Spring 4-19-2023

CAUTIVIDAD: DECONSTRUCTING NOTIONS OF RACE AND NATION IN ARGENTINA 1776–1840

Whitney Rue Wagner

Whitney Rue Wagner
Candidate

Latin American Studies
Department

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Thesis Committee:

Judy Bieber , Chairperson

Ray Hernández-Durán

Angelica Serna-Jeri

CAUTIVIDAD:
DECONSTRUCTING NOTIONS OF RACE AND NATION IN ARGENTINA 1776–1840

by

WHITNEY RUE WAGNER

BACHELOR OF ARTS IN
INTERNATIONAL INTERCULTURAL STUDIES & SPANISH

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Latin American Studies

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 2023

Acknowledgements

Thank you to the members of my committee, Judy Bieber, Ray Hernández-Durán and Angelica Serna Jeri, for their support and insight throughout this process, without which this research would not have been possible.

This research would also not have been possible without funding from the Latin American and Iberian Institute's Field Research Grant.

I would like to thank Professor Shannon Withycombe and Professor Liz Hutchinson for their feedback.

To Helena, thank you, your love and friendship have kept me going.

Thank you, Peter, for your unceasing encouragement, you have always made me feel capable.

And lastly, to my family, I am indescribably grateful. For your faith in me, your constant reassurance, your support, it has never wavered. I would not be here if it were not for your love, thank you.

CAUTIVIDAD:
DECONSTRUCTING NOTIONS OF RACE AND NATION IN ARGENTINA 1776–1840

Whitney Rue Wagner

Bachelor of Arts in International Intercultural Studies and Spanish Honors
Pitzer College

Master of Arts in Latin American Studies
University of New Mexico

ABSTRACT

This project is an exploration of the construction and contestation of whiteness in Argentina through the lens of women's captivity in the middle period. This research explores how representations of captive women were used to construct a national identity via gender, race, and ethnicity, exploring some of the foundational work that would lead to the *myth* of Argentina as a white nation. By focusing on the various roles these captive women played and centering the complex liminal spaces they negotiated this work seeks to challenge elite historical representations of captive women by highlighting their nuanced socio-political role amongst Indigenous, specifically Pehuenche and Spanish settler populations.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

On April 14th of 1832, the Secretary of State of Juan Manuel de Rosas, then dictator of Argentina, received a letter from a woman attempting to broker an exchange. She requested that an Indigenous captive woman be sent as an intermediary to rescue her daughter from captivity.[1] While the details, such as the names, stories, and ethnic identities of the Indigenous people in this anecdote and the outcome of this exchange, are unknown, what is clear is the relevance of captive women to structuring Indigenous and settler relationships.

Portrayals of captive women's experiences were abundant in nineteenth-century Argentina, and this fascination has not yet waned. Today there remains a romanticization and eroticization–regardless of the lack of women's ability to refuse advances–around captive settler women's relationships with their Indigenous captors, as exemplified in the popular novel *Indias Blancas* by Florencia Bonelli (2005). While the relationships between Indigenous men and settler women remain a topic of interest in both the national narrative and popular literature, it often overlooks Indigenous women's captivity by settler men. Captive women of all ethnic and racial identities were subject to assault. Still, their identities and those of their captors informed their treatment and the collective public memory of their experiences. [2]

Cautivas are often mentioned in the national and provincial archives, from requests for their returns, logistics for their journey home, the goods for which they were

[1] AGN, S10-1809, º95 (1832). Unfortunately, due to the mis categorization of the document I was unable to access it and could only read the document description in the digital inventory.

[2] When I discuss captive women throughout this work, I am referring to settler or Indigenous women. While there were many captive women kidnapped from Western Africa and forcibly brought to Rio de la Plata and beyond, their experiences as captive women are beyond the scope of this study.

exchanged, or a minimalist description of the number rescued or kidnapped. Their names are rarely recorded, let alone the details of their captivity. Most secondary sources regretfully acknowledge the lack of primary source information on women's captivity in Argentina. These secondary sources rarely speculate about the silence surrounding settler and Indigenous women's captivity. Yet, I believe the exercise is valuable. Susana Rotker, in *Captive Women: Oblivion and Memory* (2002), suspects that the lack of women's first-hand accounts was likely due to their gender and class identities.[3] While this may seem obvious, it nevertheless holds merit and should be stated. It is crucial to highlight how class, gender and race informed women's lived experiences and are likely the reasons for their archival silence. One reason for their silence, I postulate in the coming chapters, is related to women's perceived lack of honor due to their implied rape as captives. Captivity was informed by gender. Male captives' experiences were of value to the government, as providing information about their captors and was of military importance. Male captivity narratives proliferated until they became their own literary genre. Captive women's experiences, however, were not fit for press, nor were they seen as militarily strategic; apparently, they could offer no such insights. I believe this discrepancy is related to women's honor, which is subject to different rules than men.[4] Therefore, the idea or act of recording *cautivas'* declarations was counterintuitive, illogical, and irrelevant, which could partly explain their absence in the archival records.

---

[3] Susana Rotker, *Captive Women: Oblivion and Memory in Argentina*, 1 online resource (xvi, 236 pages) vols., Cultural Studies of the Americas, v. 10 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), http://site.ebrary.com/id/10194365.

[4] Although men could of course be raped and their honor was also subject to scrutiny, men's honor was subject to different criteria than that of women's honor. Women's honor hinged very closely on sexual purity, of which rape challenged.

While I can only speculate about the why of the silence, historian Saidiya Hartman discusses the political and social ramifications of such silences.

> The effort to reconstruct the history of the dominated is not discontinuous with dominant accounts or official history, but rather, is a struggle within and against the constraints and silences imposed by the nature of the archives."[5]

The very nature of this work requires contesting and questioning the silence around *cautivas* while attempting to tell the subaltern's stories through the dominant society's methods and perceptions. As Hartman states, "there is no access to the subaltern consciousness outside dominant representations or elite documents."[6] It is within this framework that the reading against the grain must occur. It often involves thoughtful and informed speculation. Hartman calls this speculative historical work 'critical fabulation.' My primary sources are often fragmentary, leaving questions unanswered. A complete history is frustratingly impossible to grasp, but does not mean that the stories of cautivas needs to be left untold.

This research uncovers a social history of captive women in the mid-nineteenth century by observing and interrogating their presences and silences in the archive. It explores how elite men portrayed their likeness in a way that did not reflect their lived experiences. The difficult choices these women made were often not captured in the essentialized and eroticized representations of captivity. Despite the lack of *cautivas'* first-hand accounts, by exploring the importance of their roles in negotiating and mediating Indigenous and settler relationships, this work centers and humanizes these women and their critical contributions. Although the details are frequently inaccessible,

---

[5] Saidiya Hartman, "Introduction," in *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 3–14, 11.
[6] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 10.

an idea of their lives and journeys can be surmised. This work remembers and reconstructs *cautivas'* lives and begins to tell their history.

A Brief History of Argentina

For the vast majority of Spain's imperial rule in South America, modern-day Buenos Aires, was little more than a peripheral port town. The Viceroyalties of La Nueva Granada and Peru were the centers of the empire's rule in the South. Buenos Aires, originally known as Río de la Plata, was first settled by Juan Díaz Solís on behalf of the Spanish Crown in 1516. However, Río de la Plata was razed to the ground in the 1530's by a variety of different Indigenous populations who objected to the settlements. The abandoned settlement was later be rebuilt in 1580, in part, to head off Portuguese expansion. Buenos Aires slowly became a strategic port city on the Atlantic coast, providing a more direct trade route with Europe and Africa. The sale of enslaved Africans began in 1595, and the first Jesuit mission was established in 1605. With the import of enslaved Africans and the export of silver, the socio-political landscape of the Río de la Plata region began to shift. As a result of its strategic geopolitical location Buenos Aires could no longer be ignored. In 1776 the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata was created, and Buenos Aires named its capital. Until then, the Río de la Plata region was largely populated by different Indigenous nations, such as the Guyacurú and Bororo peoples, the Lengua and Abipón, and the Guaraní.[7] The designation of a new Viceroyalty and increased settlement and expansion shifted settler, and Indigenous relations, as Buenos Aires only became more important to the empire. One effect of this designation

[7] "Río de La Plata - The People | Britannica," accessed February 12, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/place/Rio-de-la-Plata/The-people. This is not an exhaustive list.

was that it dramatically shifted trade routes and circumvented the Viceroyalties of Peru and La Nueva Granada as necessary stopovers. Buenos Aires became a place of imperial struggle, with the British attempting to control the territory on multiple occasions. This tension would come to a head in 1806 when Napoleon invaded Spain. With the metropole attempting to fight off Napoleon's army, the empire's periphery was thrown into turmoil. The British viewed this as an opportunity to place Buenos Aires under its own imperial yoke. The *platenses* (the inhabitants of Río de la Plata), for their part, did not willingly accept this new change of rule and fought off the British army's advances on two different occasions, the first in 1806, and the second a year later. It was these battles that catalyzed the Independence Wars.

On May 25, 1810, the *Cabildo Abierto*, a type of political public forum, declared control of the Viceroyalty and began the Wars of Independence. However, Independence from Spain was not officially declared until the Congress of Tucuman in 1816. Although the Independence army overthrew Spanish rule in South America by 1824, it did not mean the end of the War. With Spanish imperial rule out of the picture, the Independence armies fractured into distinct and rival factions, all vying for control of the newly liberated territories. These wars continued intermittently until the 1870s between the two political parties of Federalists and Unitarians, whose differences will be explained in greater depth shortly. Juan Manuel de Rosas (1793–1877) cemented his rule as a dictator and governor of the Province of Buenos Aires in 1829, a position of power he enjoyed until a coup in 1852. During his rule, Rosas oversaw the development of a cattle ranching economy. This resulted in settlement expansion and land grabs into sovereign Indigenous territories of the Pampas, creating warfare and increased captive taking on both sides of

the conflict. The ranching and cattle economy dramatically influenced Argentina's economy, becoming its biggest export beginning in the 1840s.[8]

After Rosas was overthrown and exiled to England, the first ratified constitution created the Confederation of Argentina in 1852. The province of Buenos Aires, however, refused to sign the constitution because of trade disagreements and ceded from the federation until a deal was reached in 1862 at which point the Confederation of Argentina became the Republic that we know today. With the civil wars behind them and a more unified central government in place, the Argentines could focus their attention and military might on the Indigenous populations in the Pampas and Patagonia.

The "Conquest of the Desert" took place between 1878–1885 and privatized the lands of the Pampas and Patagonia displacing the Indigenous populations.[9] The result of the war not only saw Indigenous peoples removed from their land but placed in labor camps and separated from their families, an act of genocide. Historians have attributed Indigenous defeat to competing interests between different Indigenous nations and inter-ethnic rifts. However, that was not the only cause for the settlers' military success. Several scholars have recently attributed the loss of Indigenous sovereignty to climate changes in the region; an intense drought had been ravaging the Pampas for several years, as had famine, thus weakening Indigenous peoples' long-term resistance.[10] Nevertheless,

---

[8] Daniel K. Lewis, *History of Argentina* (Westport, United States: Greenwood Publishing Group, Incorporated, 2001).

[9] Scholars have begun calling the "Conquest of the Desert" the War of the Desert to challenge the totalizing concept that the Indigenous peoples experienced "conquest." Sovereign and resistance movements to the nation-states of Argentina and Chile continue to the present moment in Patagonia. Indigenous presences in the Pampas and Patagonia will continue to exist.

[10] Rob Christensen, "Environment and the Conquest of the Desert, 1878–1885" in *The Conquest of the Desert: Argentina's Indigenous Peoples and the Battle for History*, ed. Carolyne R. (Carolyne Ryan) Larson, Diálogos Series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020), 71–96.

the settlers' military success meant that they privatized and sold the parcels of land for production while attempting to strip Indigenous peoples of their cultures and lifeways:

> This process allowed the forced incorporation of the Natives into the labor market at the same time that they were stripped of material belongings, territory, and their won forms of social organizations and cultural production. The genocidal process was successful in the sense that it achieved the definitive subjugation of the Natives and their incorporation into the Argentine state-nation-territory matrix, denying their existence as cultural and socio-political units.[11]

While "Conquest of the Desert" was never able to fully complete its forced assimilation of Indigenous peoples into the nation-state, it did have a profound impact on the body politic of the nation-state. Furthermore, it solidified its international borders with Chile and expanded its economic gains with more land for cattle grazing. Thus, settlers' motives became clearer for their political and economic gain, as well as for their homogenizing approach to who could belong in the nation-state.

Political Parties

Like many South American nations, Argentina underwent a tumultuous period of Independence. In Argentina, however, there continued to be violent in-fighting between different political factions in the decades after declaring independence from Spain in 1819. These internecine wars did not end until 1852 when the Unitarians, led by Justo José de Urquiza, overthrew Juan Manuel de Rosas and began a rule that dramatically shaped the nation's policies for decades to come.[12] These political developments were

---

[11] Walter Delrio and Pilar Pérez, "Beyond the "Desert": Indigenous Genocide as a Structuring Event in northern Patagonia" in *The Conquest of the Desert: Argentina's Indigenous Peoples and the Battle for History*, ed. Carolyne R. (Carolyne Ryan) Larson, Diálogos Series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020), 122–145, 129.

[12] Some consider the end of the Argentine Civil Wars to be in 1872 because in 1853 Buenos Aires succeeded and rejected the 1853 constitution, they did not agree to rejoin and accept the constitution of Argentina until 1872.

registered in the nation's cultural production, yielding a range of creative expressions that serve as invaluable documents for the study of this period. The literary and artistic works analyzed in this thesis, for example, were produced amid the national battle for control of Argentina. Thus, they could often be subtextual commentaries on different political ideologies. Therefore, it is essential to understand the distinctions between the Federalists and the Unitarians, what and whom they came to represent, and what roles they assumed concerning the local Indigenous populations in the regions they attempted to control.

Similarly, it is important to identify the writers and artists who created such works, their political stances, the nature of the work they produced, and for whom they were made. For the purposes of this thesis, the Federalist and Unitarian parties can be simplified into a few key concepts. The Unitarians believed that political control should be centralized out of the city of Buenos Aires. There were, of course, intra-party distinctions between the old and the pure Unitarians, but they were united around the agreement that provincial power should be diluted, if not eliminated.[13]

The Federalists believed in greater power and independence for provincial governments and thus emphasized localized political control. As a result of each party's geo-political locations, Federalists became associated with *gauchos* and *caudillos*. *Gauchos* were often mixed-race ranchers and farmhands, the Argentine cowboys. The fascination and sometimes distaste for the *gauchos* played a significant role in the national imaginary. Federalism came to be associated with the masses and included rural and illiterate populations and a large multi-ethnic and racial coalition. The ethnic

[13] Ariel De la Fuente, *Children of Facundo: Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency during the Argentine State-Formation Process (La Rioja, 1853-1870)*, 1 online resource (xiii, 249 pages): 1 map vols., E-Duke Books Scholarly Collection (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 24.

dimension associated with each political party became a crucial part of their distinctions and identity.[14] The Unitarians were often the elites and thus represented elite interests based in Buenos Aires. One of the Unitarians' tactics was to make out the Federalists to be backward and corrupt. According to historian, Ariel de la Fuente, "Unitarian authorities began to use the word bandit as a synonym for Federalists; later, the Federalists themselves appropriated the term and used it in a contentious tone."[15] Although Federalists were seen to represent the masses, leaders from elite families preserved patron-client relationships between themselves and the rural poor, the elite often-represented father figures in charge of preserving moral order.[16]

Despite their different ideologies and whom they came to represent in the many battles to control Argentina, Argentine historian, Halperin Donghi, articulates that the conflict between the Unitarians and the Federalists was in part led by, "a competition for the spoils of government, fostered by the impoverishment that independence and civil wars inflicted on them."[17] At the same time, the Federalists may have purported to represent the masses. Unitarians claimed to be champions of progress and modernization. However, both parties were equally involved in a more significant battle about the spoils of war and the chance to steer a new country in a direction that served their interests above all else.

[14] De la Fuente, Children of Facundo, 151.
[15] Ibid., 77.
[16] Ibid., 39, 126.
[17] Ibid., 5.

The Indigenous Populations: The Pehuenche and Mapuche

My initial focus on the Pehuenche–an Indigenous people of both the Western and Eastern sides of the Andes of modern-day Chile and Argentina–was founded on the wealth of their artistic and literary representations by settlers. It was an intentional and critical decision to specify the Pehuenche as the sole Indigenous nation of this research project to avoid reifying a monolithic representation of Indigenous peoples in modern-day Argentina, as popular cultural expressions often did. I could locate the Pehuenche as the supposed people represented in literary and artistic forms because of primary source triangulation and the location the literary work was set in. Yet another reason I chose to focus solely on the Pehuenche is for their strategic alliances. There is a wealth of information on the Pehuenche of Cuyo in the Mendoza archive, including first-hand accounts from Pehuenche caciques. This wealth of knowledge has allowed me to better understand the Pehuenche people and their interests.

The Pehuenche, a nomadic people, occupied land beyond the artificial boundaries of the Chilean and Argentine nation-states. In the summers, they ascended the mountains on both sides of modern-day Argentina and Chile, and in the winter, they gathered at its base for its more hospitable weather.[18] As the result of settler colonial expansion and increasing disputes over territory and sovereignty, the Pehuenche of the Eastern Andes eventually began to speak Mapudungun, the Mapuche language, and take on more of the customs of the Mapuche peoples, as the result of settler encroachment on Mapuche and Pehuenche lands.[19] This resulted in the Pehuenche people ultimately being subsumed

[18] José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche: (siglo XIX y XX)*, Colección Estudios históricos (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Sur, 1985).
[19] Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo Mapuche*, 92.

under the ethnic identity of Mapuche. Historian, José Bengoa postulates that by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the two ethnic groups were indistinguishable.[20] However, there are Pehuenche people today who continue to identify as Pehuenche.

Today, a tactic of some political pundits in Argentina, is to falsely claim that the Mapuche peoples, which at times can encompass Pehuenche people, are outsiders who were originally from Chile. This is fiction, but nevertheless a strategic tactic to undermine Mapuche land claims and sovereignty movements in Argentina. As sociologist, Sarah D. Warren states, "before the arrival of Europeans, Mapuche communities did not have fixed and bounded borders that marked the beginning or end of their territory. Instead, their territory was known but not nebulous, with geographic features that perhaps were not frequently crossed but that were crossed nonetheless."[21] Thus, these talking points politicians use to rile up their base are unfounded. Warren emphasizes that one of the outcomes of the "Conquest of the Desert" (1878–1885) was a fixed national border between Chile and Argentina. The result was a "symbolic barrier between Mapuche people in Chile and those in Argentina, pushing them to think of themselves less as common people, belonging to a single nation, than as two separate peoples embedded in different nation-states."[22] Today, however, a movement exists to recognize that *Wallmapu,* the Mapuche nation, supersedes national borders. Mapuche activists have reappropriated maps of the Chile-Argentina border to destabilize national boundaries and acknowledge that Indigenous peoples, specifically the Mapuche and

[20] Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo Mapuche,* 92
[21] Warren in Larson, 231.
[22] Warren in Larson, 225

Pehuenche, continue to live in these lands and have lived there since before nation-states existed. Anthropologist, Guillaume Boccara argues, "that this process not only denaturalizes the border between Chile and Argentina but also makes the territory distinctly indigenous, distinctly, Mapuche."[23]

Methods and Sources

I relied on archival research to provide the bulk of my primary source evidence. I found many mentions of captive women at the General Archive of the Province of Mendoza and the National Archive in Buenos Aires. In the documents I was able to access *cautivas* voices were always moderated by the document's creator, and their voices were therefore impossible to recover. When I encountered military records detailing women's experiences, regardless of how muted, they provided the necessary information to begin working against the grain. Military records, state records of Juan Manuel de Rosas, or occasionally ecclesiastical records yielded enough information to start a rough sketch of *cautiva* experiences. While captive women's likenesses were frequently used in popular culture in the nineteenth century, particularly to mobilize a nation, the value of their experiences as captives was not. This work begins to recover the value and experiences of captive women and their roles as go-betweens in Pehuenche and settler society. As historian, Nara Milanich accurately describes in her work on kinless children in nineteenth-century Chile, this often, "means steering an analytic middle ground between unreconstructed empiricism and wholesale poststructuralism, coaxing my sources to yield practice as well as discourse, social experience, as well as social construction." [24] This is

[23] Ibid.
[24] Nara B. Milanich, *Children of Fate: Childhood, Class, and the State in Chile, 1850–1930,* 2009, 27.

what I have attempted to do in my research. Despite their silence in the archives, *cautivas* were critical social actors in nineteenth-century Argentina. This work hopes to highlight their social experience and construction as social actors. It is a subject ripe for further exploration and which more and more scholars, specifically in the Southern Cone, are beginning to research.

Without dominant sources, it would be impossible to tell the social history of *cautivas*; simultaneously, these sources silence these women's voices. This is not an uncommon predicament when discussing a history of a subaltern subject. In future research, I would like to prioritize and incorporate oral histories of the Pehuenche people to answer questions about how they viewed settlers and document their memories of captivity to create a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon, as well as to also center non-dominant sources. I could not do so due to the limited research period, but it will undoubtedly be an area of further exploration in future research.

I have selected the date range of 1776–1840 for various reasons. In 1776, Río de la Plata was recognized as a Viceroyalty. This meant that trade goods and diplomatic functions no longer had to go through the Viceroyalty of Peru to reach the River Plate. This political and economic change would ultimately give Buenos Aires its indisputable importance to Argentina and diminish the former capital of Tucuman's importance. Thus, I selected 1776 for its economic, political, and social ramifications, placing Río de la Plata at center stage. I wanted a start date before the Wars of Independence as the Crown's and Republic's approaches to captive women would differ. I also wanted to highlight continuities from the end of the colonial period into the modern one, specifically around racial hierarchies, which is a central contribution of this work. I

selected my end date, initially in 1853, after the ousting of Dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas and the year of Argentina's first constitution. After Rosas, there was a dramatic policy shift toward Indigenous peoples of the Andes, the Pampas, and Patagonia. Thus, I knew I wanted to stay within 1852. However, the periodization was too long, given the limited period I had for research. Thus, I capped my time period in 1840, eight years into Rosas's second term. This was well into a system of territorial expansion into the Pampas and strategic alliances with some Pehuenche caciques of Cuyo. This created a new dynamic of captive-taking and acceptable exchanges for captives. The system in place for captive returns during the colonial period dramatically shifted during the beginning years of the republic, as did the function and perceptions of captive women in both settler and Pehuenche societies.

Overview

Chapter 1 provides a brief historical background of the Pehuenche before and after Spanish "contact." This context allows the reader to understand captive women's various functions in settler and Pehuenche societies. The chapter explains and contextualizes the different uses of captive women based on their captors' identities. Ultimately, it presents a brief social history of *cautivas* focusing on their social contributions and impact on frontier life and beyond. I explore how *cautivas* structured settler and Indigenous relationships. These women whose stories are rarely heard were, in fact, critical players, and this chapter reconceptualizes the importance of these women as intermediaries between two worlds and reconfigures them in the center of the narrative of frontier life. As a result, this chapter provides a theoretical framework on honor and gender in

nineteenth-century Argentina. This chapter explores how honor and gender informed the potential sexual violence of captivity and vice-versa.

Chapter 2 examines how Argentine print and visual culture utilized the image of captive settler women to mark the transition from a *criollo* to a 'white' identity in the 1830s. The early nineteenth-century definition of *criollo* in Argentina was distinct from its meaning in New Spain and South America more broadly. After the Wars of Independence, *criollo* meant, "children of the land," and referred to people born of various racial identities. Their defining commonality was that they had fought for Independence and thus were Argentines, children of the land.[25] To document this transition, I first theorize about race and its cultural contexts to then theorize about 'whiteness' in the Argentine context. This chapter explores not only the means through which whiteness was communicated but why whiteness itself was chosen as the homogenizing identity.

I explore the work of artist, Johann Moritz Rugendas (1802–1858) and poet, Esteban Echeverria (1805–1851) to explore how these works used women's captivity to structure the in-group and out-group of Argentine society through the dichotomy of "civilization" and "barbarism". "Barbarism" was largely constructed through the image of the *malón*. A *malón*, was an Indigenous warring party on horseback, and the means through which captives and livestock were taken, partly informed by an increased reliance on and incorporation into the market economy with settlers. Originally, *malones* took people, livestock, and goods captive for exchange with other societies–both within the Pampas and on the Chilean side of the Andes–or for incorporation into their

[25] Geler and Rodriguez, "Mixed Race in Argentina," 183.

respective societies however, over time the possibility of trade diminished and the taking of captives, both goods and livestock, were seen as a breakdown in alliances and in response to settler encroachment. I argue that the image of captive 'white' women by a *malón* was used to mobilize a white identity and form a body politic, despite the breadth of their experiences in the archival records demonstrating many them were a variety of racial and ethnic identities.

Chapter 3 centers *cautivas'* lived experiences as recorded in the archives. I put forth that many of these women inhabited a liminal space as go-betweens preventing them from fully belonging to either society.[26] I explore how gender and race impacted their experiences as captives and their possibilities of integration into their captor's society. As a result, I discuss the differences between settler and Indigenous women's treatment. *Cautivas'* experiences and voices, when found in the archives, frequently contest the dominant narratives put forth in popular material culture by the Argentine elite in 1830–1840. Therefore, in Chapter three, I argue that *cautivas'* lived experiences challenge elite notions of race and nation.

[26]Margaret Connell–Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001) and David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, United States: Yale University Press, 2005).

Chapter 1: A Social History of Cautivas' Contributions: 1790–1840

In the twilight of 1790, the life of María Gutierres was fleetingly recorded in the lines of a letter. Don Ambrosio Higgins, military governor of Chile, communicated business as usual to Mendoza's Don José Francisco de Amigorena, Commander of the Frontier:

> I have repeated it again with reason in the official letter on the 22nd of last September to transport the woman from Mendoza, several Spaniards in the pampas, and others from Buenos Ayres through the mountain road, in which María Gutierres is included, wife of Pascual Martinez, captive of the Indians and rescued in the Plazas on the border, in *Concepción* of this Kingdom. [27]

The transfer of captive women was a typical responsibility of these men. Its routine nature was made clear by the absence of the Mendoza woman's name, who perhaps needed an escort to Buenos Aires, or could have been a captive. Her journey to Buenos Aires was imminent, and her name was irrelevant in the dignitaries' *media-res* conversation. María Gutierres, however, was given the decency of her full name. It was likely that María Gutierres was a woman of relative status or was at least given as much importance because her husband was looking for her. Her personhood is granted via her connection to her husband.

Gutierres's long journey back to the Province of Buenos Aires would have only just begun. Her transfer is documented in a string of letters approving the funds for her journey and calling on her husband, Pascual Martínez, to collect her.[28] But who was María Gutierres? What was her experience of captivity? How and when was she taken captive? By whom? What was her transition back to settler society like? These are often

---

[27] Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina (AGPM), Época Colonial, Carpeta 41, doc. º115 (1790). "La he repetido de nuevo con motivo en el oficio a VM el 22 de septiembre ultimo para que hagan transporta a esa de Mendoza y aun disposicion luego que se franquee el camino en la cordillera varios españoles en las pampas y distintos de Buenos Ayres en que se incluye a Maria Gutierres, mujer a de Pascual Martinez, cautivos por los indios y rescatados en las Plazas en la frontera en la concepción de este Reino."

[28] AGPM, Época Colonial, Carpeta 41, º116 (1790).

impossible questions to answer, a maddeningly common experience in the archival record when regarding women's captivity in the Southern Cone. And yet, we can discern a glimpse of her return journey to settler society. Because I rely on the cavalier correspondence of important men to convey María's personhood, I cannot answer who she was in the way the question deserves. Nevertheless, this correspondence can illuminate an element of Spanish women's captivity.

María's reconnection with her husband took several months. As indicated by the back-and-forth correspondence between government officials in Chile and Mendoza, her arduous journey began in October. It would conclude in the archival record on January 28, 1791, when the Viceroy of Río de la Plata, Nicolás Arredondo, confirmed her arrival in Buenos Aires. "Among those individuals, María Gutierres belonging to this Province with her sister and cousin, I have repeated this notice to the commander of the Frontera so that her husband, Juan Pasqual Martínez, goes to pick her up if it hasn't already been verified."[29] María's return was slowed by the bureaucratic process, which required engaging government officials across the Andes, the approval and confirmation of funds for her journey to Mendoza, and then, from there, correspondence with Buenos Aires officials for another 1,000 kilometers. The distance this correspondence covered underlines the extraordinary expanse of María's removal from her residence in Buenos Aires. If nothing else, it certainly highlights the taxing journey home.

In the last letter pertaining to María's journey, the reader learns that family members had been with her in captivity, although the nature of their kinship is

[29] AGPM, Época Colonial, Carpeta 46, º87 (1790). "*Entre aquellos individuos María Gutierres perteneciente a este Provincia con su hermana y primo he repetido aviso a este comandante de Frontera para que vaya a recogerla su marido Juan Pasqual Martínez, si no lo hubiese ya verificado*."

unspecified. They were likely taken during the same raid and had probably spent the last eleven years amongst the Pehuenche like María.[30] While the correspondence indicates some of María's experience, an account of her extensive time spent amongst her captors was not recorded. The government officials did not think to question her for potentially valuable information like they would male captives, a topic of further exploration in chapter three.[31] Although we've been able to infer what a journey home may have been like for Spanish captive women, we cannot glean how she adapted to settler society after eleven years amongst the Pehuenche.[32] Did the presence of María's family by blood inform her ability to create kinship connections with her captors? How did her husband, Pascual, receive her? Would her return be cause for rejoicing, would Pascual have waited eleven years, or would he have taken up with someone new? Would she have come home to a new family in her stead and no place for her in it? If the latter, how would have María re-adjusted to settler society amongst the strict Iberian colonial notions of honor and shame without the 'protection' of a husband? Would she still have considered

[30] I am able to infer this based on which Indigenous nations were taking Spanish captives at this time, among them the Pehuenche in both Chillán and Cuyo. I am also able to infer her captors were the Pehuenche based on the Plaza's proximity to Chillán as well as the reference to the frontier of Chile which was the boundary between settlers and Pehuenche territory. Furthermore, there were intense Pehuenche malones occurring against settlers at this time. It's most likely that it was the Pehuenche because the 1770s and '80s were characterized by an endless stream of war and raiding parties against Spanish settlers that could travel as far as Buenos Aires. See, León, *Los Señores de La Cordillera y Las Pampas-Los Pehuenches de Malalhue 1770-1800*.

[31] León, 126.

[32] There are various North American captivity narratives that detail settlers womens experiences amongst their Indigenous captors that allows for possible extrapolation and elucidation of settler women's captive experiences in the Southern Cone, such examples include: William L. Andrews, *Journeys in New Worlds: Early American Women's Narratives*, 1 online resource (viii, 232 pages) : illustrations vols., Wisconsin Studies in American Autobiography (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Margot Mifflin, *The Blue Tattoo: The Life of Olive Oatman*, 1 online resource (xi, 261 pages) : illustrations, maps vols., Women in the West (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009; James E. Seaver and June Namias, *Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*, 1 online resource vols. (Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, 2006).

Buenos Aires home?[33] While these questions will be explored at greater length in my third chapter, this chapter positions María's experience within the broader socio-political role of captive women in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Although María Gutierres' voice is absent from the archival record, it does not mean her social position as a captive was unimportant.

