sector of the Republic’s territory).”<sup>282</sup> The second clause stipulated the Chilean government payment for the missionaries’ voyage expenses as a sign of good will. The third point—the most significant—stated that the friars serve for ten years and were not allowed to teach at schools or hold administrative posts. The stipulation was probably an assurance that the Capuchin friars would concentrate on their assignment and avoid intrusion in state matters. Nevertheless, the restriction proved short-lived once the missionaries realized the necessity in forming mission schools to reach Mapuche communities as per their commitment. The Capuchin historian Reverend Father Ignacio de Pamplona described the decision to build schools as intentionally breaking the agreement while Reverend Father Burcardo María de Röttingen deemphasized the conflict by framing the stipulation as a non-requirement to teach.<sup>283</sup> Either way, the mission schools were created without state opposition, proving—in the long-run—

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<sup>282</sup> Reverend Father Ignacio de Pamplona, *Historia de las Misiones de los PP. Capuchinos en Chile y Argentina (1849-1911)* (Santiago, Imprenta Chile, 1911), 76, SI, BN.

<sup>283</sup> Pamplona and Röttingen were writing to different audiences. Pamplona was writing a history for the Church and to support future work in the region. Röttingen, whose report would be read by Chilean officials, made sure to praise Chile and emphasized the success of their missions.

fundamental to expanding Catholic influence and allowed the friars to remedy, as they saw, “una atmosfera viciada y de profunda ignorancia religiosa (an atmosphere of vice and profound religious ignorance).”<sup>284</sup>

Two goals guided the Capuchin mission work—conversion and civilizing—, and schools were central to achieving those ends. During the Bologna Order reign the mission schools primarily focused on religious indoctrination, while literacy was of secondary interest. Mapuche communities near missions learned Spanish due to their proximity to the Church and Chilean colonos. The Bavarian friars, who took over La Araucanía mission in the late 1890s, changed Capuchin missionary tactics by modernizing the mission school curriculum, responding to growing support and need for mass literacy.

The first group of Capuchin friars arrived in mid-1848 from an Order in Bologna, Italy.<sup>285</sup> In *25 Años de Actividad Misional de los Misioneros Capuchinos Bávaros en la Misión Araucana de Chile, 1896-1921 (25 years of Missionary Activity by the Bavarian Capuchin Missionaries at the Araucanian Mission in Chile, 1896-1921)*, Reverend Father Burcardo María de Röttingen explained that the first group of Italians were fleeing the 1848 revolutions motivated by the spread of republicanism that sparked the struggle for Italian unification and the loss of political power by the Papal State. However, the initial influx of Italian missionaries proved short-lived as some returned home and few replacements followed. Nonetheless, between 1850 and 1890 the Capuchins built six missions in La Araucanía. Four were placed near the coast: Bajo Imperial (modern-day Puerto Saavedra) was settled in 1850 and founded in 1859, while Pelchuquín in 1864, Queule in 1854, and Toltén in 1862 were all located thirty, eighty, and one-hundred

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<sup>284</sup> Rev. Father Pamplona, *Historia de las Misiones*, 81.

<sup>285</sup> Bologna historically has been an important intellectual center. The University of Bologna was founded in 1088 with noted connections with the Catholic Church.

kilometers from Valdivia respectively.<sup>286</sup> Two missions were built in the interior of La Araucanía: the Purulón Mission founded in 1874 placed halfway between Valdivia and Villarrica (the colonial settlement of Villarrica was destroyed in 1603 and resettled in 1883) and the Boroa Mission settled in 1884, after the Chilean occupation, positioned between Bajo Imperial and Temuco.

During the fifty years that the Italian friars oversaw missionary work in Wallmapu, they developed two distinctive outreach patterns. The first tactic urged Mapuche communities to visit nearby missions for an eight-day period once a year when they were baptized and required to give confession, but not offered communion.<sup>287</sup> In their free time, the Mapuche were expected to either cultivate or pick the new harvest in return for their room and board. This method appeared successful until the 1870s when younger Mapuche refused to participate, causing generational tensions.<sup>288</sup> The second method known as *correrías apostólicas* (apostolic incursions) and *misiones volantes* (flying missions) described friars who traveled into the territory finding housing and shelter wherever possible, including people's homes and nearby schools.<sup>289</sup> When proselytizing through Mapuche territory, a friar requested or, if need-be, rented a *ruka* from a Mapuche community.<sup>290</sup> However, due to the limited numbers of missionaries in the region, the priests only stayed briefly at each location. Documents describe one priest who remained in Huapi (near Bajo Imperial) for an extended period, leaving a lasting impact on the local

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<sup>286</sup> Jaime Flores Chávez and Alonso Azócar Avendaño, *Evangelizar, civilizar y chilenizar a los mapuche: Fotografías de la acción de los misioneros capuchinos en la Araucanía* (Sevilla, Editoria Universidad de Sevilla, 2017), 41.

<sup>287</sup> Reverend Father Burcardo M. de Röttingen, O.F.M. Cap. Apostolic Prefect, *25 Años de Actividad Misional de los Misioneros Capuchinos Bavaros en la Misión Araucana de Chile, 1896-1921 (Primera Parte)*, 79-80, Crónica Prefectura Araucanía, ADV.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*; Rev. Father Burcardo explained that Mapuche elders wanted to continue their agreement with missionaries, while younger Mapuche began to resist by not participating in those yearly excursions. He also noted that the priests bemoaned that when the Mapuche returned to the mission they demonstrated minimal retention about Christian teachings; a general comment repeated throughout documents.

<sup>289</sup> Pinto Rodríguez and Friar Uribe Gutiérrez, "Misiones Religiosas y Araucanía," 326.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*; Burcardo, *25 Años*, 135.



population becoming known as the locale with Christian natives.<sup>291</sup> The Prefect decided that for their missionaries to reach as many communities as possible, the friars needed to split their time among several communities. As the number of Capuchin missionaries dwindled over the years and those who remained aged, visits became less frequent.

From 1848 until 1871 approximately one-hundred and forty Capuchin friars rotated through La Araucanía.<sup>292</sup> By the 1870s their numbers dwindled due to the Italian Civil War, also known as Il Risorgimento (The Unification). The unification of Italy, sparked by the political ideologies of republicanism and democracy that swept Europe and the Americas in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, caused a great deal of tension—and wars—between the new bourgeois class and the Papal States. Ongoing conflicts developed between the Papal States (which was where Bologna was politically situated) and the forces representing Italian unification, while the eruption of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 only deepened the political conflict.<sup>293</sup> Il Risorgimento came to an end in 1871, forcing the Catholic Church to re-negotiate its place in a new Italy and the world. Due to these external events, the Capuchin friars in Bologna were unable to continue their commitment to the Chilean government and stopped sending friars.

The revolutionary upheaval in Europe was not the only factor that placed the Capuchin Order's work on pause and disarray. The 1870s signaled mounting discontent among younger longkos in response to Chilean—colono and military—infiltration into their territory. The Mapuche, taking advantage in Chile's involvement in the War of the Pacific, coordinated an

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<sup>291</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 12, 66, 142.

<sup>292</sup> Karl Kohut, "Introducción: Un capuchino bávaro entre los mapuches" in *En la Araucanía: El padre Sigifredo de Frauenhäusl y el Parlamento mapuche de Coz Coz de 1907*, eds. Carmen Arellano Hoffmann et al (Madrid, Iberoamericana, 2006), 6.

<sup>293</sup> Manuel Borutta, "Chapter 10: Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War in Risorgimento Italy" in *Il Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy*, eds. Silvana Patriarca and Lucy Riall (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 191-213.

uprising in 1881 that attacked and destroyed several missions and forts on the frontier, dislodging the Capuchin's work for some time.<sup>294</sup> Following the Mapuche surrender on January 1, 1883, in Villarrica, Chilean state officials prioritized land reorganization through the displacement of Mapuche communities and placing national and foreign colonos on those lands (see chapter one).<sup>295</sup> Reverend Ignacio explained that during the 1880s missionaries experienced hostility from the Mapuche due to their close relationship with the Chilean military. This sentiment was relayed in a mission chronicle when a missionary overheard a Mapuche stating that “cuando entraban padres, la tierra concluia, tras ellos iban los huincas (when the fathers arrive, the land ends, and behind them the *huincas*).”<sup>296</sup> Other Mapuche repeated this warning in their attempt to halt the construction of missions and other *wingka* institutions. The Mapuche did not differentiate between religious, state, and military officials nor between Chilean and foreign colonos since they all represented the *wingka* modern world destroying their way of life; even though the Mapuche were aware of differences in their positions of power.<sup>297</sup>

The 1880s signaled the disintegration of the Capuchin Order and Chilean state pact. Throughout the decade, many Capuchin missions laid dormant with activity only centered in a few missions. In an 1888 letter, the Intendente (Mayor) of Cautín Province stated:

La educación de indígenas, que ántes se hacia mandado los hijos de caciques a la Escuela Normal de Preceptores, ha quedado circunscrita a la que se dá en las misiones de Boroa e Imperial-Bajo, establecimientos que por las condiciones en que se hallan no son suficientes a llevar la instrucción mas allá de las reducciones en cuyo centro se hallan ubicados. Mientras una escuela elemental con internado para indígenas no se establezca, todo otro medio que se busque para llevar pronto la civilización a las masas araucanas será inútil.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo*, 285-321; Quote from Noggler, cited in Flores and Azócar, *Evangelizar, civilizar y chilenizar a los mapuche*, 41.

<sup>295</sup> Thomas Miller Klubock, *La Frontera: Forests and Ecological Conflict in Chile's Frontier Territory* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2014); José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche, Siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago, LOM, 2000); Jorge Pinto Rodríguez, *De la inclusión y la exclusión. La formación del estado, la nación y el pueblo mapuche* (Temuco, Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera, 2015).

<sup>296</sup> Flores and Azócar, *Evangelizar*, 39.

<sup>297</sup> Karl Kahut, “Un capuchino bávaro entre los mapuches” in Hoffman, *En la Araucanía*, 20.

<sup>298</sup> Memorias del Ministerio del Interior, vol. 1887, Carta del Intendente T. Pérez, Temuco, 13 de abril de 1888, 945, FMI, AN.

(Prior, in the education of natives, the sons of caciques were sent to the Preceptors Normal School. Now [their education] has been limited to the missions of Boroa and Bajo Imperial, establishments whose conditions are not able to instruct those beyond the limits of *reducciones*. Until an elementary school with boarding facility for indigenous people is not established, all other means that are seeking to bring civilization soon to the Araucanian masses will be useless.)

The mayor highlighted the need to build boarding schools connected to primary schools to advance the state's civilizing mission. Yet such urgency did not evolve into increased government funding or other needed resources for the missionaries to carry out their side of the bargain.

In 1879 the government ended teacher subsidies for the mission schools in San Pablo, Quilacachuin, and San Juan that forced these schools to close and, in addition, boarding schools for Mapuche girls closed to prioritize male education. By 1883 the sole functioning mission schools in La Araucanía were those connected to the Bajo Imperial Mission. The Capuchins were undermined by lack of manpower and loss of financial support from the Chilean state. In an attempt to revive their work, the Italian friars made a formal request in 1888 for replacements in which the Spanish Capuchin Order responded by sending six fathers and five brothers. However, crisis quickly set in as the Spanish friars' labor never flourished because the majority of the priests remained in their assigned missions, never venturing into the colonized territory. Reverend Ignacio de Pamplona accused his fellow countrymen of finding their commission too taxing, carrying out their work cautiously and comfortably.<sup>299</sup> Unable to fulfill their requisite, the Spanish Order ended their commitment in 1889, leaving a ministerial vacuum and the possible collapse of the Capuchin mission in La Araucanía.

## II. Bavarian Capuchins: Building a Modern School

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<sup>299</sup> Pamplona, *Historia de las Misiones*, 308-325.

In 1893, the Bavarian Capuchin Order responded to the pleas from the Bologna Order and took over La Araucanía mission project. The first set of priests (three fathers and one brother) left Munich at the end of 1895, arriving in La Araucanía in January 1896. Among them was Father Felix José de Augusta, who became fluent in Mapudungun and produced essential texts in the Mapuche language—a dictionary and several catechisms. The second group (four fathers and two brothers) arrived later that year included Father Siegfried de Frauenhäusl, nicknamed the “defender of the Mapuche people.” The third group (four fathers and four brothers) arrived in November 1897 and the last group (four fathers) arrived in November 1898. The reinforcements allowed many of the elderly Italian priests to take leave by either returning to Italy or transferring to a mission in Santiago that would care for them in their final years.

The advent of the Bavarian friars coincided with the recent immigration of Austro-Swiss and German Protestant colonos in the 1880s. Pamplona explained that during the initial years of their mission the friars were mistaken for Protestant colonos due to the association made between the German ethnicity and Protestantism. The Mapuche quickly differentiated the political role of friars versus colonos. Furthermore, ethnic solidarity between the priests and colonos never occurred for in their writings the Capuchin referred to their Protestant countrymen as *canutos* (foes).<sup>300</sup> Conflicts emerged between German Protestant colonos and the Bavarian priests around Mapuche labor power, in which colonos told potential Mapuche laborers “que no fueran tan tontos (to not be stupid)” and stop working for the priests.<sup>301</sup> The friars further explained that what truly brought the visit-labor system to an end was the rise of the *inquilino* (tenant farmer)

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<sup>300</sup> *Canutos* is the Chilean pejorative to describe Protestants as followers of Canut.

<sup>301</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 81.

system.<sup>302</sup> Archival documents demonstrated that the fathers participated minimally in negotiating land conflicts between the Mapuche and German colonos. Mission *memorias* mentioned stories about cruel landowners, both German and Chilean colonos alike.<sup>303</sup> After 1912, the Bavarian fathers concentrated less on Mapuche land rights and more on expanding and running their mission schools.<sup>304</sup> Furthermore, Mapuche leaders became frustrated with the lack of progress in achieving justice in Chilean courts, feeling betrayed by the Chilean legal system and by the friars' faith in that system.

When the Bavarian friars arrived, the Bologna Order continued to oversee the La Araucanía commission with Reverend Alejo de Barletta functioning as Apostolic Prefect. Tensions quickly emerged between the Italian Prefect and his Bavarian apostles as the religious leader was taken aback by the missionaries' independent initiatives. Father Siegfried chronicled in the early days of the Villarrica Mission that Reverend Alejo only assigned the bare minimum of friars that delayed plans to build and spread missions.<sup>305</sup> Reverend Alejo resigned from his post in December 1899 stating in his letter of departure the need to allow a new generation to take over, as well as his failing health that prevented the fulfillment of his duties.<sup>306</sup> Even though Reverend Alejo's successor, Reverend Burcardo María de Röttingen, thought that the aging Italian Reverend warmed to Bavarian methods, other chronicles highlight differences in opinion over missionary work, including education. In January 1900 Reverend Burcardo became Apostolic Prefect, closing the chapter of the Italian Order's history in La Araucanía.

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<sup>302</sup> According to Patricia Richards, "Only a small portion of the Mapuche were inquilinos on the large estates in the region—a role more likely to have been filled by poor Chileans." See: Patricia Richards, *Race and the Chilean Miracle: Neoliberalism, Democracy, and Indigenous Rights* (Pittsburg, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013), 58.

<sup>303</sup> There were many stories of cruel landowner who killed and tortured poor Mapuche and Chileans. In one case, in Villarrica in October 1909, a German colono named Leopoldo Krause poisoned someone named Perez and later burned his body; *Crónica de la Misión de Villarrica*, vol. 2 (enero de 1907–diciembre de 1930), October 1909.

<sup>304</sup> This periodization was laid out by Hoffman in *En la Araucanía*, 17.

<sup>305</sup> Father Siegfried de Frauenhäusl, *Crónica de la Misión de Villarrica (1898-1906)*, vol. 1, 18, Crónica Villarrica, ADV.

<sup>306</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 67-68.

When the first group of Bavarian friars arrived in La Araucanía on January 4, 1896, they found before them a mission project collapsing from lack of personnel, funds, and institutional (Church and state) support. To regain the Chilean government's trust in their ability to fulfill their pact, the friars set out to prove their value by advancing the Chilean state's civilizing project. As the subsequent groups of Bavarian fathers and brothers arrived, they revitalized the standing missions and founded new missions and schools as they moved deeper into the region and the lives of the Mapuche people.

The years 1896 to 1900 were marked by the difficulties in maintaining their missions and expanding their work. Priest rotations and retirements defined the historical moment causing personnel disruption but the project was held together by the consistent labor carried out by the Bavarian friars. Also, during this period, the capitalist economy was establishing deeper roots in La Araucanía. The Office of Land and Colonization reorganized and classified lands for colono farming, railway lines, and industrial development. Mapuche families who lost lands or whose hectares diminished were forced to search for employment on *haciendas* and nearby towns and cities, causing migration from rural to urban centers.<sup>307</sup> During the 1890s, the Chilean economy entered a period of industrialization and by 1900 the Bavarian missions and their schools capitalized on these regional changes and their networking skills.

Upon their arrival, the Bavarian friars became acquainted with the socio-political landscape and the Church's expectations for their mission work. They spent time at the Valdivia Mission—home of the Apostolic Prefect in La Araucanía—where they studied Spanish and Mapudungun. In 1900 Reverend Father Burcardo established five goals that guided their work in the region: 1) recruit more Bavarian missionaries; 2) create new missions and churches; 3) build

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<sup>307</sup> The friars mention that Mapuche communities resisted moving to Chilean towns, but economic pressures forced movement.

new mission schools and trade workshops; 4) increase the number of converts; 5) generate income. The first goal underscored the Bavarian Order's commitment to deepen their influence among the Mapuche. The remaining listed goals were tactical guidelines for the friars to concentrate their energy and activities. For example, when a father arrived at a new mission, he focused on running a successful mission and school. After the new mission was established, they expanded their work by creating satellite day schools to increase the number of church parishioners. Building mission schools and trade workshops were a central component of their mission work that reflected a political break from the old mission order that focused on evangelization. Furthermore, the inclusion of trade workshops meant that the fathers intended to offer Mapuche children a useful skill and support their pastoral community. Lastly, limited funds meant that the missions had to be economically self-sufficient, so that the fathers planted gardens and purchased livestock to feed themselves, school personnel, and native pupils. Donations from wealthy patrons in Chile and Germany were an important source, allowing mission schools to promote free matriculation, including room and board for native pupils.<sup>308</sup>

The Bavarian friars' arrival to Chile coincided with the Chilean government's support for public education as a modernization program. Following the 1889 Pedagogical Congress, it became clear that Chilean politicians were less inclined to fund rural education; an educational vacuum where the Capuchin fathers were able and ready to step in.<sup>309</sup> For the Catholic missionaries, education was a means to spread their religious doctrine, but for the Bavarian Order, in particular, offering their pastoral community education was defined as a social duty. Literacy, history, and science were not essential to religious conversion, but necessary skills to function and survive in the modern world. In describing the difference in teaching practices

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<sup>308</sup> Colono children—Chilean and foreign—paid a fee to attend.

<sup>309</sup> See discussion on rural schooling in Chapter Two.

between the Italian and the Bavarian friars, Reverend Burcardo explained that “los misioneros bávaros, que consideraban un sagrado deber ir a las escuelas primarias. Los padres italianos no lo hacían porque no era costumbre (the Bavarian missionaries considered primary education a sacred duty while it was not the Italian fathers’ custom).”<sup>310</sup> Father Burcardo further noted that when the Italian fathers visited Mapuche communities, they focused on baptisms and not on evangelizing or teaching basic literacy.<sup>311</sup> Disparate views about education between the Italian and Bavarian friars were generational as well as cultural. Younger priests—by century’s end—were more likely to have attended a modern school and be convinced of its value. Distinct developments in national school curriculums also produced philosophical variants. Germany implemented a concentric education system by the mid-1850s, yet Italian schools became a battleground for regional rivalries and secular divides. Italian schools remained under municipal jurisdiction until the fascist government of Benito Mussolini’s 1923 Gentile Reform that created a national education curriculum.<sup>312</sup> The Bavarian friars embraced the practicability in modern school curriculum in developing technical skills that advanced industrial capacity. The Bavarian friars were *reluctant modernizers*; a social value they held in common with the Mapuche but for different reasons. The priests approach to modern society was to embrace instruments and methods that improved the standard of living but disapproved of mass urban culture, such as dance halls and theaters. The Bavarian fathers described their “escuela profesional (professional school)” as institutions of uplift to prepare Mapuche youth for their future as workers and citizens.<sup>313</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 135.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>312</sup> Anthony A. Scarangelo, *Progress and Trends in Italian Education* (US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1964), 4-6.

<sup>313</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 134.



In laying out their mission strategy, the Bavarian friars classified pre-1883 missions differently from newer missions. The older missions were called southern missions—even though they were technically coastal—and newer missions as the northern missions but were technically in the interior toward the Andes Mountains (see map Fig. 3.1). The *north* and *south* divide quantified the degree to which the Mapuche population in a particular territory assimilated into Chilean culture that was measured by their Spanish fluency and recorded baptisms. The Mapuche in the *south* were more fluent in Spanish, had personal connections with the Church, lived in homes and wore clothes similar to rural Chileans. In the *north*, a higher percentage of the Mapuche population had less contact with Chileans and the Catholic Church, even though they were aware of their existence and histories. The fathers noted that the Mapuche in the “northern” (interior) territory spoke limited Spanish, resisted the Catholic faith, lived in *rukas* within their familial networks, and wore traditional clothes. Father Angel de Eibach described the southern Mapuche at the Trumao Mission: “Los mapuches de aquí viven generalmente como los chilenos pobres. No se diferencian ni en su modo de vestir ni de vivir. Su moralidad es tampoco peor que la de los chilenos (The Mapuche here in general live like the poor Chileans. They do not differ in the way they dress or live. Their morality is not worse than that of Chileans).”<sup>314</sup> The noted difference between the “northern” and “southern” Mapuche informed the friars’ work and allowed them to weigh institutional resources, underscoring that the friars did not view the Mapuche as a monolithic people or culture.

The friars assigned to the northern missions learned Mapudungun to build relationships with Mapuche communities. The Franciscans and Italian Capuchin friars did not study Mapudungun, while the Bavarians studied the language using two-hundred-year old Jesuit

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<sup>314</sup> Letter from Father Angel de Eibach to the Reverend Father Apostolic Prefect Burcardo M. de Roettingen, 17 de febrero de 1907, Misión de Trumao (Near La Union, an older mission), Crónica 1854-1927, ADV.

books.<sup>315</sup> Reverend Father Alejo, convinced about this strategy, tapped Father Félix José de Augusta upon his 1896 arrival with the task of creating a Mapudungun grammar book. Augusta was a probable choice since he was educated, receiving his doctorate in medicine at the University in Munich a few years before his 1890 ordination and practiced for a year at a hospital in Augusta, Germany.<sup>316</sup> His research on the Mapuche language proved significant in the development of Mapuche Studies and *Lecturas Araucanas* (Araucanian Writings).<sup>317</sup> Father Félix's research caught the eye of Rodolfo Lenz, the German anthropologist and member of the Pedagogical Institute in Santiago, which resulted in future collaborations on Mapuche ethnographic projects. All Capuchin friars assigned to La Araucanía were urged to learn Mapudungun, but few sustained their studies. Those who continued, such as Father Siegfried de Frauenhäusl who ran the Villarrica and Panguipulli missions, did so because their pastoral community was majority Mapuche. The flood of colonos, both Chilean and foreign, into the territory changed regional and church community demographics, making the Mapuche in some areas into a minority population where they no longer felt welcomed to Church activities due to racist and classist comments.<sup>318</sup> Even though Mapudungun was used less by Capuchin missionaries in subsequent years, Father Félix continued his anthropological and linguistic research and published articles in Chilean and German academic journals. Years later, the Church commissioned a similar strategy in Rapa Nui (Easter Island) by assigning Father

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<sup>315</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 87.

<sup>316</sup> Carmen Arellano Hoffman et al, *En la Araucanía: El padre Sigifredo de Frauenhäusl y el parlamento mapuche de Coz. Coz de 1907* (Madrid, Iberoamericana, 2006), 485.

<sup>317</sup> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the study of Mapuche culture was called *Lecturas Araucanas* (Araucanian Writings) because the first research projects concentrated on linguistics and narrative compilations. Mapuche Studies is not a term used then or today, but how I am trying to encompass the entire body of research work that focuses on Mapuche history and culture.

<sup>318</sup> The fathers recorded conversations with Mapuche who stated that they stopped attending church once a lot of Chileans moved to the area because of disparaging comments made about their clothing. "Los indios mismos iban rara vez a las misiones destinadas a los chilenos, aunque les quedara cerca, por no entender nada de las prédicas y catequesis tenidas en castellano y también porque se avergüenzan de estar juntos con los chilenos por sus pobres ropas y porque creen que los chilenos los desprecian." In Burcardo, *25 Años*, 86.

Sebastian Englert de Dillingen to carry out a linguistic and ethnographic study for the Church's missionary work on the island.<sup>319</sup>

Over the course of twelve years, the Capuchins built six missions in the northern territory: Villarrica in 1899, Padre Las Casas in 1902, Panguipulli in 1903, Lonquimay and Llaima-Cunco in 1910, and Coñaripe in 1911.<sup>320</sup> The first Bavarian mission, established in Villarrica, was especially symbolic: first, it was the location of a mission destroyed by the Mapuche army in 1603; second, it was where Mapuche forces surrendered to the Chilean military in 1883. All the mission campuses were the offspring of other missions; for example, Father Anselmo from the Boroa Mission set the groundwork for the Villarrica Mission and Father Siegfried, who ran the Villarrica Mission following Father Anselmo's death, established the Panguipulli Mission that was officially titled Misión de San Sebastián de Panguipulli.

Priests negotiated with the Department of Land and Colonization engineers and local Mapuche communities to gain access to lands and build their missions. Approval from state engineers was a legal requirement to receive an official land title, often necessitating the adulation of department functionaries who were at times hostile towards Church officials, requiring outside influence or bribes. Agreements with local Mapuche communities were not legally binding, but social accords that allowed the friars to measure local opposition and support, and an entryway into familial networks. In Panguipulli and Coñaripe the fathers experienced open resistance to their plans. Undeterred, the friars reached out to adversaries as an opportunity to polemicize and convert individuals in leadership roles. Father Siegfried stated in the *Crónica de Panguipulli (Panguipulli Chronicle)* that he assumed that the Mapuche who lived near the Andes Mountains were entirely unfamiliar with the history and teachings of Christianity,

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<sup>319</sup> Hoffman, *En la Araucanía*, 491.

<sup>320</sup> Prior to the colonization of Wallmapu, there were several Capuchin missions across Chile including in Santiago (1853), Concepción (1855), Quillota (1856), La Serena (1857) and Valparaíso (1860).

using the low number of baptisms as an example. He quickly discovered that those who opposed the building of a mission in Panguipulli articulated historical and political reasons. Mapuche community members argued with the Father underscoring that missions prompted *wingka* migration. Father Siegfried's rebuttal was that the Chilean landowners, in particular the Ovalle and Mera families who controlled substantial property holdings in the Panguipulli area, were already there prior to the friar's arrival in 1903. He further explained that local Chileans and Mapuche were equally hostile to their presence—most likely for different reasons—but did not expand.<sup>321</sup> Francisco Ayllapan was a middle-aged Mapuche longko who opposed the Panguipulli Mission. Longko Ayllapan represented an influential family active in land defense struggles. Father Siegfried knew that winning over Ayllapan would ease community concerns and facilitate the friars' movement through the territory. When the mission school opened in March 1904, they had five indigenous student boarders, three Chilean day students, and an adult Mapuche man who received private lessons. Father Siegfried convinced Ayllapan to learn about their missionary work firsthand and personally taught the fifty-year-old longko. Ayllapan met with Father Siegfried for three hours daily for approximately a year.<sup>322</sup> The extent of Ayllapan's conversion to Catholicism is unclear, but his support for education was exponential by the end of his tutelage. Father Siegfried explained that Ayllapan wanted to use his new skills to become a judge, an unsurprising aspiration since documents describe numerous judicial land disputes between the local Mapuche community and the Mera family in the Panguipulli area. Ayllapan never realized his dream due to his inability to write well, but the mission school gained an advocate. Education was a tangible way for the Mapuche to describe the mission's intent when theological explanations about the Catholic faith were either indescribable or difficult to relate.

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<sup>321</sup> Hoffman, *En la Araucanía*, 299.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, 306.

When Father Siegfried initiated plans in 1907 and 1908 to build a mission in Coñaripe, Ayllapan accompanied the friar to speak in support of the benefits of education. Ayllapan's intervention functioned as a voice of experience and notoriety that convinced the Coñaripe community—who proved the most unwilling to assimilate—to accept the presence of the mission.<sup>323</sup>

In 1900 the Capuchins were only running mission schools in Bajo Imperial and Huapi, and boarding schools at the Boroa, Rio Bueno, and Villarrica missions. According to Church records those schools instructed a total of two-hundred and thirty-eight boys in 1900.<sup>324</sup> By 1915, following the building of six new missions with boarding facilities, a single mission school was able to house approximately one-hundred students plus twenty to fifty day students. The mission schools offered primary and secondary education with students ranging from six to eighteen years of age. In addition, each mission ran numerous satellite day schools that had an average of fifteen to fifty students. For example, that same year, the Villarrica mission schools registered one-hundred boarding students and forty-seven non-boarding students that totaled one-hundred and forty-seven and one-hundred and eight who attended regularly. From those one-hundred boarders forty-eight were indigenous and of the sixty-eight who attended regularly thirty-eight were indigenous. Villarrica had three nearby satellite day schools that were mixed gender in Lliulli (seventy-six registered, fifty attended), Manhue (one-hundred and three registered, sixty-six attended), and Pucón (sixty-two registered, fifty attended) that amounted to two-hundred and forty-one registered and one-hundred and six who assisted classes regularly. Padre Las Casas did not keep registration records, but housed over one-hundred students. Panguipulli had boarding facilities for boys and girls; the girls boarding was called “Santa Isabel.” The Panguipulli Mission School housed approximately seventy students plus another thirty daytime

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<sup>323</sup> Reverend Father Guido Beck, *Crónica de Coñaripe (1907-1919)*, page 5, *Crónica Coñaripe*, ADV.

<sup>324</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 135.

students. When the Santa Isabel Convent and boarding opened—led by the Holy Cross sisters—in 1913 the total number of students at Panguipulli rose to one-hundred and eighty-four. In Coñaripe school attendance reached one-hundred and forty-two students, in which seventy-five were boarders and sixty-seven were day-school students. The Villarrica and Panguipulli missions kept the most detailed records about student attendance and composition. This was partly due to the 1907 law that allowed the mission schools to receive funding as a private institution and in return they were required to send statistical reports to the Ministry of Education.

According to mission documents, the Capuchin fathers taught 32,882 children between 1896 and 1921. Students on average attended school for two years (similar to public schools), which meant that approximately 16,441 children completed at least two years of schooling.<sup>325</sup> High drop out rates reflected the pains of cultural adjustment. But, more so, the drop out rate demonstrated that Mapuche parents realized that after two years their children had accomplished their purpose in attending school, which was to learn Spanish. As early as 1900, Father Burcardo noted that in several of their mission schools they began to teach their courses on religion in Mapudungun, but experienced parental pushback. He explained,

Los indígenas querían sacar a sus hijos. Por qué? Porque sus hijos no aprendían castellano, según decían. Enviaban a sus hijos a la escuela para que lo más pronto posible aprendieron bien el castellano. Esa fue después una queja frecuente de los padres y una razón de por qué algunos no enviaban a sus hijos a los colegios misionales sino más bien a una ciudad, p.e.j. a Valdivia, para que aprendieran el castellano mejor y más rápido.<sup>326</sup>

(The natives wanted to remove their children. Why? Because their children did not learn Spanish, they said. They sent their children to school so that they learn Spanish well and quickly. That was later a frequent complaint by parents and a reason why some did not send their children to missionary schools but rather to a city, e.g. to Valdivia, so they could learn Spanish better and faster.)

The driving motivation for Mapuche parents in sending their children to the Capuchin mission schools was for their children to learn “Spanish well and quickly” and not indoctrination into the

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<sup>325</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 170-171.

<sup>326</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 136.

Catholic faith. Why attend only two years on average? If Mapuche parents understood the purpose of schooling as a place to learn Spanish, basic verbal and reading could be achieved within a year or two. For this reason, the friars viewed state and Anglican schools as competition, since the Mapuche did not hold special allegiance to the Catholic faith; even the abundance of baptisms could not alter that attitude. The missionaries surrendered to parents' demands by suspending the use of Mapudungun in their teachings, except in the Coñaripe Mission.<sup>327</sup> The compromise helped avoid the loss of pupils, but subsequently slowed the process of religious indoctrination, taking a secondary role in the curriculum. This negotiation between Mapuche parents and Capuchin friars describes how Mapuche adults regarded the mission as a space of political negotiation and the education of their children as an instrument for Mapuche cultural survival and political resistance.

James C. Scott keenly noted, "Relations of domination are, at the same time, relations in resistance."<sup>328</sup> Similarly, when a Mapuche community gave friars the green light to build a mission, the act did not equate support for their project or religion. The seemingly act of support included less overt forms of resistance. For example, in the previous decade, during military hostilities between Mapuche and Chilean forces, the terms of surrender obligated Mapuche to choose between missions or Chilean military presence with many choosing the missions. In another example, the fathers discuss how parents opposed sending their children to mission boarding schools. The *Libro Crónica de Padre Las Casas (Padre Las Casas Chronicle)* explained, "Los indígenas al principio se opusieron a la instrucción pasivamente. Pero esta intolerancia fue mui pronto vencía merced a las grandes facilidades que se da a los niños (At

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<sup>327</sup> Reverend Father Burcardo M. de Röttingen, O.F.M. Cap. Apostolic Prefect, *Crónica de la Perfectura Apostólica de la Araucanía, 1896-1921: Las Misiones en Particular, Tomo III (Segunda Parte)*, 51; Father Burcardo explained that Coñaripe was the only territory where the friars planned to build a mission where there were no colonos present.

<sup>328</sup> James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (Yale University Press, 1990), 45.

first, the Indians passively opposed education. But that intolerance was later won over thanks to children's malleability)."<sup>329</sup> What changed? The priests thought that growing conversion to the Catholic faith played an influential role. While conversion could have been a factor, other examples complicate that narrative. In a third example, Mapuche mothers hid their children from visiting priests to avoid the baptism of their children, but some eventually considered sending their child to a mission school, which required the child's baptism for matriculation. The apparent contradiction in response to Catholicism highlighted how Mapuche parents' opinion about mission schools changed in accordance to their needs, in which learning Spanish became more necessary as the new colonial order took shape. Opposition to the baptism of their children can be interpreted as a combination of personal show of resistance, but also abidance to *machi* warnings that underlined ongoing power struggles over the influence of the local populace.<sup>330</sup> In other words, Mapuche parents subtly resisted by employing the tools available to them. Capuchin priests read Mapuche passivity as dishonesty and lacking virtue in their convictions. The Mapuche lost the war to halt the Chilean occupation but continued to resist to varying degrees and demonstrating their ability to articulate political agency.

Boarding was an essential aspect in the friar's tactical methods to convert Mapuche children. The friars built housing facilities for over one-hundred pupils to recruit children from across the region, offering lodging which had a practical purpose since Mapuche families lived scattered across the region. Boarding gave the fathers control over the children's daily activities, immersing them into a Western Christian environment. The regimented school schedule taught

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<sup>329</sup> *Libro Crónica de Padre Las Casas I*, 42-43, Crónica Padre Las Casas, ADV.

<sup>330</sup> The mission chronicles mention several examples of power struggles with *machis*. In one instance, a *machi* near Villarrica warned Mapuche parents to take their children out of school because a local volcano was going to erupt. Many parents headed the *machis* warnings, which left the mission school rather empty for the rest of year. See *Crónica de la Misión de Villarrica, vol. 2* (enero de 1907 – diciembre de 1930), under year 1907, Crónica Villarrica, ADV.



children discipline, regular prayers, Western work ethics, and social reproduction norms. This included the use of Western clothes, dining etiquette, cooking, and vocational courses, to name a few. According to Father Buacardo, “Este sistema misional fue complementado con la fundación de muchos internados y colegios para indígenas, en los que los niños bautizados por los misioneros podían ser educados en el cristianismo más profundamente y motivados para llevar una vida cristiana. Además podrían ser atraídos también sus padres paganos (This mission system was complemented with the founding of many boarding homes and schools for native children, in which the children baptized by the missionaries could be educated in Christianity more deeply and motivated to lead a Christian life. In addition they could attract their pagan parents).”<sup>331</sup> Housing Mapuche children on the missions’ premises for nine months allowed the internalization of Christian values that the friars hoped would rub off on to their parents once the children returned home.

The gender composition of the Capuchin missionary schools was majority male, but schools that boarded boys allowed girls to attend as day students. These young girls were typically not discussed in documents beyond a statistical number. However, the fathers supported the funding and building of girls-only mission boarding schools run by Catholic nuns. When the government cut funds for mission schools in 1895 the Apostolic Prefect decided to end the girl’s boarding facility at their schools to prioritize male education, demonstrated the Church’s gender bias in education.<sup>332</sup> Once the Bavarian fathers established numerous missions, they then decided to expand to include female education. Though there was an ulterior purpose, for Reverend Father Burcardo argued that to achieve comprehensive Mapuche assimilation into Christian values and the Chilean economy it was necessary to expand their mission school network to

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<sup>331</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 83.

<sup>332</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 132.

include Mapuche girls for the formation of Christian families.<sup>333</sup> The father's reason for this had little to do with literacy, but the urgent need to inculcate Christian ethics, in particular monogamy. The Capuchin friars saw Mapuche women in the front line of the cultural war to oppose polygamy.

The Bavarian Capuchin friars developed a close alliance with the Franciscan Sisters of Christian Charity (Daughters of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception) and the Marianites Sister Teachers of the Holy Cross (Las Hermanas Maestras de la Santa Cruz).<sup>334</sup> These relationships were the result of initiatives taken by the sisters, as well as theologically binding incentives keeping the Franciscan family together. The Sisters of Charity, a congregation founded by Paulina von Mallinckrodt in Germany was dedicated to aiding and educating needy children. The sisters built schools for Mapuche girls in geographic proximity to many Capuchin missions. In contrast to the education of Mapuche boys, Mapuche girls had fewer opportunities and experienced more inconsistency in their education. The friars' patriarchal attitude about their co-missionary sisters was made apparent in 1911 when Apostolic Prefect Father Burcardo initiated plans to certify Capuchin mission schools as private institutions to receive government funding. He expressed confidence in the priests' ability to meet official requirements, but explained doubtfully that "donde teníamos profesoras laicas o hacían clases las Hermanas, era imposible pretender estas subvenciones (where we had lay teachers or Sisters who offer classes, it was impossible to plan for these [state grants])."<sup>335</sup> Yet, the sisters did pass their exams and their schools were certified. Nevertheless, these examples demonstrate that female education was not a priority for the Bavarian friars, even though they often noted its importance.

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<sup>333</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 94.

<sup>334</sup> The Sisters of Christian Charity arrived in Chile in 1874 following political persecution in Germany that forced the closing of their institutions. The Sister Teachers of the Holy Cross hailed from Menzingen, Switzerland founded their congregation in Chile in 1844.

<sup>335</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 149-150.

The Capuchin schools were built to educate Mapuche boys, yet the entry of settlers into the territory altered the racial geography.<sup>336</sup> Over the course of the 1910s, the Padre Las Casas and Villarrica schools' student composition became more Chilean and foreign. Eventually, some mission schools were no longer classified as institutions serving native students, which is why the fathers running those schools forgot Mapudungun. It is also likely that children with a Mapuche mother and Chilean father were classified as non-indigenous. In contrast to U.S. native mission schools that were defined by racial segregation, the Capuchin mission schools with a majority indigenous student body also had settler students.