In the written record, Indigenous women are often referred to as *rescates*, *chinas*, or *rehenes;* rarely are they referred to as *cautivas. Rescate*, means "rescue." It was a term used by settler-colonists, more specifically Christian ones, who framed the kidnapping of Indigenous peoples in the Americas as salvation from damnation. However, *rescate* can also mean ransoming, at least in the Brazilian Portuguese context. As a result of trade and porous border relations between Brazil and Argentina, it is possible that *rescate* also meant hostage in Argentina. *Rehenes* also means hostages, highlighting captives' political status as bargaining chips. C*hinas*–which will be explored in greater depth in chapter three–is a Quechua word, "c'ina", for female animals or servants. It is also defined as a term for a mixed or Indigenous woman of lower society.[34] In later decades, the term *china* developed racial and sexual connotations, becoming a derogatory term. All these words were euphemisms for captivity.[35] I explore the strategic applications of this lexicon

[33] I will answer some of these questions in this chapter, but many of them may not lead to definitive answers. This is especially the case due to my limited research period in which triangulation was complicated by a lack of funds for follow-up research in other provinces, as well as only four weeks in which to conduct all my archival work.

[34] Diana Marre, *Mujeres argentinas-- las chinas: representación, territorio, género y nación* (Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 2003), 108.

[35] Because the primary sources did not specify which ethnic group their captives pertained to I am forced to refer to Indigenous captive women in a broad sense. However, based on who the settlers were at war with, within my periodization, as well as settlers location in Mendoza, I know that some of these captives were most certainly Huilliche, Ranquel, and Pehuenche. This is not an exhaustive list.

in different situations throughout this chapter. But first, it's important to note the different situations in which these terms were used.

In the primary source documents I encountered, which consisted largely of military correspondence and government documents from the Secretariat de Rosas, the term captive was only applied to settlers. *Rescates* and *rehenes* were used to reference Indigenous captives. In some cases, these terms were used even though the placement of these women and children in *casas decentes*–elite homes for domestic service–indicated that it was unlikely these hostages would be returned to their societies of origin.[36] *Chinas* were exclusively used to refer to Indigenous women in the documents I had access to. The term *cautiva* was often referenced in the description of the document and in the document itself, especially in the Secretaria de Rosas boxes beginning in the 1820–1830s. Nevertheless, the use of the term *cautiva* occurred before Rosas was in power (1835–1852). There was one occasion in which *cautiva* was applied to a *china*, but because of mis categorization, I was unable to access it.[37] Captive was not necessarily a gendered term as it was also applied to men and boys. Nevertheless, the term captive was also frequently followed by the term Christian. Therefore, religious identity was a salient feature of captivity for the Spanish and later Argentines.

Spanish settlers' perceptions of captivity were fundamentally shaped by the religious wars between Christians and Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula, known as the Reconquest (718–1492). One of the motivating factors for the redemption of these captives was the fear that they would be converted to Islam.[38] The *Siete Partidas* (1256),

---

[36] AGPM, Epoca Colonial, Carpeta 55, ºº6 (1782).
[37] The document in question is AGN, S10-1809, doc. ºº95 (1832).
[38] Jarbel Rodriguez, *Captives & Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 1 online resource (xxiii, 225 pages) vols. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), xvii.

a statutory code for the Kingdom of Castile, further elucidates Spanish anxiety around religious conversion as, "those.....who come under the control of men embracing another belief."[39] It is within this backdrop that religious and royal support for the redemption of captives was established, a practice that was brought to the Americas. As in the Americas, some Christian captives amongst their Muslim captors, decided to stay with their captors and the children they'd had with those captors. This experience is a gendered one, for it was women captives in the Iberian Peninsula that were placed in the domestic sphere and or could become concubines. This proximity to their captors could at times lead to marriages, or at the very least an elevated status of captivity, *umm walad,* which meant the captive could no longer be sold and that upon her captor's death, the woman was manumitted.[40] Some of these parallels are salient in the experiences of Christian *cautivas* in the Americas, particularly amongst the Pehuenche. While one of the primary functions and concerns of captivity for the Spanish was religious conversion, this was distinct from Pehuenche notions of captivity. As will be explored in the following paragraphs, the Pehuenches' utility for captives was a way to facilitate exchange and trade. While, at least originally, for the Spanish who had come to the Southern Cone, captivity was a threat to the proliferation of Christianity. Their own practice of captive taken was often viewed as the religious 'salvation' of their Indigenous captives.

This chapter recovers *cautivas'* historical contributions, positioning them as vital players in settler and Indigenous societies as "cultural brokers,"[41] messengers, and

---

[39] Alfonso X, Las Siete Partidas, II:29:2–3. Found in Phillips, *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia,* 39.

[40] Jarbel Rodriguez, *Captives & Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 1 online resource (xxiii, 225 pages) vols. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007, 48–49.

[41] Weber puts forth the idea of a captive fulfilling a cultural broker position building off of Anthropologist Szaz in, David J. Weber, Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment (New Haven,

bargaining chips. I illuminate how women's captivity structured Indigenous and settler relationships as a raison d'être for warfare and a means to achieve peace. To do this topic justice, I provide a brief historical background of the Pehuenche, pre- and post-Spanish settlement. Next, I contextualize the purpose of a *malón*–an Indigenous warring party on horseback that took livestock and people captives– within a settler-colonial framework. Not all Indigenous peoples in the Southern Cone engaged in this type of warfare; therefore, I specifically focus on the Pehuenche Indigenous peoples. I argue that the *malón* was a means for the Pehuenche peoples to contest settler encroachment and engage in trade.

Settler-colonialism allows me to contextualize the violence of the *malón* within already violent structures. A settler-colonist methodology, per historian Lorenzo Veracini, critiques the dominant narrative around the representation of Pehuenche people in the primary print and visual sources. Settler colonialism excavates previously analyzed sources in a new light by focusing on the larger forces between Indigenous nations and settler-colonists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Settler Colonialism

Settler colonialism is distinct from colonialism. It is a set of systems that, "normalizes the continuous settler occupation, exploiting lands and resources to which Indigenous peoples have genealogical relationships."[42] One of the critical tenets of settler-colonialism is settler reproduction and claims to land as 'rightful' stewards. Patrick

UNITED STATES: Yale University Press, 2005), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unm/detail.action?docID=3420228.

[42] Cox, "Settler Colonialism."

Wolfe's thesis about settler-colonialism (1998) highlights how settler-colonists claimed land and how such claims worked to *remove* Indigenous peoples:

> The primary object of settler-colonization is the land itself rather than the surplus value to be derived from mixing native labour with it. Though, in practice, Indigenous labour was indispensable to Europeans, settler-colonization is at base a winner-take-all project whose dominant feature is not exploitation but replacement. The logic of this project, a sustained institutional tendency to eliminate the Indigenous population, informs a range of historical practices that might otherwise appear distinct – invasion is a structure, not an event."[43]

The goal is to legitimize these claims by removing, by any means necessary, the autochthonous peoples of the area, thereby positioning settler-colonists as the "rightful stewards." This claim can be legitimated and enacted in a variety of ways. One way is to refer to the rich and fertile grasslands of the Pampas as a desert. This discourse constructed the land as though it were uninhabited before settlement. It is a vital move of a settler-colonial framework. Veracini states, "while the very idea of settling the land is an act that is inevitably premised on the perception of "empty land," a settler inclination to disavow any indigenous presence is crucially located in Western hermeneutic traditions."[44] This theory demarcates settler's strategic encroachment onto Indigenous lands to expand extractive industries such as livestock grazing while simultaneously positioning the Pampas as "uninhabited."

Veracini argues that these narratives circulate as, "a fundamental part of everyday life, and their construction constitutes an act that allows nations, communities, and individuals to make sense of the world. Crafting stories helps to make sense."[45] The narrativization of the Pampas as a "desert" was not only the hegemonic discourse

---

[43] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 12).
[44] Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 69.
[45] Veracini, 71.

circulating about Indigenous lands. Settlers also narrativized the *malón* as the violent specter that haunted the vast 'uninhabited' space. To put it bluntly, *malones* were warring parties carried out on horseback. They often destroyed villages, killed men primarily, took women and children captive, and stole livestock. Since Spanish settlement in the Río Plata, various Indigenous nations contained Spanish expansion via raids. Among them, "to the north the Ava-Chiriguanos and the Calchaquies; in the center of the region, the Chaco groups such as the Guaycurua, the Charrua, and the Mocobi; and to the south Pampas, Pehuenche, Tehuelche, and Araucanian tribes."[46] A *malón* did not occur in a socio-political vacuum of violence.

The framework of settler-colonialism allows me to refer to settlers as such, creating a legible continuity between the colonial and state-making periods of Argentina, which experienced tumultuous identarian transitions. Whether they were peninsulares, *criollos,* or Argentines, their role as settlers remained consistent. I explore how settler and Indigenous societies benefited from the various functions captive women fulfilled. This chapter, therefore, presents a brief social history of *cautivas,* focusing on their contributions, and recuperating their oft-forgotten experiences.

The Pehuenche Peoples: A Brief Historical Background

The Pehuenche people, today known as the Mapuche, live on both sides of the Andes in modern-day Chile and Argentina. While the definitive origins of the Pehuenche people remain opaque, it is known that humans began to live in the region starting in 500 or 600 B.C.[47] The Pehuenche's name came from the coniferous seed called the Pehuén, which

[46] Susan Migden Socolow, "Spanish Captives in Indian Societies: Cultural Contact along the Argentine Frontier, 1600-1835," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (1992): 73–99, 75.
[47] Bengoa, *Historia Del Pueblo Mapuche. Siglos XIX y XX,* 18.

was harvested in the Spring months and was a staple element of their diet.[48] The Pehuenche people lived on the eastern side of the "Chilean" Andes and the Western Pampean side of "Argentina."[49] Interethnic identities developed amongst the Pehuenche in part based on more permanent settlements on either side of the Andes. Some of the permanent settlements existed along the river Laja and the river Biobío.[50] The names of different indigenous societies came to represent ethnic identities with the arrival of the Spaniards, who imposed those identities upon them, sowing more considerable distinctions between what was initially seen as distinct family units.[51] The Pehuenche underwent an ethnic transformation due to *peninsular* classifications and increased encroachment on Indigenous lands:[52]

> As the once-segmented societies of the *che* merged into new, more powerful ethnic polities, they influenced or absorbed non-Araucanian speakers. The prosperous mountain-dwelling Pehuenches, who occupied a vast Andean region…represented diverse ethnic groups, but by the eighteenth century, they had taken on many of the characteristics of Araucanians.[53]

Spaniards hastened ethnic distinctions by imposing identity categories. "Spaniards usually restricted their use of Araucano to the Natives who lived between the Biobío and

---

[48] Sergio Villalobos, *Los Pehuenches en la Vida Fronteriza: Investigaciones* (Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1989), 65.

[49] Villalobos, *Los Pehuenches,* 53. "Los pehuenches se distribuían territorialmente a ambos lados de la cordillera, transitaban por ella desde fines de la primavera a fines del otoño y ocupaban, en ese mismo período, algunos de sus valles y quebradas interiores."

[50] Villalobos, 53-54. One of the most famous captivity narratives from this region is that of Francisco Nuñez de Pineda captive of the Mapuche for seven months in 1629 detailed in his account first published in 1863. Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán et al., *El cautiverio feliz,* Biblioteca antigua chilena 5 (Santiago de Chile: Seminario de Filología Hispánica, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad de Chile, 2001).

[51] Weber, *Bárbaros,* 59.

[52] "For example, the Huilliche {Huilli, south) lived south of the Imperial River. They harvested fruits and berries found on the forest floor and in the lake region of the southern cordillera (mountain range) and on the island of Chiloé." Pilar Maria Herr, "The Nation-State According to Whom?: Mapuches and the Chilean State in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Early American History* 4, no. 1 (March 14, 2014): 66–94, https://doi.org/10.1163/18770703-00401008, 73. Herr, "The Nation-State According to Whom?" 73

[53] Weber, 59.

the Toltán—although by the mid-1700s Spaniards began to refer to Araucanians in this region as Mapuches, meaning "the people of the land."[54] The Pehuenche peoples, who have historically lived in these areas, were continually referred to as Pehuenche by *peninsulares* on both sides of the Andes until at least the 1840s. According to the "*Resumen de la cantidad de Indios infieles*" recorded in 1796, an estimated 11,188 Pehuenche people lived on both sides of the Andes.[55] In 1780, Antonio Sors, a Franciscan priest, estimated 80,000 Mapuches, at least 10,000 Pehuenches, and maybe 20,000 Huilliches.[56] This imposed distinction underlines the role the *peninsulares* had in constructing different ethnic identities. Despite these forming distinctions, Mapuche and Pehuenche were commonly referred to as '*infieles*' and "*bárbaros,*" depending on their alliances with the Spanish. *Peninsulares* could weaponize these differences by highlighting distinctions to create conflicts that would help settlers accomplish their interests.

Before Spanish settlement, the Pehuenche were societies of hunter-gatherers. They hunted *guanaco* (an animal native to south America and like the llama) and gathered the Pehuén nut and various other foodstuffs. They were a part of vast inter and intra-band trading networks between themselves and other Indigenous peoples. Historian, Sergio Villalobos notes, "from the first years of the Conquest, the Pehuenche made contact with the Spaniards as a derivation of the trade they had with the Auracanos of the

[54] Today Mapuche, is the preferred self-identification of many Indigenous peoples in the region and this applies across transnational boundaries.
[55] Villalobos, 56-57.
[56] Weber, 61. These numbers clearly cannot account for the horrific population losses already experienced as a result of *viruela* (the flu).

Llanos."[57] From the settler's end, as noted in "Conflict and Adaptation" by Kristine L. Jones, the Bourbon reforms of 1778 allowed the Spanish free trade with Indigenous peoples, kickstarting expansion into the southern parts of the Pampas. [58] This expansion opened avenues of exchange between the Pehuenche and the Spanish.

Spanish settlers added to the variety of items traded but did not alter the makeup of these networks; instead, they were primarily incorporated into these pre-existing structures.[59] While the trading networks were not dramatically changed, the Pehuenche did become accustomed to the flow of novel goods. For example, since the Spanish brought wheat flour, the Pehuenche moved away from the labor-intensive production of turning the Pehuén nut into flour.[60] They also became accustomed to wine, aguardiente, and indigo, to name some of the new staples. In return, the Pehuenche traded livestock, furs, salt, and ostrich feathers.[61] Settler incorporation into these complex trading networks meant increasing reliance on the goods settlers were exchanging. However, this dependency flowed both ways. "The Spanish depended on this trade for their supply of horses, safe conduct, and guidance to the salt flats, while the Indians of the pampas developed certain dependence on the sugar, flour, yerba, alcohol, and technology obtained through trade."[62]

These shifts, however, did not mean the Pehuenche were not benefitting from their trade and relationships with settlers. Jeffrey Erbig, in *Where Mapmakers and Caciques*

---

[57] Ibid., 26. *"Desde los primeros años de la Conquista, los pehuenches tomaron contacto con los españoles como derivación del comercio que tenían con los auracanos de los Llanos, eso es, de la Depresión Intermedia*."
[58] Villalobos, *Los Pehuenches* ,15-16.
[59] Kristine L. Jones, *Conflict and Adaptation in the Argentine Pampas 1750-1880* (University of Chicago, Department of History, 1984), 36.
[60] Villalobos, 65.
[61] Ibid., 73-74.
[62] Jones, 50.

Met (2020), demonstrates the active role Caciques had in creating and shaping the borders. Settlers relied on Indigenous polities' support "to make the borderline operative…Some caciques and their communities leveraged imperial border-making to expand their kinship, tributary, and trading networks."[63] The Pehuenche were among those who benefitted from their control over various Andean passes connecting distinct Viceroyalties. They also quickly excelled in and came to dominate the forming economy, which relied on cattle rustling and trading. In fact, the Pehuenches from Chillán:

> Became the leaders of the new market-driven economy in the early nineteenth century that involved many different Mapuche divisions, as well as remnants of the Spanish crown and newly independent patriots in its networks. This full-scale economy included cattle ranching and rustling, salt mining, the capture of guanaco (cousin of the llama), and ostrich, as well, as subsistence farming. The Mapuche and especially the Pehuenches were the dominant players in this market.[64]

The Pehuenche of Chillan's strategic adaptation to the emerging market meant they were formidable participants. The market-driven economy relied on the export of cattle and their products; by the 1820s, the industry was booming. The Pehuenche were not a monolithic identity, however. Differing interests led to differing alliances and violent skirmishes. In fact, after the treaty and parliament of 1780, the Pehuenche in Cuyo were allies of the settlers for several decades.[65] Historian, Pilar Herr, highlights how the Cuyo Pehuenches, in modern-day Argentina, did not fully cooperate with the Pehuenches from Chillán, "demonstrating their keen understanding of the larger conflict taking place on

---

[63] Jeffrey Alan Jr Erbig, *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America*, The David J. Weber Series in the New Borderlands History (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 26.
[64] Herr, "The Nation-State According to Whom?", 77.
[65] For more see Leonardo León, *Los Señores de La Cordillera y Las Pampas-Los Pehuenches de Malalhue 1770-1800* (Mendoza, Argentina: Universidad de Valparaíso, 2001) and Sergio Villalobos, *Los Pehuenches*, 206.

their lands."[66] Despite the Pehuenche being formidable players, increased dependence would spell increased conflict. Jones postulates three factors as the causes of increased dependency on cattle trading. The first was massive population losses from the epidemics spread by the Spanish. The second was increased competition over increasingly scarce resources of the cimarron. And the third was the drought from 1828 to 1832. "What began as freely chosen participation became a coercive integration into the frontier economy due to the oppressive circumstance of starvation."[67] This, of course, impacted Pehuenche's relationships with the Spanish and other Indigenous peoples.

The Pehuenche had an infamously contentious relationship with the Huilliches in the mid-to-late eighteenth century.[68] Spanish settlement and encroachment into Pampean territory impacted not only the incorporation of goods into Pehuenche society but Pehuenche relationships with other Indigenous groups too. Thus, the larger socio-political landscape of the Pampas was affected.[69] For example, Pehuenche alliances with the Puelches waned over time, and partnerships with the Spanish flourished to engage against a common enemy, the Huilliches.[70] Furthermore, the settlers would drum up inter-ethnic

---

[66] Herr, 81.
[67] Jones, 150.
[68] The role of settler-colonialism on Pehuenche relationships with the Huilliches is a potential site of further research.
[69] Silvia Ratto, "Rompecabezas Para Armar: El Estudio de La Vida Cotidiana En Un Ámbito Fronterizo," *Memoria Americana*, no. 13 (December 2005): 179–207, 192. "En lo que respecta al curso de la relación diplomática entre el gobierno y los grupos indígenas de la pampa señalemos que, desde mediados de la década de 1810, algunas incursiones indígenas comenzaron a sentirse sobre los establecimientos de la campaña bonaerense con el objetivo de apoderarse de ganado y hacer frente a los avances realizados por el gobierno sobre el sur de la provincial."
[70] Villalobos, 26 and 32.

tensions to benefit their political goals.[71] These relationships were subject to change depending on the region's time period and other socio-political dynamics.[72]

The Pehuenche people's use of captive women was referenced in visual culture, as is the case with Johann Moritz Rugendas' painting "*El Malón*" (1836). Additionally, the Pehuenche in Cuyo became allies of Mendozan settlers beginning in 1782, leaving behind ample primary source documents that provide insight into how a variety of Pehuenche peoples used captive women to structure their relationships with settlers.[73] As a result, their roles were distinct from Ranqueles, Huilliches, and Boroganos, who did not have as large of a primary source record in the early nineteenth century. Therefore, their uses for captive women were also better documented. And while I refer to the Pehuenche in a general sense for this work, there were apparent differences between them. I choose to look at the role of captive women in Pehuenche society because of their prominence in both print and visual culture. So, where did captive women fit into this network of trade? The Pehuenche were critical players in life on the frontier, and captive women were a way to build power and peace. The Pehuenche engaged in captive taking amidst the structures of settler-colonialism.

---

[71] Bengoa, *Historia Del Pueblo Mapuche; Leonardo León, Los Señores de La Cordillera y Las Pampas-Los Pehuenches de Malalhue 1770-1800 (Mendoza, Argentina: Universidad de Valparaíso, 2001).*

[72] Villalobos, 59. "Durante la época colonial estuvieron al lado de los araucanos, con quienes se semejaban, y otras veces en lucha con ellos. Vivían en conflicto con los huilliches, especialmente los de las pampas, a quienes temían bastante, y en cambio se aliban con los puelches y pampas para saquear los establecimientos hispanocriollos de Buenos Aires y Cuyo. Frente a los puestos y las fuerzas hispanocriollas de Chile se mantuvieron alejados, aunque en ciertas oportunidades, aliados con otras agrupaciones o aprovechando situaciones favorables, efectuaron incursiones y depredaciones."

[73] León, *Los señores de la cordillera,* 101.

The *Malón* as the antithesis of Settler-Colonialism

After the Wars of Independence, there was an increasing disregard towards Indigenous land claims, as more towns were being settled by *peninsulares* south of previously established boundaries.[74] While settlers perpetuated a discourse that the Pampas was a barren landscape ripe for development and expansion, the *malón* was the antithesis to such claims. The *malón*, which often consisted of hundreds of men, not only refuted the notion that the Pampas were barren but also limited the possibility for settler expansion. Historian, Geraldine Davies-Lenoble addresses the shift in territoriality when she writes that, "while, in colonial times, the Pehuenche territoriality went from Villacurá to the north and west of the mountain range, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they were concentrated between Antuco and Chillán on the mountain range, and in Varvarco, Barrancas and Malargüe to the east of the mountain range."[75] She addresses the geographic shift of the Pehuenche people in the face of settler expansion. It was not until the 1850's that the roughly 90,000 settlers finally 32utnumberred the approximately 21,000 Indigenous people of the Pampas. This was largely the result of the catastrophic devastation smallpox inflicted on Indigenous populations.[76] As the decades wore on, these once cordial relationships began to fray, and tensions began to rise between the Indigenous nations of the Andes and Pampas, with the settlers.

---

[74] Ratto,"Rompecabezas Para Armar," 192. *"En lo que respecta al curso de la relación diplomática entre el gobierno y los grupos indígenas de la pampa señalemos que, desde mediados de la década de 1810, algunas incursiones indígenas comenzaron a sentirse sobre los establecimientos de la campaña bonaerense con el objetivo de apoderarse de ganado y hacer frente a los avances realizados por el gobierno sobre el sur de la provincial.*"

[75] Geraldine Davies Lenoble, "La Resistencia De La Ganadería: Los Pehuenches En La Economía Regional De Cuyo Y La Cordillera (1840-1870)," *Revista Historia* 52, no. 2 (December 2019): 341–72, 349. "*Mientras que, en épocas coloniales, la territorialidad pehuenche iba desde Villacurá hacia el norte y el oeste de la cordillera, a principios del siglo XIX se fueron concentrando entre Antuco y Chillán sobre la cordillera, y en Varvarco, Barrancas y Malargüe al este de la cordillera."*

[76] Jones, *Conflict and Adaptation*, 140.

The Pehuenche's homeland was not a viable area for rearing livestock. Yet, their increased reliance on the consumption and trade of animals meant that they and their herds would begin to occupy more significant swaths of land, resulting in ecological degradation. As a result, *malones* became a way to keep from starving and to continue engaging in trade via their livestock with settlers across the cordillera. These warring parties fulfilled various functions, from checking settler encroachment to engaging in the emerging market economy of livestock and forcing negotiations amongst other Indigenous nations and *peninsular* settlers.

Veracini's analysis re-frames the dominant perspective of the *malón.* The *malón*, can be seen as a response to settler-colonist encroachment and increased instability. It can be better understood to demarcate boundaries and mediate increasingly brazen land grabs. Historian David Weber highlights how the adaptation to the horse and its use were able to contest Spanish expansion in the case of the Auracanians, Pampas, Comanches, and Apaches when they were respectively able to come together under a hierarchical structure. "Coalescing, even temporarily, could make them more effective at defending themselves from Spanish encroachment, appropriating property from Spaniards, or negotiating the terms of trade or peace."[77] This was clearly the case with the *malón* often bringing together different bands of Pehuenche or cross-ethnic alliances in the face of a common enemy. This approach to maintaining Indigenous sovereignties did not stop settlers from viewing the *malón* as a violent specter that haunted their settlements and, more importantly, their women. Ultimately, this narrativization in print and visual culture

[77] Weber, *Bárbaros*, 78.

of the *malón* justified settler aggression and violence toward Indigenous peoples and constructs settlers as benevolent actors. Settlers, however, were not innocent.

The *peninsulares* often engaged in reciprocal warfare, taking women captives, killing men, razing *tolderías*–the homes of the Pehuenche and other Indigenous peoples–and stealing livestock. Settlers, unsurprisingly, did not view themselves as part of a *malón;* however, it is possible the Pehuenche could have perceived them as such. Settlers taking of Indigenous women was viewed as 'distinct' from what the Pehuenche were doing. They framed it as rescuing the women from 'barbarism' and saving their souls from damnation. These women were considered *rehenes,* hostages, or *rescates,* rescued from eternal damnation–not captives–at least from a settler perspective. This also served a principal function of a settler project. Indigenous peoples forcibly removed from their lands was one part of the structure that would lead to dispossession and later genocide in the "Conquest of the Desert" (1878–1885). Settler and Indigenous actors took captives for different motivations and ends.

These distinctions between settlers' perception of their taking of captives from their Indigenous counterparts raise several questions. Who was considered a captive woman? And what function did they serve in distinct societies? How did these women contribute uniquely to settler and Indigenous communities? What were their roles? I answer these questions in the following sections, demarcating the socio-political roles of captive women in Pehuenche and Spanish social structures.

Captives in Settler Society

Women and children were primarily taken captive by both sides, during violent confrontations between Indigenous peoples and Spanish settlers. However, the Spanish

did not discriminate, and their captives were not solely Pehuenche.[78] Regardless of Indigenous nation, Indigenous captive women in settler society had a proscribed set of possibilities, all related to labor. The type of captivity the women and children endured depended upon the intended use of their labor, working as *peones*, domestic laborers, or in various frontier capacities, which could include sexual labor.[79]

In Spanish America, particularly in the Southern Cone, Indigenous women's unwaged labor benefited elites financially and morally, for if the elites oversaw their 'civilizing' instruction, these acts were regarded as providing a pious service. However, this benefit was not exclusive to the elite but could also apply to the militiamen who often worked in proximity to these captives. These Indigenous women could have become domestic servants or partners of these military men, as will be explored in a later chapter. Their presence in '*casas decentes*' could also provide status for elites. The social and financial benefit of Indigenous captives to settlers is exemplified in a draft letter from Don José Francisco Amigorena, Army Commander of the Frontier, to the Viceroy of the Río de la Plata, Don Pedro de Cevallos, on May 14, 1782.

Amigorena was holding sixteen Indigenous *rehenes* at his home and thus demanded financial support. If Viceroy Cevallos was unwilling to augment Amigorena's salary from four to eight *reales* a day to care for these captives, Amigorena threatened to place them in "*casas decentes*."[80] While it is uncertain whether the Viceroy agreed to grant the request or the conditions in which the captives were held, Amigorena's cavalier threat

[78] Geraldine Davies, "Rescates o compras,"118.
[79] Davies, 126.
[80] AGPM, Epoca Colonial, Carpeta 55, ºº6 (1782).

alludes to the function of Indigenous *cautivas* in settler society. Placing the rehenes in "*casas decentes"* served multiple purposes.

Domestic labor put women and children at greater risk of a particular kind of violence. *Cautivas* working in the home were vulnerable to sexual violence.[81] This is not unique to Indigenous prisoners but was characteristic of domestic labor; these women were often vulnerable to abuse and other forms of exploitation. Nor was this unique to the Southern Cone. The violence captive people faced in the domestic sphere was also familiar in colonial New England.[82] Indigenous captive women were forced to endure their captors' sexual and labor desires. The sexual violence captive Indigenous women experienced will be explored at greater length in chapter three through the civil trial of Francisco Calvete, who was accused of sexually assaulting Indigenous *cautivas*. The various functions of Indigenous women captive labor in settler society came to serve different proponents of settler-colonialism.

The captivity of Indigenous women and children was critical to settler colonialism. To start, their captivity disrupted Pehuenche family structures, interrupted population growth, and removed Indigenous peoples from the land, furthering a settler colonist project:

> The 1833–34 ransoming of 707 captives from Araucanian tribes, which themselves totaled about 8,000, appears to have seriously crippled the native economy. It should be remembered that only 340 of those captives were above the age of 14.[83]

---

[81] Luis Miguel Glave, "Mujer indígena, trabajo doméstico y cambio social en el virreinato peruano del siglo XVII: la ciudad de La Paz y el Sur andino en 1684," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 16, no. 3 (1987): 39–69.
[82] Evelyn Nakano Glenn states, "Settler men spoke of their desire for Native American women whom they could use as domestic servants and sex slaves." Glenn, "Settler Colonialism as Structure," 58.
[83] Socolow, "Spanish Captives", 99.

This removal from family, culture, and geography at a young age severed the connection to Indigenous identity. If the captives were removed from their society of origin at a young age, they would be unlikely to remember much of it, making it easier to acculturate them. [84] Yet another tenet of settler colonialism is cultural assimilation, "stripping indigenes of their culture and replacing it with settler culture."[85] By incorporating Indigenous captives into the workforce of settler society, future generations grew up disconnected from their Indigenous kin. Furthermore, as with Apache children in the Southwest Borderlands, the Spanish baptism of Apache captives signified their intent to keep them in settler society.[86] Taking children captive thus was also about Catholicizing and acculturating them to settler society. Captivity was a method of forced cultural assimilation. [87] Settler intentions of captivity initially had a distinct understanding of the function of captivity, and it was not one associated initially with trade.

In August 1823, a national Police Department Record in Buenos Aires records the distribution of ninety-four *Indios* and seventeen *Indias* to individual landowners and another sixty-eight *Indios* to the administrator overseeing the cathedral's construction.[88] The clergy took Indigenous prisoners to be interned at the missions under the name of 'civilization' and 'salvation.' Missionaries were yet another piece of the structure of settler-colonialism and had an active role in the circulation of Indigenous captives. The

[84] It is also likely that some of these captives were either mixed, from the union of settler captive women and Pehuenche men.
[85] Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1, no. 1 (2015): 52–72, 54. This was also a common practice in colonial New England.
[86] Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, 222.
[87] One example can be found at the AGPM, Epoca Independiente, Carpeta 61 Documento º20 (1815), in which Fray Domingo Garcia informs the intendant governor of a *criado* of ten years old and the criado's placement.
[88] Archivo General de la Nacion Argentina, X, 13-1-6 in, Ratto "Para que quieren tener," 55.

Church also played an important role in returning settler *cautivas* to settler society, a service clearly not extended to the Indigenous peoples of the Pampas and Andes.

While free labor could prove lucrative, so could the selling of captive Indigenous peoples. Historian, Susan Socolow mentions as much in her article, "Spanish Captives" (1992). Despite being illegal to enslave Indigenous peoples in the Spanish Americas after the Laws of Burgos (1512) and the New Laws (1542), "In 1750, the Jesuit Andreu mentioned a government official in Salta who had captured some Indian children and was selling them for 100 pesos a piece."[89] Rescate was a legal loophole that allowed the continual profit of enslaving and selling Indigenous peoples; this was also a prevalent practice in Brazil. The notion of a 'just war' allowed these captives to become an enslaved labor force, another tidy workaround of the Laws of Burgos and the New Laws. Therefore, not only did Indigenous captives' unpaid labor benefit the wealth and status of elite settlers and serve a settler colonial project by dislocating captives from their ethnic and communal ties and identities, but they could also be sold for profit. However, Indigenous captives' use was not limited to their labor.

The captivity of Indigenous women and children experienced an uptick during the Wars of Independence, becoming "an officially sanctioned aspect of frontier warfare."[90] As a result, Indigenous captivity cannot be understood *only* as a labor force. Their detention was one of many tools of warfare in the settler's repertoire. For example, after the battle at Malalhue in 1780 against the Pehuenche, some 123 prisoners, primarily women and children, were distributed amongst 'casas decentes.'[91] Records of Indigenous

[89] Socolow, 81.
[90] Milanich, *Children of Fate*, 185.
[91] Leonardo León, *Los Señores de La Cordillera y Las Pampas-Los Pehuenches de Malalhue 1770-1800* (Mendoza, Argentina: Universidad de Valparaíso, 2001), 79.

women's captivity in the 1810 Argentine census are a testament to this practice. Historian, Silvia Ratto states, "In 1810, there were seventeen registered Indigenous "*rescates,*" and by 1836, there were around a hundred-and-forty-seven "*rescates.*"[92] While census records are not a complete picture of the number of captive Indigenous women and children, this example emphasizes the increasingly commonplace practice in the nineteenth century, as Argentines expanded further into Pehuenche territory. Both parties faced increased competition over scarce resources. It was also a way to replace labor that was being lost to fight in the Wars of Independence. This uptick in Indigenous captivity should be analyzed within a settler-colonist logic of removing Indigenous peoples from their cultures, languages, and ways of life. This tactic would be appropriated in later wars where prisoners became enslaved, a practice of Spanish settlers in the Southwest of the United States. This practice was particularly the case for Apache captives of the Spanish. "Taking the legal distinction between *cautivos* and *prisioneros* as a free pass for wartime enslavements, soldiers and civilians gradually but inexorably ravaged Apache family bands for their kinswomen."[93]

Lastly, captive Indigenous women could be used as messengers in warfare. In 1780, the Viceroy of Río de la Plata, Juan José de Vertiz, communicated with the General Commander of the Frontier, Don Joseph Amigorena, on negotiating peace with Pehuenche Cacique Ancan. Vertiz affirms Amigorena's tactical decision to initially free an Indigenous *cautiva* to broker a parlay:

> It is a good idea to dispatch a captive woman to warn the cacique Ancan of the success of the expedition and to frighten off this enemy, proposing to him at the same time that he seeks peace and delivers those that he has in his power so that

[92] Milanich, 126.
[93] Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), http://site.ebrary.com/id/10355385, 221.

> they are exchanged with those recently acquired…it would be extremely useful to obtain some hostages of these infidels to ensure the fulfillment of calm.[94]

This quote illuminates how settlers relied on Indigenous captive women as mediators of peace. There is a long tradition of Indigenous women serving in these capacities. For example, Julianna Barr's monograph, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman* (2007), highlights the dynamic importance of these women. While Barr's study focuses on the Southwest of the United States, and primarily on the Comanche, the Apache, and the Pawnee, there are a variety of essential parallels to highlight between North and South American captivity. In the case of the North American Southwest, Indigenous women amongst the Comanche, "opened up the potential of expressing peace rather than hostility, and alliance rather than enmity," with Spanish settlers.[95] While that was not necessarily the case in modern-day Argentina. The two regions share similarities in their use of captives to negotiate peace and provide socio-political capital. Barr describes that the Spanish began to grasp the importance of taking Apache women captive to defend themselves and offer repatriation of captives to establish peace.[96]

Barr emphasizes that in the case of eighteenth-century Texas, the Spanish often engaged with the Comanche and Apache on their terms, as was the case with a woman used to broker peace. "When women acted as mediators of peace, they did not simply signal cross-cultural rapport, but rather the predominance of native codes of peace and

---

[94] AGPM, Epoca Colonial Carpeta 46, Doc. 23 (1780). **"**Está bien que despacharse vm una captiva a avisar al cacique Ancan del éxito de la expedición y procurando atemorizar de este Enemigo, proponiéndole al mismo tiempo que solicite la Paz, y entregue las que tiene en su poder para que sean canjeadas con las aprendidas últimamente lo que desde luego podrá vm verificar, en la inteligente de que sería sumamente útil conseguir quedasen algunos rehenes de estos infieles, que asegurasen más el cumplimiento de la quietud, que ofreciesen, al modo, que se practica en el Reino de Chile, y sobre lo cual hará vm cuantas diligencias sean posibles."

[95] Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, 27.

[96] Barr, Peace Came in the Form of a Woman, 216–217.

war."[97] Therefore, the Spanish were often subjected to the socio-political customs of various Indigenous peoples, whether the Comanche or Apache in North America or the Pehuenche in South America. This similarity is apparent in Amigorena's correspondence. Amigorena's use of a *cautiva* demonstrates their utility to the *peninsulares* and later Argentines as a tool for negotiation. Captive women were important messengers, passing along ideas of preliminary peace. This was an inherently powerful position, for these *cautivas* could represent distinct interests from their Spanish captors. What they chose to relay and how they relayed it could make a world of difference.

Vertiz, in his correspondence, clarified the importance of Indigenous *cautivas* to settler society as "go-betweens."[98] David Weber's *Bárbaros Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (2005) uses the idea of captives as cultural brokers. He states that these captives were, in essence, border-crossers, facilitating communications across languages and societies, serving their interests and the interest of the Spanish or Indigenous worlds. "Some captives, then, became intermediaries, clearing paths between two cultures." [99] Weber concretizes the connection of captives as cultural brokers, first put forward by Margaret Connell-Szasz in, *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker* (1994). Connell-Szasz argues that cultural brokers, specifically in the North American World, "changed roles at will, in accordance with circumstances. Of necessity, their lives reflected a complexity unknown to those living within the confines of a single culture. They knew how the "other side" thought and

[97] Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, 13.
[98] Margaret Connell-Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001).
[99] Weber, *Bárbaros*, 230.

behaved, and they responded accordingly."[100] Whether or not the freed Pehuenche *cautiva* chose to convey the message the settlers wished is unknown; her importance, however, cannot be understated. These women were the means through which peace agreements themselves could be reached. Their contributions to settler societies are not auxiliary but central.

As has been made clear, settlers, often under the auspices of "*rescate,*" took Indigenous women and children captive. However, these women and children were rarely labeled *cautivas* in written primary sources records, instead they were labeled *rescates* or *chinas*. The utility of Indigenous women's captivity was multi-fold.[101] They were an unwaged labor force, benefitting the Church and settler elites. Their labor propped up the social status of elites under the guise of "moral" and "civilizing" instruction. And their dislocation from Indigenous kin meant they underwent a process of forced cultural assimilation. Overall, Indigenous captivity was a part of a larger settler project. While the function and perception of Indigenous captives in settler society have been made preliminarily clear, the role of captive Spanish, and later white women, in settler and Pehuenche society must now be explored.

Captives in Pehuenche Society

Captive settler women's value in Pehuenche society was varied. This depended not only on the communities that captive women previously belonged to but also on who their captors were. As mentioned earlier, the Pehuenche, as a constructed ethnic group, was not monolithic. There were a variety of factions and tensions vying for control amongst

[100] Connell-Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds*, 6.
[101] See Milanich, *Children of Fate: Childhood, Class, and the State in Chile*.

themselves.[102] This section, however, seeks to provide a broad overview of the roles of captive Indigenous and settler women in Pehuenche society in a general sense. First, it is essential to explore the use of captive women in trade agreements.

Friar Francisco Inalicán–a Pehuenche from Chillán–was one of the most prominent intermediaries between the Pehuenche and the settlers of the nineteenth century.[103] Inalicán was a border-crosser in multiple ways, frequently mediating between the Pehuenche of Chillán and settlers on both sides of the Andes. In a letter dated September 28, 1820, from the frontier town of San Rafael, the friar facilitated a potential negotiation between the two parties. Inalicán addresses the Intendent Governor, communicating what a *paisano*, Ángelo Báez, had relayed to him about his journey into Pehuenche territory, accompanied by Cacique Raiguhuenchún:

> The countryman Angelo Baez arrived with two more militia men with documents from the government of Mendoza allowed for his reception in their tents... Angelo Baez and his companions can better understand the danger they would have faced if they had not been accompanied on the roundtrip journey from Buenos Ayres. He (Cacique Raiguhuenchún) had lost many horses en route…for which he says: That if you do not compensate him the loss of his horses in other means, the guard and the militiamen that accompanied him will lose everything, and that if he is gratified, he will keep the pass open…and he says that as a sign of respect some captives that his countrymen kidnapped from the military forts and jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres have been returned.[104]

---

[102] Leonardo León, *Los Señores de La Cordillera y Las Pampas-Los Pehuenches de Malalhue 1770-1800* (Mendoza, Argentina: Universidad de Valparaíso, 2001).

[103] For more on the Friar Francisco Inalican see: Oriana Pelagatti, "Política y religión en la Frontera Sur de Mendoza. Fr. Francisco Inalicán, 1805-1822." En Valentina Ayrolo (comp.) Estudios sobre el clero iberoamericano, entre la independencia y el Estado-Nación, Salta, CEPIHA, 2006; Oriana Pelagatti, "Los capellanes de la guerra. La militarización del clero en el frente oeste de la revolución rioplatense", en Beatriz Bragoni y Sara Mata (comps.) Entre la Colonia y la República. Insurgencias, rebeliones y cultura política en América del Sur, Buenos Aires, Prometeo, 2008, pp. 193-216. Lucrecia Enríquez, "El clero indígena chileno de la colonia a la independencia" (X Jornadas Interescuelas/Departamentos de Historia, Escuela de Historia de la Facultad de Humanidades y Artes, Universidad Nacional del Rosario. Departamento de Historia de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 2005).

[104] AGPM, Época Independiente, Carpeta 243 doc. º84 (1817–1820).

Captives were used as a bargaining chip on behalf of Pehuenche caciques. Freeing or taking captives was a way to either force negotiations or to receive certain goods. This allows for a nuanced understanding of what captivity and ransom could have meant for the Pehuenche peoples, as opposed to what it traditionally meant for the Spanish. Historian, Sergio Villalobos captures the importance of this type of gifting and exchange as a crucial component of creating and maintaining inter-ethnic relationships amongst different Indigenous peoples, as well as with settlers. "Hospitality and any service generated much-needed beneficial obligations. Both the struggle with purposes of pillage and the eagerness to relate amicably were put into play."[105] The exchange of people was essential to establishing mutual understanding and kinship connections. In the case of the Pehuenche, captive people were a method of trade with which to expand their trading networks and forge alliances.

Bearing this in mind, we can re-frame one of the "Tucuman Caciques'" potential motivations for taking a young woman named Ysabel, a Spanish settler, captive.[106] The Tucuman Cacique likely took her for the compensation he would receive, knowing it would be a reliable trade method. Taking captives was a method of engaging in a burgeoning market economy. Knowing that captives would garner a price unless otherwise taken by force meant that for settlers and Pehuenche, handling and trading captives was a strategic decision.

---

[105] Villalobos, *Los Pehuenches*, 52.La hospitalidad y cualquier servicio generaban obligaciones beneficiosas, que mucho se necesitaban. Tanto la lucha con propósitos de pillaje como el afán de relacionarse amistosamente fueron puestos en juego frente al blanco; pero con el paso largo del tiempo la última actitud fue la que predominó."

[106] Unfortunately, no other information about who Ysabel was able to be gleaned.

While in the above document, captives are not traded for goods, they are used to establish goodwill. Captives as a social position could strengthen these often-tumultuous relationships or force people to the negotiating table. Susan Socolow reinforces my analysis, for she posits that *cautivas* were likely taken for profit amongst Spanish settlers.[107] Furthermore, she argues that captives were taken for trade amongst different Indigenous peoples, "[those] who did not themselves practice formal bondage, provided the Araucanians with slaves Indian societies probably took captives for profit, to gain a medium of exchange with other Indian groups and the Spanish, and to increase their labor force."[108] Not all Indigenous societies used captives. However, they were likely to have traded prisoners for other goods. This highlights the way that captives facilitated intra and inter-tribal trading.

Captive women for the Pehuenche could be used to increase their labor force. According to Jones, "these women and children were incorporated into the Araucanian system of labor and production." As a result, the Pehuenche could have chosen people based on physical preference.[109] Thus, there were differences in perceived value among captives. Nevertheless, there was a more significant opportunity for settler captives' incorporation into Pehuenche society rather than the other way around, this also applied to captives of other Indigenous peoples from distinct ethnic groups. Settler cautivas could become consequential members or political actors amongst their Pehuenche kin. The same cannot be said for Indigenous captives in settler society. Historian, David Brooks discusses this difference in the context of the Southwest borderlands of North America.

---

[107] Socolow, "Spanish Captives," 82.
[108] Socolow, 83.
[109] Socolow, 91.

In the case of the "Plains Indian groups in general, and the Comanches in particular, [they] had multiple social locations into which captives could be incorporated, not the least of which was as adoptive sons and daughters."[110]

Historian, Kristine L. Jones argues that *cautivas* became a sign of status, power, and wealth amongst the Araucanians because more captives implied a skilled warrior.[111] Brooks also highlights this dynamic amongst captives in the Southwest borderlands of the eighteenth century:

> Victims symbolized social wealth, performed services for their masters, and produced material goods under the threat of violence. Although captives often assimilated through institutions of kinship, they seldom shed completely their alien stigma, and even then their numbers were regularly renewed through capture or purchase, thereby reinvigorating the servile classes.[112]

While this would become the case for the Pehuenche of Cuyo, by the end of the nineteenth century, there were earlier possibilities for captives to become valid kinship members and marry up, as in the case of the settler, Petronila Pérez. Socolow takes the idea of settler captive women as sexual labor a step further by postulating that the Araucanians, "prized Spanish women for their special erotic talents and, as a result, tended to incorporate female Spanish captives into their society as slave-concubines, rather than as wives."[113] I would argue against the generalization that Indigenous captors viewed settler captives as having "special erotic talents" for a host of reasons. One, because Socolow's argument subsumes various Indigenous captors' ethnic identities from an entire region, such as the Pehuenche, Mapuche, Huilliche, and more, into one. As I

---

[110] James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, United States: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), six. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unm/detail.action?docID=4322009.
[111] Jones, 99.
[112] Brooks, *Captives and* Cousins, 31.
[113] Socolow, 88

will show in my next chapter, based on my primary source documentation, there are important distinctions to be made amongst the Pehuenche, dependent on spatiality and time, as is the case of the Pehuenche of Chillán (which would become a part of Chile) and the Pehuenche of Cuyo (which would become part of Argentina). If these distinctions existed amongst the Pehuenche, there are many distinctions to be made amongst the different Indigenous groups of the Araucanía region, among them the Ranqueles, Huilliches, Pehuenches, Picunches, and Mapuches. Second, this analysis feeds into settler's fear of the rape of their women and the hyper-erotic and dehumanizing construction of Indigenous men who took captives. Lastly, this assertion erases the very real and strategic use of captives not for their "erotic talents" but rather for their ability to facilitate trade and peace agreements. Indeed, captives would eventually come to confer status on certain Mapuche and Pehuenche caciques. However, due to the lack of specificity in Socolow's statement, I argue a greater emphasis on captive women's roles in structuring trade and settler relationships than I do on the speculation and circulations around their 'erotic talent.' Historian, Leonardo León would likely agree with me, at least in the case of the Pehuenche, who used captives to achieve strategic gains in warfare and for whom, "the sale of captives had a strategic connotation among the natives, especially if with that action the disarming of women and the disarticulation of the economies of the enemy hostages was achieved."[114] The Pehuenche peoples negotiated settler-colonialism via captive women. By taking settler women captive the Pehuenche coerced settlers into

[114] Leon, *Los Señores de La Cordillera,* 57. "La venta de cautivos tenía una connotación estratégica entre los naturales, especialmente si con esa acción se conseguía el desarraigo de las mujeres y la desarticulación de las economías de los rehenes enemigos."

engaging in their practices of exchange. The Pehuenche were active and impactful agents in creating the codes of conduct between themselves and the Spanish.

While the captive women in the above documents are settlers, writ large, the role of captive Indigenous women, commonly referred to as *chinas*, was also crucial in structuring these relationships. In the Quechuan language, *china* meant female, but over time in the Spanish language, *china* came to mean, "an indigenous or mixed woman engaged in domestic work."[115] The domestic work component resulted from the experience of captive Indigenous women and children's forced labor in '*casas decentes.'*[116] However, captive *chinas,* or Indigenous women, were also valuable for brokering peace. In a letter from the Commander of the fort of Tandil to Governor Juan Manuel de Rosas in 1832, the Commander discusses the mediation of the delivery of 77 *chinas* on behalf of Cacique Catrié to other Caciques:

> Cacique Catrié with a retinue of seventy Indians, an officer, and 10 Christian soldiers, bringing in his company his wife and a portion of chinas…for the delivery of the captives and captive Indians that were held at this fort…I made the delivery with the following terms.
> To the cacique Tucuman 4 *chinas*
> To Cacique Calfiao 14 *chinas*
> To the Cacique Chanabit 7 *chinas*
> To the Calficao chico 3 *chinas*
> To Cacique Antuan 8 *chinas*
> To Cacique Canuante 6 *chinas*
> To the Cacique Guilitru 3 *chinas*
> To Cacique Peti 4 *chinas*
> To the Indians of the Cacique de Benancio who came with Catrie 5 id.
> To the Cacique Catrie, 23 remaining chinas were given those who marched to Tabalquien.
>
> Total 77 chinas. [117]

[115] Real Academia Española, Diccionario de la lengua española, Madrid: Talleres "Calpe", (1925), 380. the original quote is: "india o mestiza que se dedica al servicio domestic."
[116] In Heidi Tinsmann's, *Partner's in Conflcit: The Politics of Gender, Sexuality, and Labor in the Chilean Agrarian Reform, 1950–1973* (2002), she states that chinas became a derogatory term in Chile in 50's and often implied hypersexuality.
[117] AR-AGN, S10–1811, pgs 645 (1832).

Catrie bringing his wife to the exchange is significant in his assurance of the peaceful transaction. It also signaled to the Spanish that Catrie had no intention of ambushing or going back on his word, for it would have put his wife in danger. The return of these *chinas* was essential to various Indigenous caciques. Settlers strategically kept some women captives at the Military Fort of Tandil to bring Catrie to the negotiating table. Indigenous women were influential and essential members of Pehuenche society, and their return was a way of maintaining and garnering peaceful relationships with settlers. The return of Indigenous women was a sign of goodwill.

Catrie himself also stood to benefit from the exchange as he was the one who facilitated the return of these women. He, too, took 23 indigenous women with him as a part of the deal. Furthermore, being in his position could have curried favor and better political standings amongst his allies. In the case of the Southwest borderlands of North America, according to Brooks, the notion that both Spanish and Indigenous, such as Comanche, manhood rested on their, "ability to preserve, protect, and dominate the well-being and social relations of their families and communities," structured both sides understanding of trade and captive taking.[118] It is likely that this was also a dynamic at play with the Pehuenche and the Spanish in South America. Catrie's ability to safely return *chinas* to their respective communities of origin emphasizes his ability to protect and preserve his community and his allies. The result would have been increased honor for Catrie amongst his Spanish and Indigenous allies or enemies. This exchange highlights the socio-political power Catrie had in negotiating such a deal. Still, it

[118] Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 26.

demonstrates that the Spanish engaged with the Pehuenche under Pehuenche's notions of captivity.

Indigenous women were also traded for the return of prisoners, as was the case with Millanguir's son, held captive by the Argentines on April 9, 1834.[119] Millanguir agrees to exchange various Indigenous women in return for his son. If Cacique Millanguir was willing to trade *chinas* for his son, these Indigenous women were probably captives of the Pehuenche, and not of the same ethnic group. What does this say about captives in Pehuenche society? To what degree were captives able to be incorporated? Perhaps this indicated how Indigenous captive women from different nations were never fully integrated but kept on hand for their labor and functioned as bargaining chips. As Brooks mentioned, in the Southwest borderlands, captives could rarely wholly leave behind their identities as cultural outsiders. There were limits to a captive's incorporation in Pehuenche society, for some Pehuenche would occasionally exchange Huilliche captives for other goods.[120] This emphasizes not only the limits of their incorporation but the simultaneously precarious existence as go-betweens, neither fully belonging amongst their captors nor being entirely accepted if they return to their society of origin.

Lastly, it was just indigenous women being traded, so how did women's role structure peace distinctly from men's roles? Historian, Juliana Barr emphasizes that in eighteenth-century Texas, particularly among the Comanche, "the presence of women

[119] I was unable to locate this exact document due to the miscategorization of a variety of documents in the Secretaria de Rosas Casas at the National Archive of Argentina, however, I know the document exists because it was present in the digitized inventory, it simply lives in a different box, which I was unable to access during my limited research period.
[120] Villalobos, *Los Pehuenche*, 168.

was the only way to signal peaceful intentions."[121] Nevertheless, this example does not mean that Pehuenche peoples were exchanging Pehuenche women for peace. But rather, it highlights the potential liminal space that captives inhabited in their captor's societies as go-betweens, and the gendered role of structuring peace. Many examples indicate the lengths caciques would go to for the return of their kin.[122]

Silvia Ratto recounts the declaration of Pedro Zamora in, "¿Para Qué Quieren Tener Cautivas Si No Estamos En Guerra?" (2010). Zamora was tasked with rescuing two women family members of the Cacique Lorenzo, who were being held at a *Casa de Residencia*. Zamora was charged with bringing Cacique Lorenzo, yerba, tobacco, and glass beads and the safe return of the Cacique's kin. If Zamora did not comply within a month, the cacique would kill his family members and take the rest of the captives to *Tierra Adentro*.[123] Indigenous women, who were important members of society, were fought for. Clearly, their lives could be incredibly valued. Therefore, women's social position could determine their chances of freedom.

Captive women held different social positions depending on their relationships with the influential men of Pehuenche society. Spanish captives could infer status and power upon their captors. Regardless of these *cautivas'* identities, they were a source of labor. *Cautivas'* release could be a sign of goodwill or a way to trade with settlers. Captives' incorporation into settler society will be explored in Chapter three with the case study of Petronila Pérez. Still, the depth of the captive's incorporation into society is an open question that was undoubtedly informed by the women's identities pre-captivity. This

[121] Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, 12.
[122] Ratto, "Para que quieren tener cautivas," 49
[123] Ratto, "Para que quieren tener cautivas," 49. *Tierra adentro* refers to Indigenous territory.

was not an exclusive experience for Indigenous women in Pehuenche society, but it also determined the return of settler women to settler society.

Settler-Women in Settler Society

The potential liberation of settler *cautivas* could be determined by their access to wealth. Argentine historian, Silvia Ratto argues that if family members were incapable of paying the *cautivas'* ransom, there was no remedy for their return. Furthermore, many women no longer had access to immediate relatives because they were likely killed during the *malón*. "Others, even if they had them, were by their status or occupation, villagers or peasants who could never in the rest of their existence acquire such a sum."[124] Poor captive women's chances of returning were significantly reduced by family member's inability to pay their ransom. Furthermore, it appears that captivity may have been more widely experienced by *cautivas* of the lower echelons of society.

Socolow's analysis of the "*Relación de los cristianos salvados del cautiverio por la División Izquierda del Ejército Expedicionario contra los bárbaros, al mando del Señor Brigadier General D. Juan Manuel de Rosas,"* a state document recording Rosas's excursion to free captives from the Pampas Indigenous peoples in 1833, highlights as much.[125] "Their modest origins show in that only eight of them refer to their father by the title "Don," a universal sign of respect, social standing, and at least a modicum of wealth

[124] Ratto, "Para que quieren cautivas," 55. Pedro Andrés García, Diario a la Sierra de la Ventana, Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 1974, p. 142. "Si los parientes y deudos inmediatos de estas desgraciadas no podrían disponer de la suma necesaria para su rescate, debían permanecer en la miseria: muchas de ellas no los tenían porque habían perecido a manos de sus opresores: otras, aunque los tuviesen eran por su estado o egercicio unos aldeanos o labradores que jamás en el resto de su existencia podían adquirir una suma tal."
[125] State Press of Argentina, "Relación de los cristianos salvados del cautiverio por la División Izquierda del Ejército Expedicionario contra los bárbaros, al mando del Señor Brigadier General D. Juan Manuel de Rosas*."* (Buenos-Aires: Impr. del Estado, 1835).

in the society. Only one captive made any reference to owing property herself."[126] Socolow's analysis further supports the argument that captive settler women were likely to be *peones*. This meant that their family members lacked the necessary access to initiate the return of their own volition and were at the mercy of institutional resources. Wealth informed settler *cautivas'* access to freedom; this supposes that many captives then could not be freed and were solely dependent on the state to bargain for their release.

It is well documented that settler captive women were exchanged for a price. These exchanges could occur if a family member or husband grew tired of waiting for government intervention and would initiate a trade themselves. [127] The Pehuenche had the settlers bargaining with them based on their custom. Other times these exchanges could occur on expeditions with the sole purpose of returning captives. Or as was the case when Don Francisco Antonio Rico traded a Christian prisoner, Ysabel, and her mixed child for a reward in 1809 at the bidding of a wealthier man. Rico was on an expedition under the order of Don Carlos Tadeo Romero to trade with the "Cacique Tucumán on the next expedition to Salinas on December 24 this side of Buenos Aires." [128] Was this woman a relative, servant, or wife of Romero? The seven-page document does not specify the relationships of Ysabel to Romero, nor does it provide her last name or where she went after being traded. Was it likely that Romero covered the cost of her return out of goodwill? Rico returned to the Tucuman Cacique–devoid of a name in these sources–on behalf of Romero. Rico exchanged four blankets, two barrels of aguardiente, cups, yerba,

---

[126] Socolow, 92.
[127] Ratto, "Para que quieren tener cautivas," 47.
[128] AR–AGN, 9–2016, doc º862 (1806). **"***Cacique Tucumán en la próxima expedición a Salinas el día 24 de diciembre de este lado de la cabeza el Buenos Aires."*

and a poncho, among other items, totaling a hundred and sixteen *reales*, in exchange for Ysabel and her daughter.[129]

This document is not interested in the well-being of Ysabel and her "*infiel*" mixed daughter. Its general concern is with the compensation of Don Francisco Antonio Rico for the cost of returning Ysabel and her 10-month-old daughter to settler society. The two captives' fate is absent from the record. Did they go on to work as servants for Romero, or were they placed in a *Casa Residencial*? Did they end up being claimed by or connected to living relatives? While this document alone cannot answer these pertinent questions, it does crystalize the economic importance of captive women to settler society.[130] Captive women facilitated trade amongst settlers and Indigenous people as an entity to be exchanged. They were also a means to enable peace. The exchange of captive women in part structured Pehuenche and settler relationships. This is one of the critical contributions of captive women. Personal wealth, however, was not the only way to secure the freedom of settler women.

Institutional Ransoming

While wealth helped liberate *cautivas* from captors, it was not their only recourse. Captivity was so common that there were church and state-allotted funds for their return; in effect, the question of captivity initiated different state-building projects. These exchanges were so common that the "Fund for the Redemption of Captives" became a governmental reserve that the Spanish and the Viceroyalty would donate as a public resource to free captives. Historian, David Weber discusses the founding of one of the

[129] AR–AGN, 9–2016, doc º862 (1806).
[130] Due to a limited amount of funding and time to conduct archival research in Argentina, I was unable to triangulate sources as I would have liked to.

most prominent religious orders in charge of the redemption of captives, *Nuestra Señora de la Merced*.

Founded in Barcelona in 1218, the order was created to pay the ransom of the Christian captives of Muslims. However, in 1786 Carlos the III, "permitted the use of American monies to free Christians enslaved in the Philippines, northern New Spain, Chile, and in the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires—the four places that the Crown apparently believed had the busiest traffic in Christian captives. "[131] Records of the alms given for the freedom of captives are recorded in both the General Archive of Mendoza and the National Archive of Argentina in governmental and ecclesiastical records. One example is a military document from 1790 verifying the approval of alms collected by the Mercedes to free captives on a Spanish expedition to Salinas.[132] However, references for captives disappeared from the ecclesiastical record during the Wars of Independence, as alms were redirected to help fund the war.[133]

The beginning stages of nation-building hurt captives and Indigenous societies alike. The fall of a centralized government structure under the Spanish crown and the rise of stronger provincial governments in the 1820s–1850s changed longstanding traditions of trade and negotiation for captives. This weakened the Church's role regarding Indigenous captive labor.[134] By the time Rosas entered his second term as the supreme Governor of the United Provinces of Argentina, he had institutionalized the funds for the return of Argentine women; and a policy whereby taking Indigenous captives was a means of war. Using them to facilitate trade was out of the question. This change in

---

[131] Weber, *Bárbaros*, 227.
[132] AR–AGN, S9–2052, doc º29 (1790).
[133] AGPM, Epoca Colonial, Carpeta 61–63.
[134] Ratto, "Para que quieren tener cautivas," 65.

agreed practices of captive taking meant moving away from their captures, for it no longer supplied the desired outcome of the trade and facilitated peace. However, captive women's roles in settler and Pehuenche societies experienced substantial overlap. From their use for labor to creating status for their captors. They facilitated trade and peace deals. Although *cautivas* are often only mentioned in passing, they informed the complex relationships between settlers and Pehuenche.

Conclusion

This chapter re-covers *cautivas* historical contributions in settler and Pehuenche societies, despite their often overlooked and understated importance in the written historical record. I provided a brief synopsis of the Pehuenche to contextualize some of their socio-cultural practices before *peninsulares* contact and violence. I used a settler-colonialist framework to demonstrate how some of these practices shifted as modes of adaptation and resistance to said structures, one being the use and function of captives to engage with the settlers themselves. I drill down into the specificities of the practice of taking women captive, in both settler and Indigenous communities, in the early-to-mid nineteenth century, informed by settler colonialism. *Malones* were not only a way of engaging in trade but were also used to scare off settlers, thereby defending Pehuenche sovereignty. With this framework in mind, I highlight the larger forces at play that influenced an increase of *malones* and the political and economic motivations in Pehuenche lands.

I contextualize captive taking as a method to challenge settler expansion and maintain sovereignty. I make clear that it was not just the Pehuenche that took captives in the early-to-mid nineteenth century, but also the settlers. Both societies had strategic uses for the captive women they took. *Cautivas* were used in both Indigenous and Settler

societies to initiate and engage in trade, as a source of labor, as messengers, and as a means of strategic warfare. However, an important distinction must be made for settler *cautivas* amongst the Pehuenche. *Cautivas* of the Pehuenche had the potential for social mobility and higher social standing in Pehuenche society, while this was resoundingly not the case for Indigenous *cautivas* in settler society.

Settlers were willing to fund the return of captive settler women, although this practice was limited, and many women were still unable to return to settler society. It would be a mischaracterization to say that the settler society did not care for captive women, as indicated by the funds and institutionalized support. The Church's role was eventually subsumed under the alms needed for war, and many of the women were never recovered, likely due to their positions as *peones* in society.

Settlers often reserved the term *cautivas* for peninsular, Spanish, and later Argentine women. In contrast, Indigenous *cautivas* were often labeled *rescates*, *rehenes*, or *chinas* in the archival record. Taking Indigenous women captive benefitted a settler-colonial project by disconnecting Indigenous peoples at large from their societies and using them as free labor, creating a second generation of *peones* in settler society. Nevertheless, the Spanish captive-taking to engage with the Pehuenche also facilitated trade and exchange. This was a Pehuenche understanding of captives, which could be used to barter for other goods. The Spanish ability to engage with these notions of captives makes clear the power and import the Pehuenche had in frontier life. In the Spanish tradition, captivity taking had more to do with religious conversion and creating a separation from kinship ties. In the case of the Pehuenche, it was likely that a captive could have been returned to their community of origin after an equal exchange was made.