The historical changes made by Bavarian Capuchins to the mission school curriculum in the 1890s underscored modern sensibilities, but also regional power struggles with Chilean government officials, Anglican missionaries, and Mapuche parents. The curriculum for Bavarian-run schools went through two developments, both in response to Chilean state's education laws. The first was the decision by Bavarian Capuchin friars to build mission schools that were modern and on par with government expectations. The Padre Las Casas mission school's curriculum, for example, replicated the Ministry of Education's basic requirements: "Religión, historia sagrada, leer, escribir, calculo, geografía, historia de Chile, gramática, dibujo, gimnástica—hay taller de sastrería, agricultura (Religion, sacred history, Reading, writing, calculus, geography, History of Chile, grammar, drawing, gymnastics—as well as tailoring and agriculture workshops)."<sup>337</sup> Even though only the *Padre Las Casas Chronicle* described their class schedule, there are government reports post-1907 showing that the majority of Capuchin

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<sup>336</sup> There was historical precedent for accepting colono children to Capuchin native schools. See: P. Ignacio de Poggibonsi, Letter from the Apostolic Prefect to MJCIP dated May 4, 1864 in *Memoria que el Ministro de Estado en el Departamento de Justicia, Culto e Instrucción Pública, Presenta al Congreso Nacional de 1864*, Santiago, Imprenta Nación, Junio 1864, FME, AN.

<sup>337</sup> *Libro Crónica de Padre Las Casas*, 48.

missions used a similar format. The second curriculum phase began in 1907 when a new state law allowed private schools that met education and hygiene standards to receive government subsidies. The Order immediately prepared their schools and friars to pass the state's requirement. The subsidies gave the economically suffering missions a financial boost, but official certification also elevated the social reputation of their institutions.

Another reason for school modernization—at least in the eyes of the Bavarian missionaries in La Araucanía— was that the Catholic Church struggled to remain relevant in the shadow of growing secularization, urbanization, and the arrival of Protestant missionaries. The Capuchin fathers were hyper aware of the competition for attention and a local community's fealty to the mission. The friars demonstrated through curriculum modernization that their mission schools were of equal quality with public and Anglican institutions. In one case, the Capuchin Order preemptively purchased lands to block Anglicans from building a mission.<sup>338</sup> In another instance, a father complained that a public school was given the official status of secondary school to draw away mission students. The mission schools offered equivalent primary education, but lagged in secondary education. The friars also noted hostility by government school inspectors who viewed mission schools as overall poor quality institutions:

Y como la Visitación de Escuelas nunca mira bien los colegio religiosos y para contrarrestar el influjo de nuestro colegio, elevó la escuela pública del Gobierno de niños a Escuela Superior a pesar de no haber el número reglamentario de niños que así el pueblo tomara nueva confianza a este [establecimiento].<sup>339</sup>

(And since the School Inspectors do not look at religious schools favorably and to counteract the our school's influence, it elevated the children's government public school to a High School despite the fact that the statutory number of children was not met so that the people will develop a new confidence about this [establishment].)

These local events reveal the on-the-ground power struggles by local men representing influential institutions who were carving out political space for social influence.

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<sup>338</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 96.

<sup>339</sup> *Libro Crónica de Padre Las Casas*, 45-46.

The *Padre Las Casas Chronicle* described their mission work as follows: “Una de las ocupaciones esenciales de la Pastorción es la enseñanza de la religión a la juventud. Por eso todo los días se da clase de religión en nuestro propio colegio (An essential component of proselytizing is the teaching of religion to the youth. That's why religion is taught every day in our own school.).”<sup>340</sup> The chronicler emphasized that the mission school had not lost sight of its main task of conversion. Nevertheless, documents showed that the inclusion of religion in the school curriculum had proven much more malleable and negotiable. For example, only two to four hours (depending on the mission) were allotted to the subject of religion, even though student boarders were required to perform daily prayers. This was less than Liceo de Temuco’s eight scheduled hours of religion (see figure 3.3). However, the development of a modern school curriculum necessitated the prioritizing of other subjects such as Spanish, history, arithmetic, natural sciences, etc. In the case of the Padre Las Casas Mission a decision was made to remove religion from school hours altogether and instead devote the father’s hours to home visits. This created another challenge in how to assure the attendance of indigenous children to Sunday mass when Catholic rituals were neither a familial nor social custom. The chronicler explained:

En lugar de la enseñanza religiosa en las escuelas hemos por eso establecido la enseñanza dominical. Pero se necesitaba un medio para atraer a los niños. Pues reina tal ignorancia e indiferencia en la mayor parte de los padres de familia que jamás obligan a sus hijos a ir a misa, mucho menos a ir a la doctrina o recibir los [sagrados] Sacramentos. Para esto fin se estableció un bazar. Por cada asistencia a Misa o doctrina reciben los niños una cédula que vale 5 puntos. Después de haber reunido 50 o 100, o 200 o 300 puntos pueden escoger un regalo del bazar que tiene este mismo valor de 50 o 100 etc puntos. Para costear el bazar se estableció una rifa continua. Cualquiera persona puede sacar pagando 20 [escudos], un mínimo--i claro que hay bastante ceros--i ganar un objeto chico como juguetes, espejitos, bolitas etc. Por medio del bazar se consigue la asistencia de unos 70-100 niños y niñas a Misa y doctrina.<sup>341</sup>

(Instead of religious teaching in schools we have established Sunday teaching. But a means was needed to attract the children. For such ignorance and indifference reigns in most of the parents who never force their children to go to mass, much less to go to the doctrine or receive the [Sacred] Sacraments. For this purpose a bazaar was established. For each Mass attendance or doctrine the children receive a card worth 5 points. After they gathered 50 or 100, or 200 or 300 points, they can choose a gift from the bazaar of equivalent value of 50 or 100 etc. points. To pay for the bazaar we will have an ongoing raffle. Anyone can get purchase 20 [escudos], a minimum - and of course there are quite a few zeros - and earn a small object like

<sup>340</sup> *Libro Crónica de Padre Las Casas*, 30.

<sup>341</sup> *Libro Crónica de Padre Las Casas*, 32.

toys, mirrors, balls etc. Thanks to the bazaar Mass and Doctrine has achieved the attendance of about 70-100 boys and girls.)

The friars realized that the conversion of Mapuche children would fall short unless they were able to convert their parents, which highlighted Capuchin friars' concerns about the long-term effects of Christian indoctrination. The decision to create an awards booklet to reward children for attending mass was a tactic that intentionally used consumption as an incentive for religious practice; undoubtedly a very non-Capuchin thing to do. The Capuchin fathers who were rigorous in their religious practice and idealistic in their goals were practical in their tactical decisions when it came down to conversion. The bazaar and booklet proved successful and the fathers made plans to fundraise to collect more prizes.

In a study by Daniel Cano, he assessed the average weekly hours that mission schools dedicated to a course by reviewing the Primary Education Inspector General bulletins from 1906 to 1910.<sup>342</sup> Cano's chart (see figure 3.2) shows patterns as well as differences in school curriculums among mission schools. The study demonstrated that mission curriculums depended on the opinion of the overseeing friar. However, the hours scheduled for a particular course indicated how certain skills were emphasized, while others were not.<sup>343</sup> For example, Padre Las Casas, and the majority of mission schools, devoted five hours a week to reading but only two hours to grammar and composition. The exception was the Panguipulli School ran by Father Siegfried that allotted six hours to reading and four hours to grammar and composition. The Bavarian priests agreed with education reformers that all citizens needed basic literacy to function in society. While the mission schools offered less academic training, the fathers were nevertheless giving Mapuche boys an education to become artisans or farm managers, and not

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<sup>342</sup> Daniel Cano, *Sin tierras ni letras...Historia de la educación Mapuche en el periodo reduccional (1880-1930)*, Tesis de Magíster en Historia de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Profesor de guía Sol Serrano, 2011.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

field workers. Also, missing from the school curriculum were other foreign languages—French, German, Latin, and English. Based on the education-level and ethnic background of the Bavarian fathers, the majority knew German and Latin; therefore, there was a conscious decision to not develop those courses. There were examples of pupils performing songs in German, even though it was unclear whether the students were taught German or only how to sing in German (see chapter four). Nevertheless, the sidelining of foreign languages other than Spanish demonstrated either a bias by Capuchin priests who underestimated Mapuche ability to learn another language or the father’s thought it was unnecessary to teach them other European languages that were unlikely applicable in their careers.<sup>344</sup>

In comparing the listed academic courses and hours devoted to each class between Liceo de Temuco (see figure 3.3) and the mission schools (see figure 3.2), it is clear that Liceo de Temuco was preparing its students for a professional career while pupils at native missions schools were trained to become rural artisans. Chapter two discussed how the Liceo educated a small group of educated Mapuche into middle class professionals that became political leaders who pushed Mapuche demands for social justice into the public and political sphere. The Capuchin mission schools adjusted their curriculum to meet the needs of the local Chilean economy and incorporated government prerequisites in education.

### Vocational Training

In comparison to public schools, the mission schools devoted more hours to hands-on vocational training; the exception being state-run trade schools. Liceo de Temuco, for example, allotted many hours to trade development but with an emphasis on professional agricultural and

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<sup>344</sup> The father does mention how a Mapuche young woman learned German whilst a domestic worker at a German patron’s home. There are probably other examples in which Mapuche learned both Spanish and German to function in the new political economy.

managerial positions. However, not all mission schools had an adequate workshop or enough students to require a crafty brother or sister to make their way from Germany to rural Chile. Panguipulli, Padre Las Casas, and Villarrica were three mission schools with trade workshops, large student body, and allotted significant hours to vocational training in their curriculum. The significance in underscoring the training of specific trades offers tangible examples about the employment skills the school was developing for their students. The trades taught to boys included carpentry, tailoring, shoemaking, and agricultural science. In the end, the Bavarian fathers were giving Mapuche skills to become artisans, in the case of boys, or housewives (or highly skilled domestic servants) in the case of girls.

The majority of mission schools scheduled approximately eight hours weekly to vocational training. Panguipulli recorded the most hours towards manual labor—twelve hours—surpassing the Anglican school in Quepe that only slated two hours. The Purulon Mission School swung to the other side of the pendulum devoting only seven to manual training yet still surpassing the Anglicans. This contrast between the Capuchin and Anglican schools is relevant since most of the scholarship describe the Anglican schools as embracing modern teachings, in particular vocational courses, while the Capuchin schools are described as rejecting modernity.<sup>345</sup> Could assumptions about the Anglican schools being “more modern” than the Capuchin mission schools be the result of biases that Protestants were forward thinking (pro-science and pro-capitalist) in contrast to the “backward” Catholic Church? Maybe. The Capuchin doctrine was

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<sup>345</sup> Several scholars including Foerester, Montecino, Mariman, and Pavez all share the opinion that Anglican schools were more modern and produced more radical rural leaders in contrast to those who attended the Capuchin mission schools. Sadlier, who did not embrace Mapuche assimilation into Chilean culture, supported Mapuche communities in maintaining their political structure and language. In that sense, the differences between the Anglican and Capuchin missions was not modernity, but opinions about race and segregation. To truly test this hypothesis, a comparison should be done between the Coñaripe Mission that continued to use Mapudungun and the Anglican Quepe Mission. See: Miguel Ángel Mansilla, Nanette Liberona, Carlos Piñones, “El influjo anglicano en el mundo mapuche (1895-1960). Charles Sadlier en los albores del liderazgo mapuche post-reduccional,” *Estudios Ibero/Americanos* v. 42, no. 2 (maio-ago. 2016): 582-605.



resistant to aspects of modernity, especially consumerism, entertainment, and vices but not science and industrialization.

In reality the Capuchin friars showed dedication to academic studies, especially in the sciences, which reflected a combination of German experiences and the legacy of *Rerum Novarum* (1891).<sup>346</sup> Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, critiqued capitalism in response to inhumane work and living conditions experienced by a growing proletariat class. Yet, the Church concurrently underscored opposition to communism and upheld the right to private property. The Church articulated a “middle ground” between liberalism and communism, supporting capitalism's core source of power—private property—while expressing “preferential option for the poor” in the form of paternalism and charity.<sup>347</sup> Trade courses at mission schools can also be the theological expression of the Bavarian friars embrace for St. Francis of Assisi's biblical dictum to care for “the least of these.” The fathers saw themselves as living among the Mapuche and teaching them skills to improve their lives.<sup>348</sup> Did their German background also influence the Bavarian friar's support for scientific research? This dissertation cannot answer that question assertively, but based on differences in education practices between the Italian and Bavarian Orders, national origin seems to have been a factor. Throughout the nineteenth century the internal colonization of the German Empire was, as the historian Elizabeth B. Jones

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<sup>346</sup> There were several Bavarian Capuchin fathers who became well-respected scholars including Father Felix José de Augusta on Mapudungun and Father Sebastian Englert de Dillingen on Rapa Nui culture. In 1881 Pope Leo XIII opened the Vatican Secret Archive encouraging historical and theological research. This was a call that Capuchin fathers embraced as in the case of Reverend Father Ignacio de Pamplona's *Historia de las Misiones de los PP. Capuchinos en Chile y Argentina (1849-1911)* used throughout this dissertation and published in 1911; *Rerum Novarum* and “On the Conditions of the Labor” was a groundbreaking encyclical issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1891 that intervened in public debates about capitalism, socialism, and the conditions of the working class and rural poor.

<sup>347</sup> While later popes developed the concept of “the preferential option for the poor,” specifically during Vatican II, *Rerum Novarum* outlines some key concepts about the rights and dignity of the poor. See numbers 21, 24, and 37: [http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_l-xiii\\_enc\\_15051891\\_rerum-novarum.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum.html)

<sup>348</sup> Matthew 25:40 states “Truly I tell you, just as you did it to one of the least of these who are members of my family, you did it to me.” St. Francis of Assisi embraced the line “the least of these” as theological proof of the true teachings of Jesus and how the priesthood should devote their lives. The passage was also used to develop “the preferential option for the poor.”

explained, to rid Germany of its economic and cultural backwardness, especially “rural barbarism” in their Polish and Bavarian provinces.<sup>349</sup> In Bavaria, the German Agricultural Ministry led a program known as *Landesmoorkulturanst* to modernize agricultural production.<sup>350</sup> The civilizing policies conducted by the German government within the continental Empire affected and infected German social sciences, public dialogue, and later replicated in colonial policies abroad. The Prussian state’s enthusiasm for the latest ideas in agricultural science was discussed in newspapers and promoted aggressively through a hefty government budget that funded modernization programs. While the Bavarian friars were not German functionaries, they were aware of these initiatives in their home region, inculcating a deep-seated belief that societal progress was tied to industrialization.

The Bavarian friars’ experience with German industrialization and education, undoubtedly were factors that molded their education philosophy. There were two overarching reasons for teaching trades. First, the workshops were practical in purpose preparing young Mapuche boys and girls to become skilled workers while producing essential items for the mission. Second, the ability of Mapuche children to sustain employment in the capitalist economy determined the success in their assimilation. Regarding the practical purpose that benefited the mission’s infrastructure was that the carpentry workshop supplied furniture and building materials (rulers, boxes, doors, windows).<sup>351</sup> The priests used their farms—gardens and livestock—to teach children about cultivation and animal rearing. Vocational class utilized the children’s labor power to run the farms that provided the mission’s sustenance while teaching them their trade. The mission chronicles noted that Mapuche parents accused the fathers of using

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<sup>349</sup> Elizabeth B. Jones, “The Rural “Social Ladder”: Internal Colonization, Germanization and Civilizing Missions in the German Empire,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 40, Jahrg., H. 4 (Oktober-Dezember 2014), 470.

<sup>350</sup> This program was intent to reverse the practice of moor burning that scientists argued that it damaged soil and government officials though it perpetuated a nomadic culture they wanted to eradicate; *Ibid.*, 490.

<sup>351</sup> *Libro Crónica de Padre Las Casas*, 50.

their children as laborers instead of teaching them Spanish, forcing the friars to prove that agricultural science was indeed part of their curriculum.<sup>352</sup> The parents were correct to a certain extent. In Villarrica, Father Atanasi Holleimeg de Eglsee invited Dr. Julio Leon from Los Angeles as a special guest lecturer to teach the students pomology.<sup>353</sup> Dr. Leon taught the children about the study and classification of fruit, providing them knowledge in recent scholarship in his field. The intention was to give children an educational advantage in offering them a scientific understanding of agricultural work. Following his visit, Dr. Leon gifted the school one-thousand grapevines (five-hundred white, five-hundred red) for cultivation.<sup>354</sup>

The Capuchin mission chronicles did not detail the vocational courses for Mapuche girls but Guevara's *Enseñanza Indígena* included reports from Catholic-run native schools for girls. At the Casas de la Providencia (The House of Providence) in Temuco, the young women were taught to “coser, bordar, tejer, lavar y hacer la cocina (sew, embroider, knit, wash, and run the kitchen).”<sup>355</sup> The Hermanas Terciarias Franciscanas (Franciscan Sisters of the Trinity) in Lautaro and Angol ran workshops in “lavado, zapatería, carpintería y costura (wash, shoemaking, carpentry, and sewing),” as well topography and running a printing press.<sup>356</sup> In addition, Cano's data collection offers some additional insight. Three female-only schools were listed in the sample: Santa Cruz (in Rio Bueno), Villarrica, and Quilacahuín. In comparing the female schools with their male-only school counterparts, some interesting patterns emerge. For example, the Panguipulli and Santa Cruz schools devoted equal amount hours to vocational training; a total of twelve per week. In the Quilacahuin schools, the girls received ten hours of class, while boys only four. The Villarrica data, however does not match the information from

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<sup>352</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 136.

<sup>353</sup> *Crónica de Villarrica*, vol. 1, 131.

<sup>354</sup> *Crónica de Villarrica*, vol. 2, under year 1907.

<sup>355</sup> Guevara, *Enseñanza Indígena*, 174.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, 175-176.

the chronicles because Cano's study states that the male school devoted zero hours while the female school eight. As discussed, the Villarrica mission had a functioning workshop for male students. Nonetheless, native girls received substantial hours in housewifery and domestic labor training in accordance to their gender.<sup>357</sup>

Vocational courses were how the Bavarian friars offered something useful to their Mapuche pastoral community. According to Reverend Father Pamplona,

El aprendizaje dura dos años, al cabo de los cuales, los que han perseverado son premiados con un regalo de toda las herramientas é instrumentos del oficio que han aprendido; de modo que al día siguiente de salir del taller, pueden comenzar á ganar un buen salario... Así en pocos años podrán ofrecer á la sociedad hombres útiles y laboriosos.<sup>358</sup>

(The training lasts two years, at the end of which, those who have thrived are rewarded with a gift of all the tools and instruments of the craft they have learned; so that the day they leave the workshop they may begin to earn a good salary... In a few years they will be able to offer to society as useful and industrious men.)

This passage illustrates the father's opinion that vocational courses ultimately benefited their students. Pamplona also projected the Mapuche student's eventual immersion into Chilean society. The father's emphasis on usefulness and industriousness contrasts with Mapuche socio-reproductive relations. Furthermore, Pamplona restricted the definition of usefulness as a value dictated by the agricultural capitalist economy and the Chilean state. The remark about the need to turn the Mapuche into productive citizens was repeated in religious and state documents at the time. As in the case of Mañkilef and other educated Mapuche, achieving recognition in the Chilean political economy did not equate acceptance or the erasure of racist attitudes in broader society. If anything, the Mapuche labor value was consistently undervalued.

How did the workshops function? In 1902 Father Siegfried was in charge of the Villarrica Mission and described the arrival of Brother Wunibald de Soden assigned to create the mission's

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<sup>357</sup> The domestic labor and housewife training that native girls received resembles examples by the historian Elizabeth Hutchison in how working class housewife were proletarianized in the early twentieth-century through homework. See: Elizabeth Hutchison, *Labors Appropriate to Their Sex: Gender, Labor, and Politics in Urban Chile, 1900-1930* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2001).

<sup>358</sup> Pamplona, *Historia de las Misiones*, 363.

workshop. The first thing that Brother Wunibald's built was a *chicha* making press, which Father Siegfried described in great detail in the *Villarrica Chronicle*.<sup>359</sup> After prioritizing the steady availability of alcohol, Brother Wunibald prepared the carpentry workshop that proved successful among the school's Mapuche pupils. When Brother Wunibald decided to follow Father Siegfried in 1905 to the Panguipulli Mission, the workshop was taken over by Carmen Catrilef, a Mapuche teenager that he trained and described as Brother Wunibald's disciple.<sup>360</sup> Passing on the baton to a Mapuche pupil fit in line with the friars' goal in running self-sufficient missions and drawing in native pupils into the institutional life of the mission. The hiring of Carmen Catrilef also reflected the mission schools' preference to employ from within the Catholic school network in order retain Catholics within their orbit.

Measuring the academic success of the mission schools' curriculum is complex since success is relative. In comparing the academic reach between the Capuchin missions and Liceo de Temuco, the Liceo was far superior but the school's goals were radically different. In relation to rural public schools, the Catholic mission schools were equivalent and, in some cases, superior. The Capuchin schools faced financial difficulties that were comparably different from public urban schools. For example, the mission schools offered free room and board for Mapuche children that required dedicating substantial funds towards food, clothing, bedding, and school materials. The Capuchin schools employed fewer teachers in contrast to urban public schools. Following the 1889 Pedagogical Congress and the creation of the Pedagogical Institute, the state invested in training and hiring teachers who specialized in a subject. The qualification of mission schoolteachers is unclear, since the majority graduated from Catholic institutions, but not necessarily from normal schools, meaning they might not have been qualified to teach all

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<sup>359</sup> *Crónica de Villarrica, vol. 1, 76.*

<sup>360</sup> *Crónica de Villarrica, vol. 1, 129.*

subjects. The mission campus included both primary and secondary education and its doubtful that its teachers were qualified to instruct all subject and grades, but many had little choice. In the Padre Las Casas Mission Chronicle, the writer explained that a group of mission students were sent to a nearby high school, probably Liceo de Temuco since the township of Padre Las Casas adjoined Temuco, to take the entry exam. The chronicler explained that due to “mal resultados se dejó también esta idea humanitaria (poor results this humanitarian idea was also abandoned).”<sup>361</sup> This quote was written sometime in the 1930s, but describing the initial years of the mission school that opened in 1902. The Padre Las Casas mission school was not qualified to prepare their students to enter Liceo de Temuco, underscoring the shortsightedness of Amanda Labarca’s remark that high school entry exams required such minimal effort representing no obstacles for children.<sup>362</sup><sup>363</sup> In the case of Padre Las Casas, Mapuche children with basic literacy skills were turned away from the local high school.

The mission school’s curriculum met the minimal requirements for rural schools while incorporating courses that reflected the class character of the student body they were forming. Hoffman argued that the fathers cared minimally about the academic successes of Mapuche children, since their goal was basic literacy and trade skills.<sup>364</sup> It is difficult to deduce care through written documents. But for the friars, the school curriculum was about pragmatism that reflected their *reluctant modernizing* sensibilities, following the values of St. Francis of Assisi to improve the lives of their pastoral community and simultaneously meet the needs of the Chilean economy.

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<sup>361</sup> *Libro Crónica de Padre Las Casas*, 45,

<sup>362</sup> Liceo de Temuco had a three-year preparatory school to prepare youths for their school’s entry exam.

<sup>363</sup> Labarca, *Historia de la Enseñanza*, 214.

<sup>364</sup> Arellano Hoffman, “Las opiniones erróneas,” in *En la Araucanía*, 139.

### III. Discipline and Assimilation

The majority of Capuchin mission schools—including those that educated girls—dedicated a bulk of teaching hours to vocational training. The fathers recognized that if their educational aim was for the Mapuche children to form Christian families and productive members of society, they needed impart onto the children Christian morals and the ethos of work-discipline. Discipline was a core tenant in Catholic teachings that exhibited devotion and subservience to the Christian God, while a strong work ethic showed social responsibility. It is uncertain whether the Bavarian friars embraced a strong work ethic because of their German background or solely responding to the economic needs of the region. The friars determined, if the Mapuche were to become useful workers *for* the nation, the children were the most susceptible to internalize new norms and lead the change in social relations in La Araucanía.

A constant complaint made by Bavarian priests in their chronicles was that the Mapuche only worked the necessary hours to meet their subsistence needs. “La mayor parte de los indígenas trabajan lo necesario para mantenerse. La palabra ‘ahorrar’ es desconocida entre los mapuches como entre los chilenos pobres de aquí. Sin embargo hay bastantes familias indígenas que tienen gran número de animales aunque se ven preocupadas de discriminarlos por falta de terreno (The majority of Indians work only what is necessary to survive. The word ‘save’ is unknown among the Mapuche as with poor Chileans here. Yet there are many indigenous families that have large quantity of animals even though they are concerned that they will be discriminated due to their lack of lands).”<sup>365</sup> Father Angel de Eibach carped that rural Mapuche and Chilean communities did not understand the word ‘save.’ Maybe they knew the meaning of

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<sup>365</sup> Letter from Father Angel de Eibach to the Reverend Father Apostolic Prefect Burcardo M. de Roettingen, 17 de febrero de 1907, Misión de Trumao (Near La Union, an older mission), Box Crónica 1854-1927, ADV.

the word, but not the need to accumulate wealth.<sup>366</sup> Furthermore, Father Eibach griped about Mapuche owning plenty of livestock whilst complaining about land theft, a shortsighted comment by the father unable to comprehend the social value in retaining land, both culturally and economically.<sup>367</sup> Nevertheless, Father Eibach pinpointed subsistence farming as an problematic attribute in Mapuche social relations, underscoring the need for farmers to produce surplus. This section will make evident that the mission schools inculcated work-discipline through a regimented curriculum and vocational courses with the aim of producing a Christian and proletarian Mapuche population.

The scholarship on the history of body-discipline has offered important queries about the impact of nineteenth century Western political structures on the body that reflect the social and moral expectations of the state. Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Michel Foucault were crucial figures that analyzed how discipline affected consciousness, social relations, and the body, respectively.<sup>368</sup> The literature underscores that the rise of the liberal nation-state and capitalist economy in Europe drove societal changes into the everyday life, tying citizens into a subservient relationship with the state due to growing surveillance. Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* argues that modernity produced a society of internalized vigilance that dictated body and social responses.<sup>369</sup> Vigilance and surveillance were most felt in the development of the modern prison and factory. Even though the modern school was a nineteenth century institution, few studies

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<sup>366</sup>James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1977).

<sup>367</sup> Profit from livestock was more uncertain than owning property, especially large swaths of land whose values increase over time. Dependency on animal trade meant reliance on a volatile market (including cost of upkeep) and the health of the stock.

<sup>368</sup> John O'Neill, "The disciplinary society: From Weber to Foucault," *The British Journal of Sociology* 37, no. 1 (March 1987): 42-60.

<sup>369</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, Vintage Books, 1991), 136.



exist that analyze the impact of education and schooling as a form of body-discipline, probably because education is understood as a system that improves, uplifts, and frames societal progress.

At the Capuchin native mission schools, the disciplinary practices were for students to internalize Christian behavior and good work ethic. The mission school's schedule represented a combination of monastic culture and the modern school. For example, the incorporation of regular prayer schedule and austerity mirrored monastic living, yet coursework and recess were modern school practices. However, it is not surprising that the fathers planned a school schedule based on past experiences: the monastery and modern school.

In a rare description about boarding school life, the *Padre Las Casas Chronicle* detailed their daily schedule, etiquette guidelines, and disciplinary actions:

**Orden del día para los niños<sup>370</sup> (Order of the Day for the children)**

- 6 Levantarse, lavarse, arreglar las camas  
(Arise, wash, make the beds)
- 6 1/2 Santa Misa, en la cual dos veces por semana se rezará el rosario, dos veces se cantará i dos veces se leerán las oraciones de la Misa  
(Mass, in which twice a week rosary prayers are said, twice they shall sing and twice they will read Mass prayers)
- 7 Aseo del dormitorio, de la escuela, del pasadizo, del salón, del lavatorio i del lugar. Los que no tienen trabajos de aseo, estudiarán en sus respectivas salas. En caso que haya trabajos extraordinarios a esta hora, todos ayudarán.  
(Clean the dormitory, school, walkways, salon, bathroom and place. Those who do not have assigned chores will study in their respective classrooms. In the case of irregular work during this time, everyone must participate.)
- 7 1/2 Desayuno, aseo del corredor i de los útiles de comer  
(Breakfast, clean the corridor and eating utensils)
- 8 Recreo (Recess)
- 8 1/2 Clases (Classes)
- 11 1/2 Recreo (Recess)
- 11 3/4 Almuerzo, aseo del comedor i de los utiles de comer  
(Lunch, clean the corridor and eating utensils)
- 12 1/2 Recreo (Recess)
- 1 1/2 Clases (Classes)
- 3 Recreo (Recess)
- 3 1/4 Once, aseo del comedor i de los utiles de comer  
(Teatime, clean the corridor and eating utensils)
- 3 3/4 Trabajos en los talleres, aseo de las salas de clase  
(Workshop, clean the classroom)
- 5 1/2 Recreo (Recess)
- 6 Rosario (Rosary/Prayer)
- 6 1/2 Cena, aseo del comedor i de los utiles de comer

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<sup>370</sup> *Libro Crónica de Padre Las Casas*, 45-46.

- (Dinner, clean the corridor and eating utensils)
- 7 Recreo (Recess)
- 7<sup>1/4</sup> Estudio (Study)
- 8 Oración de la noche i acostarse  
(Nightly prayers and go to bed)

**Advertencia generales:  
(General Notice:)**

Nadie puede salir de la portaría [sin] un permiso del Superior  
(No one can leave the entrance [without] permission from the Superior)

El silencio se guardará  
(Silence will be held)

1. En el dormitorio al levantarse i acostarse  
(In the bedroom when getting up and going to bed)
2. Al entrar en fila en la iglesia  
(In line to enter church)
3. Al entrar al comedor  
(When entering the dining room)

Serán expulsados del colegio  
(Reasons for school expulsions)

1. Los que faltan gravemente a la moral  
(Those with gravely deficient morals)
  2. Los que roban cosas de valor  
(Those who rob items of value)
  3. Los que son pendencieros incorregibles  
(Those who are incorrigibly quarrelsome)
- El Director  
(The Director)

In order to analyze the relationship between the Padre Las Casas mission school schedule and body-discipline, this section will focus on frequently listed activities (prayer, recess, and courses), as well as regulations (silence and disciplinary actions). The rhythmic quality of the mission schedule is significant because the repetitiveness of the schedule was used for children to enact rituals and activities independently and naturally. An essential component of body-discipline is for the individual to embody hegemonic expectations about behavior under the semblance of consent and free-will.

Prayer was a principal activity that framed the child's daily schedule as the first and last act of the day. The fathers were aware that baptism did not mean full conversion to the Catholic

faith nor that prayer would become part of the household culture.<sup>371</sup> In Catholic teachings, prayers are private and public displays of devotion showing submission to God and piety to society-at-large. The ritualization of mass and rosary prayers into the children's daily routine was done to help memorize and normalize such rites into their daily lives. In the writings by Capuchin friars and Tomás Guevara, they mentioned concern about Mapuche retention of the Spanish language and Christian practices once they returned home. However, as noted earlier in relation to the awards booklet, the fathers realized that converting Mapuche adults to follow Christian morals was equally crucial. Here we see how the fathers combined older evangelizing methods used by colonial mission, but articulated through a modern regime of hygiene, study, and productive work.

Readers less acquainted with Catholic rituals might not understand the complexity in learning some prayers, and for Mapuche children this meant learning a new language and religion simultaneously. For example, the Mysteries of the Rosary required high levels of concentration on behalf of the devotee. Using the rosary beads as a guide, the individual initiates the prayer with the sign of the cross. After the announcement of the first mystery, the devotee says ten "Hail Marys" and two prayers, repeating the process for every mystery. There are four mysteries—Joyful, Luminous, Sorrowful, and Glorious—that include five teachings and each teaching marks ten events central to Catholic doctrine.<sup>372</sup> During the ten "Hail Marys" announcements, the religious concentrates in thinking about the teachings associated with the mystery. Due to the irregularity of student attendance in which some remained half the year and on average two years, memorizing such prayers and mysteries were probably a challenge. The

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<sup>371</sup> Burcardo, *25 Años*, 80.

<sup>372</sup> *Divine Mysteries of the Most Holy Rosary* (Necedah: JMJ Book Company, 1986).

daily routine and devotional repetition had a lasting effect, converting many children to varying degrees to the Catholic faith.

The Padre Las Casas school schedule also included rules that mandated silence and cause for expulsion. Silence was enforced during key moments of group movement: when the children readied for the day after waking up and in preparation for sleep, and while lined up to enter either the church and dining room. There was a practical use of silence to assure that large groups of boys—from primary to pre-teen school age—completed their given task in quick and orderly fashion. The rule generated a communal feeling that speaking dirtied the moment intended to be solemn. Silence in Catholic practice enacted penance and submission to God and the Catholic institution. In Catholic seminaries and monasteries, silence was implemented in short and long-term periods to enforce self-reflection and conversations with God. However, silence imposed during group movement underscores its use to monitor and control behavior and enforce discipline. For example, a child who consistently broke group silence could be seen as problematic, less susceptible to conversion, or requiring more attention.

Recess, the most scheduled activity in the daily itinerary, had a practical use for children to release energy after sitting for long hours. Pedagogues argued that movement and physical education helped construct “valor civico (civic value).”<sup>373</sup> Liceo de Temuco included four-teen hours of physical education to develop the male physique, as directly linked to masculine values of physical strength and warfare.<sup>374</sup> However, recess also gave the priests and nuns running the mission school an opportunity to observe and correct student behavior. In a photograph from an unspecified Capuchin mission that was used as part of a series of postcards sold to fundraise

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<sup>373</sup> *Congreso Nacional Pedagógico. Resumen de las discusiones, actas i memorias presentadas al Primer Congreso Pedagógico celebrado en Santiago de Chile en Setiembre de 1889* (Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1890), IX, Sala Investigadores, BN.

<sup>374</sup> See figure 3

money in Germany for the mission, Mapuche children are seen playing during recess. A Capuchin friar stands among the children, while four sisters wearing habits are standing at the mission's porch, all observing the children. The caption reads "Jugando en el recreo en una escuela misional, misioneras y misioneros vigilan y controlan la disciplina (Playing during recesses at a missionary school, missionaries watch over and monitoring discipline)."<sup>375</sup> The choice of words underlines how the father's interpreted their role and activity in relation to the children.

Recess was also when children were more likely to speak Mapudungun with classmates. Mission rules did not forbid Mapudungun, but fathers mentioned dissuading its use but finding it difficult to control, especially in schools where Mapuche children constituted the majority of the student body. Historian Carmen Arellano Hoffman stated that the fathers "castigaban a los niños cuando hablaban su idioma materno (punished the children when they spoke in their maternal tongue)," but neither her article nor documents reviewed for this dissertation explain how the students were punished.<sup>376</sup> Since many friars understood Mapudungun that allowed them to create tighter bonds with the surrounding community, it is unclear the extent to which the fathers dissuaded children to speak their native language at this moment. As previously noted, Mapuche parents sent their children to the mission schools to learn Spanish, making parental pressure an additional reason for friars to limit the children the use of Mapudungun.

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<sup>375</sup> Flores and Azócar, *Evangelizar*, 167.

<sup>376</sup> Carmen Arellano Hoffman mentions that children were punished for speaking Mapudungun and refers to a passage where Father Siegfried fires a teacher for being too violent with the children yet there was no mention that the teacher's violent behavior was in response to children speaking in their native language; Carmen Arellano Hoffman, "Las opiniones erróneas que...circulan en la capital" in *En la Araucanía: El padre Sigifredo de Frauenhäusl y el Parlamento mapuche de Coz Coz de 1907*, eds. Carmen Arellano Hoffmann et al (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006), 139.

School expulsions were rare and Villarrica was the only mission to chronicle a case involving three French brothers who refused to take sacrament.<sup>377</sup> The chronicle offered no explanation or reflection about the circumstance, but the charge against the students probably fell under “incorrigibly quarrelsome.” In another incident, also from Villarrica, Father Siegfried discussed the “troubled case” with eight Mapuche students who previously attended the Anglican school in Quepe. The students were described as having a rebellious demeanor, alluding that the boys internalized unruly habits during their time with the *canutos*.<sup>378</sup> Father Siegfried mentioned being patient with the children, hoping to see a behavioral change. Six of the students left the school, urging “a otros dos niños de irse con ellos (two other students to leave with them).” He noted that the children expressed public dislike toward the Catholic religion. Were the Mapuche boys revealing an anti-Catholic sentiment rooted in Protestantism or a dislike for the colonizer’s religion they were forced to practice? Anti-Catholic Protestantism might have given students the language to articulate their opposition to the colonial order. Father Siegfried thought the children’s unruly behavior was because they embraced Protestantism, but the true motivation for the children’s dislike remains unknown. In comparing the father’s response to the French boys versus the Mapuche boys, Father Siegfried was more patient with the Mapuche boys, probably because he felt native people had to be taught and won over the Catholic faith, while the European boys should have known better and were more “conscious” of their actions.

## Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the institutional history of the Capuchin missions in La Araucanía from 1849 until 1915, concentrating on the efforts by Bavarian friars in implementing a modern

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<sup>377</sup> *Crónica de Villarrica*, vol. 2, under year 1909.

<sup>378</sup> *Crónica de Villarrica*, vol. 1, 124.

curriculum to meet the needs of the region's agricultural economy. The first section discussed the 1848 pact between the Capuchin Bologna Order and the Chilean government. During this period, the Italian friars travelled deep into Mapuche territory to build missions and spread their gospel. The second section demonstrated how Bavarian friars led the modernization of mission schools beginning in 1895 and trained Mapuche boys in vocational skills to become artisans and skilled workers. This section also underscored that the modern school curriculum implemented by the Bavarian fathers represented the Catholic missionary vision, their experience with modern schooling in Germany, and ongoing regional power struggles in La Araucanía. This third section reviewed how body-discipline was imposed on native children through a tightly regulated and repetitive school schedule that controlled behavior and instructed children in Catholic rituals. To conclude, this chapter argued that the Bavarian friars aided the Chilean state's effort to colonize the Mapuche people and open the territory to capitalist exploitation. The modern school became an avenue to acculturate native youths in a mass scale and instill Christian rites and morals. In the end, the Bavarian priests acted as paternal figures actively trying to destroy Mapuche social relations while integrating Mapuche youth into the agricultural economy. However, as the next chapter will show, the Mapuche also found usefulness in the missions' education programs and relationships with priests, carving out political autonomy under the guise of the mission campus.





Fig. 3.2<sup>380</sup>

<b>Asignaturas (horas x semana)</b>	<b>P.las Casas</b>	<b>Anglicanos</b>	<b>Boroa</b>	<b>Purulón</b>	<b>Panguipulli</b>	<b>Hualqui</b>	<b>Carahue</b>	<b>Cholchol (franciscanos)</b>	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	<b>Lautaro (terciarias)</b>	<b>Villarrica</b>	<b>Valdivia</b>	<b>Villarrica (2) Muj.</b>	<b>Quilacahuin</b>	<b>Quilacahuin (2) Muj.</b>
Lectura	5	6	6	1	6	6	5	4	5	4	4	8	6	6	6
Gramática y Composición	2	5	2	5	4	4	2	2	4	2	2	2	3	4	4
Aritmética	4	5	6	4	6	5	5	3	5	4	4	4	5	6	6
Caligrafía	2	5	4	1,5	4	2	4	4	2	3	2	3	3	3	2
Catecismo (Religión)	2	5	3		3	2	1	3	2	1	2	3,5	4	4	4
Historia Patria	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1		1	1	1	1	1
Geografía	2	4	1	1,5	2	1	2	2	1		1	1	1	1	1
Dibujo	1	1	1	1	1	2			2	2	1		2	2	2
Canto	2	1	6	1	2	2	1		2	1	1	0,5	1	2	2
Gimnasia	1	1	2	1,5	1		1	2	2	1	1		1	1	
Historia Natural	2	2		1		1		1	1		1			1	
Historia Sagrada	1		3		3	2	2		2	1	2			2	2
Geometría		1													
Dictado			2		2	2	1				1	1		2	2
Lección Objetiva					2	2			2	3	4	1		2	1
Urbanidad e higiene									1	1			1	1	
Labores prácticas	8	2	6	7	12	6			12	2			8	4	10
Científico humanista	26	38	37	20	38	32	25	23	32	23	25	17	28	32	27
Práctico	8	2	6	7	12	6			12	2			8	4	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>37</b>

<sup>380</sup> Cano, *Sin tierras ni letras*, 133.