While Connell-Szasz and Weber discuss the role of captives, both men and women, as cultural brokers, I argue that incorporating gender analytics can enhance this analysis. While Connell-Szasz generally speaks about the incorporation of captives, I focus on how gender-informed captives' experiences in both settler and Indigenous worlds. Indigenous and settler women's functions, contributions, and roles as captives were informed by gender. I explore these gendered differences further in the following two chapters, and how colonial notions of honor and sexuality were linked to their absence in declarations, as well as how post-capture avenues of incorporation were experienced uniquely as a result of gender.

This chapter is a brief social history of *cautivas*, whose experiences are frequently erased or seen as a sub-section of captivity. By centering *cautivas'* experiences instead of men's, different understandings of their contributions come to light. While mentions of captive women abound in the archive the details of their experiences, and their personhood are often glaringly absent. This however does not mean that a picture of their lives and contributions must remain absent, thus while I could not complete the necessary triangulation to follow the thread of many of these *cautivas'* stories beyond the AGPM and Argentine national archives pages, these standalone documents begin to build a social history. While recovering these women's full personhood and agency is impossible within the confines of the archive, deductive reasoning and thoughtful speculation open new possibilities for considering their contributions. I take the cultural brokers' argument further by positing *cautivas* as even central to life between Indigenous and Settlers societies. *Cautivas* were crucial contributors and world-makers in a frontier society and beyond.

Chapter 2: Consolidating a "White" Identity Through Nineteenth-Century Visual and Material Culture: The Image of the *Cautiva* in Print and Painting

The rise of the nation-state fostered a 'white' identity in Argentina. When the Spanish empire began to fall (1806–1816) and Argentina established independence, the nation's construction 'required' a sense of shared experience and 'homogenization.' Due to Argentina's Spanish colonial legacies, mainly the *casta* system, 'whiteness,' associated with Spanish settler or *criollo* populations, became the identity that would embody the new Argentina. 'Whiteness' was central to the logic of consolidating a nation and of maintaining pre-existing forms of social control. How was this project articulated? I argue that visual and print culture created a discourse to mark the transition from a *criollo* to a 'white' identity through the schematic of 'civilization' and 'barbarism' via representations of captive women in the 1830s. I will explore not only the means through which whiteness was communicated but why whiteness itself was chosen as the homogenizing identity in the throes of competing political ideologies and territorial expansion into sovereign Indigenous territories, particularly amongst the Pehuenche. I detail what constituted whiteness in the political project of constructing a nation. Furthermore, this chapter argues that the choice to elect 'whiteness' as the homogenizing identity was built on the foundations of the caste system. One of the contributions of this chapter is establishing a colonial continuity in the early republic of Argentina. The image of captive 'white' women was used to mobilize a white identity connected to the United Provinces of Argentina.

First, I establish the definitions of key terms, such as 'civilization' and 'barbarism,' as well as 'race' and 'ethnicity.' Second, I analyze the literary and visual culture of the burgeoning *cautiva* genre in the mid to late nineteenth century through

Esteban Echeverría's poem, *La cautiva* (1837), and the romanticist painting "*El malón*" by Johann Moritz Rugendas (1836) using Benedict Anderson's nation-state theory from *Imagined Communities* (1983, 2006). These texts were nation-building materials that sought to consolidate and reify a 'white' identity. Representations of *cautivas* in the 1830s were used to construct race, specifically 'whiteness.'

Defining Terms: Race and Ethnicity

To understand 'race' and 'ethnicity' within the context of Argentina, it is first necessary to understand how these categories came to be. Sociologists, Peter Jackson and Jan Penrose describe social construction theory as "that [which] we have come to consider 'natural' and hence immutable, can be more accurately (and more usefully viewed) as the product of processes which are embedded in human actions and choices."[135] These processes are (de)constructed through spatiality, time period, and interpersonal relationships; they are recorded and reinforced through visual, material, and performative culture, such as visual, literary, and legal documents or texts.[136]

In "Concealing Mixture in the 'White' Nation," a chapter from the Palgrave *International Handbook on Mixed Race and Ethnic Identities* (2020), anthropologists Lea Geler and Mariela Eva Rodríguez, describe the complexity of burgeoning 'racial' notions in Argentina in the following way, "The way race shaped social status was never direct. On the contrary, it was and is both an elusive concept and a changing category that works

[135] Peter Jackson and Jan Penrose. *Constructions of Race, Place, and Nation*, ((University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 2.
[136] These constructed identities will be put in quotations as a small attempt to consistently destabilize its perceived fixedness and present-day associations.

in deep interplay with others."[137] They maintain that it is impossible to rely on phenotypic associations of 'race' when making sense of 'ethnic' categories prior to 1810. In fact, these 'ethnicized' categories are dependent on many other factors that indicate a person's social status. This is not to deny that phenotype played a crucial role, but it is not the *whole* picture. In the Spanish colonial context, one could also legally change one's racial status if certain conditions were met, thus a racial designation in a document doesn't not necessarily align with the phenotypic associations understood today as a part of race.

Geler and Rodríguez summarize the colonial constructions of these 'ethnic' identities that were part and parcel of Spanish colonization from the sixteenth century until 1810: [138]

> It was not race but calidad (quality) that defined a person's status (Guzman 2013). Quality paved people's destiny in ambiguous and changing ways, allowing or disallowing self-classifications in relation to different social institutions: church, state, community, and so on. Quality combined ideas of origin, race, religion, dress, phenotype, profession, purity of blood, honour, and judicial status. A person of 'good' quality was, by definition, a Catholic, well-dressed, and educated Spanish male, who did not perform manual labour and did not descend from Jews, Moors, or Africans...By contrast, people of 'bad' or 'dubious' quality formed a complex group called the *castas.* African enslaved or freed people--called negros (blacks)--Afrodescendants born on American soil, Indigenous Peoples, the mixture of these groups with each other or with poor Spaniards, and their (poor) American descendants--called *criollos* (creole), a term later applied to anyone born on American soil--populated this social group.[139]

The early nineteenth-century definition of *criollo* in Argentina was distinct from its meaning in New Spain and South America more broadly. In other parts of the Spanish-

---

[137] Lea Geler and Eva Mariela Rodriguez, "Mixed Race in Argentina: Concealing Mixture in the 'White' Nation" in *Palgrave International Handbook of Mixed Racial and Ethnic Classification*, ed. Zarine L. Rocha, & Peter J Aspinall, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 179.
[138] The start of the Wars of Independence in Argentina, (1810-1818).
[139] Geler and Rodriguez, "Mixed Race in Argentina," 180-181.

Americas, *criollo* meant descendants of Spain born in the Americas, and often connoted a high social standing, if not exclusively. However, *criollos* were not subject to the same benefits as the *peninsulares*, those who came to rule and trade in the Americas but were born on the Iberian Peninsula. Many *criollos* across the Americas were engaged in Independence movements because of the perceived injustice between themselves and the *peninsulares*. While this dynamic existed between different factions of elites, most of society–in what would become the United Federation of Argentina–was relegated to the *caste system.* While the caste system had structured notions of caste categories, and what characteristics constituted such categories; due to the intricate and mutually reinforcing factors, many people in the colonial period could become, or at the very least change their caste positioning. These identities were malleable and subject to constant construction and contestation. A perfect example of the malleability of these categories is demonstrated by historian, Erika Denise Edwards in *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic.* Focusing on the late colonial and early republic of Argentina, Edwards demonstrates how some Black women strategically whitened themselves in the city of Cordoba through relationships and dress, to achieve a more secure social positioning.[140] In short, the caste system represents the anxiety of the nobility to maintain their power and control, by codifying distinctions between themselves and the members of the caste, based on the notion of quality, informed by the aforementioned factors. Ultimately, it was an impossible project.

[140] For more information on colonial constructions of identity in Cordoba Argentina, see Erika Denise Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic*, (The University of Alabama Press, 2020).

In Argentina, as elsewhere in the region, these constructions were specific to time–period and locality. The increasing complexity and attempts to measure and demarcate the members of the caste system only highlight the increasing miscegenation of Spanish America: [141]

> Far from becoming a closed and impermeable hierarchical social order, a miscellaneous mosaic of phenotypic shades and inequalities was unfolding...The obsessive religious and moral vigilance of the Inquisition certainly contributed to the anxiety about blood purity among the colonial elites.... [142]

Perhaps it is no surprise that during a time of elite identity contestation that they would begin to make new top-down meanings of old terms to fit elite ideals of a nation state. During the Wars of Independence, these categories began to take on new meanings. Geler and Rodriguez explain the transition as, "the Argentine 'race' was born from the mixing of whites, blacks, and 'civilized' indigenous peoples under state control, all of whom became *criollos* (understood to mean children of the land, rather than creole or descendants of the Spaniards born on American soil as before)."[143] However, this burgeoning identity, which *implied* phenotypic mixing, was crafted to create a homogenous populous that would embody and inhabit the territoriality of Argentina, classified first as *criollo* and later as 'white.'[144] Even so, there was in Argentina as

---

[141] To be clear, I am not referencing the casta paintings of New Spain here. For an analysis of *casta* paintings and their impact on forming racial identifications in Colonial New Spain see: Magali Marie Carrera, "Locating Race in Late Colonial Mexico.," *Art Journal*, 1998 and *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings*, vols., Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

[142] "Lejos de transformarse en un orden social jerárquico cerrado e impermeable, un mosaico misceláneo de tonalidades fenotípicas y de desigualdades fue desenvolviéndose…La obsesiva vigilancia religiosa y moral de la Inquisición contribuyó con seguridad a la ansiedad sobre la pureza de sangre entre las elites coloniales."Stolcke, "Los Mestizos No Nacen Sino Que Se Hacen," 17.

[143] Geler and Rodriguez, "Mixed Race in Argentina," 183.

[144] According to Geler and Rodriguez "Mixed Race in Argentina" the ethnogenesis of 'whiteness' in Argentina began after the 18th century.

everywhere else in Latin America, a racialized social hierarchy in reality that privileged lighter skin and penalized darker.

Why did elite Argentines, choose whiteness as the homogenizing national identity? Why not *mestizaje* as the unifying construction like Mexico would?[145] I argue a key distinction is connected to settler and Indigenous relations. The differing Indigenous peoples of the Andes and Pampas were not subsumed to settler-colonist structures and the nation state until the 1880's after the "Conquest of the Desert" (1878–1888).[146] Elite nation builders sought to create a homogenous identity through 'whiteness,' instead of *mestizaje*, not only because they did not value or recognize Indigenous contributions, but because they did not see the Peoples of the Pampas and Andes as 'civilized.' Thus, whiteness at this time was seen not as a phenotype but as a quality that Argentines should and could achieve through "civilization."

'Civilization' and 'Barbarism' are fundamental concepts of an ideological paradigm that informed colonization and the caste system as much as they informed the nation-building process in Argentina. The etymology of Barbarism is Greek and refers to outsiders, historically meaning non-Greek speakers. Civilization is rooted in the Latin language and was used to refer to the people of the city.[147] Barbarism and civilization emerged as distinct terms but quickly came to mirror each other as antonyms. Barbarism

---

[145] Although mestizaje may have been promoted as the foundation of modern Mexican national and cultural identity, there's a distinction between the ideal objectives of institutionalized discourses and the facts of lived reality.

[146] To learn about the larger factors at play during the "Conquest" that led to the fall of autochthonous societies sovereignty see: Carolyne R. (Carolyne Ryan) Larson, *The Conquest of the Desert: Argentina's Indigenous Peoples and the Battle for History*, Diálogos Series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020).

[147] New Dictionary of the History of Ideas. Encyclopedia.com. 26 Sep. 2022." Encyclopedia.com. Encyclopedia.com, October 2, 2022. https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/barbarism-and-civilization.

was the state of human development that supposedly preceded the development of civilization. 'Barbarism,' a term first wielded by the ancient Greeks, was an ideological tool, "to describe an outsider, as someone who doesn't belong to the *polis*, a definition that first had political goals and then later cultural ones."[148] Barbarism, thus became a way to create the Other, situated in opposition to the 'civilized.'[149] Such a dichotomy, as seen in Argentina, is weaponized for a variety of means. Whether it be used against the Federalist politicians, who represented populism, or to describe people of lower classes and of different 'races,' it was a framework of Othering. Unincorporated Indigenous populations were the political and cultural targets.[150]

The term 'civilization' in Argentina is intimately related to a fear of the growing nation being undone. Argentina is haunted, "by the threat of its own decomposition, especially during times of transition."[151] 'Civilization' and 'barbarism' therefore apply not only to 'racial' categories or perceived out-groups by the nation's elite but are also applied to anyone seen as a threat to the nation's construction. Such was the case during Rosas' reign when, "supporters of Rosas and the loosely organized Confederación Argentina made ubiquitous the regime's official, compulsory slogans ¡*Viva la Santa Federación*! [Long live the Holy Federation!] *and ¡Mueran los salvajes, asquerosos,*

---

[148] Maristella Svampa, *El Dilema Argentino: Civilización O Barbarie: De Sarmiento Al Revisionismo Peronista* (Colección La Cultura Argentina. El Cielo por Asalto 1994), 19. "Bárbaro" fue un término acuñado por los griegos para designar al extranjero, aquel que no pertenecía a la polis, definición que tuvo primeramente alcances políticos y más tarde culturales.

[149] Svampa, 20.

[150] There is a key distinction to be made between incorporated and unincorporated Indigenous populations. In the Northeastern parts of Argentina, Indigenous populations that were settled and experienced Incan colonization, were more easily incorporated into Spanish colonial society and became active participants in said society. For more see: Mónica Quijada, Carmen Bernand, and Arnd Schneider, *Homogeneidad y Nación: Con Un Estudio de Caso: Argentina, Siglos XIX y XX*. (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Humanidades, Instituto de Historia, 2000), 42.

[151] Svampa, 27. "Representación social de una sociedad amenaza por el riesgo de su propia descomposición, especialmente durante los llamados períodos de transición, caracterizados por la yuxtaposición de referentes tradicionales y modernos."

inmundos unitarios! [May the savage, disgusting, vile Unitarians drop dead!]."[152] By the end of the nineteenth century, regardless of the political party, the progression towards 'whitening the nation' was concretized. The political and cultural associations of "civilization" and "barbarism" would continue to shape the nation. This discourse would consolidate Argentina in opposition to unincorporated Indigenous populations of the Pampas and, later, Patagonia.

Although 'civilization' and 'barbarism' did not always confer 'racialized' schematics, in the context of Argentina, they became the very foundations for the whitening process. While individuals during the colonial period could negotiate their social positioning through a variety of means, what occurred because of a forming nation was a social project of massive scale communicated through print and visual culture. The 'whitening' of Argentina was inextricably intertwined with the nation-state. "*La Cautiva*" and "*El malón*" were modes of consolidating and codifying a 'white' and 'civilized' identity in opposition to phenotypically darker unincorporated Indigenous populations of the Pampas. Failures of the project are indicated by the immigration policies of the Modern Liberal Era (1880–1930), whose goal was to populate Argentina with white immigrants and attempt to create an even 'whiter' society, further subsuming Indigenous identities.[153]

The decade of the 1830s in Argentina was thus a transition period from *criollo* to 'white.' The wars of Independence had been won, but the legacy of the caste system

---

[152] Brendan Lanctot, *Beyond Civilization and Barbarism: Culture and Politics in Postrevolutionary Argentina* (Cranbury, United States: Bucknell University Press, 2013), 2.

[153] The 25th Article of the Argentine constitution codifies the nation's immigration policy to allow European's unfettered access to the nation, "El gobierno no puede restringir ni limitar o gravar con impuestos la entrada ene territorio argentino de aquellos extranjeros que aspiran a trabajar la tierra, mejorar las industria y ensena las artes y las ciencias" Quijada, 9.

continued to inform notions of identity. Echeverría's text and Rugenda's painting exemplify the early beginnings of this transition from *criollo* to white in Argentine material culture. Their respective works codify 'civilization' as linked to a white phenotype, in opposition to 'barbarism,' racializing Indigenous communities as the brown outsiders to a forming nation. These notions of 'whiteness' were communicated through representations of the captive woman. "*La Cautiva*" and "*El Malón*" highlight a period of identarian transition. They reveal the construction of 'whiteness' that attempted to implement a homogenous populous, a porous and spongelike structure that excluded the darker-skinned 'uncivilized' people. "White" and "civilized" would become synonymous in both conspicuous and inconspicuous ways during the nation's rise, and Echeverría and Rugenda's works used the *cautiva* to reify these concepts.

The Impact of Esteban Echeverría

Esteban Echeverría is one of the most famous literary figures in Argentine history, commonly referred to as the father of the nation's poetry. Born in 1805 in Buenos Aires––five short years before the independence movement would begin—he was the son of a Basque storekeeper, who died in his infancy. Despite the challenges of a losing a father in infancy, Echeverría was still accorded the benefits of his class position, as indicated by the access to the private tutor in charge of his education until he enrolled in the Departamento de Estudios Preparatorios de la Universidad, studying Latin and Philosophy. Thus began his genesis as the founder of the Argentine literary tradition.[154]

[154] Noé Jitrik, "*Echeverría y la realidad nacional"* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2010), Verena Stolcke, "Los Mestizos No Nacen Sino Que Se Hacen," *Avá*, no. 14 (July 2009): 193–216.

In 1825, Echeverría embarked on his formative voyage to France at the height of Romanticism's peak. Inspired to write poetry after reading prominent literary figures from France, England, and Germany, among them Shakespeare and Goethe, he would bring back the ideals of the Romantic movement to Argentina.[155] Echeverría's return aligned with the rise of Governor Juan Manuel de Rosas's first stint in power (1829–1832). Rosas, who would become a strongman dictator of the Federalist party in his second tenure as Governor (1835–1852), would eventually force Echeverría into exile (1841).

Prior to his exile, however, Esteban Echeverría was the founder of the Literary Society known as, "La asociación de la joven generación argentina or La asociación del mayo," which would come to be most famously known as the Generation '37'.[156] Historian, Nicolas Shumway argues that the Literary Society had two main goals: "to identify without idealization the problems confronting their country, and to devise a program that would make Argentina a modern nation."[157] As the result of Echeverría's French influence and elite upbringing, Echeverría envisioned the saving of the nation through words and ideas.[158]

Echeverría's work must be read and understood within the context of an anti-Rosista sentiment and the idealizing principles of *La asociación del mayo.* The author sought to frame the guiding ideals of the nation with words and ideas. But for as much as he tried to strike the balance of a 'unique' homegrown Argentine identity, he was

---

[155] Jitrik, "*Echeverría y la realidad nacional"*.
[156] Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 126.
[157] Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina*, 112.
[158] Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina,* 127. Literary critic David T. Haberly expands on Echeverría's writing' as influenced in no small part as the result of a heart condition, preventing him from engaging in battle beyond his pen. See David T Haberly, "Male Anxiety and Sacrificial Masculinity: The Case of Echeverría." *Hispanic Review* 73, no. 3 (2005): 291–307.

building on a colonial legacy. “Their brave words proclaiming independence from foreign thought were not enough to break the conditioning of 300 years of colonialism”.[159] Ironically, the fight to build an independent nation was steeped in the foundations of Spanish colonialism. This conditioning was shared by Echeverría’s political enemy, Juan Manuel de Rosas, despite the two representing different political ideals. Rosas was an aristocratic and paternalistic reactionary who embodied, “the restoration of the hierarchical society of the Spanish monarchs,” which meant that the two shared more in common than they would have cared to admit.[160] Rosas’ ‘Desert’ Campaign of 1832–1833, exemplifies some of the continuities from the colonial period into the construction of a republic.[161]

This second period of battles against the Indigenous people of the Pampas would occur in the name of profit for Rosas and his wealthy cattle-ranching friends. [162] These battles of expansion were linked to the construction of a national identity and territoriality.[163] They served as both a boundary marking between Argentina and Chile, and as a function of establishing the in and out groups of Argentina itself.[164] This process

---

[159] Shumway, 131.
[160] Shumway, 120.
[161] Susana Rotker, *Captive Women: Oblivion and Memory in Argentina* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 33.
[162] Socolow states that “to the north the Ava-Chiriguanos and the Calchaquies; in the center of the region, the Chaco groups such as the Guaycurua, the Charrua, and the Mocobi; and to the south Pampas, Pehuenche, Tehuelche, and Araucanian tribes.” See Susan Migden Socolow, “Spanish Captives in Indian Societies: Cultural Contact along the Argentine Frontier, 1600-1835.” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (1992): 75; Larson, Carolyne R. 2020. *The Conquest of the Desert: Argentina’s Indigenous Peoples and the Battle for History.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. pp. 5.
[163] Quijada, *Homogeneidad y Nación*, 84.
[164] See Henri Tajfel’s Social Identity Theory (1982). In short Tajfel’s theory argues that individuals feel belonging based on their membership to social groups. Categorization dependent on these social groups is a human heuristic, creating an ‘us’ and ‘them’ i.e., ‘civilization’ and ‘barbarism’. This leads to a heightened sense of “Othering” of the out-group, seeing them as increasingly different, and homogenizing the in-group, seeing them as inherently more similar.

of boundary marking is yet another factor in forming a national identity.[165] Thus, both, Rosas and Echeverría were engaged in the process of nation making, one through words, and the other through action. Ironically, they were both constructing the in-group and out-group of Argentina, albeit with slightly different ideas in mind.

A key difference between Echeverría's and Rosas' ideological beliefs is whom they came to represent in the political sphere. Rosas—a member of the Federalist Party—came to be associated with the *moreno* population of Buenos Aires. [166] Unitarians perceived Rosas as representing *morenos* or Afro-Porteños. This was more of a discursive strategy than about Rosas' genuine interest in the rights and well-being of Afro-Porteños. This strategy had the effect of reinforcing the Unitarian party—Echeverría's party—as representing the *criollo* elites of Buenos Aires. Echeverría quite literally represented bourgeois romantic and liberal thinkers. As a result, a *criollo* identity became embedded in the Unitarians' founding ideals of who should govern the 'civilized' and later 'white' polis. This notion was built upon and reinforced decades of caste ideologies. It's within this context that Echeverría's poem "*La cautiva*" was first published in 1837 in the volume, *Rimas.*

"*La Cautiva*:" Nation Building

"*La cautiva*" is an epic narrative poem that details the capture of María in the Pampas. María's captors remain unnamed but are marked by indigeneity and 'barbarism.' María 'valiantly' escapes her captors and rescues her injured husband, Brian. Despite

---

[165] Quijada, *Homogeneidad y Nación*, 66.

[166] Carmen Bernard, "La Población Negra de Buenos Aires (1777-1862)" in *Homogeneidad y Nación*, 134. Carmen Bernard summarizes the heuristic between Afro-*porteños* being synonymous with Rosistas, "el nombre de Rosas quedó unido a la gente de color, tanto para sus partidarios como para sus enemigos. Después de la caída del tirano, los pocos negros que vivían en Buenos Aires y que habían sobrevivido a Las Guerras como fueron considerados por los unitarios como 'raza abyecta' instrumento del poder dictatorial".

overcoming obstacles with her superhuman strength, María cannot save Brian, who perishes upon returning to 'civilization.' María herself tragically perishes upon discovering that the malón murdered her only son.[167]

The poem was an immediate success, with over 500 copies selling out in Cadiz, Spain, followed by additional printing in Argentina in 1846.[168] According to literary scholar, Noé Jitrik, "*La cautiva*" "consecrated the implantation of romanticism, incorporating the Argentine countryside into the forming literary canon, and was the start of a particular form of national poetry."[169] The poem is set amidst the backdrop of the Pampas. This vast geographical space would later become crucial territory for livestock rearing, forming a massive pillar of Argentina's export economy. Jitrik's analysis of the romantic influences in Echeverría's "*La cautiva*" posits nature as imbued with the subjectivity of the people whose lives are both shaped and embodied by the surrounding environment, "in effect what occurs in one implicates what occurs in the other, a profound relationship in which the self is attached to the cosmic."[170] I take this analysis of the Romantic further. The linkage between *land* and self was a constitutive process that would inform an Argentine identity inseparable from the Pampas.

---

[167] Quijada, *Homogeneidad y Nación,* 63, states: the "Aracaunization" of the Pampas began in the 17th century. The expansion of the Araucas also known as the Mapuches and Pehuenches, spread from the Western side of the Andes into the Eastern region, known as the Pampas. The Pampas became an easy place of establishing military power and gaining quick wealth through the raiding party known as a Malón. By the 18th and 19th century the Pampas became a site of initiation for young Mapuche warriors".

[168] Jitrik, "*Echeverría y la realidad nacional*".

[169] Jitrik, "*Echeverría y la realidad nacional*": "En efecto, *La cautiva* consagra la implantación del romanticismo, incorpora el paisaje argentino a la gran literatura, y da comienzo a una particular forma de entender la poesía nacional (tal como la había predicado en el epílogo de *Los consuelos*), dando lugar a una tendencia que podemos denominar «la gauchesca culta», y demostrando que es posible utilizar la literatura para expresar ideas y conceptos polémicos actuales." Sección: *La cautiva.*

[170] Jitrik, "*Echeverría y la realidad nacional,*" "Para el romanticismo la naturaleza es desdoblamiento de la subjetividad, de modo que lo que ocurre en una implica lo que ocurre en la otra y viceversa, en una relación profunda por la cual el ser se liga con lo cósmico y por allí se explica." Section *La cautiva.*

My analysis expands on Monica Quijada's in *Homogeneidad y Nación* (2000). Quijada argues the main thrust of an imaginary 'homogenizing' identity "was called patriotism and in others nationalism, whose objective was to translate an emotional civic feeling of the polis to that of the territorial state."[171] And that is precisely what Echeverría's poem does. The epic begins with a beautiful description of the Pampas. The beauty, however, is interrupted by the "Indios," causing the earth to quake and even nature itself to despair as the *malón* 'storms' upon the scene. This establishes a link between the unnamed Indigenous people of the text as an aberration upon the land's beauty, creating space for the reader, the elite Argentine, to tie their notion of self to the Pampas while simultaneously distancing Indigenous peoples as the "aberration."

In the story, the *malón,*[172] has among its captives a group of unnamed women and children, María, and Brian, an 'honorable' militia man.[173] As mentioned in the first chapter, a *malón* is an Indigenous warring party common at this time in the Pampas, particularly among the Pehuenche, Mapuche, and Huilliches. Brian, the injured "hero," whose heroic deeds are only alluded to in this poem, is wounded and debilitated. The Indigenous people of the *malón* slaughter a mare and drink her blood.

The symbolism of the mare represents fertility and the mother.[174] As a result, the mare's slaughter, represents the threatening and unspeakable foreshadowing of the rape of *las cautivas.* The horse in the Christian tradition can also represent racing toward

---

[171]Quijada, *Homogeneidad y Nación*, 138. "Que en algunos casos se llamó patriotismo y en otros nacionalismo, tenía por objeto traducir un sentimiento cívico altamente emocional desde el nivel de la polis al del estado territorial".

[172] For more, see Susan Migden Socolow, "Spanish Captives in Indian Societies: Cultural Contact along the Argentine Frontier, 1600-1835." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (1992): 73–99.

[173] This is just a hypothesis; the text never names what Indigenous nation has taken the protagonist's captives.

[174] Steven Olderr, *Symbolism: A Comprehensive Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (McFarland & Company, Incorporated Publishers, 2012), 112-113.

salvation.[175] The horse's unfortunate slaughter renders it unable to race towards said salvation, implying the damnable fate of *las cautivas*, and their forced mixing with Indigenous men of the *malón*.[176] Fortunately, for the unnamed group of *cautivas*, the next morning, the rest are saved and returned to the nation by the valiant men of 'civilization,' who *brutally* slaughter all the Indigenous people in the camp, including women and children. The slaughter of the Indigenous people in the text further reinforces a notion of a de-populated Pampas, which are now ripe for the taking by *criollos*, idealized as 'white,' as they build and expand Argentina.

María, however, decided not to wait for rescue; in the middle of the previous night, she took a knife and killed two Indigenous men, escaping into the Pampas, carrying her beloved Brian on her back. María takes on a "traditionally" masculine role and saves her *damsel in distress*, Brian, who, from his name, can be hypothesized as either a part of the British empire's militia posted in neighboring Chile to help win Independence and/or is the descendant of an Englishman.[177] This elucidates his social positioning, almost certainly as a white man. Meanwhile, María fights off several threats, from a fire to a tiger attack.[178] Despite her best efforts, her beloved Brian can no longer go on. María leaves Brian's body on the Pampas.

His death in the Pampas is a symbolic aspect of nation-building. María, the representative of a home-grown Argentine identity, outlasts the *presumably* better British foreigner. What does this say about Argentines? if María in comparison to the even

---

[175] Steven Olderr, "*Symbolism: A Comprehensive Dictionary*.
[176] Steven Olderr, "*Symbolism: A Comprehensive Dictionary*, 112-113.
[177] For more on the gender role reversal in 19th-century literature in Argentina, see Francine Masiello, *Between Civilization and Barbarism: Women, Nation, and Literary Culture in Modern Argentina* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).
[178] Tiger was the name for the jaguar at the time, a tiger would not have been habituated to the Pampas.

whiter Brian has greater strength and resilience, if she is positioned as the savior? It certainly elucidates Argentina in a global context as their own liberators, they do not need the British or their imperial yoke. Argentines will save themselves, and in the process, they may even attempt to save a few Brians, although not always successfully. Nevertheless, Brian's contribution to Argentina is his sacrifice on the Pampas. A polity attached to its physical geographies is necessary in constructing an Argentine identity; this link to the land is a cornerstone in constructing a national identity. As Geler and Rodríguez stated (2016):

> …territorial conquest was crucial for the development of those feelings, whether related to expelling the Spanish troops, to placing the indigenous territories under the control of the incipient state-in-formation, or to defining international borders. Quijada (2000) uses the expression 'alchemy of the land' to explain the symbolic process that allowed everyone involved in military battles to rid themselves of particular ancestries and to establish renewed ties as descendants from the same family tree.[179]

Therefore, Brian's death upon the Pampas is a sacrifice for the nation. Although we do not see Brian's heroic deeds per se in the poem itself, such a mindset and his death for the nation cements him as a hero. This reinforces a narrative purpose that a sacrifice, such as a "'violent death must be remembered/forgotten as 'our' own."[180] The operative 'ours' is the one that inhabits and is allowed to exist within the confines of the nation-state's borders. Brian's death is an honorable tribute to the nation, contributing to the "alchemy of the land."[181] Brian, whose national and ethnic origins can only be alluded to at the poem's beginning, indubitably becomes a white Argentine by the poem's end for his valiant contributions of fighting the barbaric, protecting the civilized, and sacrificing

---

[179] Geler and Rodriguez, "Mixed Race in Argentina", 182-183.
[180] Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; revised ed., London: Verso, 2006), 221.
[181] Quijada, *Homogeneidad y Nación*, 179-217.

himself for the nation. The text can make these burgeoning racial distinctions through "civilization" and "barbarism," a trope that long pre-dated Echeverría and would continue to proliferate in the Argentine literary tradition and nation-building space for centuries to come.

La Cautiva: "Civilization and Barbarism"

The text embodies the ancient binary between 'civilization' and 'barbarism,' a cudgel in the nation-making process to inform who would exist within it and who would perish outside it. These tropes reinforce a burgeoning 'ethnicized' identity of 'whiteness.' This inherently 'othering' schematic supports a phenotypic association alongside the nation's rise. Those at the top, *criollo* and later 'white,' were overwhelmingly phenotypically different than those at the bottom of the social hierarchy. The unincorporated[182] Indigenous nations of the Pampas and Patagonia, among them the Mapuche, Tehuelche, Chaqueños, Manzaneras, Vororoganas, Pehuenche, and Huilliches,[183] were construed as barbaric because they were nomadic, not Christian, did not dress like the nobility or *criollos*, and, most importantly, because they continued to resist the colonization of their peoples. These Indigenous nations are consistently associated with non-white skin color. They are not only phenotypically different from the *criollo* elite but are also different because of their 'barbarism.' This is a continuity of the colonial period. Although the colonial *casta* system's upward mobility was mediated by other factors equally as

[182] According to Quijada, *Homogeneidad y Nación*, 59: "Many indigenous populations who had experienced colonization at the hands of the Inca and were in settled agrarian societies at the time of Spanish/Iberian colonization, were incorporated into an encomienda and/or exploitative situation and thus incorporated into colonial society." Therefore, it is essential to distinguish between incorporated and unincorporated Indigenous peoples because many indigenous people in the Northwest of Argentina were incorporated into the Spanish settler society.