**Fig. 3.3: Plan de Estudios de Liceo de Temuco – Año 1902<sup>381</sup>**

Ramos	Horas semanales de clase
Castellano	16
Matemáticas	20
Ciencias naturales	10
Geografía e historia	12
Alemán	12
Ingles	8
Francés	6
Dibujo	8
Gimnasia	14
Canto	4
Caligrafía	6
Religión	8
<u>Curso de aplicación práctica</u>	
Agricultura	12
Zootecnia	6
Química agrícola	6
Contabilidad	6
Trabajos manuales	6
Ingeniería rural	6
Redacción mercantil	3
Geografía comercial	6
Nociones de economía	6
<u>Profesión de los apoderados</u>	
Agricultores	37
Comerciantes	87
Empleados públicos i particulares	36
Obreros	21
Dueñas de casas	65
Rentista	1
Periodista	1
Agrónomo	1
Industriales	3
Médico	1
Militares	3
Abogados	1
Modista	1
<u>Biblioteca</u>	
Volúmenes existentes	820
Revistas y folletos	200
Total	1.020
Número de lectores en 1902	429

<sup>381</sup> Tomás Guevara, *Reseña Histórica sobre el Liceo de Temuco* (Temuco, Imprenta Alemana, 1903), 56-57.

## **Chapter 4**

### **The New Racial Complex and Negotiating the Mapuche Future, 1900-1920**

The previous chapter analyzed the institutional goals of the Bavarian-run Capuchin native mission schools in La Araucanía and how the school's curriculum represented ongoing power struggles in the region. This chapter demonstrates the culmination of the Bavarian missionaries' work in La Araucanía, underscoring how the Mapuche came to use the mission campus to negotiate social and land rights. There are three components emphasized in this chapter: first, to describe the Bavarian Capuchin's understanding of race and racial difference; second, to demonstrate how the friars taught Mapuche children to respect the Chilean nation by celebrating state holidays and embracing government symbols; and, thirdly, how the closeness between Mapuche and Bavarians gave native communities a political opening to use the friars as intermediaries with the Chilean state and local landowners.

The Catholic missions became fixtures in the social lives of Mapuche communities and the education of native children in mission schools as a rite of passage. Mapuche parents built relationships with Bavarian priests, entrusting their children to their care. The Capuchin friars made the mission campus a gathering place for Mapuche longkos to emphasize their role as political brokers and to draw Mapuche leaders to the mission campus and Catholic faith.

Between 1900 and 1920 the Capuchin missions became established rural institutions with significant political weight in the region. The Catholic Church's legitimacy in La Araucanía was dependent on their relationship with the Chilean state and supporting its political presence in the lives of native people. The friars and their mission schools helped establish a racial complex in La Araucanía that asserted Chilean hegemony over the lives of indigenous people. As these developments defined rural social interactions, Mapuche leaders simultaneously used the

Bavarian friars to carve political space, illuminating their savoir-faire to negotiate political resistance and counter the Chilean and capitalist hegemony.

This chapter demonstrates that while the regional elite assumed that the entry of native youths into the mission schools signaled increased subservience, simultaneously Mapuche leaders used the mission campus and their relationships with priests to understand the political landscape and looked for ways to sustain their political structures and expand their social autonomy. Therefore, the mission campuses were spaces where Mapuche communities negotiated their colonial relationship with regional powers: the Chilean state, the Catholic Church, and hacienda class. This study does not attempt to understand the long-term successes or failures of these negotiations, but describe how Mapuche leaders developed and brokered political alliances with Bavarian friars.

### I. La Araucanía: A Developing Racial Complex

Describing Bavarian Capuchin missionaries' understandings about race is a difficult task since racial identities exist in a complex. Racial definitions depend on self-perception, forms of *othering*, social relations, and global perspectives. The Bavarian fathers carried with them preconceived ideas about race informed by the legacy of Spanish colonialism and their German upbringing. From their arrival to Chile to 1920, the friars expressed differently and, at times, conflicting views about race that were often reactions to tropes, personal experiences, and political frustrations. This section analyzes descriptions made in mission chronicles between 1900 to 1921 about mission teachers and assistants. Understanding how the Bavarian priests interpreted race and racial difference contextualizes their views and treatment of Mapuche children. While mission chronicles and government reports cannot capture inter-personal

interactions, the following descriptions paint a picture about how Bavarian priests articulated racial difference, and how Mapuche children internalized the racial structure.

In *25 Años de Actividad de los Misioneros Capuchinos Bávaros en la Misión Araucana de Chile (1896-1921)*, Reverend Father Burcardo von Röttingen criticized the Chilean elite who described the Mapuche as racially inferior. He explained, “Las ‘antiguas familias’ que habitan las ciudades se consideran aristócratas, tienen gran espíritu y orgullo de casta, como es raro encontrar en Europa, a lo menos en Alemania, y consideran a otras personas o familias que no pertenecen a su círculo, y con mayor razón a los indios, como muy inferior (The ‘old families’ that live in the cities consider themselves aristocrats and have great spirit and pride for their caste that is rare to find in Europe, at least in Germany, and they consider other people or families that do not belong to their circle, and with greater reason the Indians, as very inferior).”<sup>382</sup> His comment about the deferential expectations by old Chilean families as a trait not found in Germany underscores diverging visions about race, social class, and the definition of an aristocrat. While Rev. Father Burcardo wrote *25 Años* between 1920 and 1921, societal opinions about the monarchy drastically altered in Germany. In 1918 the process, known as *Fürstenenteignung*, sparked the expropriation of dynastic properties that deposed the Protestant Royal House of Hohenzollern as the monarchical head of the German Empire.<sup>383</sup> The Rev. Father’s political views about monarchy and class society were light-years apart from the German Social Democratic Party’s (SPD)—the main signers of *Fürstenenteignung*—since the Father was anti-communist yet equally anti-Protestant. Instead, his criticism about the Chilean elite centered on their racial language of caste that Burcardo found surprising. The German aristocracy, like all European royal families, took pride in their blood and biological difference from those they

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<sup>382</sup> Father Burcardo, *25 Años*, 21

<sup>383</sup> A sector of the German intelligentsia was hostile towards the unflinching German bureaucracy, as seen in the writing of Max Weber’s *Economy and Society* (1922) and Franz Kafka’s *The Trial* (1925).

ruled. Building on Foucault's ideas, the anthropologist Ann Stoler demonstrated in *Race and the Education of Desire* that state racism developed in nineteenth-century Europe from "the internal fission of society into binary oppositions" that constructed "'biologized' internal enemies, against whom society must defend itself."<sup>384</sup> In other words, class society in nineteenth-century Europe was biologized and informed by growing class antagonisms and further versed by the expansion of the European colonial project. The Chilean aristocracy defined their class difference from the popular class in racial terms, alluding to old caste terminology. Rev. Father Burcardo contested the Chilean aristocrats' investment in racial caste because he did not consider the Chilean elite as either of noble lineage nor racially white, since the northern European understanding of whiteness was non-Latin.

How did the Rev. Father racially describe the Mapuche and poor Chileans? In *25 Años*, Rev. Father Burcardo condemned racist caricatures about the Mapuche. He argued, "Es mentira que los indio sean todos unos flojos (It is a lie that all Indians are lazy)." He dismissed the racist notion that the Mapuche were lazy even when other friars alluded to such. Father Angel de Eibach wrote to the Rev. Father in 1907 complaining, "La mayor parte de los indígenas trabajan lo necesario para mantenerse (The majority of Indians work only to meet their needs)."<sup>385</sup> Burcardo also noted that elderly Mapuche had poor memory and minimal intelligence but attributed those deficiencies to lack of education. He rejected the use of the word "savage" to describe the Mapuche, which set him apart from Chilean textbooks referred to indigenous people. Nonetheless, the Father used other racial stereotypes to describe the Mapuche, for example, that they were prone to melancholy (depression) and suicide, and were excessively

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<sup>384</sup> Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1995), 59.

<sup>385</sup> Letter from Father Angel de Eibach to the Reverend Father Apostolic Prefect Burcardo M. de Roettingen, 17 de febrero de 1907, Misión de Trumao (Near La Union, an older mission), Box Crónica 1854-1927, ADV.

stubborn as a “rasgo característico de la raza americana (a trait that characterizes the American race).”<sup>386</sup>

In describing the learning capacity of Mapuche children, the Rev. Father explained, “Si bien es cierto que el progreso de los niños en los colegios no se compara con el progreso de los niños de familias cultas, no es, sin embargo, menos que el de los niños de las familias chilenas comunes del campo (While it is true that the progress made with [native] children in the schools does not compare with the progress of children from educated families; it is not, however, less than the children of common Chilean families from the countryside).”<sup>387</sup> In this passage, the Reverend Father noted that the abilities of Mapuche children were similar to poor Chilean children.<sup>388</sup> After all, the mission schools accepted native, Chilean, and foreign students, allowing the priests to observe learning retention. Was the Father expressing a racial and class judgment about rural Mapuche and Chilean children as embodying interchangeable qualities? The Father’s comments underscored that the Mapuche were biologically equal to poor Chilean. But it does not explain whether the Father viewed the Mapuche as equal to his Bavarian brethren.

Throughout the mission chronicles, Rev. Father Burcardo refrained from making comments about biological inferiority. Religion was a factor that informed Father Burcardo’s humanism, while science articulated Tomás Guevara’s racism. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that the fathers hailed from Bavaria, a marginalized region in Germany. Father Burcardo’s distaste in describing racial inferiority could have been a reaction to Prussian authorities describing his home region as “backward.” The historian José Bengoa discerned that

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<sup>386</sup> Father Burcardo, *25 Años*, 35.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>388</sup> In Guevara’s *Enseñanza Indígena*, eight questions sent to school directors of native schools in La Araucanía and no. 4 was about Mapuche children’s mental abilities. In the response from the Anglo Canadian, Carlos Sadler said, “Es, sin duda, igual a la del resto de los chilenos;” Guevara, *Enseñanza Indígena*, 178.

the Capuchin relationship with Mapuche communities was a “respectful integration.”<sup>389</sup> The fathers discussed in their writings the importance in showing patience and kindness toward Mapuche children and leaders to gain trust from native leaders. The Bavarian friars, undoubtedly, expressed care and concern for their pastoral community. They were aware that the Mapuche’s antagonistic relationship with the Chilean state and landowners was rooted in racial and ethnic differences, not only class.

The mission school’s hiring of schoolteachers exemplified the strategy of “respectful integration,” drawing from graduates to work as school assistants or instructors. The Capuchin mission schools primarily employed Catholic school graduates, a tactic that strengthened their mission network and kept former pupils within the denominational family. The quality of education at mission schools was dependent on location and funds. The Catholic Church invested more resources in urban schools that catered to well-to-do families. But even in underfunded schools, the academic curriculum hinged on school directors and the scholastic training of the school’s professoriate. This meant that the academic preparation of mission school graduates into the teaching profession was uneven and did not meet the standards of the Pedagogical Institute.

The Capuchin native mission schools functioned on a limited budget. Most schools employed one or two teachers plus one or two assistants, in addition to the father (school director) and brother assigned by the Prefect. Schools with two teachers divided their work between primary and secondary education. Unlike public schools, the mission schools were unable to hire instructors that specialized in every field. Low wages, poor living conditions, and the heavy workload prompted high turnover rates of teachers and assistants. Managing classroom

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<sup>389</sup> José Bengoa, *Historia de un conflicto: El Estado y los mapuches en el siglo XX* (Santiago, Editorial Planeta Chilena, 1999), 100; Daniel Cano Christiny, “Educación para mapuches en la Araucanía durante el periodo reduccional, 1884-1929,” *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia* año LXXVIII, no. 121, vol. 1 (enero-junio de 2012): 48.



behavior and lesson plans were probably tricky for instructors teaching a student body that ranged in ages from nine to sixteen. Priests were qualified educators since many attended university in Germany but concentrated on overseeing the work of the mission campus and satellite schools.<sup>390</sup> The fathers were required to teach religion courses at the mission schools, satellite schools, and if permitted, nearby public schools.<sup>391</sup> The Capuchin brothers, whose role was to assist and learn from the fathers, carried more of the school's teaching load, including running the trade workshops and tasks related to the social reproduction of the mission campus.

At Capuchin mission schools with a large native student body, the friars made an effort to employ native and mestizo school personnel whom they observed as religious intermediaries with the children. The appointment of Catholic devotees and former mission school pupils gave native children role model figures. The Capuchin missionaries' intra-faith and intra-institutional hiring practices simultaneously reinforced the social standing of the Catholic school network and a reward system for high performing and devoted graduates.

The *Padre Las Casas Chronicle* presented a detailed description about the mission school's first instructors:

Ya en 1903 fue contratado como profesor del Silabario: Don Alberto Canto, mestizo que ayudó mucho y todavía ayuda mucho por ser un joven ejemplar y por dar mui buen ejemplo. Tenia al principio un sueldo de 30\$ mensuales que fue aumentándose y actualmente tiene 80\$ mensuales y también pensión y habitación. Para atender aun mas a los niños y para ganar mas la confianza de los mapuche fue contratado en 1900 el indígena, Don Vicente Colliu que desde entonces hasta hoy día enseña el Silabario a los niños (con un sueldo de 30\$ mensuales al principio y de 60\$ actualmente), mientras Don Alberto Canto está enseñando desde entonces el libro I°. A los niños mas adelantados enseñaban padres y hermanos...<sup>392</sup>

(Already in 1903 an instructor was hired to teach the Silabario: Don Alberto Canto, a mestizo who helped a lot and still helps a lot has become an exemplary youth and sets a good example. In the beginning, he had a salary of 30\$ per month which was increased and currently paid 80\$ per month, including pension and room. To serve even more children and to gain the trust of the Mapuche we hired in 1900 an indigenous man, Don Vicente Colliu, who continues to teach the children [the] Sibalario (with a monthly salary of 30\$

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<sup>390</sup> When the missions were first established, the fathers partook more in the academic life of the mission schools. But as satellite schools were established and the number of parishioners, as well as students, grew, the fathers had to focus on the administration of the mission.

<sup>391</sup> In Padre Las Casas the first teachers were Father Leonardo and Brother Bucardo in 1902, but by 1903 they hired a teacher; *Libro Crónica de Padre Las Casas*, 43.

<sup>392</sup> *Libro Crónica Padre Las Casas*, 44-45.

at first and currently 60\$), while Don Alberto Canto is teaching book number 1. The fathers and brothers taught the most advanced children...)

In this text, the chronicler mentioned that the first teacher employed was Don Vicente Colliu, a native man, to instruct the *Sibalarío*. Don Alberto Canto, a mestizo with a Spanish last name, was hired three years after Colliu also to teach the *Sibalarío* and later “book 1” to older students. Both men received 30\$ a month, but when the chronicle entry was written a 20\$ wage disparity emerged. The chronicler described Canto as “an exemplary youth” and later explained the employment of Colliu was a tactic “to gain trust” from the local Mapuche. The friar’s descriptions denote a difference in the value that these two men offered the mission school: the mestizo man as a promising youth (either scholastic or religious) and the native man as an interlocutor of religious conversion. In public schools, Spanish instructors received the highest pay, and other instructors’ wages depended on the subject they taught. Both Colliu and Canto instructed primary school age children in the Spanish language, which makes reasons for the wage gap unclear.

Several mission chronicles mention the teacher Margarita Pichicona Puchi. She developed friendships, at least correspondence, with several Capuchin friars, including Rev. Father Burcardo. In *25 Años Rev.* Father Bucardo offered this description about Puchi:

La profesora era una mestiza de Trumao, que había hecho estudios superiores con las Hermanas de Mallinckrodt en Puerto Montt (monjas de la Inmaculada). Se llama Margarita Pichicona Puchi. Como el nombre del padre es indígena y ella no quiere que la consideren indígena, escribe sólo la inicial y se llama con el apellido de la madre: Margarita P. Puchi. Desde entonces, con algunas interrupciones, ha prestado fieles servicios en diversas escuelas misionales.<sup>393</sup>

(The teacher was a mestiza from Trumao who had done her higher [education] studies with the Sisters of Mallinckrodt in Puerto Montt (sisters of the Immaculate). Her name is Margarita Pichicona Puchi. Since her father’s name is indigenous and she does not want to be considered native, she writes only the initial and goes by her mother’s surname: Margarita P. Puchi. Since then, with some interruptions, she has rendered faithful services at various missionary schools.)

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<sup>393</sup> Father Bucardo, *25 Años*, 137

According to the Father, Margarita Pichicona Puchi graduated from the Sisters of Christian Charity mission school in Puerto Montt ran by German nuns. Margarita P. Puchi, like Alberto Canto, was considered exemplary as an instructor and Christianized mestiza. The Puchi family, of Italian descent, was mentioned in two mission chronicles. The *Villarrica Mission Chronicle* noted that the *inquilino* (tenant farmer) José Antonio Puchi volunteered as the mission's cook for a short period until Father Siegfried found his cooking unbearable and redirected his energies elsewhere. José Antonio Puchi was most likely the same *inquilino* who helped build the mission in 1902. The Puchi last name also appeared in the Panguipulli Mission's 1909 school registry as the mother of a pupil.<sup>394</sup> The Pichocona family name was not mentioned in documents for this project, but it is a Mapuche surname that continues in use until the present-day.<sup>395</sup>

Rev. Father Bucardo's description of Margarita Pichicona Puchi was striking, in particular since Ms. Puchi concealed her Mapuche last name. Another interesting factor is that she was described as mestiza and not Mapuche when her paternal surname was Mapuche, disrupting the expectations of patriarchal society. The Rev. Father, however, discussed her racial lineage in the chronicle, including Ms. Puchi's feelings of racial disgrace. Margarita P. Puchi hid her Mapuche last name as an initial and, in some documents, the P was missing altogether. Nonetheless, Ms. Puchi hid her surname to facilitate social mobility in a world where being indigenous was undervalued. Margarita's "P" of shame underscores how quickly racism was ingrained in La Araucanía's social structure. While this study cannot pinpoint the origins and

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<sup>394</sup> "Matricula de los niños internos del Colegio Misional de San Sebastián de Panguipulli. Año 1909." In Folder Panguipulli, 1903-1919, 1936, ADV.

<sup>395</sup> In the 1913 *Memoria del director de la Oficina de Mensura de Tierras* the Pichicona surname appears in land titles given in the Department of La Union, which was located geographically in the southern missions. Lucinda Pichocona is a Mapuche activist and scholar. See: *Sexto Encuentro Indígena de las Americas* (Centro de Estudios Indígenas de las Américas, Indiana University, 2005).

cause of Margarita Pichiconá Puchi's racial shame, her story underscores that she perceived her Mapuche heritage as a mark of deficiency that impeded her full integration into Chilean society.

Canto, Colliu, and Puchi were all educated before the foundation of Bavarian Capuchin mission schools, while the Mapuche Pascual Alcapán was a product of Bavarian-run schools and ministerial work. Alcapán attended the Panguipulli Mission School at the beginning of Father Siegfried's tenure.<sup>396</sup> Father Siegfried had a relationship with the Alcapán family when he headed the Villarrica Mission, noting in the mission chronicle: "El 20 de octubre [de 1898] entró el primer mapuchito, Tomás Alcapán (On October 20 [1898] the first Mapuche, Tomás Alcapán, entered)."<sup>397</sup> It is unclear when Pascual Alcapán attended the Panguipulli mission school, but in 1919 he was hired as a teacher's assistant and, in subsequent years, worked at the Coñaripe and Licanray missions. In 1925 he entered Catholic seminary and in 1933 became the first ordained Mapuche priest. Alcapán was, as the Capuchin historian Albert Noggler described, the exemplary culmination of the Bavarian missionary project. Pascual Alcapán surpassed the friars' Christianization expectations for Mapuche children, which at a minimum were baptisms, monogamy, and the formation of Christian families. When Father Alcapán was ordained, the Vicariate in Valdivia seized on the opportunity and organized a mass celebration in which "[s]egún los cálculos habrían concurrido más de cuatro mil pelegrinos de todo el Vicariato, de Valdivia y Temuco (according to calculations more than four thousand pilgrims gathered from the entire Vicariate from Valdivia and Temuco)."<sup>398</sup> The thousands who gathered interpreted Father Alcapán's ordination as an achievement. In a picture commemorating his ordination,

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<sup>396</sup> Father Guido Beck wrote that Pascual Alcapán studied at the Panguipulli Mission and took over as the teacher at the Coñaripe school in 1918 after Brother Eliseo left; Beck, *Crónica de Coñaripe* in *Crónica Coñaripe* (1907-1997), page 10, ADV.