[183] This is not an exhaustive list of unincorporated Indigenous nations of the mid-nineteenth century.

important as skin color, phenotypic distinction and 'barbarism' take on leading roles of demarcating difference during the rise of the nation-state. The demarcated difference gave rise to the ethnogenesis of the Argentine identity, embodied by 'whiteness,' relying on the hierarchies of the *castas* from the colonial period.

"*La cautiva*" establishes a narrative that 'barbarizes' and thus racializes the Indigenous population as outside of the polity of Argentina and as an imperative threat to the nation itself. The *indios "infieles*" were outsiders, whom nation builders used to juxtapose with their national identities. The "*infieles*" were the antithesis of Argentina. As Benedict Anderson, in *Imagined Communities* (1983, 2006), establishes, print capitalism was a key feature of founding nation-states and created an ensuing sense of nationalism.[184] This allowed, "rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways."[185] Therefore, "*La cautiva,"* a product of print capitalism, along with other narrative works, was a political and canonical tool establishing a shared sense of identity. The empty signifier through which to communicate this new identity is María, the *cautiva*.

María, and the other captives, although never referred to directly as 'white,' implicitly represent 'whiteness' through the language of Christianity and beauty. The following quote exemplifies the subtext of María and her fellow *cautivas* 'whiteness':

> Happy the maloca has been;/rich and of esteem the prey/ she snatched from the Christians:/horses, colts and mares/goods that in her wandering life/ she prizes more than gold;/a multitude of captives,/all young and beautiful. [186]

---

[184] The connection between nationalism and print culture is further explore in Brazil in, Hendrik Kraay, Celso Thomas Castilho, and Teresa Cribelli, *Press, Power, and Culture in Imperial Brazil* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2021).
[185] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 38.
[186] "Feliz la maloca ha sido;/rica y de estima la presa/ que arrebató a los cristianos:/caballos, potros y yeguas, /bienes que en su vida errante/ ella más que el oro aprecia;/ muchedumbre de cautivas, /todas jóvenes y bellas." Esteban Echeverría, "La Cautiva", (New York: Digitalia Inc, 2012), 8.

The *cautivas* are considered beautiful, an indicator of 'whiteness' in the nineteenth century. As Edward Telles and René Flores have noted, "since the early colonial period, whites have been the dominant status group, and whiteness has represented power, wealth, privilege, and beauty in virtually every part of Spanish and Portuguese America, while Afro-descendants and Indigenous persons have been at the bottom of the social structure."[187] In tandem with these associations of beauty, Christianity implies 'civilization,' and 'civilization' comes to represent 'whiteness.' Because associations with Christianity and beauty signify whiteness, the reader can perceive María as 'white,' without it being explicitly written. The link between beauty and 'whiteness' from the colonial period into the nineteenth century is clear. These ideals of beauty only became more entrenched by the early twentieth century.[188] "*La cautiva*" codifies 'whiteness' by relying on the foundations of the colonial period, using the schematic of 'civilization,' as much as beauty, the captive woman is the vehicle by which to deliver these ideas.

This poem is a tool to build an elite's 'utopic' vision of the nation. It is a mechanism for the *porteños* to think about their counterparts living in the hinterlands of the Pampas.[189] Echeverría's texts allow elite *porteños* to relate through a common enemy, unincorporated Indigenous populations who are terrorizing the 'purity' of 'white' womanhood. Attempting to maintain the 'sexual purity,' and, therefore, honor of white womanhood is necessary to maintain and strengthen the idea of Argentina as a 'white nation'. This strategic construction of 'civilized' versus 'barbaric' is maintained through

[187] Edward Telles & René Flores "Not Just Color: Whiteness, Nation, and Status in Latin America" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 93, no. 3 (2013): 411–449, 411.
[188] Lea Geler, "African Descent and Whiteness in Buenos Aires" in *Rethinking Race in Modern Argentina,* ed. Paulina Alberto & Eduardo Elena (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 228-229.

[189] A term for people of the capital city of Buenos Aires.

the passage of homogeneous empty time.[190] "*La cautiva*" can thus be understood as a tool that begins to form its 'ethnicized' identity in opposition to *los malones,* an identity that implies 'whiteness.'

María, the captive herself, is a metaphor for the nation. María embodies the precarity of the United Provinces of Argentina. Her role is interchangeable with the nation.[191] The country is threatened by her rape and dishonor.[192] The nation is often feminized, and the rape of the Americas as portrayed by a woman is not a new phenomenon but one established centuries earlier, starting with the Roman tradition.[193] This tradition is exemplified by Johannes Stradanus in his work, "The Discovery of America" (1587–1589).

Clothing equated civilization and nudity with barbarism a trope with roots in the ancient classical world. This dynamic can be seen in Stradanus' work as the man is dressed and looking down on the nude woman representing the barbarism of the America's, from below.

Figure 1. Johannes Stradanus "The Discovery of America" 1587–1589, Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk, 7.4" X 10.5"

[190] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 50, explains homogenous empty time as a way for a diversified and vast polis to feel connected to their fellow citizens through *homogeneous empty time,* which was mediated through calendars, holidays, and daily newspapers.

[191] For further information that establishes the nation's continuity as a woman from Antiquity, see: Ursula E. Koch, "Female allegories of the nation," Encyclopédie d'histoire numérique de l'Europe [online], ISSN 2677-6588, published on 22/06/20.

[192] Rebecca Earle explores the prevalence of rape in wartime propaganda in Latin America during the Wars of Independence, and argues that the threat of women being raped was an anxious response to their increased political mobilization, see: Rebecca Earle, "Rape and the Anxious Republic: Revolutionary Colombia, 1810–1830," in *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*, ed. Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux (Duke University Press, 2000), 127–46, https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822380238-005, 136.

[193] See the "The Discovery of America" (1587–1589) a print by Johannes Stradanus.

The America's is represented through its nature, the cannibalism in the background and a variety of flora and fauna. While Europe, the bastion of "civilization" is represented by the cross in the man's hands and the technology of its ships in the background. This work illustrates the clash or first encounter between "civilization" and "barbarism" and the impending rape of the Americas.

However, in Echeverría's work, the nation–María–battles and vanquishes the 'uncivilized,' a threat to her body, honor, and 'whiteness.' The nation is the agent of Indigenous murder, justified as self-defense. The nation is the defender of its 'white' plebe, embodied by Brian. The nation is the conqueror of all things natural. The nation is only thwarted by the knowledge that her progeny is deceased. This untimely death can be understood as a nation without a predecessor or future generation(s) symbolizing the nation's death.

María, or the nation, becomes the enforcer of 'civilization' in the face of her foes who are both Rosistas — understood as teeming masses of the lower classes and afro-porteños—as well as unincorporated Indigenous peoples themselves. "*La cautiva*" is a polemic and didactic text reinforcing nationhood with the ethnogenesis of a 'white' and 'civilized' *polis.* The captive woman represents both 'whiteness' and nation, inextricably linking the two. This poem does not stand alone in how it uses *cautivas* to build racial identities and the country. German painter, Johann Moritz Rugendas' painting, titled, "*El malón*" accomplishes the same ends.

"El Malón"

German artist, Johann Moritz Rugendas (1802–1858), more commonly known in Argentina as Mauricio Rugendas, became one of the most prominent painters of Latin

America. Rugendas was hired by the Bavarian scientist, Heinrich von Langsdorff in 1820 to paint "botanical drawings" on his journey to Brazil, which lasted from 1821–1825.[194] After Rugendas' first successful trip to Latin America, he met Alexander Von Humboldt, a Prussian naturalist and explorer, in Paris.[195] On Rugendas' second journey to the Americas, he found himself under the patronage of Humboldt. This second expedition would carry Rugendas through Mexico, Chile, Peru, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, lasting the better part of fifteen years from 1831–1846. On this second expedition, Rugendas became cozy with some of the most elite nation builders of the Southern Cone. One such prominent thinker, Domingo F. Sarmiento, who would later become president of Argentina (1868–1974), wrote, "he [Rugendas] was one of two Europeans (the other being Alexander Von Humboldt) who had actually portrayed America truthfully."[196] Rugendas would spend eight years in Chile beginning in 1834, during which time it is believed that his primary draw was to visit *Auracanía,* where both Pehuenche and Mapuche lived.[197]

It was during this time that Rugendas painted, "*El Rapto de Doña Trinidad Salcedo*," more commonly known as "*El malón*" (1836). (Figure 2). Although this painting was created a year before the publication of Echeverría's "*La cautiva,*" his other works of captives were heavily influenced by Echeverría's, as if taken directly from the epic poem:[198]

---

[194] Christopher Conway, "Gender Iconoclasm and Aesthetics in Esteban Echeverría's La Cautiva and the Captivity Paintings of Juan Manuel Blanes" *Decimononica* 12, no.1 (2015), 124.
[195] Pablo Diener, "Juan Mauricio Rugendas: America De Punta a Cabo," *Dispositio* 17, no. 42/43 (1992): 233–62, 237.
[196] Conway, "Gender Iconoclasm and Aesthetics", 49.
[197] Diener, "Juan Mauricio Rugendas," 242.
[198] Diener, 243.

> In Chile, he had already created several oil versions of these drawings; but overall, it would be in Argentina where he would take this theme to his paintings, and he would do so in a completely different pictorial language.[199]

Many of his works went directly to his patrons, first Langsdorff and later Humboldt. Second, many were sold to European clients in Latin America. Lastly, a large body of his work was sold to institutional collections, such as the Crown of Hapsburg.[200] Despite a more limited circulation of his paintings in the Americas, by virtue of rubbing shoulders with the elite of the Southern Cone, the impact of his work was certainly felt in the burgeoning republics:

> Undoubtedly, the period of Rugendas' stay in Chile marked his production, it was the time of early republicanism, a period in which the ruling sector needed to build a discourse on the indigenous populations of the territory and, in a certain way, generate an image of the paradigmatic character.[201]

The use of his works to propagate a discourse of 'civilization' and 'barbarism' in the Southern Cone is undeniable. Rugenda's work in and on the region was used to build a national identity.

The rather small painting by Rugendas depicts a dramatic multi-dimensional scene. The lower half is filled with people in the middle of battle. The foreground is punctuated by a limp, presumably dead, clothed body. A triangulation occurs between a shirtless and 'racialized' Indigenous man on a white horse—a 'white' woman in his

---

[199] Diener, 243. "*En Chile ya realizó versiones al óleo de algunos de estos dibujos; pero será sobre todo en Argentina donde lleve este tema a la pintura y allí lo hará con un lenguaje pictórico completamente diferente*."

[200] Nicholas Lambourn, "Rugendas y el mercado de arte" in *Rugendas: el artista viajero*, eds., Pablo Diener and Maria de Fátima Costa, Primera edición, junio de 2021 (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, 2021), 167–168.

[201] Viviana Gallardo, "RUGENDAS, ARTISTA VIAJERO Y SU APORTE A LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA REPRESENTACIÓN INDÍGENA Resumen AbstRAct ClAves KeywoRds," January 29, 2012, 85–86. "Sin duda alguna, el período de estadía de Rugendas en Chile marcó su producción, era la época del temprano republicanismo, período en el cual el sector dirigente necesitó construir un discurso sobre las poblaciones indígenas del territorio y de cierta manera generar una imagen de carácter paradigmático."

arms—the limp body on the ground, and a man dressed in blue and red, arm out-stretched in the direction of the 'white' woman on the horse, his other hand holding a bloodied knife. The man with his arms outstretched is in the foreground of the painting, while the white horse sits in the center. The horse's two front legs are off the ground in a display of forward momentum. The gaze of the Indigenous man atop the white horse is focused directly on the man with his arm outstretched, although his body is turned away. The man in the triangulated composition looks to be in the middle of both supplication and threat to the Indigenous body in the center.

Figure 2. Johann M. Rugendas, "El Malón," 1836, oil on canvas, 17" x 20"

The details become less vivid in the background, filled with faceless bodies except for a 'white' blonde-haired woman on the right-hand side. The woman's breasts are exposed, and her face is turned away from her captor. In front of her, a child covers their eyes. In

the far background, a mission can be seen keeping a watchful eye over the town. The skyscape occupies half of the painting, filling the scene in a purplish grayscale. Most of the color in the image comes from those in battle. The 'white' woman in the center of the painting looks up at the sky, arms splayed wide, and the pop of red from her skirt draws the eye in, contrasting with the horse's color. The bodies of the Indigenous warriors are distinguishable from the *criollos* by their skin tone and distinct clothing.

The Indigenous man on the horse is the agent of movement and conflict between himself, the white woman, and the militia man. The skin tone of the militia man, presumably a *criollo*, is a lighter shade than the Indigenous men but not 'white' like that of the two women. Although this painting was produced after the Wars of Independence, it is a continuation of colonial notions of '*limpieza de sangre*' and '*calidad.'* It is the reinforcement of a caste system and the reification of the schematic of 'civilization' and 'barbarism.'[202] Rugendas puts paint, quite literally, to the timeless binary of 'civilization' and 'barbarism' that reifies the makings of race, specifically 'whiteness.'

This binary operates in "*El malón*", both in the gradations of the color of the people in the painting and their hierarchy in depiction. The 'white' woman atop the horse is in greatest need of protection. Rugendas' painting positions the *cautiva*, who might have been considered a '*criolla,'* as 'white.' This task is accomplished by the gradations of skin color and her positioning in the image. Rugendas aids the consolidation of the transition from *criollo* to 'white' that was brewing amongst elite Argentine men by

[202] To see how the concept of civilization was used to construct anti-black thought in the Iberian Peninsula, see James H. Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (January 1, 1997): 143–66, https://doi.org/10.2307/2953315; Nancy E. Van Deusen, *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Narrating Native Histories (Durham ; Duke University Press, 2015).

depicting 'Trini" as starkly white instead of having a '*moreno'* or "*trigueño*" skin tone like those of the militiamen. In "African Descent and Whiteness in Buenos Aires," Geler explains the significance of *moreno* and *trigueño* in the whitening project:

> The term "moreno" and others like it provide an important clue for understanding local racial ideologies. In Buenos Aires, depending on the context, "moreno" may be used to refer to a person with a dark skin tone but who is perceived as within the bounds of racial whiteness, as well as to describe (in softened terms) a person understood as racially black. This same ambiguity is also present in the term "pardo [brownish-colored]," and in the term "trigueño," which Andrews has signaled as key to the transfer of people from the category "black" to that of "white" in nineteenth-century official statistics. Significantly, in colonial times "moreno" was not an ambiguous word; it meant "black," and "pardo" meant "mulatto." Yet as "mulatto" (like other explicitly intermediate terms) disappeared from the local vocabulary, "moreno" and "pardo" became ambiguous and interchangeable terms. In that sense, these terms can be understood as points of articulation among racial categories and enablers of movement into the category of whiteness."[203]

Even though Trinidad's skin color in Sutcliffe's account was never verified, Rugendas makes "Trini's" skin even 'whiter' than that of the militiamen. [204] Not only does this color attempt to represent the captive's purity, but it also codifies an image that behooves elite nation builders' ideals as they begin to 'whiten' the nation.

Despite the capture occurring in Talca, Chile, the image of her supposed rape had transnational reach. This should come as no surprise since the Pincheira and Pehuenche *montoneras* stole from Buenos Aires, Cordoba, and San Luis estates in the United Provinces of the River Plate (Argentina). Since the painting supposedly represents the Pehuenche, although not a monolithic identity, it had repercussions for the Pehuenche on

---

[203] Geler, "African Descent and Whiteness in Buenos Aires", 225. Geler cites George Reid Andrews, *Los Afroargentinos de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Ed. de la flor, 1990).

[204] I have placed quotations around Trini's name at this point, for the artwork cannot be understood as an 'accurate' representation of her experience. It can be assumed that ten years after the event itself, Rugendas takes liberties with her depiction. This is a good indicator that the artwork will be used to serve the political purposes of the elite.

the Eastern side of the Andes and, even more broadly, different Indigenous nations. Rugenda's "*El malón,*" is not invested in the distinctions and intricacies amongst the Pehuenche or Indigenous nations of the Andes. His work thus lumps the Pehuenche into a racialized and homogenized group in the service of reifying ideas of "whiteness" with far-reaching implications on both sides of the Andes. "*El malón*" is not simply art for art's sake but a political tool used to communicate political ideologies that reify and concretize ideas of 'civilization' and 'barbarism.' "*El malón*" consolidates ideas of 'whiteness' in Argentina through the 'cultural contamination' that came to be associated between the painting and the literary text of "*La cautiva*" by Esteban Echeverría.

However, Rugendas' work is not the first to represent the kidnapping and rape of a (white) woman. Baroque Flemish artist, Peter Paul Rubens' (1577–1640) "Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus" (1617) and the "Rape of the Sabine Women" (1635–1640) are foundational to the narrative Rugendas uses in "*El Malón."* (Figures 4 and 5).

Figure 3. Peter Paul Rubens, "Rape of the Sabine Women," 1635–1640, oil on oak, 67" x 93"

In the "Rape of the daughters of Leucippus," the two women look upwards, one at her captor and the other at the heavens in

Figure 4. Peter Paul Rubens, "Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus," 1617, oil on canvas, 88" x 82"

supplication. The women are naked, the tatters of their clothes around the base of their bodies, foreshadowing the rape to come. The two men are grabbing at the women to bear them off on the large rearing horses in the background. The strength of the men and their steeds, and their position above the women, represent their inevitable success beyond the frame of the image.

Similar to Rugendas' work, both paintings eroticize the moment of violence and foreshadow the rape beyond the viewer's purview via the women's nakedness. Since Rugendas was working from the retelling of Doña Trinidad Salcedo's capture, it's clear that he would rely on known European works, such as Rubens paintings, and perhaps also, Gian Lorenzo Bernini's (1598–1680) sculpture, "The Rape of Proserpina" (1622) (Figure 6). [205] The sculpture was originally commissioned by Cardinal Scipione Borghese. Bernini's work depicts and the classical roman myth of Proserpina's rape and abduction by the god of the underworld, Pluto.

Figure 5. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, "The Rape of Proserpina," 1621–1622, marble sculpture, marble, 7.5 ft.

[205] There is a wealth of images and myths that represent the kidnapping and rape of women in Ancient Greece, such as the Abduction of Hades and Persephone; Titian, "Diana and Callisto" 1556–1559, and "The Rape of Europa" 1559–1562; Adam Lambert-Sigisbert "Neptune Calming the Waves" (1737), Antonio da Correggio "Jupiter and Antiope" 1524–1527; Nicolas Mignard, "The Rape of Proserpina" (1651).

Like other depictions of rape, the scale of the woman in comparison to her captor indicates the futility of her attempted escape. Nevertheless, her body language indicates a struggle against her captor, her face looking outwards as if pleading for help. Rubens and others have skin color variations but they are mostly identifiers of gender, for example women are pale and men are ruddy, referencing ancient classical idioms.

The depiction of women being kidnapped and raped was an established idiom in the "western" classical art tradition by the time Rugendas created his series on *cautivas;* as an educated and trained artist, he would have undoubtedly been familiar with such works. However, the racialization of the Indigenous men and the triangulation it establishes between the 'white' woman and '*moreno'* militia men are distinct in Rugenda's work. Rugendas' "*El malón*" reinforces the underlining threat of unincorporated Indigenous communities to the budding settler-colonist nation-state and the danger these communities pose to the 'whiteness' that is being promoted as part and parcel of the national identity. These *malones,* that continued to exist along the borderlands made life precarious for colonial settlers. The threat of the *malón* was a challenge to settler-colonial authority. That the *malón* could befall any of the 'civilized' populations of Argentina concocts a cauldron of emotions through which the viewers of the painting were interpellated.[206]

French philosopher, Louis Althusser popularized interpellation in his essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" (1970); he wrote, "Individuals recognize themselves as subjects *through* ideology, thus illustrating how subjects can be complicit in their own domination…In other words, ideology, interpellation, and subjecthood

[206] According to Socolow, "Spanish Captives in Indian Societies", 90: The majority of those on the frontier were not the bourgeois, they were typically people of mixed descent and/or *peones.*

mutually reinforce each other."[207] The modes through which subjects are interpellated include but are not limited to print and visual culture. The construction of 'whiteness' through the image of the captive woman interpellates the viewer as subject to its construction and as a constituent of its creation. The viewer becomes subject to the ideologies communicated in the painting via sentimentality.

Sentimentality was originally a European aesthetic that prioritized emotion over intellect. Introduced to the Americas through art and literature, sentimentality became a prominent stylistic choice. According to art historian, Emmanuel Ortega, sentimentality in nineteenth-century Latin America was an effective tool in developing nationalist projects; its inspiration was drawn from enlightened European romanticism.[208] Sentimentality is a political tool to exploit the subject's emotions through the figure of the human body, making the personal national and the national personal, thereby creating a notion of national unity.[209] This process creates a shared sense of identity amongst the viewers and the captive in the painting. First, the viewers witness 'barbarism' and are impacted by the horror of the event, thus becoming fearful. Second, sentimentality constructs the subject through arousal. As art historian, Laura Malosetti Costa highlights, "the captive herself is an erotic image. She is an object and victim of the Indian's 'savage eroticism'…she is already an object of desire of the 'civilized' husband and redeemers...In this sense, the visual image contributes to underlining the sensual aspect of

---

[207] "Interpellation | The Chicago School of Media Theory," accessed October 3, 2022, https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/interpellation/.

[208] Emmanuel Ortega, "The Sentimental Fantasy of Miscegenation: La Malinche in the Popular Mexican Imaginary," *Traitor, Survivor, Icon: The Legacy of La Malinche*, January 1, 2022, 123. https://www.academia.edu/77215578/The_Sentimental_Fantasy_of_Miscegenation_La_Malinche_in_the_Popular_Mexican_Imaginary.

[209] Ibid. 123. For more information on evoking sentimentality through the use of the human body, see Shirley Samuels, *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford University Press, 1992).

the rape scene."[210] Sentimentality creates a connection to the *cautiva,* constructed as 'white,' in opposition to the salacious 'barbarity' of her rape. Images allow the viewer to 'witness' and identify with those in the painting reinforcing the power of sentimentality. These emotions whether they be fear or rage, reinforces the narrative depicted by creating the illusion of truth.

As Lauren Kaplan argues, images of a *malón* depict a type of "topographical violence" on the land itself. It was a "way of showing the nation coming into being through the arduous struggle on the land that the audience knew well. This trope had a specific nation-building function...of bringing viewers together to celebrate Argentine victories."[211] The image in "*El malón*" and its circulation takes place before the final stage of the Conquest of the Dessert (1878–1885). Argentine triumph against the Pehuenche and the Indigenous nations of Patagonia are not yet secured in the 1830s. "*El malón*" represents the imperative threat to Argentina. "These multivalent images contain erotic overtones while also proving outrage...highlighting an 'us' versus 'them' mentality."[212] "*El malón*" reifies the binary of 'civilization' and 'barbarism' that intumesces the transition from a *criollo* to a 'white' identity through sentimentality using the captive woman. The viewer understands the *malón* as a threat to budding ideas of 'whiteness' and the nation through the captive woman's body.

---

[210] Laura Malosetti Costa, *Rapto De Cautivas Blancas: Un Aspecto Erótico De La Barbarie En La Plástica Rioplatense Del Siglo XIX*. Hipótesis Y Discusiones, (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1994), 37. "La cautiva es, por otra parte, una imagen erótica. Ya sea como objeto y víctima del 'erotismo salvaje' del indio, en medio de escenas de sangre y destrucción, ya sea como objeto del deseo 'civilizado' de sus esposos o redentores, como prenda de amor del blanco. En este sentido, la imagen visual contribuirá no poco a subrayar el aspecto sensual de las escenas de rapto".
[211] Lauren A. Kaplan, "Topographical Violence and Imagining the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Argentina." *Hemisphere: Visual Cultures of the Americas* 10 (2017): 32–47.
[212] Kaplan, 45. For further analysis on the Generation 80 and their nation-building art, which includes analysis on Della Valle's "La vuelta del malón," see, Kaplan.

Rugendas' paintings of captives would precede the nation-building work of Ángel de la Valle's "*La vuelta del malón*" (1892) and Juan Manuel Blane's (1830–1901) *gaucho* and *cautiva* paintings. However, the visual representation of *cautivas* across artists' work constructs and communicates 'whiteness,' interpellating the viewers as subjects through sentimentality. For example, in Blanes' work of captives, although the women's bodies are separate from their captors, the bare-shouldered or often nude *cautivas* are "eroticized objects of visual desire."[213] This elicits the sentimentality necessary to evoke a claim to the woman in the photo and place the viewer within a supposed shared national history. Blanes' work was commissioned by the state and was bounded within an academic tradition crucial to disseminating ideas of progress and the nation in nineteenth-century Latin America.[214] Although de la Valle's work came at the end of the nineteenth century, the image of the eroticized captive remains the same in his "*Vuelta del malón*," "The pictorial world of the *cautiva* is one of atavism, desire, and exoticism, much in the same way as the orientalist nudes and figures of European art."[215] The nude captive woman is resigned to her fate, and it is this resignation and the fear of impending miscegenation that prompts fear and outrage. The circulation of this image was abetted by Claudio Gay's lithograph (1854), which would come to be featured on the cover of Echeverría's "*La cautiva,*" during the Unitarian's control of Argentina (Figure 7).

---

[213] Christopher Conway, "Gender Iconoclasm and Aesthetics in Esteban Echeverría's La Cautiva and the Captivity Paintings of Juan Manuel Blanes.," *Decimononica* 12, no. 1 (20150101): 116.
[214] Dawn Ades et al., *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 28.
[215] Conway, "Gender Iconoclasm and Aesthetics in Esteban Echeverría's La Cautiva and the Captivity Paintings of Juan Manuel Blanes," 129.

Figure 6. Claudio Gay, "El rapto de doña Trinidad Salcedo" in Atlas Histórico y Físico de Chile (1854).

Like my analysis of "*La Cautiva*" by Echeverría, the constructed 'white' woman in Rugendas' painting also represents the nation. The implied rape taints the women's honor as much as it implies the birth of a mixed child. The captivity of 'white' women and the birth of their *mestizo* children is counter-productive to the elites' proliferating ideas of 'whitening' the populace. This painting is a call to arms to defend Argentina against such acts of 'barbarity.' The kidnapping and potential rape of these women is an affront to the nation and to men's honor. "As honor was also tied to one's household, it was especially egregious to insult a man in his own home; violation of a patriarch's home was one of the factors that made *rapto* such a serious affront." [216] These captive women were an extension of men's honor and, thus, social position.

Sarah Chambers explores the role of honor and citizenship in her book, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854* (1999),

[216] Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 170.

"far from being solely a personal attribute, honor was a social code that governed relations all the way from the family, through the community, to the level of nation."[217] Chambers discusses the three critical elements of the honor code in Spanish America: reputation, personal virtue, *limpieza de sangre* or lineage, and sexual honor:[218]

> In order to make good matches, fathers had to ensure that their daughters remained virgins. Women, therefore, were considered honorable only if they were chaste before marriage and faithful thereafter. Because the dishonor of one woman would extend to her entire family, moreover, it was the duty of men to defend the honor of their female relatives. In practice, nonetheless, what mattered most were appearances; elite women lost honor only if their indiscretions were publicly acknowledged." [219]

The captivity of Doña Trinidad Salcedo is not only a destruction of her sexual purity and, therefore, honor but her father's as well. Additionally, the nudity of Doña Trinidad represents the 'shame' to befall her, "Clothing, too, was a reflection of a woman's honor, both of her sexual modesty and her status."[220] This colonial continuity is applicable in the budding republic of Argentina in the 1830s. What better way to galvanize territorial expansion, elicit outrage, and inadvertently extend commonalities across the political spectrum than to demonstrate an affront to elites' honor? "*El malón*" embodies the 'barbarity' of the frontier and justifies its 'securing', while forging a shared affectation among its elite viewers.

As the title of the painting gradually transitions from "*El rapto de Doña Trinidad Salcedo*" to "*El malón*" it becomes another text in the developing genre of captivity, weaponized to promote and justify Argentina's transformation into a 'white' nation-state.

---

[217] Chambers, 162.
[218] Chambers, 164–166.
[219] Ibid., 166.
[220] Ibid., 178

Trini's captivity experience slips from the title of the painting, and thus her individual experience is forgotten. The protagonist is no longer Trini, but the *malón*. The painting's purpose is no longer to communicate a story about Trini's suffering but becomes about communicating fear of a 'horde' of brown men. For it is the *malón* that should be feared, for its threat to the nation, for its threat to a 'white' 'civilized' population. "*La Cautiva*" and "*El malón*" do not memorialize '*morena'* or indigenous women's captivity, which also occurred along the frontier. This political erasure represents how constructions of women's captivity linked to 'whiteness' in the 1830s was used to promote and justify Argentina's expansion into the Pampas and transformation into a 'white' nation-state. These texts use the image of women captives to attempt to consolidate a 'white' identity, ushering in a transition from *criollo* to 'white' in opposition to unincorporated Indigenous actors and 'barbarism.'

The historicization of *cautividad* linked to 'whiteness' as represented in "*La cautiva*" and "*El malón*" mythologizes captivity. This mythologization of a white *cautiva* upholds the construction of a shared history. French literary theorist, Roland Barthes theorized about the weight of the myth as this, "constant game of hide-and-seek between the meaning and the form which defines myth."[221] The 'whiteness' of women's captivity in these texts is a construction, creating meaning through myth:

> The knowledge contained in a mythical concept is confused, made of yielding, shapeless concept; it is not at all an abstract, purified essence; it is a formless, unstable, nebulous condensation, whose unity and coherence are above all due to its function. In this sense, we can say that the fundamental character of the mythical concept is to be appropriated.[222]

[221] Roland Barthes *Mythologies* (1st American ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 2012), 117.
[222] Barthes, 118.

The myth's very nature allows it to constantly shift to meet its strategic and changing purposes. 'White' *cautividad*, the operative myth in this instance, signifies the 'white' nation. "However paradoxical it may seem, myth hides nothing: its function is to distort, not to make disappear."[223] The *cautiva* identity is appropriated by the elite to consolidate a transition from *criollo* to 'whiteness.' By using print and visual culture to proliferate a singular and strategic narrative of captivity, *cautivas* complex negotiations of choosing to stay with their captors or return to settler society are subsumed in the eroticized and violent provocation of their kidnapping, thereby silencing their experiences in the service of a national narrative.

Conclusion

In 1834, a year after Rosa's expedition into the Pampas, Rugendas began his series of *cautiva* paintings. I analyze one of his most famous works from this series, "*El rapto de Doña Trinidad Salcedo*" (1836), which would later come to be more popularly known as "*El malón."* I have chosen to analyze this painting because of how Echeverría and Rugendas influenced each other in the production of their works. Susana Rotker observes, "Rugendas, after all, painted from his reading of Esteban Echeverría's poem. The poem, in turn, was later published with Rugendas' illustrations, in a cultural contamination in which what each imagined was reproduced in the other like a play of mirrors."[224] Due to the use of Rugendas' painting on the cover of Echeverría's text, the closeness of their publications, and later reproduction of "*El malón*" into a widely

[223] Barthes, 120.
[224] Susana Rotker, *Captive Women: Oblivion and Memory in Argentina* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 93. Rotker gets her information from Bonifacio del Carril, *Artistas extranjeros en la Argentina: Mauricio Rugendas* (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1966).

disseminated lithograph by Claudio Gay in 1854, it is clear that the image of "*El malón*" became a tool in the repertoire of nation building.[225]

The painting itself is based on the actual event of the brief captivity of Doña Trini Salcedo recorded in General Thomas Sutcliffe's experience in, *Sixteen Years in Chile and Peru from 1822–1839* (1841). The captivity in question which occurred in Talca, Chile, would have transnational reach because they also took people captive on the eastern side of the Andes, in the Pampas of Argentina. Therefore, the fact that Trinidad's captivity was in Talca does not preclude the painting from profoundly impacting Argentine nation-building. This is especially the case due to the cultural contamination of "*La cautiva*" and "*El malón*," popularizing the image in Argentina. Sutcliffe records Rugenda's gift: "My friend, Don Maurice Rugendas, to whom I related the affair, gave me a beautiful oil painting to commemorate it, which is an accurate and striking picture of the ferocious savages who committed such atrocities."[226] Despite Trinidad Salcedo's capture taking place in 1826 and that General Sutcliffe did not meet with Rugendas until ten years later, the painting *apparently* bore a striking resemblance. Johann Rugendas gifted General Sutcliffe a painting of a 'non-descript' *malón.* Although the painting makes no mention of who the Indigenous people were, we know, per Sutcliffe's account, it was the Pehuenche and Pincheira brothers. A few years prior to Doña Trinidad Salcedo's capture in 1820, relationships between Spanish settlers on the Eastern side of the Andes and the Pehuenche were still ones of commercial trade and alliance. Archival evidence from the General Province of Mendoza highlights said relationships.

---

[225] Conway, "Gender Iconoclasm and Aesthetics", 124, states: "In Chile, this image became so iconic that other painters reproduced it in the 1830's, and Claudio Gay printed a lithograph of it in a historical atlas published in 1854".
[226] Thomas Sutcliffe, *Sixteen Years in Chile and Peru* (London: Fisher, Son, and Co., 1841), 133.

In a letter dated December 12 of that year, José León Lemos, commander of the fort of San Carlos, communicated to the governor of Mendoza, Don Tomás Godoy Cruz, about his trip to the *toldos* of the Pehuenche. The goal of Lemos's visit was to placate various Pehuenche caciques in exchange for the passage of goods to the *independista*, General José Miguel Carrera, in the Kingdom of Chile. The first stop on his trip is to Cacique Llanquetun, "I've offered him a complete wardrobe and a pair of spigots." He then visits Cacique Millaguin and, later, the Governor of the Pehuenche nation, Pañichiñe. Lemos reports that, "the offers made to the caciques taking Carrera and Aldao, alive or dead, are 400 mares, 50 bits with cups and two pairs of copal."[227] The Pehuenche of the Eastern side of the Andes were allied, or at the very least, strategically engaged, with *criollo* Independence fighters in 1820.[228]

As the letter goes on to report the passing of Pañichiñe, it highlights the critical importance of these relationships to the settler's success in the wars of Independence. Lemos explains the obligation of the Governor to offer his condolences to the Pehuenche. This necessary custom can only hint at the foundational role Governor Pañichiñe played in both trade and military alliance for the settlers. These relationships continued in a precarious balance until at least 1822, as demonstrated by a letter from Pedro Jose Aguirre, an Independence fighter of the Army of the Andes, to the Governor of Mendoza, Pedro Molina. Aguirre communicates the anticipated introduction between Millaguin and

---

[227] "*le he ofertado un vestuario completo y un par de espitas*." "Los ofertas echas a los caciques caso de tomar a Carrera y Aldao, vivos o muertos, son 400 yeguas, 50 frenos con copas y dos pares de copal Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza (AGPM), Época Independiente Carpeta 243 Documento º103 (1820).

[228] According to José Bengoa in, *Historia del pueblo mapuche: (siglo XIX y XX)*, Colección Estudios históricos (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Sur, 1985) 137, most of the Mapuche, meaning the Pehuenche, on the Chilean side of the Andes were allied with the Royalists, due to agreements made with the Spanish Government prior to the Wars of Independence.

the new Governor, and that until their meeting, "Millaguin requests that until talking to you, he prohibits the introduction of merchants, upon which I rely to provide you intelligence."[229] Although waiting for an invited introduction from the Governor, Millaguin, is forcing Molina's hand by cutting off access to essential sources of information from Chile. This engagement highlights the continued sovereignty of the Pehuenche as they dictate control of the pass across the Andes, the *Boquete del Antuco*.[230] They are respected intermediaries and are in a dialectical relationship with the *criollos*. A follow-up letter from Aguirre to Molina emphasizes the necessary customs of engaging with the Pehuenche Cacique, making clear the need to keep things peaceful between the two amid the Wars for Independence.[231] However, on the Western side of the Andes, in modern-day Chile, where Talca is located and the place of Doña Trinidad Salcedo's capture occurred, Pehuenche–settler alliances and relationships were of a different nature.

Many of the Pehuenche had been allied with the *realistas*, agents of the Spanish crown.[232] However, as Pilar María Herr argues in, "The Nation-State According to Whom? Mapuches and the Chilean State in the Early Nineteenth Century," the Pehuenche of Chillán had distinct political interests from the Pehuenche of Trapatrapa and the Pehuenche from Cuyo (modern-day Argentina), and so on. Her attributes this

---

[229]Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza (AGPM), Época Independiente Carpeta 244 Documento º102 (1822). "*Millaguin pide que en él entre tanto que no hable con vs se prohíba la introducción de comerciantes los que provengo a vs para su inteligencia*."

[230] For more on how Caciques influenced the geospatial politics of the Southern Cone, see: Jeffrey Alan Jr Erbig, *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America*, The David J. Weber Series in the New Borderlands History (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

[231] AGPM, Época Independiente Carpeta 244 Documento º106A (1822).

[232] To see how Pehuenche customs dictated the peace agreements known as *parlamentos*, see Jesse Zarley, "Between the Lof and the Liberators: Mapuche Authority in Chile's Guerra a Muerte (1819–1825)," *Ethnohistory* 66, no. 1 (January 1, 2019): 117–39, https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-7217365. Pilar Maria Herr briefly covers the customs of *parlamentos* in "The Nation-State According to Whom?," 73. Bengoa, 145.

difference to, "the power conflicts between the leaders of the different Pehuenche groups over who controlled the trade networks that compelled one group to side with the state and the other to fight against state encroachment on their territory."[233] The Pehuenche of Chillán, allied themselves with the royalists during the "Guerra de la Muerte" (1820). However, after the Royalists' defeat in Chile (1822), they did not cede to the new republic but allied themselves with the Pincheira. The Pincheira brothers, Antonio, Pablo, and José Antonio, also refused to surrender to the Chileans living a life beyond the purview of the state's control becoming infamous bandits. [234] So, while the Mapuche and the Chilean Army reached a truce of mutual recognition in Tapihue in 1825, the Pehuenche of Chillán continued to resist settler–colonialism via raids. [235] "The Pehuenches' of Chillán chose to pursue their own agenda and fought the state in order to maintain their control of a lucrative trade in cattle and other commodities that the state wanted, as well as autonomy from state encroachment on their lands."[236] Between 1823–1836, not a single year passed without Pehuenche and Pincheira *montoneras* or *malones* against the Chilean settlers.[237] However, these *malones* were not solely reserved for settlers. They also applied to the Mapuche. The *montoneras* would capture Mapuche women as both threat and punishment if the Mapuche of the nearby areas did not support the alliance.[238] It was this alliance between the Pincheira and Pehuenche that kidnapped Doña Trinidad Salcedo in 1826.

---

[233] Herr, 82.
[234] Bengoa, 94.
[235] Bengoa,147.
[236] Herr, 70.
[237] Bengoa, 94.
Marcela Tamagnini, "Multiple Articulations in the Southern Cordoba Border and Mamüel Mapu (1836-1851)," *Frontera Norte* 31 (2019), https://doi.org/10.33679/rfn.v1i1.1977.
A montonera "literally means men on horseback–but a more common usage is bandit gang," Herr, 83.
[238] Herr, 84.

I have shown through the example of Johann Moritz Rugenda's painting, "*El malón*" and "*La cautiva*" by Esteban Echeverría that visual and literary representations of captivity were used to construct notions of 'whiteness' and attempt to establish a homogenized national *polis*. These texts quite literally 'white'-wash *cautivas* potential identifications creating a discursive silence.[239] The *cautivas* in "*La cautiva*" and "*El malón*" are embodied solely through 'white' womanhood. At the same time, Indigenous, Black, and mixed identities quickly become invisibilized in the dominant culture, for they are not supposed to exist within a nation that is constructing itself to be 'perceived' of as 'white.' *Cautividad,* exemplified through "*El malón*" and "*La cautiva*" in the 1830s, becomes the embodying myth of the Pampas and the myth of the nation. Race is being codified via the discourse of captive women.

Print and visual culture was a way of engaging the populace. The reinforcing texts of Rugendas and Echeverría and their representations of captive women were a device for inspiring mobilizations. These men built an imaginary of women's captivity as 'white.' In this imaginary, *cautividad* is not about the complex individual experiences of captivity experienced by frontier women of all social identities but rather about a monolithic phenomenon on which national identity is based.[240] *Cautividad* is distanced from its multitudinous realities and becomes a justification for settler-colonial expansion. The threat of rape to these women is a threat to the nation, to the construction of a 'white' polity, and a danger to the men's honor.

---

[239] See Gayatri G. Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Ed.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-313.

[240] In the case of Trini Salcedo because her brother was considered a Don, a title of respect, it can be assumed that she inhabited a bourgeois, or elite, class status.

Elite politicians and dominant popular culture appropriated *cautividad*. This mythologized transformation of captivity as a 'white' experience is made more apparent when one looks at the deafening silence of lived *cautiva* stories in the national imaginary. Although both the United States and Argentina during the nineteenth century were in the process of territorial expansion, incurring waves of Western European migration, committing genocide against, and enforcing the confinement of Indigenous peoples, "the literature of the United States developed a way if not to heal at least to confront the tensions of the frontier in captivity narratives." [241] Meanwhile, written testimonies of captive women are absent in Argentina. This absence could be related to the role of sexual honor and the 'shame' of being sexually 'impure' post-captivity in Spanish–America. However, it could also be related to the reality that not all *cautivas'* identified as white and may have preferred to live with Indigenous people rather than in settler society, which would rather inconveniently contest the elite discourse of race and nation at the time. Regardless, the image of 'white' women's captivity was used to build a nation, irrespective of who the *cautivas* were.

The analyzed texts fortify identity in opposition to unincorporated Indigenous nations such as the Pehuenche. Despite the Pehuenche of the Eastern side of the Andes being tentatively allied with settlers, representations of sovereign Indigenous peoples of

---

[241] Rotker, 49. For work on North American Captivity, see: Camilla Townsend, *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma: The American Portraits Series*, First edition (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2005); Frederick Drimmer et al., *Captured by the Indians: 15 Firsthand Accounts, 1750-1870* (New York: Dover, 1985); Samuel G.. Drake, *Indian Captivities: Or, Life in the Wigwam, Being True Narratives of Captives Who Have Been Carried Away by the Indians ...* (New York: AMS Press, 1975); William L. Andrews, *Journeys in New Worlds: Early American Women's Narratives*, Wisconsin Studies in American Autobiography (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); James E. Seaver and June Namias, *Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*, (Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, 2006),; Charlotte Alice Baker, *True Stories of New England Captives Carried to Canada during the Old French and Indian Wars*, A Heritage Classic (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1990).

the Pampas and the Andes–regardless of their differing interests, allegiances, ethnicities, cultures, and languages–were lumped together in the service of a national project. Depicting unincorporated Indigenous nations through the image of the *malón* serves as justification for these nations' respective genocides and Argentina's expansion into the Pampas. This process solidifies the demarcation of 'white' identity against the *'malón'* as a constitutive process of the rising nation-state. These texts crafted a developing national history through mythologized constructions of 'white' women's captivity and represented a reformulation of a colonial continuity to align with the republics' goals. The violence and implied rape of these captives plays on colonial notions of honor and weaponizes sentimentality to create a body politic. These eroticized representations of captive women were used to mobilize a populace, signifying who belonged within the nation and budding notions of race, specifically whiteness. Whether or not *cautivas* lived experiences have the potential to challenge elite visual and literary discourse will be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Cautivas' Lived Experiences

This chapter will explore *cautivas* lived experiences in depth, presenting history from below. Despite hegemonic representations of *cautivas*, the written records are ripe with examples of captive women whose experiences contradict these representations. Looking closer at the sources allows me to postulate that *cautivas* often negotiated their precarious situations as liminal subjects between settler and Indigenous societies. It was not an easy or obvious decision whether these *cautivas* could make a life for themselves in their captors' community or would fare better if they returned to their society of origin. Many of these women inhabited a liminal space as cultural brokers or go-betweens, preventing them from fully belonging to either society.[242] The choices these women made, when they could make them at all, were informed by various factors, among them the categories of race and gender. I consider how gender and race each impacted these women's experiences differently and the options available.

In this chapter, I investigate how gender structured Indigenous and settler women's experiences as captives. I pay particular attention to how gender dictated captives' labor, and their labor, in turn, constructed their gender. Furthermore, I highlight the distinctions between women's experiences reintegrating into their communities of origin and men's experiences. These distinctions further elucidate how gender impacted captives' perceived value in settler and Pehuenche society. Lastly, I focus on the differences between settler and Indigenous women's treatment. By centering the variety and specificity of these women, I highlight examples that contest dominant narratives by

[242]Margaret Connell–Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001) and David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, United States: Yale University Press, 2005).

the Argentine elite in the 1830–1840s. *Cautivas'* lived experiences challenge elite notions of race and nation. This contributes to the growing body of work that exposes the myth of 'white' Argentina.[243]

The first case study I explore is that of Petronila Pérez, a Spanish settler woman taken by the Pehuenche, first recorded in Luis de la Cruz's travel record of 1806. Petronila's example is unique because her voice has persisted in the written form, albeit filtered through de la Cruz. Petronila's story demonstrates a counter-narrative to the elite representations that would succeed her experience, in both visibility and impact, and shows the fluidity of ethnic and racial identities. Next, I look at the nameless women in the archival record who married settler militia men post-captivity. This section explores the options available to formerly captive women in settler society, informed by notions of honor, class, and gender. Lastly, I look at how Indigenous women's experiences differed from settler women's experiences by focusing on a tribunal document in which Indigenous women are witnesses in a case against Francisco Calvete, accused of committing sexual violence at one of the *Casas Residenciales* in Buenos Aires.

---

[243] Paulina L. Alberto and Eduardo Elena, *Rethinking Race in Modern Argentina* (Cambridge University Press, 2016); George Reid Andrews and Antonio Bonanno, *Los Afroargentinos de Buenos Aires*, Aquí mismo y hace tiempo (Buenos Aires: Ed. de la flor, 1990); Claudia Briones, *Cartografías Argentinas: Políticas Indigenistas y Formaciones Provinciales de Alteridad*, 1. ed. (EA, 2005); María Bjerg, "Vínculos Mestizos: Historias de Amor y Parentesco En La Campaña de Buenos Aires En El Siglo XIX," *Boletín Del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana Dr. Emilio Ravignani*, no. 30 (December 2007): 73–99; Oscar Chamosa, "Indigenous or Criollo: The Myth of White Argentina in Tucumán's Calchaquí Valley," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (February 1, 2008): 71–106; Florencia Guzmán, Lea Geler, and Alejandro Frigerio, *Cartografías Afrolatinoamericanas: Perspectivas Situadas Desde La Argentina*, Primera edición., Historia (Editorial Biblos, 2016); Silvia Ratto and Judith Faberman, eds., *Historias Mestizas En El Tucumán Colonial y Las Pampas (Siglos XVII–XIX)*, 1st ed. (Buenos Aires: Biblios, 2009); Susana Rotker, *Captive Women: Oblivion and Memory in Argentina*, 1 online resource (xvi, 236 pages) vols., Cultural Studies of the Americas, v. 10 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002; Sabine Schlickers, *La Conquista Imaginaria de América: Crónicas, Literatura y Cine*, Hispano-Americana: Band 48 (Peter Lang, 2015); Verena Stolcke, "Los Mestizos No Nacen Sino Que Se Hacen," *Avá*, no. 14 (July 2009): 193–216; Marcela Tamagnini, "Multiple Articulations in the Southern Cordoba Border and Mamüel Mapu (1836-1851)," *Frontera Norte* 31 (2019).

This chapter contests hegemonic representations by centering stories like Petronila's and those of other women who did not fit neatly into the body politic of a forming nation, yet whose likeness was being used to build it. I focus on the options available to captive women: carving out a life for themselves in their captor's society or returning to settler society. Gender impacted former *cautivas* abilities and options to re-integrate into society. These options were limited in part because of the relationship between sexual 'purity' and honor. Nothing highlights the limitation of women's post-captivity options like those of formerly male captives, whose experiences created opportunities for them, in some cases becoming valued translators. Ethnicity also impacted captive women's experiences. As will be explored in the situation of the *Casas Recogidas*, Indigenous women faced the double burden of captivity and cultural assimilation.

Furthermore, since their captivity was often the result of warfare, race differently impacted why these women were in *Casas de Recogidas*. Gender and race informed and constructed captives' experiences. These women navigated a limited set of possibilities as cultural brokers in the liminal space between settler and Indigenous society as they were either willfully or forcefully integrated into their captor's society or their society of origin. A social history of captive women's experiences challenges elite notions of race and nation and destabilizes the nineteenth- and twentieth-century historical imaginings of captivity.

The chapter begins with the case study of Petronila Pérez and her lived experiences and self-identification. I then detail the possibilities that awaited settler captive women if they decided to return to settler society. Whether they chose to marry a

military man or were unwillingly sent to a *Casa Residencial,* their choices and opportunities post-captivity were constrained by their gender. I then highlight what life was like at a *Casa Residencial* or *Casa de Recogimiento* for these women, and how not only their gender but also their ethnic identities structured their experiences in these state-run institutions. I then discuss the men's experiences as captives and how they were received dramatically differently upon their return. Lastly, I look at Indigenous women's testimonies from their time at the Chacarita de Colegiales, a *Casa de Recogimiento.* Their accounts are recorded in a civil suit charging the then Director, Francisco Calvete, of sexual abuse and misconduct. This chapter details the various experiences these captive women navigated because of their gender and ethnic identities.

Petronila Pérez: Contesting Ethnic and Racial Notions

It would be incorrect to state that all captives *prefered* to stay with their captors. If the *cautivas* had the chance to return to their societies of origin, the decision was complex and weighty. 'Returning' would pose an entirely different set of calculations. Nevertheless, across a variety of primary sources told by the men who documented them, settler women choose to return to settler society. In some cases, however, the 'liberated' women willfully preferred to stay in the societies that had captured them. That is to say, the Indigenous societies of which they were captives, *not* the settler-colonial ones. This would baffle settler men's notions of 'civilization' and 'whiteness,' which could only be explained away by the 'weaknesses of the captives' gender.[244] This decision of *cautiva* women to stay with their kin refutes the hegemonic notions that Spanish settler society

[244] Susan Migden Socolow, "Spanish Captives in Indian Societies: Cultural Contact along the Argentine Frontier, 1600-1835," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (1992): 73–99, 89.

was 'civilized' and that the Indigenous peoples, such as the Pehuenche, were 'barbaric' because it highlights the preference these women had for Pehuenche society over settler.

In 1806, Luis de la Cruz, a Spanish protagonist, and a military officer, was conducting a survey between Southern Chile and Buenos Aires. De la Cruz had left Santiago and on the road between Guacaque and Puelee was where he met Petronila Pérez, a captive of the Pehuenche. "The first thing I saw was an Indian woman, who reminded me of a Spanish woman for the contours, of her face, mouth, and pointed nose, whose gifts they [Indians] lack."[245] This immediate perception of Petronila is telling. De la Cruz cannot place her; he describes the characteristics he associates with a Spanish identity, none of which refer to skin color. His immediate assumption is that she is Indigenous. She only *reminds* him of a Spanish woman. As Luis approaches the Pehuenche to engage in trade, his curiosity about the woman is piqued; he cannot help himself and asks one of his translators to ask her the following questions, "What is she saying?" "Where is she from?" "What is her name?" "Does she know our language?" Her response, "*Soy china, china puerca soy*." Upon being asked multiple questions, Petronila responds as a *puerca,* '*china*.'[246] Petronila, interpreting the root of these questions as "*what are you?*" responds with a seemingly simple answer, '*china*.'[247] This self-identification is telling. Not only for the fact that she identifies with a mixed identity and/or as an Indigenous woman, but that she could also associate her status or virtue as

[245] Pedro de Angelis, *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del río de la plata* (2. ed.). J. Lajouane & cia (1910), 353. "Lo primero que se puso á la vista fué una india, que me envió especies de española por el encaje de la cara, boca y nariz afilada, de cuyos dones carecen ellas."
[246] Pedro de Angelis, *Colección de obras*, 353.
[247] China came from the Quechua q word, "c'ina," for female animals or servants. It is also a term for a mixed or indigenous woman of lower society from Diana Marre, *Mujeres argentinas-- las chinas: representación, territorio, género y nación* (Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 2003), 108.

negated due to being mixed or the experience of her captivity shaping her as such. *Puerca*, which means sow, can also mean piggish and unclean. It is derogatorily known today as being promiscuous. This self-identification elicits how she views herself as a non-Spanish, mixed woman who is quick to recognize the loss of her honor, perhaps because of being captive. Furthermore, Petronila could be attempting to make herself legible in terms that a Spaniard would understand. She does not identify with the restrictive category Luis imposes. Instead, she opts to use a different language that a Spaniard, an outsider, could understand, nor does she refer to herself as a *cautiva* at first. Not all *cautivas* would self-identify as '*china*,' and even fewer would likely identify as *puerca china.* This could also allude to the level of her integration in Pehuenche society, that she has adapted enough to consider herself mixed, or reference a level of self-loathing. Petronila's self–identification highlights the construction of both gender and race through the experience of her captivity. It is directly the result of her captivity that has caused a change both to her ethnic and racial perceptions of self and her status as a dishonorable woman. As she navigates a Spanish man's perceptions of her amongst her Indigenous kin, she chooses to represent herself in the space in between. These identities become salient in her interaction with an outsider. While I am unable to discern how her Pehuenche kin perceived her, it is safe to say that Petronila perceived of herself as distinct from Luis. This attempt to explain herself to an outsider may not be indicative of her social positioning or how she views herself amongst her kin, the Pehuenche. However, it is indicative that she is aware of how a dominant culture, and how an individual actor of the dominant culture, might understand her.

The conversation pauses as she stands to get the feathers from her *toldo* to trade with Luis. Luis gets up to follow her. Away from the company of the Pehuenche, Luis begins to ask her directly: "Friend, are you married?", "What is your husband's name? "Where are you from? "When did you leave?", she responds that she is married, to a man named Mariñon, that she is from El Pergamino, and having left as a girl. Not until later, does he finally ask her her name, Petronila Pérez, to which, upon being asked, shares that she is indeed a *cautiva.*[248]

The quasi-interrogation continues. Luis's interest is piqued; he *must* make sense of the situation of this 'china' woman. He *mus*t make sense of this *cautiva*. He asks her how she knows Spanish. He asks her where her parents are from, to which she discloses being born in Pergamino, a frontier town in the Province of Buenos Aires. Her parents, who were Spanish themselves, were killed at the time of her and her sister's capture. Her two brothers, children of her stepfather and mother, were also taken captive, yet once they were old enough, they decided to return to Spanish society. This is another reason she could refer to herself as '*china*.' For '*china,'* which can also refer to a ranch hand's wife, could also help explain why she does not identify as Spanish.[249] Having spent her early years in a frontier town could have meant that her parents worked as ranch hands, and she herself maybe having helped. The polysemic meaning of '*china'*, alludes to her polysemic identifications. She straddles a binary between 'civilization' and 'barbarism,' between 'white' and 'indigenous.' Positioning herself as *china* means she is embodying a liminal space. This is what Luis cannot understand.

---

[248] Pedro de Angelis, *Colección de obras*, 354.
[249] Susana Rotker, *Captive Women: Oblivion and Memory in Argentina*, 1 online resource (xvi, 236 pages) vols., Cultural Studies of the Americas, v. 10 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 131.

Luis continues to pepper her with questions, asking if she hasn't seen many Spanish people in Salinas. She says she has, and her two brothers visit her every year. Despite her self-identification as '*china,'* Luis's question, if she hasn't seen any nearby Spaniards, alludes to his own heuristic devices. *"Haven't you seen any of our own kind?"* As if to insinuate that if she had, then surely, she would have escaped her captivity, that Spaniards, *her own kin,* are nearby.[250] But what does Petronila have in common with the Spanish at this point, despite perhaps a few of her features? She has grown up in the society of the Pehuenches. She recognizes that she is one of them, whether that is mixed, or if she sees herself as Indigenous. Despite this opaque identification, this does not prevent Petronila from being a part of Pehuenches society. Furthermore, her relationship with the brother of the cacique means she has likely been relatively incorporated into society, especially considering she was taken as a child. This is an affront to the nation-state's exclusionary tactics that attempt to create and reify strict boundaries of who belongs based on constructions of 'civilization' and 'barbarism' and 'whiteness.' Furthermore, stories like Petronila, emphasize that women of all racial and ethnic identities could be captives, unlike elite representations of them as solely white.

Luis is flabbergasted when she discloses that her brothers visit her yearly from Salinas. Why hasn't she gone with her siblings back to the '*Cristianos.*' What Luis is truly asking is why hasn't she 'returned'? To 'return' begs the question, what would Petronila return to? It is evident that Luis infers she 'returns' to the Spaniards, to 'Christianity,' to 'civilization.' Yet many captives did not wish to return to their places of birth for various reasons, among them their social ties with their existing community, the

[250] Pedro de Angelis, *Colección de obras,* 354.

fear of stigma, and the simple fact that they had acculturated to a particular way of life. Her reason is that she loves her sons, nephews of the Cacique Pehuenche Carrilón. Petronila is no different from these women.

Another reason that Petronila does not state but could have influenced her decision to stay could have been her status amongst the Pehuenche and her new kinship bonds. She has strategically decided to stay amongst her Indigenous kin, with whom she had more in common than a Spaniard. Despite her Spanish descent, she has become a member of the out-group in Argentina. Why would she risk her and her children's status by returning to Spanish society? Furthermore, there is the question of affection Petronila may have had for her partner or the father of her children, or other relationships she may have forged with her Pehuenche kin. Relationships of affection, whether for her kids, or for her partner, clearly impacted Petronila's decision to stay.

The existence of *cautivas* who choose to stay with their captors' kinship groups challenges these binary notions of 'barbarism' and 'civility,' and thus, by extension, challenges the racist categorizations of 'whiteness' linked to the peak of civility and 'barbarism' frequently categorized as Indigenous or Black. Furthermore, captivity structured and elucidated Petronila's gender and race, both of herself and to an outsider like De la Cruz. Her gender structured her perceptions of having lost her honor, while the experience of her captivity influenced her racial and ethnic perceptions. Experiences like Petronila's memorialize a mixed identity of women who will not fit into the neat heuristic categorization of 'us' or 'them.' Petronila's experience exemplifies that *cautivas* exist in and embody a liminal space. These women are "an ambiguous symbol of the frontier

between 'civilization' and 'barbarity', of difference and "contamination."[251] These women embody the borderlands' uncategorizable and undefinable 'contradictions.'

Returned Captives: Liminal Space

If captive settler women could escape their captors, they would need to figure out how they would return home. Many captive women were hundreds of kilometers away from where they had first been kidnapped. Furthermore, the terrain and conditions were not conducive to survival; there were often few or limited sources of water, as well as a lack of shelter on the return journey if one didn't know where they were going. These women could have been exposed to the possible risk of sexual assault, other forms of violence or a second captivity if they attempted to make the journey alone. Lastly, many of these women were held captive for months or decades, and the likelihood that they would remember how to get home was slim. It was more probable that these women were let go by their Pehuenche captors to facilitate negotiations, traded for goods, or recovered by a warring party of settlers, as explored in the first chapter. But what happened to these women after their recovery? What were the options of incorporation available to them? How did they navigate reintegration? Were they able to use the skills they had learned in captivity? Did they even want to return? *Cautivas* often had to make strategic decisions to ensure their security and protection if they did return to settler society.

In 1835, Coronel Edecan sent a letter to Commander Don Vicente de González, coordinating the return of captive María Rufina Jofre. "Immediately after receiving this order from the schoolboys to the captive María Rufina Jofre, who is in that Guardia of

[251] Cristina Iglesia and Julio Schvartzman, *Cautivas y misioneros: mitos blancos de la Conquista*, Colección Armas de la crítica (Buenos Aires, República Argentina: Catálogos Editora, 1987), 82.

Chacarita de Colegiales, because her brother-in-law Don José Cantin Peres, who has come from San Luis, is bringing her husband, Don Juan Dionicio Loza, to take her..."[252] The journey from San Luis to Buenos Aires, where María was being held, was not an easy one. Located some eight hundred kilometers away, it would take her brother-in-law and husband time to get to her. The length of María's stay at Colegiales is unknown. However, it likely took months to correspond between those informed of María's whereabouts and her family, arrange the journey and deliver María home. María could have spent a period at *Chacarita de Colegiales*, the type of treatment she received would have been informed by her status as a settler woman, as opposed to an Indigenous woman.[253] These differences will be explored at greater length later. Nevertheless, it is doubtful that María enjoyed her experience of captivity of a different kind, this time at a state institution that uncannily resembled a prison, in large part because these women were held against their will.[254]

After María's recovery, it would then be an arduous journey home. This *cautiva* was lucky in that her kin were identified, contacted, and came to get her. The fact that María's husband was a Don is not happenstance but likely informed the very means with which they were able to bring María home. We can only speculate how she would have

---

[252] AGN, S10-1824, pgs.456 (1835). "Inmediatamente recibida esta orden de los colegiales a la cautiva María Rufina Jofre que se halla en esa Guardia, por estar en dho chacarita su concuñado Don José Cantin Peres, que ha venido de San Luis encargado de su marido Don Juan Dionicio Loza para llevarla."[252]

[253] This type of treatment is evident due to the cultural assimilation Indigenous women were expected to undergo, as highlighted by: Natalia Soledad Salerno, "Cautivas En Buenos Aires. Mujeres Indígenas de Las Pampas Recluidas En La Casa de Recogimiento," *Fuegia* I, no. 2 (2018): 24–41, 35. Furthermore, often, Indigenous women's residence at the Casas was the result of warfare

[254] Historian María Dolores Pérez Baltazar, historicizes the linkage between *galeras*, women's prisons, and the creation of Casas de recogimiento. Pérez Baltazar argues women's imprisonment in *galeras* often did not justify the crime, nor did it provide the perceived necessary 'rehabilitation.' Thus the Spanish crown created Casas de Recogimiento or Casas Residenciales, of which Chacarita de Colegiales was one, to address and rehabilitate these women. María Dolores Pérez Baltasar, "Orígenes de Los Recogimientos de Mujeres," *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea* VJ (1985): 13–23.

fared once she made it home to San Luis, but with the protection and acceptance of her husband, it was unlikely that she faced destitution. However, her social standing was likely complicated because of notions attached to honor and shame around captivity for women.