<sup>397</sup> *Crónica de Villarrica*, 32.

<sup>398</sup> Albert Noggler, *Cuatrocientos años de misión entre los araucanos* (Imprenta y Editorial San Francisco, 1983), 190.

Father Alcapán is seen standing with his mother in traditional Mapuche vestment seated at his side.<sup>399</sup> Rome also took note of the occasion sending a telegraph signed by the Secretary of the Papal State Cardinal Pacelli (later known as Pope Pius XII).<sup>400</sup>

For the Catholic priests, Father Alcapán's ordination represented the success of their integration and conversion project. For the Mapuche, Alcapán's entry into the Church apparatus signaled the possibility of a shift in race relations in La Araucanía and better treatment of the Mapuche people. However, similar to the partial success stories of educated Mapuche—especially Mañkilef and Melivilu—, the achievement of societal milestones did not alter the racial complex since the elite's power structure rested on maintaining a racial and class order. Hence, the integration of Father Alcapán into the priesthood proved more of a boon for the Catholic Church who used Alcapán to evangelize the Mapuche rather than a sign of improved race relations in Chilean society.

Daniel Cano described the friars' cultural racism and education practices as “tolerant,” an indication of their “respectful” education politics, directly referring to José Bengoa's “respectful integration” analysis.<sup>401</sup> Carmen Arellano Hoffman expanded on this point when she noted that the mission schools' relationship with native children was “respectful” because the fathers truly wanted Mapuche children to learn and to succeed. The Bavarian friar's ministerial work with native communities—from education to land privatization—were, for the fathers, projects that improved the moral and standard of living of their Mapuche pastoral communities. As in the case of Father Alcapán, his integration into the priesthood was to expand their God-serving work to save Mapuche souls. The fathers were open to syncretic conversion, allowing the continuation of elements of Mapuche cultural practices and dress to ease their transition into the Christian faith.

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<sup>399</sup> Ibid., 189.

<sup>400</sup> Ibid., 190.

<sup>401</sup> Bengoa, *Historia de un conflicto*, 100; Cano Christiny, “Educación para mapuches,” 48.

While Father Burcardo was critical of Chilean aristocrats and their investment in maintaining caste society, the fathers' interpreted mission social relations through the eyes of race and racial difference. The fact that Catholic priests interpreted their relations with native communities in racial terms is not surprising, but ingrained in the colonial legacy. The significance of these perspectives on race is how quickly racism and racial difference affected the Mapuche who before 1883 were an independent society. Even if the fathers' reject the language of racial inferiority, the implication that racial difference was a natural aspect of social interactions created feelings of shame for their native heritage that, in turn, legitimized the class structure forming in La Araucanía. Weighing the fathers' intentions against the political and social consequences of "respectful integration," underlining the public niceties is a story of power struggles over identity, spirituality, and economic structures.

## II. Race and nation in the mission schools

The Capuchin missions in La Araucanía were there by permission from the Chilean state, which motivated the friars to prove to state officials their devotion to the national project. In the same manner that racial difference was part of the social fabric of mission culture, patriotism and nationalism were incorporated into school teachings. The cultural and political transmission of Chilean nationalism was being contested and experimented in the early 1900s. Chilean historians center the process of *chilenización* or Chileanization as situated in the 1930s when President Pedro Aguirre Cerda passed a series of reforms and gave public speeches on the subject. The 1930s represented the culmination of a negotiated national identity by the elite to appease growing class tensions during the era of the Great Depression.

In the early 1900s, race and nation were topics of deep controversy. The *German turn* represented underlining elite racial anxieties about the racial makeup and modern progress of the nation. As discussed in chapter two, Nicolás Palacios and Tomás Guevara represented two wings about the place and no-place of *mestizaje* in the national narrative. Teaching native children about Chilean-ness reveals how the Bavarian friars understood the cultural fabric of nation and the symbols and events chosen by the Chilean government. Teaching nation-ness exposes hegemonic narratives about race and the ways in which Mapuche culture was undervalued. The public meaning of nation is a conglomeration of stories and events about state formation and cultural expressions, often representing elite visions or compromises made between the elite and the popular classes. The Mapuche, as the defeated people living under Chilean state colonialism, were unable to negotiate with the elite their place in the national narrative, and instead used local politics to make political space for their existence.

This section will concentrate on three elements discussed in the mission chronicles that underscore how the Bavarian fathers demonstrated and taught respect for the Chilean nation in native mission schools: 1) September 18 celebrations on mission campuses; 2) the use of state symbols; 3) the imposition of Western dress. The first example describes cultural expressions of nation, while the second the importance of state symbolism. The last example highlights the performativity of nation in the form of dress and alignment with Western identity. For Mapuche children, the Chilean nation was experienced through a series of performative demonstrations of patriotism. A question that this section explored: how did race inform those experiences?

Capuchin friars felt obligated to teach Mapuche children to respect the Chilean nation and demonstrate to government officials their own commitment to the Chilean national project. However, asking Bavarian friars who recently arrived in Chile to teach native youths respect for

the Chilean nation was an odd request but a task they took head-on. Unlike the Chilean Central Valley, where rural festivities that expressed national pride developed from popular culture, patriotic activities were mostly absent in La Araucanía.<sup>402</sup> But as the Catholic missionaries integrated further into La Araucanía and Chilean colonos settled into the territory, Chilean national and Catholic holidays were celebrated in increasing numbers. Within the sea of Catholic festivities, Chilean Independence Day (September 18), also known as *el 18* or the 18<sup>th</sup>, was the only state holiday celebrated. In northern Chile, cities that were occupied by the Chilean army during the War of the Pacific organized celebrations of May 21<sup>st</sup> Naval Battle of Iquique; a day that eventually transitioned from a regional to a national holiday.<sup>403</sup>

The Capuchin friars organized events to commemorate *el 18* that included picnics, games, student performances, and mass. In 1902 Father Siegfried offered a description of the Villarrica Mission festivities: “El 18 de setiembre se celebró como todos los años con misa solemne y sermón. La misa fue muy bien frecuentada. En la tarde hubo carreras y algunos juegos donde don Luciano Berragaín, quien convidó a los niños de la misión (September 18 was celebrated as every year with a solemn mass and sermon. The mass was very well attended. In the afternoon there were races and some games [led by] Don Luciano Berragaín, who lived with the mission children).”<sup>404</sup> The mission planned a celebration that combined religious devotion with children’s games to make the occasion fun; a template replicated in other missions.

However, in 1909 the Villarrica Mission took a different approach in commemorating Chilean Independence Day, allowing the children boarders to return home. Father Atanasio Holleimeg de Eglsee described the events that transpired:

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<sup>402</sup> Fernando Purcell Torretti, *Diversions y juegos populares: Formas de sociabilidad y crítica social. Colchagua, 1850-1880* (Santiago, DIBAM, 2000).

<sup>403</sup> Sergio González Miranda, *Chilenizando a Tunupá. La escuela pública en el Tarapacá Andino 1880-1990* (Santiago, Ediciones de la Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, Centro Barros Arana, 2002).

<sup>404</sup> The chronicle entry was written awkwardly by the Bavarian friar; Father Siegfried, *Crónica de Villarrica*, 87



El 18 IX [1909] se hicieron las festividades de costumbre; hubo tiempo mui malo. A los niños internos habíamos permitido ir a sus casas para un par de días, pero varios se quedaron allí muchos días, y otros imitaron al cuervo de Noé no volviendo jamás al área; hallaban otros alimentos--materiales y espirituales: v. gr: Nazario Puñalef de Conqui, joven de unos 17 años, alumno de esta Misión, tomó parte en la solemne Guillatún que celebraban en aquel tiempo los Indígenas más mayormente cristianos; se enfermó gravemente y murió a pocos días después, sin que nos hayan llamado o avisado. Otro alumno de buenas esperanzas, Félix Quilacán asistió también al Guillatún y cayendo del caballo faltaba poco se quebró el brazo.<sup>405</sup>

(The 18<sup>th</sup> of IX [1909] customary festivities took place; there was nasty weather. The children boarders were allowed to go home for a couple of days, but several stayed away for many days, and others imitated Noah's crow by never returning to the area; they were in search of other foods - material and spiritual: v. gr: Nazario Puñalef from Conqui, a young man of about 17 years, student of this Mission, took part in the solemn Guillatún that was celebrated at that time by most Christian Indians; he became seriously ill and died a few days later, without us being called or warned. Another good student, Felix Quilacán also attended the Guillatún and fell from the horse and broke his arm.)

The father assumed that Mapuche pupils who went home for a few days would celebrate Chilean Independence Day with their families and after return to the mission campus. Instead, the Mapuche community near Villarrica used the holiday and their children's homecoming to organize a *nguillatun* (or *guillatún*).

*Nguillatun* was (and is) a Mapuche ceremony with spiritual and political implications used to strengthen community ties. In an ethnographic study on Mapuche being and identity, the anthropologist Magnus Course described the *nguillatun* as follow:

The *nguillatun* fertility ritual is by far the largest and most important communal event in Mapuche people's lives. As such, it has been the consistent focus of ethnographic enquiry since the sixteenth century. Nor surprisingly, the many studies of the ritual in existence have approached their subject from an incredibly diverse range of theoretical perspectives and have come to an equally diverse range of conclusions as to the ritual's true nature. The people with whom I carried out fieldwork, however, were less than optimistic about the current possibility of gaining anything other than a partial understanding of the ritual. As one friend sought to explain: "Those old-time people, they lived to be one-hundred and thirty, even one-hundred and forty years old, and they only understood *nguillatun* at the very end of their lives. These days we live to sixty, seventy, maybe even eighty, but not more. How, then, could we ever hope to understand it, to know it all?"<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Father Atanasio, *Crónica de Villarrica*, vol. 2.

<sup>406</sup> Magnus Course, *Becoming Mapuche: Person and Ritual in Indigenous Chile* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2011), 138-139.

Course further explained that within the temporal complexities in describing the *nguillatun*, its underlining purpose is a community “act of giving thanks and a request for providence in the coming year, as well as a party.”<sup>407</sup>

Father Atanasio, however, understood the *nguillatun* as a “solemn” event “celebrated at that time by most Christian Indians.”<sup>408</sup> The fathers used the word solemn to describe the Catholic Church’s holy rituals and unusual for them to describe pagan religious celebration as solemn. Did Father Atanasio think the *nguillatun* was a syncretic ritual organized by Christian Mapuche? In another example from the *Coñaripe Chronicle* describes Father Guido Beck’s attempt to incorporate mass into the *nguillatun* festivities, but elderly Mapuche impeded this development.<sup>409</sup>

Nonetheless, Father Atanasio interpreted the *nguillatun* in a negative light in his telling of the two tragic stories about the death of Nazario Puñalef and Felix Quilacán’s broken arm. Both descriptions about the accounts read as warnings with fable-like quality underscoring that attending the gathering led to terrible consequences. The Father learned from the experience and in later chronicle entries regarding *el 18*, boarders were not allowed to leave during the holiday.

The decision by Mapuche communities in the Villarrica area to organize *nguillatun* during Chilean Independence Day symbolized an affront to the Chilean hegemony and underscored the affirmation of Mapuche culture and identity. The slow and non-return of native children to the mission school following the *nguillatun* also represented these underlining identity power struggles in which native children sat front and center. It would be unsurprising if *machis* called for the *nguillatun*, since they openly opposed the Bavarian priests and the Catholic

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<sup>407</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>409</sup> Beck, *Crónica de Coñaripe*, 10.

religion, while longkos proved more willing to compromise or use the priests to elevate their own political standing.

Three years later, in 1912, the Panguipulli Mission celebrated *el 18* with a student variety show. According to the chronicle, Father Siegfried noted, “Las Fiestas Patrias del 18 de setiembre [las] celebramos como los años anteriores con un pequeño teatro. Tuvimos la visita del Ministro de la Corte de Valdivia, Smith Salas, del juez de la Unión, Gregorio Schepeler, del gerente del banco de Valdivia, Urbano Lagos, don Fernando Camino, Bautista Salaberry, Enrique Hevia y de varios otros caballeros (The Independence Day festivities on September 18 were celebrated as the previous years with a small theatrical performance. Present were the Minister of the Court of Valdivia, Smith Salas, the judge of the Union, Gregorio Schepeler, the manager of the bank of Valdivia, Urbano Lagos, Mr. Fernando Camino, Bautista Salaberry, Enrique Hevia, and several other gentlemen).”<sup>410</sup> The festivity began with a 10 a.m. mass followed by performances organized into three parts (fig. 4.1). The routines consisted of students reading poems and singing songs, followed by a two-part play, and the reenactment of a war battle. The event was an opportunity for the friars to demonstrate to the surrounding community student achievements. However, the performance line-up, materials chosen, and subject matters emphasized the fathers’ relationship with local power structures, as well as their understanding of nation and race.

Opening the program’s first part following mass was the student Cayetano Mera, a youth from the most influential landowning family in the area. The school’s student body at this moment was majority native. Positioning a student from power hacienda family with a history of violent attacks against local Mapuche communities to open the event was a deliberate show of

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<sup>410</sup> Father Seig Reid de Fraunhäusl, *Crónica de la Misión de San Sebastián de Panguipulli in En la Araucanía: El padre Sigifredo de Fraunhäusl y el Parlamento mapuche de Coz Coz de 1907*, eds. Carmen Arellano Hoffmann et al (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006), 350.

political alignment.<sup>411</sup> Before this, in 1907, the Chilean journalist Aurelio Díaz Meza published the article “¿Quién es Joaquín Mera? (Who is Joaquín Mera?)” in *Diario Ilustrado* (Santiago) exposing the injustices committed by Joaquín Mera that included corrupt land deals, the burning down of Mapuche *rukas*, and Mera’s assault on a sickly native boy that ultimately killed the child.<sup>412</sup> Father Siegfried applauded Díaz Meza’s exposé that motivated the Father also to pen newspaper articles about the wrongdoings committed against the Mapuche and lack of response from government officials. However, according to Karl Kohut, “Con el cierre de la *radicación*, alrededor de 1912 desaparece la lucha por los derechos de propiedad de las tierras de la Crónica. Uno tiene la impresión de que el padre Sigifredo estaba convencido de haber hecho lo que tenía que hacer. Una nota casual sobre “sus quejas acostumbradas” hace sospechar que estaba algo harto de la problemática (With the closure of *radicación* (settlements), the fight for property rights disappears from the chronicle around 1912. One has the impression that Father Sigifredo was convinced that he had done his duty. A casual note about “the accustomed complaints” suggests that he was somewhat sick of the problem).”<sup>413</sup> Father Siegfried experienced a political shift in 1912, participating less as an auxiliary for Mapuche land disputes and focusing more on running the mission.

Father Siegfried stated in the 1912 chronicle entry that the Independence Day festivities “were celebrated as the previous years,” when earlier accounts described the occasion less

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<sup>411</sup> In the 1909 student registration list from the Panguipulli Mission school, Mera parents were usually married to other wealth families such as the Ovalle family and Germans.

<sup>412</sup> Carlos Aldunate de Solar, “Indígenas, misioneros y periodistas. Actores de una epopeya en el sur del Tolten (1848-1922)” in *En la Araucanía: El padre Sigifredo de Frauenhäusl y el Parlamento mapuche de Coz Coz de 1907*, eds. Carmen Arellano Hoffmann et al (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006), 44-46.

<sup>413</sup> Karl Kohut, “Introducción: Un capuchino bávaro entre los mapuches” in *En la Araucanía: El padre Sigifredo de Frauenhäusl y el Parlamento mapuche de Coz Coz de 1907*, eds. Carmen Arellano Hoffmann et al (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006), 17.

ceremoniously. In 1911 the event did not warrant an entry, and the first student performance was mentioned in 1910, but on a smaller scale in contrast to the 1912 program.<sup>414</sup>

Following Cayetano Mera's opening remarks, eleven-year-old mestizo Gaspar Monsalve (father Luis Monsalve and Mapuche mother Elisa Cahulan) recited "Mi bandera (Mi Flag)," a chorus of boys sang "El que quiere ser soldado (Those who want to be a soldier)," and the Mapuche pupil Bernabé Melipán gave a speech titled "El dieciocho de setiembre (The Eighteenth of September)." They were followed by the recitation of two German poems. The first poem a Bavarian hymn, currently described as the anthem of the Free State of Bavaria and the second poem a folk song. The German language was not part of the mission school curriculum as in Liceo de Temuco. The students' who performed in German required instruction from the friars. There were also two poems recited in Mapudungun by Mapuche pupils: the first recited by Francisco Melipán was about *palín* and the second recited by Juan Haiquifilu about a fisherman's *nguillatun*.<sup>415</sup> Closing the first part of the second act was a group choir singing "¿Es la noble Chile? (Is it noble Chile?)."

The twelve performances highlighted the multi-ethnic and multi-class character of the Panguipulli Mission School. Far from representing an egalitarian commune, the program underscored the friars' participation in the Chilean national project while demonstrating political influence. The presence of regional state officials at the event accentuated for *whom* the students were performing and what the performance signaled to government functionaries, local landowning families, and Mapuche communities. The friars, however, also used the opportunity to affirm their Bavarian heritage within the politics of patriotism. The two Mapuche poems listed in the program were about a game and fishing—not nation—were placed at the end, functioned

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<sup>414</sup> Father Seig Reid, *Crónica de Panguipulli*, 343, 347.

<sup>415</sup> *Palín* is a Mapuche game similar to hockey that the Spaniards called *chueca* used to develop physical fitness, in religious ceremonies, to build community bonds, and settle disputes.

as a reminder about the Mapuche placement within the political and race structure forming in the region.

During the third part students performed two short plays. The first play was about the Ottoman invasion of Corsica in 1553, several decades before the Ottoman-Venetian War, which centered on the struggle between Islam (Turks) and Christianity. The play was a tool to teach children about the historic rivalry between the two great religions. In the play, Islamic characters were described as “Turks.” In the Spanish colonial lexicon, individuals of Islamic heritage were often referred to as *moros* (Moors). The Bavarian friars often described the Mapuche as racially synonymous with *moros* as stated in this quote: “Los indígenas cristianos como moros creyentes (The Christian Indians are like Moorish believers).”<sup>416</sup> In comparing the names of students (including their parents if the information was available) with the characters they were chosen to play, there was no noted racial correlation between the two. The second play was a farce titled “La cámara encantada (The Enchanted Chamber)” with an unclear storyline and no information about the play was found.

The September 18 Program also gave occasion to celebrate Chilean militarism. During the intermission between the two plays, students sang the Yungay Hymn, a song that celebrated Chile’s victory against the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation in 1839, while the third act concluded with a reenactment of the Rancagua Battle from the War of Independence and singing the Chilean National Anthem.

The Panguipulli celebration intermingled messages about Christianity, nationalism, and race. Student performers were a noticeable mixture of Mapuche and Chilean children. The September 18 Program at the Panguipulli Mission School was carefully constructed program that represented the multi-ethnic character of the school. The presence of state officials and mission

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<sup>416</sup> *Crónica de Villarrica*, vol. 2, 23 of June 1907.

school parents underscore the importance of the festivity in regional politics. Even though the majority of the school's pupils were Mapuche, the event was a celebration of the Chilean state with a spice of Bavarian-German nationalism. The inclusion of Mapuche culture in the program accentuated native marginalization within the dialogue of nation and race.