As I explored in chapter two, controlling women's honor was a way for elite men to discipline women's sexuality. The honor was informed by various factors: "*limpieza de sangre*," reputation, personal virtue, and sexual honor.[255] Historian, María Fernández explored the connection between gender and honor in nineteenth-century Río de la Plata. She looked at a variety of civil court cases related to women's defamation of their honor. Fernández notes that almost all of the cases were the result of women's sexual purity being publicly insulted. And she links how gender informed notions of honor because men's honor was intimately tied to their perception of honesty, not their chastity. Thus, women's sexuality was particularly policed by these notions of honor.[256] As a result, it was assumed that captive women had been raped. Women's honor was diminished after their returns. This likely had a more significant impact on elite women whose "*limpieza de sangre*" constructed more credible honor. While women of the working classes were also invested in ideas of honor, the same limitations did not always carry the same weight as a result of their necessity of working outside the home for survival as well as their mixing with people of different races and ethnicities, which meant diminished "*limpieza*

---

[255] Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 164–166; Erika Denise Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic*, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2020), 57. While the evidence for this paragraph corresponds with Arequipa, Peru, the same dynamics were at play in the Argentine interior, as demonstrated by Edwards's monograph.

[256] María Alejandra Fernández, "El Honor: Una Cuestión de Género," *ARENAL* 7, no. 2 (200AD): 361–81, 373.

de sangre." While María likely faced social stigma, she was provided with care and protection. The same cannot be said for all women held at *Casas de Recogidas;* some women were subjected to sexual violence while at the *Casas,* which will be discussed later.

Casas de Recogimiento: State-run Captivity

In a water-damaged document dated April 16, 1835, Monte González, on behalf of Governor Juan Manuel de Rosas, provides a list of captives and their intended destinations.[257] The government may have specified to which societies these captives had been taken, but the heavy damage to the document makes it largely illegible. However, the names of many of the captives survived. Forty-seven captives, thirty women, seven men, and ten children were recovered. None of the women listed were given the honorific title of Doña, which could have been an omission or again supported the notion put forward by Socolow's analysis of the state- published "*Relación de los Cristianos salvados del cautiverio por la División Izquierda del Ejército Expedicionario contra los bárbaros, al mando del Señor Brigadier General D. Juan Manuel de Rosas"* (1835)– that peon women more frequently experienced captivity. The document from the 16th of April between González and Rosas supports this analysis. The former *cautivas'* family members recovered a vast majority of their relations; around half of these women were recovered by their fathers and taken home, along with any children they had with them. Only three men who rescued captives were given the title of Don. One of the three was a Juez de Paz, Don Francisco Villarín, whose relation to the captive was unspecified. The other Don, Tomás Ortiz, was listed as her *amo,* owner. It is highly likely that those placed

[257] AGN, S10-1824, pgs. º456 (1835).

under the care and instruction of these men's "*casas decentes*" became domestic workers and experienced yet another type of captivity; who is to say which form would have been preferable to these women? Either way, they didn't have much choice.

The other half of the women who were not claimed by family members of Dons were placed under the care of Don Juan Manuel Rosas, meaning they were placed in *Casas Residenciales* or in the care of Señor Coronel General Vicente González. The fates that awaited these women were unlikely to be any better than their previous lives amongst their Indigenous captors. Unfortunately, the *Casas Residenciales* were no less bleak of an option.

Casas Residenciales or *Casas de Recogimiento* were places for disgraced women; whether former captives or scandalous women, they were held against their will. The practice of *Casas Residenciales* began in the early 17th century as a form of jail.[258] Historian, Alicia Fraschina highlights the purpose of *Casas Residenciales* to control and obscure women who challenged the social order by disregarding notions of honor. Therefore, these *casas*, in part, served as sites of correction.[259] Eva Carrasco de la Fuente, for her role, links the practice back to the Iberian Peninsula, whose purpose was tri-fold. They served as public and private prisons for women accused of infidelity, rebelling against the family, or public sin, such as prostitution. The punishment was public if sentenced by a judge and private if the woman's family were the ones indicting her.[260]

---

[258] Marina Paula de Palma, "Recluídas y marginadas: El recogimiento de mujeres en el Buenos Aires colonial," 2009, http://repositorio.filo.uba.ar/handle/filodigital/1173.

[259] Alicia Fraschina, "Primeros espacios de religiosidad femenina en el Buenos Aires colonial: 1640-1715", en M. Isabel Viforcos y Rosalía Loreto López (coords.) *Historias compartidas. Religiosidad y reclusión femenina en España, Portugal y América*. Siglos XV-Xl'X, México, Universidad de León, Instituto de Ciencias Sociales "Alfonso Vélez Pliego", Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2007, p. 327.

[260] Eva Carrasco de la Fuente, "Aproximación a los conceptos de honor y prostitución en la Barcelona del siglo XVIII. Iniciativas institucionales y respuestas públicas", en Isabel Pérez Molina [et. al], *Mujeres en el antiguo régimen: imagen y realidad (siglas XVI-XVIII)*, Barcelona, Icaria, 1994, p. 135.

Many of these women were incarcerated in these *casas* for not adhering to the acceptable women's roles. *Casa de Recogimiento* or *residenciales*, such as the Chacarita de Colegiales were distinct from convents. Convents were typically reserved for women of means. While it was more likely for *cautivas* to stay at *Casas de Recogimiento*, the case of Doña Trinidad Salcedo, a former captive of the Pehuenche in the 1830s, was believed to spend the rest of her days at a convent. Therefore, class played an essential role in the placement of these women. *Casas Residenciales* were also holding spaces for women to obtain a divorce.[261] Lastly, some historians, such as Juan Manuel Santana Pérez, emphasize the use of *casas* as a means of eking out labor. The women were used for artisanal production, through which they would become skilled craftswomen indoctrinated with settler notions of morality. Florencia Roulet highlights how Pehuenche women were skilled weavers whose labor would have been a highly valued means of production and a way of continuing to help fund the *casas*. "In Buenos Aires, the Indian women housed in the Residence attached to the Jesuit college (and, after the expulsion, *Casas de Reclusión*) said 'that they were worked hard and made to sew."[262] Some Indigenous *cautivas'* attempted to escape the *Casas* the first chance they got. Historian, Silvia Ratto, discusses how these captives would use the opportunities of shopping at the *pulperías* or washing clothes at the river to make their escape for freedom. "A letter from the director of the *Casa Residencial* in Buenos Aires confirms the escape of three *chinas*

[261] Eileen Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870-1920*, American Encounters/Global Interactions (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 152. In Puerto Rico, they were named *depositos.*

[262] Florencia Roulet, "Mujeres, Rehenes y Secretarios: Mediadores Indígenas En La Frontera Sur Del Río de La Plata Durante El Período Hispánico," *Colonial Latin American Review* 18, no. 3 (December 1, 2009): 303–37, 318, 320. https://doi.org/10.1080/10609160903336101. "En Buenos Aires, las indias alojadas en la Residencia anexa al colegio de los jesuitas (y, luego de la expulsión, en la Casa de Reclusión) contaban 'que las hacen trabajar mucho en hacerlas hilar'"

pampas in 1777" unfortunately, they were later found and returned to the *casas*. However, some women did manage to escape their captors, as confirmed by the former captive Andrés Rodríguez."[263]

If unclaimed women were sentenced to work at these *Casas*, then it is no wonder that some women escaped, or at least attempted to, in favor of returning to their captor's society over the confinement that awaited them in Buenos Aires:

> That was apparently the case with Juana María Sánchez, captured by Pampas as a very young child. Years later she returned to Buenos Aires as an adult, with an Indian husband and four children. Within two years she rejoined the Pampas, but having revealed her Spanish identity to authorities in Buenos Aires, she could not go home again. Spanish officials "rescued" her and brought her back to the city.[264]

The case of Juana María Sánchez illuminates her preference for her life in the Pampas. She had grown accustomed to and carved out a place for herself amongst her captors, and then kin. Juana's case is undoubtedly informed by her being taken captive at a young age. Therefore, she likely had little memory of settler society. If she had been taken captive as an adult, she would have likely had a more challenging time adapting, adjusting, and learning the language. We can only speculate as to why Juana would be interested in coming to Buenos Aires with her family. Perhaps she figured there would be more opportunity. Whatever the motive, she was unfortunately unable to return to the Pampas. This could have been another reason that influenced Petronila's decision to name herself a *china* in the presence of a Spaniard.

---

[263] Ratto, "Para que quieren tener cautivas," 51. Such institutions also existed in Brazil and often held elite dishonored women.
[264] Weber, 228.

The settlers, for their part, were likely disturbed by the notion that a former captive woman would willingly prefer to rejoin Pampas society over their own.[265] The notion that Indigenous society was preferable to Spanish society created a certain level of anxiety for the Crown as exemplified by a number of royal decrees that sought to punish renegades.[266] This reality was also highlighted in peace agreements between Pehuenche and Mendozan settlers, one of the stipulations being that the Pehuenche would have to return any attempted renegades–people who have fled Spanish society for whatever reason–to settler society.[267] Therefore, Juana María Sanchez's desire to return to her captors undoubtedly created a level of cognitive dissonance that questioned settler superiority to that of Indigenous social structures in the Pampas. This type of cognitive dissonance and incredulity was exemplified between Luis de la Cruz and captive Petronila Pérez's interaction. *Cautivas*, who were subject to the strictures of the Spanish notions of honor and *limpieza de sangre*, were likely keenly aware that if they returned to settler society, their social status would be dramatically diminished.

The Signs of Diminished Honor

One of the complex negotiations' *cautivas'* experienced upon their return was a diminished social status. This was the result of their implied rape and thus sexual impurity during captivity. Honor for women was intimately linked to sexual 'purity.' María Alejandra Fernández discusses how honor was subject to change in the late

---

[265] Susana Rotker, *Captive Women: Oblivion and Memory in Argentina*, 1 online resource (xvi, 236 pages) vols., Cultural Studies of the Americas, v. 10 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).
[266] Daniel Villar and Juan Francisco Jiménez, "El Continuo Trato Con Infieles: Los Renegados de La Región Pampeana Centro-Oriental Durante El Último Tercio Del Siglo XVIII," *Memoria Americana*, no. 13 (December 2005): 151–78.
[267] Raul J. Mandrini, *Las fronteras hispanocriollas del mundo ingígena latinoamericano en los siglos XVIII–XIX*, ed. Carlos D. Paz, 1st ed. (Instituto de estudios historico sociales, 2003), 140.

colonial period of the Río de la Plata.[268] "Honor circulated socially as a kind of good – as long as it was possessed, exhibited, claimed - and therefore, it could also be removed."[269] Honor was largely a system that provided social capital and authority to elites. However, because of its fluctuating nature it was not solely limited to elite populations.

One factor that indicated a woman's honor was her clothing.[270] Therefore when former *cautivas* were naked or, missing clothing, it was assumed they were no longer sexually 'pure.' As Erica Edwards emphasizes in *Hiding in Plain Sight* (2020), in 18th-century Cordoba, Argentina, clothing played an essential role in whitening Afro-descendant women. Historian, Sarah Chambers highlights the vitality of clothes to women's perceived honor in *Subjects to Citizens* (1999) in Arequipa, Peru. "Clothing, too, was a reflection of a woman's honor, both of her sexual modesty and her status." As a form of punishment, women's buttocks could be exposed and beaten.[271] It is no wonder then that women who were reported to have returned to settler society, naked or exposed, insinuated a lack of honor. 'Sexual purity' was an important currency for elite women to find marriages; thus, their options were severely limited upon their return.

Sources abound where men are preoccupied with the lack of clothing on captive women. Such was the case in a letter from the Commander of the fort of Bahía Blanca to Juan Manuel de Rosas dated the August 8, 1835.[272] In the letter, the commander discusses what to do about the returned *cautivas* who were more or less naked upon their

---

[268] María Alejandra Fernández, "El Honor: Una Cuestión de Género," *ARENAL* 7, no. 2 (200AD): 361–81.
[269] Fernández, "El honor," 371.
[270] This relationship between status and clothing was important in North American slave societies as a way to hide one's status as having fled their situation of enslavement, as referenced in David Waldstreicher, "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1999): 243–72.
[271] Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 178.
[272] AGN, S10-1829, pgs º200-201 (1835).

return. “Some of them are not dressed because they lost their clothes when they escaped from the *toldos; among* them is María Inés Cascallanes.”[273] The commander states that all the captives he received from the *Indios* were in the same way. As a result, he found it prudent to keep them under the care of the *Guardia* for a long time. The commander, in part, needed funds to clothe the women, but it is clear he was also worried about the honor and state of these women, why would he need the women to stay at the Guardia longer due to their lack of clothing? Did the Guardia present a type of re-acclimation to settler society before being collected by family or sent to *casas*? Or perhaps he was just interested in the women’s potential labor. Historian Lisa Voigt discusses the relevance of clothing to the social transformation of captives in, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic* (2009). She emphasizes that for the Spanish, “clothes have the power to unmake the Spanish woman.”[274] It was often a strategic tool to emphasize the nudity of Indigenous people as “Indianness” and the presence of clothing to highlight the superiority of the Spanish.[275] Thus, if former captive women were naked, it not only implied rape, but it also implied having gone “Indian.” Historian Mariselle Meléndez in “*La vestimenta como retórica del poder*,” (1995) argues that clothing would restore the former captives to the realm of ‘civilization.’[276] Therefore, it is possible that the Guardias

---

[273] AGN, S10-1829, pgs º200-201 (1835). “Algunas de ellas has vestidas a consecuencia de que dieron o perladon su ropa cuando fugaron por los toldos entre ellas es una Maria Ines Cascallanes.”

[274] Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 259.

[275] Tom Conley, “De Bry’s Las Casas,”and Walter Mignolo “When Speaking Was Not Good Enough: Illiterates, Bararians, Savages and Cannibals” in Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus, ed. René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini, 758 vols., Hispanic Issues: 9 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 103–31, and 312–45.

[276] Mariselle Melendez, “La Vestimenta Como Retorica Del Poder y Simbolo de Produccion Cultural En La America Colonial: De Colon a El Lazarillo de Ciegos Caminantes.,” *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 29, no. 3 (1995): 411–439, 415.

were viewed as a stopover to clothe and make presentable the women before they were brought to their final destinations.

Cautivas Navigating Re-Integration

Although their options were severely limited due to gender, some women could navigate their situations of diminished honor by marrying militiamen, thus creating more secure and protected positions for themselves. On August 8th of 1835, Juan Zelerrayán, who had partaken in the first phase of the "Conquest of the Desert" in 1833, communicated with the Governor of Buenos Aires, Juan Manuel de Rosas.[277] In this letter, Zelerrayán provides a list of "Christian captives belonging to the province of Buenos Aires." In a separate and smaller list, Zelerrayán includes the names of the women who will be staying behind with men of the regiment, "capable men to sustain them and to give fulfillment to their promises, then that in this temple it stays this Sacrament can be administered."[278] Zelerrayán goes on to justify the acceptance of these unions: "In order not to lose soldiers already trained, those who did not want to get involved were allowed to marry captives of the province."[279] These women were therefore were a means to anchor men in their profession, and it was one of the few options open to formerly captive women. The recovered women could have spent a period at the fort in Bahía Blanca before arrangements were made for their return to Buenos Aires.[280] Next of kin

---

[277] AGN, S10-1829, pgs. º193-194 (1835). "Cautivas cristianas pertenecientes a la provincial de Buenos Aires."
[278] AGN, S10-1829, pgs. º193-194 (1835). "hombres capaces para sostenerlas y dar cumplimiento a sus promesas, luego que en este templo se queda se puede administrar este Sacramento."
[279]AGN, S10-1829, pgs. º193-194 (1835). "Para no perder soldados ya formados es permitido a los que no querían engancharse casarse con cautivas de la provincial."
[280] AGN, S10-1829, doc º125 (1835); Rolf Foerster and Julio Vezub, "Malón, Ración y Nación en las Pampas: El Factor Juan Manuel de Rosas (1820-1880)," *Historia (Santiago)* 44, no. 2 (December 2011): 259–86.

would have been located and informed of the whereabouts of their family members. Those whose kin was no longer surviving or had no interest in caring for the social burden of shamed women would have been sent to a *Casa Residencial*, and they may not have known the horrors that awaited them there.[281]

Within these limited arrangements, the women who were aware they would be sent to a *Casa* would have found it prudent to throw in their lot with a military man. While some *cautivas'* could have formed bonds of affection with these soldiers, it was likely a strategic decision to marry. Being women of questionable honor would have hindered their abilities to find a match back in Buenos Aires. A military man would have been able to provide, per Zelerrayán, the financial security and freedom that would have eluded them at a *Casa*. On behalf of Zelerrayán, this matchmaking was a beneficial lure to keep his military men in the regiment. While I could not recover how the former *cautivas* fared in their unions, limited options were available to these women. As a result, marrying a soldier could provide the necessary security and social acceptance to make a modest life after their days as captives, perhaps restoring some of their besmirched honor.

An undated list of *cautivas* titled, "*Relaciones de las cautivas que existan en el esperado Regimiento Correspondientes a la Provincia de Buenos Aires*," details the placement of some fifteen women places at *Guardias*, national guards, across Argentina.[282] It appears that *cautivas* spent a period at the *Guardias* before their final settlement. *Guardias* were military forts, that, beginning in 1818, were obligatory sites of service for boys and men ages 16 to 60. After Rosas ousting the national guard would be created in 1853, in the service of strengthening the state, and playing a role in the

[281] AGN, S10-1824, pgs. º456 (1835); AGN, S10-1825, pgs. º56-60 (1835).
[282] AGN, S10-1829, doc º198 (s/f). The document appeared to be a standard government report.

"Conquest of the Desert." Why would these women have been held at *Guardias*? Did they experience sexual violence at the hands of the soldiers while they were being held? How long were they held here? Were they ever placed with kin? Or did they become a sort of *cuarteleras,* women who performed domestic and, at times, sexual labors, traveling with the militia?[283] It is likely that the former captives who married soldiers were expected to fulfill domestic and sexual duties that extended into the communal space of the army. However, they would have, supposedly, been protected from any untoward sexual advances from other men. This security could not even be assured in *Casas Residenciales,* as I will explore in depth in the next section.

Women's choices for incorporation were limited because of their gender. Their options were equally informed by their class position. As mentioned earlier, women of wealth could have been provided a spot at a convent, while women with no kin and no means would have been sent to *Casas de Recogidas*. Women's family members were often tasked with paying the ransom of the captives; only a family of means would be able to meet the demands. Therefore, their class informed their avenues to freedom and opportunities post-capture. While class structured *cautivas'* experiences, so did their gender, and few comparisons could make this fact more salient than taking a closer look at captive men's experiences of return.

Gender and Re-Integration: Men's Experiences

Re-integration into settler society was informed by whether or not the captive women were settler or Indigenous. While class and ethnic identity primed the conditions in which

[283] Argentine Historian, Vera Pichel's, *Las Cuarteleras* (1994), details the many roles of women supporting the militia during the Conquest of the Desert (1878–1885).

former captives would live the rest of their days, their gender, across the board, shaped their experiences differently. While these women negotiated their security and status as best as possible, their options remained abysmal.

Unsurprisingly, settler male captives had many more options available upon their return, none of which were hindered by a supposed lack of honor or sexual shame. Returned male captives could become valued translators, *lenguaraces* (translators), and pulpería owners (general store and bar). Such was the case with Blas de Pedrosa, a young man born in La Coruña, Spain, and the son of an army colonel. He was captured by the Pehuenche in 1776 while traveling from Buenos Aires to Mendoza:

> He became the servant of cacique Antemán. The young Pedrosa slowly gained the confidence of his captors, becoming a translator and scout. Ten years later, in November of 1786, he fled captivity when he learned that a caravan of Spaniards had penetrated deep into Indian territory to harvest salt at the Salinas Grandes, some 450 miles southwest of Buenos Aires.[284]

Upon his return to Buenos Aires, Blas de Pedrosa's former status as captive did not diminish his social standing. In fact, he was identified as a valuable translator for his literacy skills and ability to speak 'proper' Spanish. Purportedly his service was attempted to be added to the government payroll by three separate Viceroys.[285] "Viceroys did employ Pedrosa to guide annual expeditions to the salt beds, negotiate the freedom of captives, lay the groundwork for peace treaties, and translate, as he did for Callfilqui." Not only did Pedrosa become a valued government agent, translating and structuring negotiations amongst settlers and different Indigenous parties, but he also went on to

---

[284] Weber, David J. *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*, Yale University Press, 2005. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, 222. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unm/detail.action?docID=3420228

[285] Weber, 222.

open and run a prosperous trading post in Buenos Aires, the Esquina de las Pampas.[286] Pedrosa's experience could not be more distinct than that of the many unnamed and forgotten former captive women whose opportunities for integration were considerably smaller.

Yet another difference between captives because of their gender was declarations. Men captives were often interviewed about their experiences with their captors. These declarations were mined for useful information by the military and state to further a settler-colonialist project. As historian, Lisa Voigt highlights in *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic* (2009), these declarations could launch an ex-captive's career, as Voigt puts it, "to go from captives to captains in the service of imperial and religious expansion."[287] On the one hand, it's clear how these declarations could serve both the personal interests of the individual and the strategic interests of empire. It would certainly be a curious area of study to explore how these declarations constructed and recovered their masculinity in these stories of captivity. On the other hand, no declarations of women's captivity exist in the archival record.

Their absence is cause for thoughtful speculation, especially in contrast with the North American practice of former captive women's narratives. As we have seen, some women, like Petronila Pérez, preferred to stay with their Pehuenche kin. Petronila's declaration and resistance to Luis' impositions are legible in de la Cruz's account. Petronila's self-representation and negotiation with de la Cruz means that a part of her

---

[286] Weber, 222.

[287] Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 70. http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip0819/2008023202.html.

voice and thus her story is preserved in his journal entry. These types of declarations, if they existed, would surely have undermined a settler colonial project. Positioning Pehuenche or any Indigenous society as superior to that of the Spanish would have diminished the legitimacy of their settler society. Furthermore, as has already been mentioned, because of the complex nature of honor and shame in women's sexuality, allowing them to provide declarations would only heighten the visibility of their dishonor; what kind of message would this send socially? If these captive women were given a platform to speak of their experiences that alluded to rape or sex, it could challenge ideas around women's honor. Additionally, it is possible that some men would have thought the declaration would have only brought shame and embarrassment upon the woman or their families. While their options were limited by gender and class, Indigenous captives faced a distinct level of treatment.

Chacarita de Colegiales: Indigenous Women's Testimony

At the *Chacarita de Colegiales*, director Francisco Calvete sexually abused a variety of women, many of them Indigenous, in return for favors and better treatment. In 1784, Francisco Calvete was taken to trial over his abuse of captive women at the *Casa de Recogidas*.[288] Several women testified about the abuse they received from Calvete. This source is one of the few that features captive women's voices in the records, and even more specifically, captive Indigenous women's voices.

[288] AGN S9-2040, doc º13 (1784).

The women's days were filled with completing their domestic chores and with religious instruction.[289] While many of the women were subject to similar treatment, Indigenous captives faced an extra load from their peers. They were forced to learn Spanish. Most of the Indigenous women being held were from the Pampas region. Their stay could last anywhere from six months to eight years. [290] In addition to learning Spanish, the women were required to take mass and were removed from their culture and customs of origin, in short, they were in the process of cultural assimilation.[291] Although there were these important distinctions between Indigenous and settler women, both were subject to the control and discipline of the *Casa*. In this environment, it is unfortunately of little surprise that the men of power abused their positions.

In March 1784, tribunal charges were brought against the director of the *Chacarita de Colegiales*, Francisco Calvete, with allegations of adultery and sexual misconduct towards the women beginning in 1779, recorded in the "*Sumaria hecha a el sargento de la Asamblea de Infantería Francisco Calvete, encargado que fue en la Dirección dela Casa de Recogidas, sobre el manejo, y conducta que tubo en ella*" executed by Captain Don Alfonso Sotoca (1784).[292] The tribunal uncovered the thirty-six-year-old's, Spanish-born, system of punishment and rewards.[293]

There was a hierarchy of staff at the *Casas de Recogidas*. At the top was the Director, then came the priests who would administer mass, next the medics, and then

---

[289] There exist parallels experiences in North American Spanish missions as elucidated by Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill, United States: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).
[290] Natalia Soledad Salerno, "Cautivas En Buenos Aires. Mujeres Indígenas de Las Pampas Recluidas En La Casa de Recogimiento," *Fuegia* I, no. 2 (2018): 24–41, 33.
[291] Salerno, "Cautivas en Buenos Aires," 35.
[292] AGN S9-2040, doc º13 (1784).
[293] AGN S9-2040, doc º13 (1784).

lastly, the women who were being held captive. Daily tasks would be assigned in the refectory of the *Casa*. Once all the women had left, except for one, Calvete would solicit the woman for sex in exchange for food and/or freedom.[294] Historian, Natalia Soledad Salerno emphasizes the difficulty these women might have experienced in turning down such an offer when they were held against their will and often deprived of necessities. The women who refused his quid pro quo were subjected to beatings from Calvete to ensure their silence. Nevertheless, various accounts of women reported this behavior to third parties.[295]

The women disclosed this abuse during confessionals to the father Nicolás Fernández, who failed to report Calvete's schemes.[296] Father Mariano Juansaraz, on the other hand, confronted Calvete and quickly lost his post at the *Casa*.[297] The man in charge of security of the casa, Antonio Garcia Leyba, was also a part of the web of abuse at Chacarita. Several women became pregnant by Calvete, among them Dionisia Silva. Leyba, for his part, would send the women to give birth at his private residence, out of sight. The woman in charge of the laundry at the *casa*, María Petrona Montiel, also provided her private residence for the women to give birth. This tangled web of abuse was spun with the complicity of other employees, and within the hierarchy of authority at the *Casa*. A variety of people either looked the other way or abetted Calvete in his

[294] AGN S9-2040, doc º13 (1784).
[295] Salerno, "Cautivas en Buenos Aires," 35.
[296] Fernandez likely should have reported the abuse to the Viceroy. It was Viceroy Nicolás Cristóbal del Campo who called for Calvete's trial in the first place and was later put in charge of the Casa (1784–1789) after Calvete's guilty sentence. The fact that the Viceroy was the one isnsiting Calvete be put on trial illuminates that this sort of behavior was not to be tolerated at higher levels. Salerno, "Cautivas en Buenos Aires," 35.
[297] Salerno, 36.

violence.[298] The number of women that became pregnant and gave birth within the *Casa*, ending with the case of Dionisia Silva, tipped off the authorities of Calvete's misconduct. But it was Indigenous women's testimony that sealed Calvete's fate as they testified against his misconduct in court.[299]

One woman, María Miní, spoke to the abuse Calvete inflicted on Tadea, a *china* at the *Casa*:

> He used to move them when he disliked them and hit them as he did with the china Tadea, whom he had staying at night a lot, and by day she was the one I saw with her face bulging because of hits that he had given her, and entered her inside the house, retaking a liking to the China Pasqualita.[300]

María's testimony illuminates how Calvete would enforce his system of rewards and retributions, coercing and physically and sexually abusing women. María was not the only woman who testified against Calvete. A variety of other Indigenous women spoke out against his wrongdoings. It was this cacophony of voices that put Calvete behind bars. Indigenous women's voices were not often found in my archival research, and even less so Indigenous captives voices. Their testimony demonstrates resistance to the abuse they faced at the *Casas*, supposedly a site of civilizing and moral instruction. Furthermore, their reports against the abuse prior to the trial indicate some of the women's willingness to face retribution to put a stop to the behavior. By the end of the prosecution, Calvete was found guilty of misconduct with, "Agustina, Pasquala, Chavela,

---

[298] Professor Holly Miowak Guise details the relationship of sexual violence, colonialism, and internment of Indigenous Alaskan women in the 20th century at the hands of a Burea of Indian Affairs physician in her article, Holly Miowak Guise, "Who Is Doctor Bauer?: Rematriating a Censored Story on Internment, Wardship, and Sexual Violence in Wartime Alaska, 1941 - 1944," *Western Historical Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (Summer 2022): 145–65.

[299] AGN S9-2040, doc º13 (1784).

[300] AGN S9-2040, doc º13 (1784). "Solia mudarlas quando se disgustava con ellas, y las pegava como sucedió ála china Tadea q.e la tuvo mucho tpo quedándose de noche, y de dia y fue ála que bio abultada la cara, de puñadas que le havia dado, y la entro dentro de la casa, bolbiendose á llevar ála China Pasqualita."

another Chavela, Tadea, Sebastiana Peña, Catalina Garcia, Rosa Casero, Isavel Machado, Isavel Caravallo, Antonio Rosa, Teresa la portuguesa, and Dionisia de Silva."[301] Calvete's tenure as director ended in scandal and a prison sentence. The Viceroy Don Nicholás Cristobal del Campo replaced Calvete with the Presbyterian priest Don Josef Antonio Acosta, hoping to squash the sexual misconduct that had been occurring at the *Casa* by appointing a man of religion. Despite Calvete's guilty verdict, he was given a royal pardon a mere year later. The space of the *Casa* would turn into a Bettlemitas Hospital in 1806, ending its function as a site of social control and discipline for "wayward" women.[302]

After women's stay at a *Casa de Recogimiento*, like the *Chacarita de Colegiales*, they were often assigned to a '*casa decente*' as a domestic servant. This is partly where the association between "*china*" and domestic servitude was forged. Indigenous children, or *criados*, were often circulated within the sphere of domestic labor:

> The term criado, which derived from criar, to rear or nurse, captures the slippage between child dependents and domestic servants as well as the association of minority with domestic dependence. The term, with its concomitant ambiguities, is present in peninsular and creole Spanish and Portuguese, suggesting these social practices and associations were widespread in the Iberian and Iberoamerican world.[303]

There are mentions of these *criados*, who were not exclusively Indigenous but often could be, in the primary sources.[304] In a letter from March 22nd, 1836, Director of the *Chacarita de Colegiales*, Manuel Corvalan, is distributing a three-year-old girl who had

---

[301]AGN S9-2040, doc º13 (1784).
[302]Jacqueline Sarmiento, "Indias urbanas en Buenos Aires (1744-1820). Condiciones específicas, formas de sujeción y estrategias posibles" (La Plata, Argentina, Universidad Nacional de la Plata, 2016), http://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/tesis/te.1289/te.1289.pdf.
[303] Nara B. Milanich, *Children of Fate: Childhood, Class, and the State in Chile, 1850–1930*, 2009, 190–191.
[304] AGN S9-3049, doc º19 (1795); AGN, S10-1829, doc º197 (s/f); AGPM, Época Independiente, Carpeta 61 Documento º63 (1816); AGN, S10-1838, doc º838 (1836).

been a captive and could no longer remember her parents' names María Joséfa de Escura.[305] This three-year old girl would have likely grown up in the house of Escura as a domestic servant. Nara Milanich details the circulation of children well into nineteenth century Chile as an integral function of creating class distinctions in the burgeoning republic in *Children of Fate* (2009). Milanich argues that poor children of any ethnic background were at great risk of domestic servitude in "*casas decentes*," this was especially the case for children without existing family relations, such as the three-year-old girl in the above document.[306] Nevertheless, there exists ample documentation of the selling of Mapuche children and Indigenous children from the region of Araucania, such as the Pehuenche, across the Andes.[307] In Chile, these children would come to be referred to as "*chinitos*" regardless of their ethnic background. Milanich argues that "yet it seems to have retained its ethnic charge, and it also became more derogatory."[308] While this was the case in Chile, Milanich establishes the prominence of these child servants across South America. "In the Argentine provinces and in Columbia, parents and local judicial authorities assigned minors deemed vagrant, abandoned, or simply poor to masters."[309] This was the case with the former *cautiva*, who had no relations to speak for her.