While the Bavarian Capuchin priests celebrated only one Chilean state holiday within a multitude of religious festivities, the friars demonstrated support for the Chilean nation in other ways. The mission schools included in their curriculum *Historia Patria* (Homeland History) and *Geografía* (Geography), scheduled one to two hours a week. Beyond courses the informed children about Chilean history and geography, the friars also incorporated Chilean state symbols—maps and flags—to teach deference to the nation.

Photographs offer insight into aspects of mission life not described in the chronicles, including the utilization of national symbols in the mission campus and within the classroom. In the bilingual study by Jaime Flores Chávez and Alonso Azócar Avendaño titled *Rulpachen Ka Wigkachen Pu Mapuche: Az Zentulelu Pu Kapuchinu Patru Mapuche Mapu Mew/Evangelizar, civilizar y chilenizar a los mapuche. Fotografías de la acción de los misioneros capuchinos en la Araucanía*, they collected photographs and postcards produced by the Bavarian friars who ran missions in La Araucanía. The images were used by the priests to register their work and, in the case of the postcards, as fundraising mementos sold in Germany. Many of the photographs highlighted the “exotic” character of their landscape and subjects mirroring anthropological photography from that time. The friars also captured instances of them laboring, either teaching, plowing, leading religious processions, or offering sermons. The majority of school-related photographs were group pictures of students, and only three pictures depict symbols of the

Chilean nation. One such photo taken at the Pelchuquín Mission, shows Father Franz Maria de Luxemburgo leading a classroom discussion with native students dressed in Western-style clothing sitting at their desks.<sup>417</sup> Half of the classroom was either reading or writing in their notebooks with the other half pointing enthusiastically towards the blackboard. On the back wall behind the students were two large maps of Chile split in two—one map of the top half of the country and the other map displaying the bottom half. Between the two large maps was a framed image of Jesus Christ on the cross and below a small map of South America. To the right side of the classroom—and featured prominently— there is a sizeable Chilean flag that drapes next to one of the maps. In another photograph taken at a mission school in Isla Wapi (or Huapi) near Lake Budi, all the children are seen wearing traditional Mapuche clothing and a young boy sitting in the front-middle is holding a *palín* stick. The Chilean flag in the Wapi photograph is equally as grand as the one shown in the Pelchuquín Mission classroom image, the difference being the Chilean flag in the Wapi photo featured a six-pointed instead of the official five-pointed star. Did Bavarian priests error on the number of points on the star of the Chilean flag or was the mistake by local Mapuche youths or both? This example underlined the fumbles made by Bavarians and Mapuche attempting to perform for the Chilean state. The third photograph featured Father Leonardo (probably at Padre Las Casas Mission) in a group photo with a large group of Mapuche boys wearing light-colored uniforms, including hats, which were perhaps the uniform donations from Escuela Militar (Military School). Behind the group is a medium-size Chilean flag that looks as though made from paper.

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<sup>417</sup> Father Franz later changed his name to Father Francisco. He arrived in Chile in November 1900 and died in December 1924. See: Carmen Arellano Hoffmann et al., *En la Araucanía*, 478; Rev. Father Burcardo M. de Röttingen, O.F.M. Cap. Apostolic Prefect, *Crónica de la Prefectura Apostólica de la Araucanía, 1896-1921: Las Misiones en Particular (Segunda Parte)*, Tomo. IV, 316.



In comparing these images, three elements stand out. First, since all photographs were posed, it is difficult to assess whether the Chilean flag regularly featured in the classroom and mission campus or was brought out for the specific occasion. Second, the prominent placement of the flag in the three photographs underscored that the friars understood the importance in showcasing a Chilean national symbol as evidence of their commitment to the Chilean colonization project and demonstrate their achievements in the Chilenization of Mapuche youths. And, lastly, analyzing the three pictures in relation to the entire Capuchin photographic series, the Bavarian friars visually told an overarching story about their successes in “civilizing” native students. In the images of Mapuche children in Western-style dress symbolizes the performativity of modernity that, for Chileans and Germans, projected acceptance of Chilean hegemony. Flores and Azócar ascertained that in reviewing the Capuchin photographic archive, Mapuche children wore traditional clothing in the earlier period and by 1910 native children typically wore uniforms as part of the mission school regiment. In stark contrast, the Capuchin friars remained loyal to their sixteenth-century brown tunics. Clothing became a visual symbol of modernity while modernity a measurement of the nation’s achievements. The imposition of Western vestments on Mapuche children—a requirement not expected of the Bavarian friars—accentuated the racial difference observed by the priests that to be a *reluctant modernizer* it was necessary to be a white European.

What does the performativity of patriotism and Western dress imposed in mission schools tell us about how the friars understood the link between race and nation? When it came to teaching native children symbolic support for the Chilean nation, Bavarian friars were learning at the same time, often employing their own Bavarian and German nationalism in the process. The 1912 Independence Day Program at the Panguipulli Mission was an event to teach native

children *chilenidad*, but, for the friars, it was an opportunity to demonstrate to local officials their support for the Chilean state project. The school performance underscored the multi-ethnic and multi-class character of the schools, simultaneously highlighting the existence and marginality of Mapuche culture. The performativity of nation illustrated how the Chilean flag and Western-style clothes signaled the process of integrating and “civilizing” Mapuche youths—essential markers that deliberated the success of the Capuchin missions.

The first two sections of this chapter concentrate on the impact of racial difference, nationalism, and Westernization had on native youth. The following section explores how Mapuche community leaders navigated the racial and class complex forming in La Araucanía. This is meant to juxtapose mission culture from within with how the mission campus was utilized from without and in relation to other political institutions in the region.

### III. Mission Schools: Space for Political Negotiation

A goal made by the Capuchin friars was for the Mapuche to treat the mission campus as theirs. Such a feat symbolized, for the priests, the accomplishment of trusting relations and the integration of the Mapuche into the Catholic religion. After all, Capuchin teachings dictated that the friars were required to serve *their* pastoral community. The mission schools were an ideal way to incorporate the Mapuche into mission culture and Catholic teachings. As more Mapuche children registered into the mission schools, an increasing number of Mapuche adults familiarized themselves with the functions of the missions and befriended local priests. From school presentations to religious and national festivities, the mission campus and the mission school became a part of the Mapuche collective memory.

In the spirit of *covivencia* (coexistence), Mapuche leaders took the Capuchin friars at their word and reached out to the priests for political support and utilized the mission to position themselves within regional power struggles. This final section argues that the Capuchin mission campus became a political space of negotiation where Mapuche parents demanded their children's education and *longkos* organized for land rights. Within this argument sits the methodological problem in how to characterize the Mapuche experience with the Catholic missions as stories about victimhood, resistance, or passive integration. There are compelling scholarly arguments that describe the Capuchin mission school system as an omnipresent institution that pressured native children to assimilate them into Christian citizens and agricultural workers. The historian Clyde Ellis noted that U.S.-based mission schools were established to rupture and destroy a way of life, yet in the process native children gained specific skills to survive in the new world. He further explained, "The irony is that most students began new lives by combining two worlds."<sup>418</sup> By recognizing both negative and useful experiences with colonization policies and projects through the perspective of native subjects, one can locate moments and methods of Mapuche agency. This section is, therefore, able to demonstrate the political know-how and determination by Mapuche leaders to maintain their culture and community networks.

On January 18 in 1907, Mapuche communities in the Panguipulli area organized the first transnational Mapuche Parliament since *la derrota* (the Mapuche defeat) by the Chilean and Argentine militaries. The gathering took place in the community of Coz Coz hosted by Longko Manuel Curipangui Treulen with support from the Panguipulli Mission. The meeting marked the culmination of the Capuchin and Mapuche political alliance. Both groups used Coz Coz to build

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<sup>418</sup> Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920* (Duncan, University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 196.

political leverage, but the event was particularly momentous for the Mapuche in articulating a unique political subjectivity and organized presence in Chilean society. The parliament brought together *longkos*, *machis*, and other representatives from twenty-one communities from both sides of the Andes. The goals included discussions about the injustices experienced by Mapuche communities and a decision on a longko-chief to represent the pan-Mapuche community. The Coz Coz Parliament engendered from the common Mapuche struggle against *wingka* abuses produced by the economic and racist occupation system. While political groupings organized before and after Coz Coz such as the Sociedad de Protección Mutua Mapuche led by Domingo Painevilu and Gerónimo Melillan in 1906 and the Sociedad Caupolican Defensora de la Araucanía (as discussed in chapter two) in 1910, the gathering was different for its pan-Mapuche quality. For example, the Protección Mutua represented leaders aligned with Carlos Sadlier's Anglican Mission and Sociedad Defensora with educated Mapuche. The scope of invitees to the Coz Coz Parliament was broader and more inclusive, emphasizing pre-occupation political structures. Nevertheless, the parliamentary politics was a far cry from the armed Mapuche Confederation led by José Calfucurá, but the new political situation required new forms of political organizing.

Leading up to the 1907 Coz Coz Parliament, there were a series of gatherings in the Panguipulli and Villarrica area that preceded. In the early 1900s, several Capuchin priests participated in public debates about Mapuche land rights. The scholars Flores and Azócar, as well as Karl Kohut, discerned that the friars, in particular, Father Siegfried and Father Félix, prioritized writing letters to government officials and newspaper editorials that described the abuses by colonos and injustices by local state authorities.<sup>419</sup> Father Siegfried positioned himself

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<sup>419</sup> Flores and Azócar, *Evangelizar*, 43; Kahut, "Un capuchino bávaro" in Hoffman, *En la Araucanía*, 15-16.

as an intermediary between Mapuche communities and the Chilean state.<sup>420</sup> The fathers used their intermediary role to channel political energies to the mission campus and away from armed resistance.

In 1902 Father Siegfried headed the Villarrica Mission and urged Mapuche leaders to use the mission campus and learn about their missionary project. Between 1901 and 1902, the number of registered native student boarders at the mission school increased from fifteen to fifty-six, allowing the fathers significant contact with Mapuche parents and community leaders. The fathers hosted two small gatherings: the first in March and the second in late August or early September.<sup>421</sup> The Father described the first meeting as “una gran junta de indígenas (a great indigenous gathering)” with longkos present from “Putue, Purakina, Marken, Lumalla, Chalupen, Pucura, Trailafquen, Cheski, Puron y Leltune.”<sup>422</sup> Father Siegfried explained,

El objeto de la junta era que los indios conociessen la misión y comprendiesen mejor por que [el] fin [de] nosotros misioneros trabajamos, y para que considerasen la casa misional como casa suya...En nombre de todos los cacique mandamos un telegrama al M.R.P. Prefecto saludándolo y pidiendo bendición...Conferenciamos en seguida sobre varios asuntos: la necesidad de la civilización, sobre cristianismo, casamiento por la iglesia, necesidad de recibir los Santo Sacramentos en la hora de la muerte. Toda la concurrencia se retiró contentísima y desde entonces quedó muy estrecha la amistad de los indios con la misión.<sup>423</sup>

(The purpose of the meeting was for the Indians to know the mission and to better understand our missionary work and for them to consider the mission as their own home...On behalf of all the caciques we sent a telegram to the M.R.P. Prefect saluting him and asking for his blessing...We immediately discussed several issues: the need for civilization, Christianity, marriage through the church, the need to receive the Holy Sacraments at the hour of death. The whole congregation retired very happy and since then the friendship between the Indians and the mission has grown.)

The Father underscored that the gatherings allowed the Mapuche to learn about the mission activities and its benefits for the community. Father Siegfried seemed content that those present expressed agreement with the Church’s “civilizing” and Christian message.

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<sup>420</sup> Kahut, “Un capuchino” in Hoffman, *En la Araucanía*, 17.

<sup>421</sup> Father Siegfried was at the Villarrica Mission until December 1903.

<sup>422</sup> Father Siegfried, *Crónica de la Misión de Villarrica*, 73-74

<sup>423</sup> Ibid.

At the second meeting, Mapuche leaders made their objectives clearer and framed their alliance with Capuchin friars. The longkos described the abuses committed by the German colono and district judge Federico Trapp near Putue and Purakina.<sup>424</sup> The leaders accused Trapp of stealing livestock, robbing, and assaulting local Mapuche. The extent to which the longkos concurred with the friars' previous conversion message is unknown, but there is reason to assume that Mapuche enthusiasm for Christianity and "civilization" was a means to an end. For example, mission chronicles mentioned disagreements with several longkos that verbally agreed with the friars to conduct monogamous lives but, in practice, remained polygamists. The Bavarian priests regarded these agreements and disagreements as deception, while the Mapuche interpreted their performative agreement as resistance within the negotiable space of colonial relationships and the articulation of counter-hegemonic agency.

The Villarrica Mission gatherings demonstrated how the Capuchin priests transformed the mission campus into a community space and how Mapuche leaders utilized the mission campus to make claims. By the time of the Coz Coz Parliament, Father Siegfried and Brother Woldramo from the Pangipulli Mission were established political allies. In the Coz Coz Parliament Declaration the father and brother were named among the list of Mapuche communities present. Father Siegfried became known as a defender of the Mapuche cause, a position he embraced. The Capuchin fathers supported the formation of Mapuche political identity, but their participation intentionally funneled political frustrations through mission and state channels. In Aurelio Díaz Meza's pamphlet that reported on the Coz Coz Parliament noted the prominent presence of the *padrecitos* (little fathers):

Hay la creencia de que el indio araucano está degenerado y es cobarde. ¡No es cierto! El indio es tímido, nada más. El indio es respetuoso a la ley que le enseña el misionero. Si no fuera por el padrecito que se enojaría con ellos, los indios tomarían cerca de una reducción, para quitarles sus terrenos, para robarles sus

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<sup>424</sup> Ibid., 86.

animales, para quemarles sus casas. Muchos casos ha conocido el que esto escribe en su largo viaje hasta el parlamento y de ellos escribirá más adelante.<sup>425</sup>

There is a belief that the Araucanía Indian is degenerate and a coward. It is not true! The Indian is shy, nothing more. The Indian is respectful of the law taught by the missionary. If it were not for the *padrecito* chastising them, the Indians would occupy the near size of a *reducción* to confiscate land, steal their animals, [and] burn their homes. During the author's the long trip to the parliament many cases were told that will be written about later [in this piece].

Díaz Meza underscored that the Mapuche respected Chilean law due to how the friars chastised the use of direct action and paraded legal avenues to settle disputes. A compelling argument presented by Díaz Meza was that the Mapuche were neither degenerates nor cowards, but instead shy. The degenerate accusation was vague, a criticism either alluding to polygamy or homosexuality. The coward label was unusual since a sector of the Chilean elite embraced the concept of the allegorical Mapuche warrior. Díaz Meza paints the Bavarian friars as influential figures in forming Mapuche action and strategy. For Mapuche longkos, the Bavarian friars became helpful teachers in learning the political landscape. But as the Mapuche leaders came to understand the legal system and saw that their claims went unheard, they reevaluated their relationship with the friars and the mission campus.

Within a few years following the Coz Coz Parliament, the political landscape shifted. Mapuche leaders became increasingly frustrated with Father Siegfried, pushing a political break between some longkos and the father, as well as re-focused energy by both groups on educating Mapuche children. The historian Karl Kahut explained that the failure of the Coz Coz Parliament and other public campaigns propelled Father Siegfried to prioritize the expansion of the mission schools and increase recruitment of Mapuche pupils. The Mapuche leaders and the friars expected that the Chilean government to listen and respond to the Coz Coz Parliament's proclamations. Distrust quickly developed in the aftermath of Coz Coz from all sides: "A pesar

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<sup>425</sup> Aurelio Díaz Meza, "Breve Relación del ultimo Palamento araucano de Coz Coz en 18 de enero de 1907" in Hoffman, *En la Araucanía*, 201.

de [el nuevo ley], la radicación tardó mucho en ejecutarse: tanto chilenos como mapuches dificultaron el trabajo de los ingenieros agrimensores porque ambos temieron perder sus tierras (Despite the [new law], the *radicación* (settlements) took a long time to complete: both Chileans and Mapuche made the work for surveyors difficult because they both feared in losing their lands).<sup>426</sup> The land titles never arrived and, in the Panguipulli area, Joaquín Mera accumulated more territory that led longkos to accuse Father Siegfried of complacency and complicity.

As friendly relations between Capuchin priests and longkos cooled off, the friars' relationship and social interactions with Mapuche parents exponentially deepened. Beginning in 1910 the mission schools experienced a substantial registration increase in native students. Daniel Cano demonstrated in his research that Mapuche demands to educate their children correlated with a need to learn Spanish. An example that contradicts the notion that Mapuche parents wanted their children Christianized, which comes from a story from the Villarrica Mission chronicle. In February 1910 Reverend Father Aquilino de Gänheim visited communities near the Andes Mountains taking advantage of the nice summer weather to baptize children. After over a decade of visiting families and a good number of children already attending the nearby mission school, the priests assumed the task simple enough. The chronicler explained that Mapuche mothers hid their children from Father Aquilino.<sup>427</sup> When the priest exposed the existence of a child in a given household, the women claimed that their husbands were away on business in Argentina and could not make such a decision without their consent. The priest explained that this widespread disinterest towards Church rituals was representative of a general attitude among the Mapuche communities near the Andes. When the 1910 school year opened—

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<sup>426</sup> Karl Kahut, "Un capuchino bávaro," 17.

<sup>427</sup> *Crónica Villarrica vol. 2*, entry under activities during 1910.



a couple of months after the visit—the Panguipulli and Villarrica missionary schools’ attendance rose substantially. How can these two phenomena—opposition to baptizing their children yet growing support for education—happen concurrently? Mapuche parents regarded the school as a place that would teach their children a useful skill. On the other hand, there was Mapuche precedent to oppose baptism dating back to the seventeenth century that “they regarded [baptism] as a lethal spell cast on them by missionaries.”<sup>428</sup>

Mapuche desires to educate their children in the Spanish language date as early as 1900. Reports describe Mapuche parents sending their children to either public or mission schools in Valdivia’s outer limits. Host families took in these children, requiring them to work to cover their room and board. According to Rev. Father Bucardo, many of the youth found balancing school and work too arduous and described the arrangement as indentured servitude. The Church decided to open a mission school in suburban Valdivia to educate only Mapuche children.

Demands to access education can be interpreted as Mapuche acceptance of Chilean hegemony. While that was a pragmatic position many Mapuche parents were obligated to take, this section argues that the Mapuche viewed education and mission schools as a medium to negotiate their colonial relationship. As explained, mission schools were institutions intent on eradicating Mapuche culture and pagan practices to form Christian families and worker-citizens. How successful were the friars in this project? Cano reiterated the anthropologist Rolf Foerster’s argument that “la evangelización no habría afectado sustancialmente ni las representaciones, ni los ritos ni la comunidad ritual (evangelization did not substantially affect neither the identities

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<sup>428</sup> Andres I. Prieto, *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570-1810* (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 2011), 41.

nor the rites and rituals [carried out by the] community).”<sup>429</sup> The continuance of Mapuche culture is a testament to their ability to use education to levy their political and social struggles.

The Bavarian priests represented a tradition within the Catholic conversion project dating back to the colonial period as defenders of native communities against the greed of state officials and landowners. The mission schools were institutions that allowed the friars to develop closeness with native communities, while offering them the skills to survive in modern society. At the moment of the Coz Coz Parliament, the majority of longkos were not educated and often used their children and grandchildren as translators. In other words, there was a disconnect between the assimilationist experiences between the Mapuche children inside the mission walls and the Mapuche adults who visited the mission campus from time to time. As native children internalized the new racial and class structure through conversion to the Catholic religion, adherence to the Chilean nation, and vocational training, Mapuche longkos experienced another type of education in how to articulate their positions and political subjectivity.

In returning to the methodological issue mentioned at the beginning of this section, whether the Mapuche experience in mission schools was either positive or negative, I turn to James Baldwin to elucidate this point:

Now the crucial paradox which confronts us here is that the whole process of education occurs within a social framework and is designed to perpetuate the aims of society. Thus, for example, the boys and girls who were born during the era of the Third Reich, when educated to the purposes of the Third Reich, became barbarians. The paradox of education is precisely this - that as one begins to become conscious one begins to examine the society in which he is being educated.<sup>430</sup>

The paradox described by Baldwin rests on the contradiction that education is meant to create conformity, but offers the tools to question a given society. A Foucaultian interpretation explains the impact of education on Mapuche children in absolutist terms, unable to be released from the shackles of colonial hegemony. In actuality, the results were uneven assimilation within a

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<sup>429</sup> Cano Christiny, “Educación para mapuches,” 48.

<sup>430</sup> James Baldwin, “A Talk to Teachers” in *James Baldwin: Collected Essays* (The Library of America, 1998), 678.

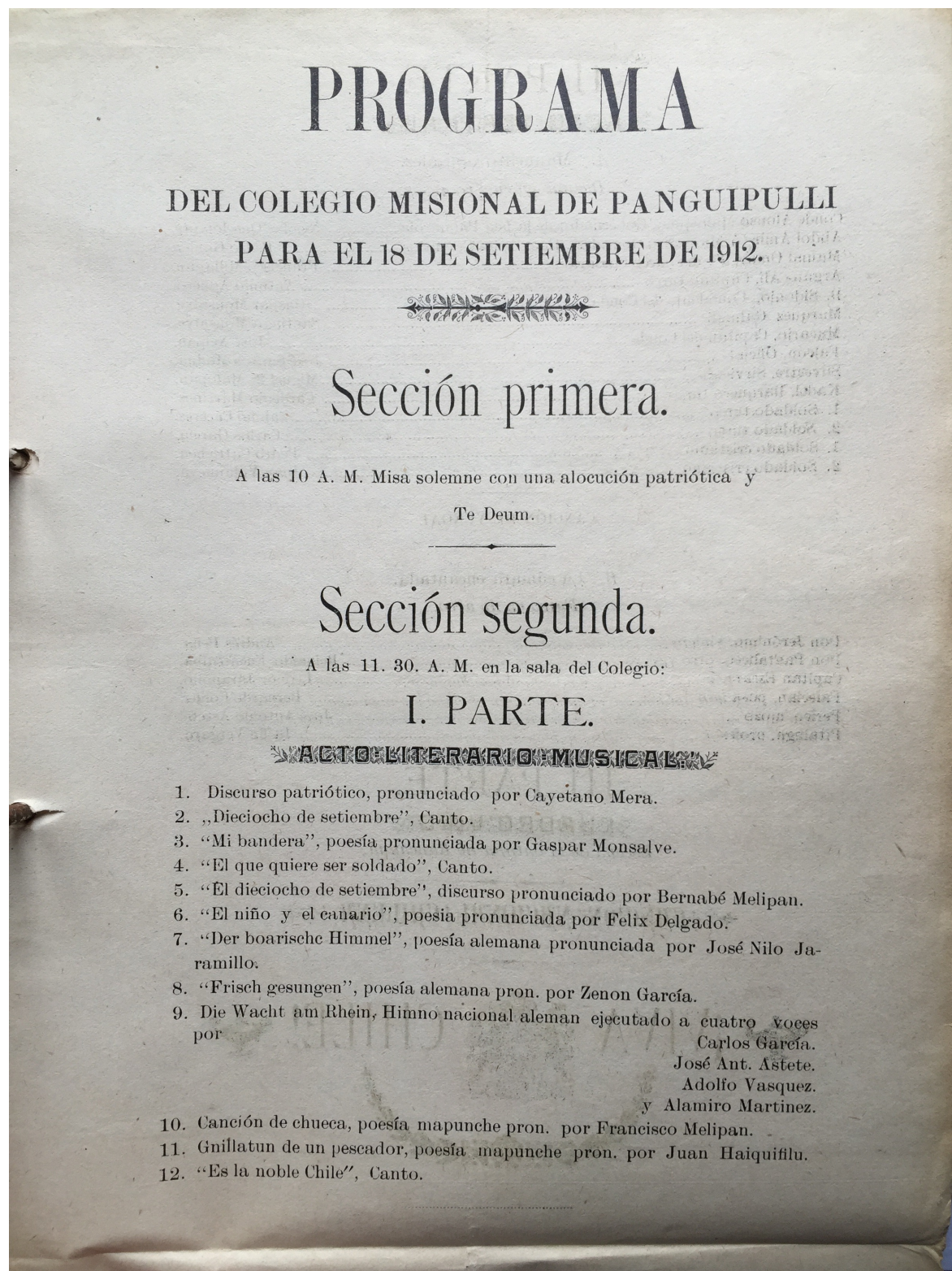
“respectful integration.” Elders lamented the erosion of their culture, but children were able to function in two worlds. Mapuche youth who moved to urban centers experienced assimilation as they integrated into Chilean popular culture, as well in their creation of new familial networks through marriage. Mapuche children, however, showed their agency by either running away from the mission school (in which fathers did not attempt to retrieve the youths) or through other forms of passive resistance in the schoolyard, classroom, or when they returned home during holiday breaks. At the same time, there are the cases of Tomás Alcapán and Margarita Pucchi who demonstrate the effects of assimilation—the first through conversion as a priest and the latter through deep shame for her native heritage. All these realities existed together: Mapuche children resisted, assimilated, denied their indigenusness, and formed a Mapuche political subjectivity.

### Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that as a racial complex formed in conjunction with capitalist economic structure in La Araucanía, Mapuche communities used education and the mission campus to broker their children’s future and claim land rights. The first section demonstrated how quickly racism took hold, affecting the inhabitants as was seen in the example of the mestiza teacher Margarita P. Puchi. The second section discussed how the Bavrian friars enacted the cultural and political expressions of the Chilean nation through the mission school’s curriculum and school performances. The final section analyzed how the mission campus became a space for Mapuche leaders to congregate and articulate political demands. In conclusion, this chapter argued that the mission campuses represented multiple realities for Mapuche children and Mapuche leaders. Within the mission school walls, the friars participated

in teaching children racial difference and patriotism to the Chilean nation. For Mapuche parents and longkos, they weighed in the usefulness in creating alliances with priests and their children learning the Spanish language. The terms of negotiation between friars and Mapuche communities were in constant discussion and at times at odds. Nevertheless, the friars persevered in their mission work and the Mapuche persisted in their struggle.

Fig. 4.1: The September 18, 1912 Panguipulli Mission Program<sup>431</sup>



<sup>431</sup> Folder Panguipulli 1903-1919, 1936, ADV.





## Epilogue - Conclusion

In Clyde Ellis's study about Christian-run native boarding schools that educated Kaiwa children in the southern U.S., he noted, "Education was not some neutral enterprise, it was a way to conduct a peaceful war on Indian children."<sup>432</sup> Consequently, James Baldwin stressed that the paradox of education "is [that it is] designed to perpetuate the aims of society" but "as one begins to become conscious one begins to examine the society in which he is being educated." The two quotations encapsulate the political arc in which Mapuche children in La Araucanía experienced education under Chilean occupation and how, for native youth, modern education functioned as a double-edge sword. Public and mission schools were institutional intermediaries that assimilated indigenous youths into Chilean citizens. It gave them the language, work, and political skills that allowed them to frame their political place in Chilean society. In other words, schools functioned as a space of political duality, where native children entered the passage towards Janus's gate. But rather than an entryway of transition from one world to another, indigenous youths used education to prop open the gate to strategize the continuity of their cultural and political existence.

From 1883 to 1920 education was a transformative institution that developed national unity and assimilated Mapuche children into the social and economic needs of the Chilean state. Following Chile's military victories in their dual expansionist wars, the elite embraced the policies proposed by education reformers to enact a national curriculum and implement scientific pedagogical ideas emerging from Prussia. The *German turn* in education was part of a broader institutional shift that encompassed admiration for Prussian governance and idolization for

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<sup>432</sup> Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920* (Duncan, University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 12.

German citizens. The Chilean Agency of Colonization in Europe targeted Austro-Swiss and German citizens and their families to colonize and settle in La Araucanía. This strategy underscored the Chilean elite's vision that Northern European peoples were naturally equipped to industrialize the region. In addition to populating Mapuche lands, German nationals were employed to lead state education institutions such as the Pedagogical Institute and normal schools. While the German population remained relatively small in Chile, their placement in important state government offices made their appointments significant and influential. For education reformers, the transformation of state education and the application of German education science and concentric learning assured the formation of a singular nation citizen identity. The public education revolution reflected broader changes made to the Chilean state infrastructure designed to streamline the industrialization of the nation. The Chilean elite, however, did not consider native peoples as political actors in the making of a modern Chile. The Mapuche, nevertheless, carved their political place and education was a key factor that made that possible.

The entry of Mapuche children into public and mission schools marked a turning point in Mapuche-Chilean social relations, in which government officials utilized education as a means for cultural and economic assimilation. Depending on the school that the children attended, the quality of education was formative in shaping the youths social class standing. Children who attended Liceo de Temuco were prepared for middle-class and professional life, while the children who went to Capuchin mission schools were taught trade skills. Class informed how the youths interceded in their struggles against social injustices, including racism and land theft. For example, Liceo de Temuco graduates embraced legal avenues and land privatization as legitimate means to achieve social equality. In contrast, rural-based youths whose families were



involved in armed confrontations with settlers and landowners viewed direct action as a necessary form of resistance.

The modern school curriculum coupled with the mass arrival of Chilean and foreign settlers in the region were essential in the development of a class-based racial complex in La Araucanía. Within the span of one generation under Chilean occupation, Mapuche and mixed-race children internalized shame for their native ancestry. Racism and racial hierarchy impacted social relations and political subjectivities. Educated Mapuche, for example, used their professional and intellectual skills to prove to Chileans and Europeans that the Mapuche are their human equals. The educated Mapuche, Manuel Mañkilef, poignantly noted that “la inferioridad de nuestra raza está sólo en la mente del usurpador (the inferiority of our race is only in the minds of the usurper).”<sup>433</sup> Mañkilef’s words highlighted that power obfuscates rationality producing for the elite the fantasy of racial superiority. Rural Mapuche, who were offered limited education, spent their time organizing the defense of their lands when wingka landlords burnt down their *rukas* and murdered their family members. Mapuche youths educated in public and mission schools learned the Spanish language, Western ideas, the Christian religion, and, in addition, the racial politics of Chilean society that categorized native children as racially other.

As Chilean hegemony expanded across La Araucanía, Mapuche communities and families realized the necessity for their children to learn the wingka language. Mapuche children entered both public and mission schools in increasing numbers, where the Bavarian-run Capuchin schools educated the vast majority of these youths. The Bavarian friars, who strived to Christianize the Mapuche people, were obligated to negotiate with Mapuche parents the terms of their children’s education. Concurrently, Mapuche longkos recognized the value in generating a

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<sup>433</sup> Foerster and Montecino, *Organizaciones*, 22.

political alliance with the Capuchin priests to gain political leverage in their ongoing land struggles. Even though the relationship between longkos and priests deteriorated by 1920, these events demonstrated that as Chilean state presence and the hacienda class power increased, Mapuche communities asserted their social and political agency.

Mapuche children educated in public and mission schools became important figures that understood the politics of Chilean and Mapuche societies and articulated the early politics of Mapuche political subjectivity. Mapuche political organizations between 1900 and 1920 represented different class interests, underscoring that the Mapuche—as a people and their political opinions—were not homogenous. While Chilean pedagogues and government officials assumed that education and land reform would bring about the disappearance of the Mapuche people, their perseverance to maintain their culture illuminated the historical contradiction of Chilean national history that Wallmpu *is* an occupied territory. In framing Chilean history in this manner, what becomes apparent is that for the Chilean state and Catholic Church's colonization projects to succeed, both were dependent on how the Mapuche *reacted* to their ventures. Would they fully assimilate into the capitalist economy and embrace the Catholic faith? In the longer arc of history, these initiatives were partially successful, and considering current-day developments in La Araucanía and the level of Mapuche political presence in national politics, one can easily argue that the colonization project has been unsuccessful.

Nonetheless, Mapuche culture has been scarred and broken by the Chilean state's racist policies. As an example, Chilean race politics has impacted the family history of this dissertation author. Her grandfather, Raul Rioja, was born in Lonconche in La Araucanía and was the offspring of a Spanish-descent landowner and a poor rural woman who worked on his hacienda. An arrangement was made to present baby Raul as a Christmas gift to the landowner's barren

wife. Raul never met his birth mother, but many assumed that she was Mapuche or mestiza due to his complexion. Raul's second son, also named Raul, married a Mapuche woman and they had two daughters. The young women, as per Chilean custom, legally carried both parents last names. However, due to anti-native racism, the young women hid their native Pichipil surname and created social distance from their Mapuche family. In this short family story, the Chilean state proved successful in breaking native historical and cultural linkages. Therefore, the failure that this dissertation emphasizes was the inability by the Chilean state and Catholic Church to fully eradicate Mapuche culture and political presence.

Since the 1990s, there has been a native cultural and political revival across the Americas that motivated younger Mapuche to embrace their native identity and escalate claims for land rights. Beginning in the early twentieth-century October 12 became known as the Day of the [Hispanic] Race (and Columbus Day in the U.S.), but was renamed in the last decade by the Mapuche people as The Day of Mapuche Resistance. Mapuche demands appeared during the 2011 Chilean university student uprising in their calls for a Mapuche University.<sup>434</sup> While the plea for a native university has not been met, the pressure for inclusion continues. In 2015, the University of Chile added Mapudungun to their course catalogue and in 2017 a journalism student defended her bachelor thesis titled “¿Pérdida o recuperación del mapudungun? (Mapudungun has been lost or recuperation?)” in both Mapudungun and Spanish.<sup>435</sup> These inclusionary examples of Mapuche history and language in Chilean academia are significant, even though greater change is necessary. In the same manner that the mass feminist movement is

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<sup>434</sup> Rick Kearns, “Mapuche Students Fight for an Indigenous University in Chile,” *Indian Country Today*, August 11, 2011 (accessed May 10, 2018): <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/mapuche-students-fight-for-an-indigenous-university-in-chile/>.

<sup>435</sup> América Jiménez P., “Estudiante de Periodismo defiende memoria de título en mapudungun,” *Instituto de la Comunicación e Imagen, Universidad de Chile* (accessed May 10, 2018): <http://www.uchile.cl/noticias/133884/estudiante-de-periodismo-defiende-memoria-de-titulo-en-mapudungun>.

forcing academic departments in Chilean universities to have difficult discussions about their institutional culture and research priorities, the recognition that race and racism formed modern Chilean history will initiate some equally complicated conversations. Rethinking the place of race in Chilean history will lead to re-evaluations of historical figures and events. *To Govern is to Educate* shows the historical relationship between education and colonization in forming modern Chile, and its political impact in developing Mapuche political subjectivity. Chilean history is in need of a radical transformation in its understanding the colonial legacies in its state modernization projects to illuminate underlining racial politics disguised in the language of class. In continuing these historical threads that tie colonialism and modernity in forming modern nations, this study seeks to push the development of race studies in Chilean academia to become a reality.

## NOTE ON TERMS AND NAMES

This dissertation uses the most common spelling and terminologies by Mapuche scholars.<sup>436</sup> The Mapuche have employed orthography to reclaim their language and challenge colonial vocabulary, as well as Spanishized translations of Mapuche names and words. For example, in archival documents, the Mañkilef and Neculmañ last names were written as Manquilef and Neculman, respectively. In this dissertation, I use Mañkilef and Neculmañ but in the citations I left the spelling in their original form. Chileans and Germans were the authors of the majority of archival material used in this project, except for the writings by the Manuel Mañkilef. The author of this dissertation did all translations from Spanish to English, unless otherwise specified. Juan Williams of Chilean-German ancestry did the translations of German texts.

Mapuche, in this text, is used in both plural and singular forms. In Mapudungun (the Mapuche language), *mapu* means earth or land and *che* means people.<sup>437</sup> The capitalization of Mapuche is a grammatical rule for proper nouns in the English language but also done in the tradition of recognizing historically oppressed peoples. The term Wallmapu, in which *wall* means all and *mapu* earth or land, refers to the Mapuche ancestral territory taken by the Chilean and Argentine armies in the late nineteenth-century. In the Chilean side of Wallmapu is La Araucanía region. Spanish colonists named La Araucanía region after the Arauco Fort that bordered the frontier.

*Wingka* (or *huinca*) is a Mapuche term that means the “new Inca” used to describe Spanish conquistadors. Following the Chilean military conquest of La Araucanía, the word evolved to refer to non-Mapuche and utilized today synonymously with white. The word *cacique* is not used in this dissertation because it was an Arawak/Taíno term that the Spaniards picked up during their time in the Caribbean and implemented homogeneously to describe all indigenous leaders in the continent. In Mapudungun *longko* means the head of a community, *weichafe* the warrior chief, and *machis* the spiritual leaders.

In archival materials, the spelling of German names represented Spanish lexicon. In the dissertation, I used the German spelling of Father Siegfried’s name, while in the documents his name was written as Father Sigifredo. In the case of Reverend Father Burkhart, he went by Reverend Father Burcardo María, which I used throughout the dissertation. The Bavarian friars did not use last names, but instead took on the name of their city of origin.

Lastly, the term *colono*, which refers to settlers, is used at times synonymously with colonizer. Colonos were Chilean and foreign settlers who either purchased or received farmlands in La Araucanía from the Chilean state. The reason for using the word colonizer and settler interchangeably is to emphasize their participation in the Chilean state’s colonization plan of former Mapuche lands.

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<sup>436</sup> I say “the most common” because there are multiple Mapudungun alphabets.

<sup>437</sup> José Bengoa, *Mapuche, colonos y el Estado Nación* (Santiago, Catalonia, 2014), 16-17.

## APPENDIX 2: TIMELINE

- 1845 President Bulnes signs the Colonization Law, creating foreign settlements on Mapuche lands (La Araucanía)
- 1848 Chilean officials make a pact with the Capuchin Order in Bologna to send missionaries to La Araucanía; arrival of first German settlers and Italian friars
- 1856 The Primary Education Society is founded
- 1860 Primary Education Law passes
- 1861 Chilean Congress approved Colonel Saavedra's Pacification Plan
- 1869 Toltén Parliament
- 1879 The War of the Pacific begins  
José Abelardo Núñez travels to the U.S. and Europe to study normal schools
- 1881 Mapuche uprising that destroys some frontier settlements and military posts  
Núñez publishes *El lector americano*
- 1882 The Chilean Agency of Colonization opens in Paris in 1882  
Manuel Nekulmañ, first Mapuche public school teacher, assigned to Escuela No. 3 in Temuco
- 1883 Peru and Chile sign the Treaty of Ancón, ending the War of the Pacific  
*La derrota* (defeat), Mapuche army surrenders in Villarrica  
Comisión Radicadora de Indígenas is re-established
- 1884 Claudio Matte publishes *El nuevo metodo*
- 1885 German Scientific Society in Santiago is founded
- 1887 Temuco city founded by the German engineer Teodoro Schmidt  
Instituto Pedagógico is established in Universidad de Chile
- 1889 The First Pedagogical Congress is held in Santiago  
Liceo de Temuco is founded
- 1891 Chilean Civil War, President Balmaceda is killed
- 1895 The Bavarian Capuchin Order takes over La Araucanía mission
- 1899 Tomás Guevara is named the new director of Liceo de Temuco  
Villarrica Mission is founded
- 1902 Padre Las Casas Mission is founded
- 1903 Panguipulli Mission is founded
- 1904 Nicolás Palacios publishes *Raza Chilena* and Guevara publishes a critical review
- 1907 Coz Coz Parliament
- 1909 Rodolfo Lenz forms the Sociedad de Folklore Chileno
- 1910 Sociedad Caupolicán Defensora de la Araucanía is founded  
Manuel Mañkilef presents his study "La faz social" to the Sociedad de Folklore Chileno, published a year later in 1911  
Lonquimay and Llaim-Cunco missions established
- 1911 Coñaripe Mission founded
- 1913 Lenz ends the Sociedad de Folklore Chileno due to growing xenophobia
- 1918 Xenophobic laws target Peruvian and German immigrants
- 1920 Compulsory Education Law passed

## APPENDIX 3: MAPS<sup>438</sup>



### La Araucanía



<sup>438</sup> Top map from Lonely Planet at <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/south-america/chile/>. Bottom map from <http://www.angelfire.com/de/araucania/ocupacion.html>. Both accessed May 25, 2018.

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