The domestic work these children were engaged in highlights the dialectical relationship between labor and race, and how in effect, the children were racialized as "*chinitos*." Furthermore, there exists documentation of chilling sexual assault against these children, in part justified by their laboring in public spaces, such as running errands.

---

[305] S10-1838, doc º838 (1836).
[306] Milanich, *Children of Fate*, 186.
[307] Milanich, *Children of Fate*, 186.
[308] Milanich, *Children of Fate*, 188.
[309] Milanich, *Children of Fate*, 189.

In effect, their public labor implied their promiscuity.[310] By no means was this behavior towards the *criados* the social norm, but rather, it highlights their vulnerability and the horrors they may have faced because of their social position. This was yet another example of the precarious position that former captives were subjected to. Often their status as *criados* meant a life of servitude they, "grew up to become the *peones, gañanes, mozos, and sirvientas*."[311] From the confinement of the *Casas de Recogimiento* to becoming a domestic servant, their options were limited and often exacerbated their already precarious positions.

Indigenous women's experiences of captivity differed from settler women's experiences. In the case of *Chacarita de Colegiales,* Indigenous *cautivas* weren't sent to the *Casas* as a form of discipline but often as the result of warfare. Often, these women would go on to work as domestic servants for '*casas decentes*' in both rural and urban locales. Indigenous women's roles in settler society at this time were frequently circumscribed to domestic labor. These women would move or be forcibly moved from one sphere of control and discipline to another. These Indigenous captives are often overlooked, particularly in the early to mid-nineteenth century print and visual culture, such as in Rugendas "*El malón*" and Echeverría's "*La cautiva*." Nevertheless, a closer inspection of the archival record highlights that captivity was experienced by women of different ethnic and racial backgrounds, undermining elites' representations of captive women. The discrepancy between the lived experiences of captives and elites' nation-

[310] Milanich, *Children of Fate*, 194.
[311] Milanich, *Children of Fate*, 184.

building projects should be no surprise. Nevertheless, it is essential to establish and elucidate, as *cautivas'* experiences are often overlooked.

Conclusion

In a document from 1816, Father Pablo Rosario wrote to the Intendent Governor of Mendoza to return an unnamed woman who was being used for chores around the church.[312] The reason for her return is not specified, but perhaps it was the result of the priest being unsatisfied with her labor. While it's impossible to know for sure the cause of this woman's return, perhaps she was refusing to work. Perhaps this is a glimmer into one woman's resistance to her servitude. It was possible that the Father was corresponding with the Governor of Mendoza because he was likely the one who make her initial transfer possible and thus might have formerly been a captive. In a sense, she continues to be a captive. *Cautivas'* resisted their position in society and their captivity, from running away from their captors or *casas* to refusing to do the work assigned to them. Some *cautivas* willfully accepted their conditions, and others did not. A study of this resistance, which is beyond the scope of this current work, can only hint at the discontent or inadequate conditions of their status as captives, and the desire and expectation for more. [313]

Captive women in nineteenth-century Argentina were in a precarious position. Whether they were Indigenous or settler women, they were circumscribed to distinct functions in settler society. Often in vulnerable positions due to their diminished honor, captives or formerly captive women could be subject to confinement in a *casa de*

[312] AGPM, Época Independiente, Carpeta 61 Documento º56 (1816).
[313] This would be an area for further exploration in future works.

recogidas where they could have been at risk of sexual abuse. On the other hand, captives could have spent their lives in domestic servitude working for '*casas decentes*.' If they were lucky, these former captives could marry or form unions with militia men securing greater protection for themselves. Their experiences were informed by their race and gender. Indigenous captives experienced removal from the communities of origin and cultural assimilation, as in the case of Francisco Calvete at the *Casa*. Some of these Indigenous women were sexually abused. The women and children placed in "*casas decentes"* as servants were racialized due to their labor. All these women were perceived to no longer be sexually pure because of their captivity. In turn, their options for incorporation were limited, prescribing them to the periphery of settler society. The difficult decisions left to them can occasionally be gleaned from the written record, which often leaves out their names and stories beyond the scope of their return or placement. Rarely are these women's experiences recorded in their own voices.

Some women like Petronila chose to stay with the Pehuenche. Her decision elucidates captive women whose self-identifications did not fit into elite notions of captive women. Petronila's decision to stay with the Pehuenche destabilizes the hegemonic narrative that Spanish and altered Argentine society was superior to the incorporated Indigenous nations of the Pampas and Andes. Petronila's decision to stay with her captors was no doubt a difficult one. Had she rejoined her biological brothers in settler society, she likely would have been limited by her former status as a captive. Meanwhile, staying with her mixed Pehuenche children and her Pehuenche partner provided her with a level of acceptance in Pehuenche society. Nevertheless, her identification as *china* perhaps highlights the limits of a captive's integration. Whether it

be Indigenous or settler society, formerly captive women, had to negotiate their incorporation and acceptance, often existing on the fringes, despite their critical contributions to fostering inter-ethnic relationships.

Conclusion

In 1832, captives Milagros Gutiérrez and Matías José informed Argentine military officials of an impending attack by an Indigenous party.[314] This critical information likely determined the outcome of the event. Instead of being caught off guard, one of the major advantages of a *malón* the Argentines likely prepared for the attack and thought strategically about how this information could be used to their advantage. These former captives could have easily lied about the information they were providing. Some captives did, in fact, mislead the opposition with false information. These motives could be personal as well as political; either way, captives and, specifically, captive women could be important sources of information.

In another document from 1834, the secretary of state of Rosas received word that some Indigenous men had returned several captive women.[315] Any specific or identifying information about these captives was unrecorded. The Indigenous men's rationale for their return also goes unspecified. Whether it was to broker a peace deal or to curry favor, the use of these captive women structured a negotiation between the two parties or, at the very least, the transient relationship between the Indigenous men and the military officials who received them. This is yet another instance in which the centrality of captives as social actors is central to frontier life.

Lastly, in one of the many documents I was unable to locate at the archive, I had to rely on the document's description to convey its importance to my research. In 1834, the secretary of state again received a letter pertaining to a captive woman, but this

[314] AGN, S10-1809, doc º326 (1832).
[315] AGN, S10-1820, doc º1161 (1834).

document contained a declaration of the mistreatments she had suffered as a captive.[316] This type of document is incredibly rare. It was much more common to take stock of captive men's experiences. This was the first document I had read about that detailed a woman's experiences. Whether this indicates a change in military policy or perceptions towards women's captivity is unclear. What is clear is the importance this document could play in constructing a more accurate description of women's captivity in the nineteenth century. There were hundreds of documents pertaining to women's captivity, all indicating the centrality of their roles in bridging a paradigmatic divide between settlers and different Indigenous peoples. This work has begun to recover *cautivas'* contributions by positioning these women as central to peace and warfare between the two societies, they were of critical importance to both settler and Pehuenche societies.

In the first chapter, I laid out the various functions available to captive women and the distinct purposes each society had for their captivity. Before Independence, the Spanish Crown had a specific set of strategies in their repertoire for the return of settler *cautivas.* These policies often relied on an exchange of goods for the woman's freedom. Therefore, it became clear that one of the functions of the Pehuenche taking women captives was to engage in increased relationships of trade with settlers. These policies dramatically shifted after the Wars of Independence, throwing into flux the Pehuenche people's relationships with settlers, tactics of warfare and trade, as well as the use of captive women. This, of course, also dramatically impacted the *cautivas* themselves, from the length of their stay as captives to the ways in which they were returned. Other historians, such as Susan Socolow, have posited that a benefit of these captive women

[316] AGN, S10-1820, doc º142 (1834).

was to increase their vastly diminished population sizes, the result of *viruela* and warfare with settlers. Social integration of captive women was more likely amongst the Pehuenche, whereas Indigenous captives in settler society were often destined as domestic servants, becoming part of a subservient class. On the other hand, *cautivas* of the Pehuenche could partner with caciques or their family members, securing a position of respect. However, whether these women were fully integrated as Pehuenche remains unknown.

The second chapter critically examines representations of captive women in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Works by the famous poet Esteban Echeverría and renowned Prussian painter Johann Moritz Rugendas featured captive women. These images were never in the service of representing *cautivas'* experiences but rather worked to create a national imaginary between "barbarism" and "civilization" based on the cautiva experience as a source. Within this framework, the capture of settler women by the Pehuenche became a bulwark for mobilizing the population and would lead to the "Conquest of the Desert" (1878–1885), a military campaign that would result in the violent deaths of different Indigenous peoples in the Pampas, Andes, and Patagonia, and their massive resettlement. I also argue that these women were used as a tool to construct an image of the nation as "white." I highlight some of the continuities between the hierarchy of colonial caste systems, primarily *limpieza de sangre*, to the supremacy of whiteness in Argentina. While the nation-state and the notions of liberal republics were a dramatic rupture with the Crown, there were nevertheless some holdovers. I posit that "whiteness" did not appear out of thin air but was built on some of the notions that remained from the caste system and that *cautivas'* representations were used to build it.

Lastly, I wanted to focus on records of *cautivas'* experience in the archives when possible. By doing so, I could demonstrate the choices available to these women after they were released from captivity. Their options were impacted by their gender and ethnic identities and, unsurprisingly, were heavily constrained. The case of Petronila Pérez demonstrates the complex decisions she made between staying with her captors or returning to settler society, which was influenced ultimately by the family she had with the Pehuenche. But what was left unsaid? It certainly would have been no secret to Petronila that if she had returned to settler society, she would likely have little to no honor remaining, dramatically impacting her ability to reintegrate successfully.

In the case of Indigenous and formerly returned captive women, they were often sent to *Casas de Recogidas*, which did nothing to improve the women's freedom. The women were often held there in a state of purgatory while providing free labor for the *Casa*. As demonstrated by the case of Director Francisco Calvete, these institutions could be places of physical and sexual abuse. Some formerly captive women could form unions with military officers, providing security to their often-precarious position. Indigenous children taken captive were often distributed amongst *casas decentes* as domestic servants. Therefore, it should be no surprise that Petronila found it favorable to stay amongst the Pehuenche, where she was partnered with the brother of the cacique. She likely enjoyed a better social position as the captive and mother of the cacique's nephews than she would have back in settler society. Regardless, these limited options highlight these women's precarious position and the difficulties they faced both as captives and in life after captivity. These women have been captives three times over, at the hands of their captors, captives of the state, and captives of a discourse of "whiteness." This work

has been a study on gender and ethnicity, how these categories have impacted captivity, and conversely, how captivity has been a means to construct gender and ethnicity.

The study of captive women has been historically neglected. In part because of their resounding silence in the archives, which has complicated access to their stories. As a result, their contributions to society as valued cultural brokers have gone unrecognized. This work is one in a growing body of research that is uncovering the material realities of captive women and positions them as critical social actors on the frontier, whose impacts are only now being studied.

There remain many unanswered questions that arose throughout the course of this research, and I hope that some of these questions will be an area of future research. I would particularly like to attempt to document individual *cautivas'* journeys from before their captivity to their experiences of incorporation or how they fared after the captivity. I would also like to try and prioritize Pehuenche's oral histories of captivity in future research. The historiography of captive women remains sparse, but it is my hope that these social actors of critical importance continue to be studied and begin to be understood as important historical actors.

Bibliography

Ades, Dawn, and Guy Brett. *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980*. New Haven:
Yale University Press, 1989.

Alberto, Paulina L. "Liberta by Trade: Negotiating the Terms of Unfree Labor in Gradual Abolition Buenos Aires (1820s–30s)." *Journal of Social History* 52, no. 3 (Spring 2019): 619–51. doi:10.1093/jsh/shy035.

Alberto, Paulina L. and Elena, Eduardo, *Rethinking Race in Modern Argentina* (Cambridge
University Press, 2016).

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006.

Andrews, George Reid. *Afro-Latin America: Black Lives, 1600-2000*. Cambridge: Harvard
University Press, 2016.

Andrews, George Reid. *Los Afroargentinos De Buenos Aires*. Translated by Antonio Bonanno.
Aquí Mismo Y Hace Tiempo. Buenos Aires: Ed. de la flor, 1990.

Andrews, William L. *Journeys in New Worlds: Early American Women's Narratives*. 1 online resource (viii, 232 pages): illustrations vols. Wisconsin Studies in American Autobiography. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990. http://site.ebrary.com/id/10531134.

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, (AGN), S9-2063, º35 (1796).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S9-2040, doc º13 (1784).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S9-3049, doc º19 (1795).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S9-3229, doc º17 (1790).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S9-2117, doc º43 (1787).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S10-1824, pgs. º458 (1835).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S10-1824, pgs. º456 (1835).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S10-1825, pgs. º56-60 (1835).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S10-1825, doc º97 (1835).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S10-1829, pgs. º193-194 (1835)

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S10-1829 ,doc º197 (s/f).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S10-1829, doc º198 (s/f).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S10-1829 pgs., º200-201 (1835).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S10-1829 pgs., º500-501 (1835).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S10-1838, doc º838 (1836).

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, S10-3676, doc º295 (1835).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina (AGPM), Época Colonial, Carpeta 46
Documento º23 (1780).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina, Época Colonial Carpeta 46 Documento
º37 (1781).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina, Época Colonial Carpeta 46 Documento
º75 (1788).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina, Época Colonial Carpeta 55 Documento
º6 (1782).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina, Época Independiente, Carpeta 61
Documento º20 (1815).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina, Época Independiente, Carpeta 61
Documento º56 (1816)

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina, Época Independiente, Carpeta 61
Documento º63 (1816).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina, Época Colonial, Carpeta 46 Documento º23 (1780).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina, Época Colonial, Carpeta 46 Documento ºº37 (1781).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina, Época Colonial, Carpeta 46 Documento ºº75 - 1788.

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza Argentina, Época Independiente, Carpeta 247
Documento ºº20 (1831).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza (AGPM), Época Independiente Carpeta 243
Documento ºº103 (1820).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza (AGPM), Época Independiente Carpeta 244
Documento ºº102 (1822).

Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza (AGPM), Época Independiente Carpeta 244
Documento ºº106A (1822).

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies.* 1st American ed., New York: Hill and Wang, 2012.

Baker, Charlotte Alice. *True Stories of New England Captives Carried to Canada during the Old French and Indian Wars*. A Heritage Classic. Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1990.

Barr, Juliana. *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands*, 1 online resource (xi, 397 pages): illustrations, maps vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), http://site.ebrary.com/id/10355385.

Bengoa, José. *Historia Del Pueblo Mapuche. Siglos XIX y XX*. Santiago de Chile: LOM Ediciones, 2008.

Bjerg, María. "Vínculos Mestizos: Historias de Amor y Parentesco En La Campaña de Buenos
Aires En El Siglo XIX," *Boletín Del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana Dr. Emilio Ravignani*, no. 30 (December 2007): 73–99.

Biedermann, Hans. *Dictionary of Symbolism: Cultural Icons and the Meanings Behind Them*.
New York: Meridan Book, 1994.

Briones, Claudia. *Cartografías Argentinas: Políticas Indigenistas y Formaciones Provinciales*
de Alteridad. 1. ed. Buenos Aires: Antropofagia, 2005.

Briones, Claudia. “Mestizaje y Blanqueamiento Como Coordenadas de Aboriginalidad y Nación
En Argentina,” *Runa* 23, no. 1 (December 1, 2002): 61–88.

Brodkin, Karen. *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America*
(Rutgers University Press, 1998).

Brooks, James F. *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest*
Borderlands (Chapel Hill, UNITED STATES: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Cardiel, Padre Jesuita José. “Del Padre Jesuita José Cardiel, escrita al Señor Goberandor y
Capitan General de Buenos Aires, sobre los descubrimientos de las tierra patagónicas, en lo que toca a los Césares (11 de Agosto de 1746)” (Argentine Press (noticias), November 8, 1746), Hathi Trust, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015027990376&view=1up&seq=481&skin=2021&q1=cautiva.

Carrera, Magali Marie. “Locating Race in Late Colonial Mexico.” *Art Journal*, 1998.

Carrera, Magali Marie. *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body*
in Portraiture and Casta Paintings, 1st ed, 1 online resource (xviii, 188 pages) : illustrations (some color). vols., Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), http://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=3571694.

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

Chambers, Sarah C. *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

Chamosa, Oscar. “Indigenous or Criollo: The Myth of White Argentina in Tucumán’s Calchaquí
Valley.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (February 2008): 71–106. doi:10.1215/00182168-2007-079.

Conley, Tom. “De Bry’s Las Casas,” in *95378*, ed. René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini, Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus vols., Hispanic Issues: 9 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 103–31.

Connell–Szasz, Margaret. *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001).

Conway, Christopher. “Gender Iconoclasm and Aesthetics in Esteban Echeverría's La Cautiva and the Captivity Paintings of Juan Manuel Blanes.” *Decimonónica* 12 (1), 2015.

Cook, Darius B. *Six Months among Indians* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Hardscrabble Books, 1974).

Correas, Edmundo. *Historia de Mendoza: 1862-1930*, vol. 4 (Buenos Aires, Argentina: El Ateneo, 1967).

Cox, Alicia. “Settler Colonialism,” Oxford Bibliographies, 2017, https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780190221911/obo-9780190221911-0029.xml.

Cruz, Enrique Normando. “‘Esclavos españoles, indios y negros’: notas para el estudio de las relaciones interétnicas en las cofradías religiosas del norte del Virreinato del Río de la Plata ‘Spanish, Indian and Black slaves’: notes regarding the study of inter-ethnic relationships in the religious brotherhoods of the northern Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata” 8, no. 2 (2013): 10.

Davies Lenoble, Geraldine “La Resistencia De La Ganadería: Los Pehuenches En La Economía Regional De Cuyo Y La Cordillera (1840-1870),” *Revista Historia* 52, no. 2 (December 2019): 341–72.

De la Cruz, Luis. *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Rio de la Plata*, ed. Pedro de Angelis, [1. ed.], 1 online resource (6 volumes): mounted plates, tables vols. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del estado, 1836), http://books.google.com/books?id=2D08AAAAMAAJ.

De la Fuente, Ariel. *Children of Facundo: Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency during the Argentine State-Formation Process (La Rioja, 1853-1870)*, 1 online resource (xiii, 249 pages) : 1 map vols., E-Duke Books Scholarly Collection (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), http://site.ebrary.com/id/10236525

De La Maza, Josefina. “Del naufragio al cautiverio: Pintores europeos, mujeres chilenas e indios
Mapuche a mediados del siglo XIX,” *Artelogie. Recherche sur les arts, le patrimoine et la littérature de l’Amérique latine*, no. 5 (October 16, 2013), https://doi.org/10.4000/artelogie.5208

De la Valle, Angel. 1892. *El vuelto del malón*. Sociedad Estímulo de Bellas Artes. Buenos Aires
Argentina. https://www.bellasartes.gob.ar/en/collection/work/6297/

De Palma, Marina Paula. “Recluídas y marginadas: El recogimiento de mujeres en el Buenos
Aires colonial,” 2009, http://repositorio.filo.uba.ar/handle/filodigital/1173

Delfín Guillaumin, Martha. “Bandidos rurales: los hermanos Pincheira y los indios del sur
mendocino argentino,” *Pacarina Del Sur*, no. 38 (November 9, 2016), http://pacarinadelsur.com/home/indoamerica/1588-bandidos-rurales-los-hermanos-pincheira-y-los-indios-del-sur-mendocino-argentino#abstract

Delrio, Walter. “Mecanismos de Tribalización En La Patagonia: Desde La Gran Crisis al Primer
Gobierno Peronista.,” *Memoria Americana*, no. 13 (December 2005): 0–0.

Dicionario de Autoridades. Ed. facsímil. Madrid: Gredos, 1969.

Diener, Pablo. “Juan Mauricio Rugendas: America De Punta a Cabo.” *Dispositio* 17, no. 42/43 (1992): 233–62.

Diener, Pablo and de Fátima Costa, Maria. *Rugendas: el artista viajero*, Primera edición, junio
de 2021 (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, 2021).

Domenech, Eduardo E. “INMIGRACIÓN, ESTADO Y EDUCACIÓN EN ARGENTINA:
¿HACIA NUEVAS POLÍTICAS DE INTEGRACIÓN?,” *Universidad Nacional de Córdoba Centro De Estudios Avanzados*, 2005.

Dore, Elizabeth and Molyneux, Maxine eds., *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin
America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), http://www.h-net.org/review/hrev-a0c7d9-aa.

Drake, Samuel G.. *Indian Captivities: Or, Life in the Wigwam, Being True Narratives of Captives Who Have Been Carried Away by the Indians* ... New York: AMS Press, 1975.

Drimmer, Frederick, James Smith, Thomas Brown, Alexander Henry, Moses Van Campen, John active Slover, John 1780?. Tanner, et al. *Captured by the Indians: 15 Firsthand Accounts, 1750-1870*. New York: Dover, 1985. http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/description/dover031/85004542.html.

Earle, Rebecca. "Rape and the Anxious Republic: Revolutionary Colombia, 1810–1830," in *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*, ed. Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux (Duke University Press, 2000), 127–46, https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822380238-005.

Earle, Rebecca. *The Return of the Native Indians and Mythmaking in Spanish America, 1810-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

Echeverría, Esteban. "La cautiva". New York: Digitalia, 2012. ISBN: 9788498976823.

Edwards, Erika Denise. 2020. *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.

Enríquez, Lucrecia. "El clero indígena chileno de la colonia a la independencia" (X Jornadas Interescuelas/Departamentos de Historia, Escuela de Historia de la Facultad de Humanidades y Artes, Universidad Nacional del Rosario. Departamento de Historia de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 2005), https://cdsa.aacademica.org/000-006/127;

Espósito, Guillermina. "Discursos Civilizadores En Los Andes de Argentina: Políticos y Académicos En La Mestización de La Quebrada de Humahuaca, Jujuy," *Intersecciones En Antropología* 15, no. 1 (June 2014): 219–33.

Espinoza-León, Mariela. *"Corazón de Lumbre, Alma de Nieve": Constructing the Sentiment of Nationalism through La Leyenda de Los Volcanes*. Chicago: University of Illinois Chicago, 2017.

Evans, Richard J. "Historians and Their Facts," in *In Defense of History* (W.W. Norton, 1999), 65–87.

Fernández, Luciana and Garcia, Yesica Noelia. "Conflictividad intraétnica en la frontera de Mendoza hacia fines del siglo XVIII: la pugna entre Millanguir y Rayguan," *Revista TEFROS* 16, no. 2 (July 22, 2018): 189–204.

Fernández, María Alejandra. “El Honor: Una Cuestión de Género,” *ARENAL* 7, no. 2 (200AD):
361–81.

Roberto Fernández Retamar, *Algunos Usos de Civilización y Barbarie y Otros Ensayos*, Colección Biblioteca Del Instituto Relaciones Internacionales (IRI) (Editorial Contrapunto, 1989), https://libproxy.unm.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat05987a&AN=unm.20786077&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Finchelstein, Federico. “The Ideological Origins of Fascist Argentina,” in *The Ideological*
Origins of the Dirty War (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199930241.003.0001.

Findlay; Eileen. *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870-*
1920, American Encounters/Global Interactions (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

Foerster, Rolf and Vezub, Julio. “MALÓN, RACIÓN Y NACIÓN EN LAS PAMPAS: EL
FACTOR JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS (1820-1880),” *Historia (Santiago)* 44, no. 2 (December 2011): 259–86, https://doi.org/10.4067/S0717-71942011000200001.

Frankenberg, Ruth. *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*. Duke University Press, 1997.

Gallardo, Viviana. “RUGENDAS, ARTISTA VIAJERO Y SU APORTE A LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA REPRESENTACIÓN INDÍGENA Resúmen Abstract Claves Keywords,” January 29, 2012.

Geler, Lea. “African Descent and Whiteness in Buenos Aires”. In *Rethinking Race in Modern*
Argentina, 213-240. Edited by Paulina Alberto & Eduardo Elena. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316228050.007

Geler, Lea and Mariela Rodriguez. “Mixed Race in Argentina: Concealing Mixture in the ‘White’ Nation” in *Palgrave International Handbook of Mixed Racial and ethnic classification*, 179-194. Edited by Zarine L. Rocha & Peter J. Aspinall. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-22874-3_9

Glave, Luis Miguel. “Mujer indígena, trabajo doméstico y cambio social en el virreinato peruano
del siglo XVII: la ciudad de La Paz y el Sur andino en 1684,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Études Andines* 16, no. 3 (1987): 39–69.

González, Horacio. *La Argentina manuscrita: la cautiva en la conciencia nacional*, 1a edición,
Puñaladas : Ensayos de punta (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Colihue, 2018).

González, Yéssica. “Cautiverio Femenino y Mestizaje al Reves,” *Educación y Humanidades de
La Frontera de Temuco Chile*, no. 10–11 (2001).

González, Yéssica. “Indias Blancas Tierra Adentro. El Cautiverio Femenino En La Frontera de
La Araucanía, Siglos Xviii y Xix*,” 2018.

Grosfoguel, Ramón. “Colonial Difference, Geopolitics of Knowledge, and Global Coloniality in
the Modern/Colonial Capitalist World-System,” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 25, no. 3 (January 1, 2002): 203–24.

Guzmán, Florencia, Lea Geler, and Alejandro Frigerio. *Cartografías Afrolatinoamericanas:
Perspectivas Situadas Desde La Argentina. Primera edición. Historia. Editorial Biblos, 2016.

Haberly, David T. “Male Anxiety and Sacrificial Masculinity: The Case of Echeverría.” *Hispanic Review* 73, no. 3 (2005): 291–307.

Hackel, Steven W. *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations
in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill, UNITED STATES: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unm/detail.action?docID=4321924.

Hamilton, Carolyn. “‘Living by Fluidity’: Oral Histories, Material Custodies and the Politics of
Archiving,” in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 209–27.

Hartman, Saidiya. “Introduction,” in *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in
Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 3–14.

Hartman, Saidiya. “A Note on Method; A Minor Figure,” in *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Riotous Black Girls, Troublesome Women, and Queer Radicals* (W. W. Norton & Co., 2019), xiii–xv; 13–35.

Harrison, Faye V. “The Persistent Power of ‘Race’ in the Cultural and Political Economy of Racism.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 47–74. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2155929.

Herr, Pilar Maria. “The Nation-State According to Whom?: Mapuches and the Chilean State in the Early Nineteenth Century.” *Journal of Early American History* 4, no. 1 (March 14, 2014): 66–94. https://doi.org/10.1163/18770703-00401008.

Hux, P. Meinrado. *Caciques Pehuenches* (Buenos Aires: Elefante Blanco, 2004).

Iglesia, Cristina, and Julio Schvartzman. *Cautivas y Misioneros: Mitos Blancos de La Conquista*. Buenos Aires: Catálogos Editora, 1987.

“Interpellation | The Chicago School of Media Theory.” Accessed October 3, 2022. https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/interpellation/.

Isidro Maza, Juan. *Toponimia, Tradiciones y Leyendas Mendocinas*, Revisas y Ampliada (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Fundación Banco de Boston, 1990).

Jackson, Peter, and Jan Penrose. *Constructions of Race, Place, and Nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

Jitrik, Noé. 2010. *Echeverría y la realidad nacional*. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc1z4q4

Jones, Kristine L. *Conflict and Adaptation in the Argentine Pampas 1750-1880* (University of Chicago, Department of History, 1984).

Joseph, Galen. “Taking Race Seriously: Whiteness in Argentina’s National and Transitional Imaginary.” *Identities Global Studies in Culture and Power* 7, no. 3 (September 2000): 333-371.

Kaplan, Lauren A. "Topographical Violence and Imagining the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Argentina." *Hemisphere: Visual Cultures of the Americas* 10 (2017): 32-47. https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/hemisphere/vol10/iss1/5

Katzew, Ilona. *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip047/2003017365.html.

Koch, Ursula E. "Female allegories of the nation", Encyclopédie d'histoire numérique de l'Europe [online], ISSN 2677-6588, published on 22/06/20. https://ehne.fr/en/node/12185

Kraay, Hendrik; Thomas Castilho, Celso and Cribelli, Teresa. *Press, Power, and Culture in Imperial Brazil* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2021).

Lanctot, Brendan. *Beyond Civilization and Barbarism: Culture and Politics in Postrevolutionary Argentina*. Cranbury, UNITED STATES: Bucknell University Press, 2013. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unm/detail.action?docID=1580580.

Landa, Carlos. "GERÓNIMA CASAS DE DUVERTI. RELATO DE UNA CAUTIVA (SUROESTE DE LA PROVINCIA DE BUENOS AIRES, SEGUNDA MITAD DEL SIGLO XIX)," 2022, 13.

Larson, Carolyne R. *The Conquest of the Desert: Argentina's Indigenous Peoples and the Battle for History.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020. muse.jhu.edu/book/78336.

Lázaro-Avila, Carlos. "Los Cautivos En La Frontera Araucana," *Revista Española De Antropología Americana*, no. 24 (1994): 191–207.

León, Leonardo. *Los Señores de La Cordillera y Las Pampas-Los Pehuenches de Malalhue 1770-1800* (Mendoza, Argentina: Universidad de Valparaíso, 2001).

Levernier, James Arthur and Cohen, Hennig. *The Indians and Their Captives*, Contributions in American Studies, no. 31 (Westport Conn ; Greenwood Press, 1977).

Lewis, Daniel K. *History of Argentina* (Westport, UNITED STATES: Greenwood Publishing Group, Incorporated, 2001), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unm/detail.action?docID=3000427.

Malosetti Costa, Laura, and Coloquio. *Rapto De Cautivas Blancas: Un Aspecto Erótico De La Barbarie En La Plástica Rioplatense Del Siglo XIX*. Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1994.

Magallanes, Julieta. "'Antes no había nada'. Artificios clasificatorios, hermenéuticas identitarias
y participación indígena en el sur mendocino (Argentina)," *Quinto Sol* 24, no. 2 (2020), https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=23163487007.

Mandrini, Raul J.. *Las fronteras hispanocriollas del mundo ingígena latinoamericano en los
siglos XVIII–XIX*, ed. Carlos D. Paz, 1st ed. (Instituto de estudios historico sociales, 2003).

Marre, Diana. *Mujeres argentinas-- las chinas: representación, territorio, género y nación*
(Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 2003).

Masiello, Francine. *Between Civilization & Barbarism: Women, Nation, and Literary Culture in
Modern Argentina*, Engendering Latin America, v. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

Mayo, Carlos A."EL CAUTIVERIO Y SUS FUNCIONES EN UNA SOCIEDAD DE FRONTERA El caso de Buenos Aires (1750-1810)," *Revista de Indias* 45, no. 175 (1985): 235–43.

Mayo, Carlos A. *Fuentes Para El Estudio De La Frontera: Voces Y Testimonios De Cautivos,
Fugitivos Y Renegados: Fuentes Para El Estudio De La Frontera Bonaerense, 1752-1790*. Mar del Plata: Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, Facultad de Humanidades, Area Editorial, Departamento de Historia, 2002.

Mbembe, Achille. "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits," in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed.
Carolyn Hamilton et al. (Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 19–26.

Mariselle Melendez, "La Vestimenta Como Retorica Del Poder y Simbolo de Produccion Cultural En La America Colonial: De Colon a El Lazarillo de Ciegos Caminantes.," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 29, no. 3 (1995): 411.

Menard, André. "Pudor y Representación: La Raza Mapuche, La Desnudez y El Disfraz," *Aisthesis*, no. 46 (December 2009): 15–38, https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-71812009000200002.

Mifflin, Margot. *The Blue Tattoo: The Life of Olive Oatman*, 1 online resource (xi, 261 pages):

illustrations, maps vols., Women in the West (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), https://library.biblioboard.com/content/69a93821-ba63-4762-8bfb-e77e91ad1bf7.

Milanich, Nara B. *Children of Fate: Childhood, Class, and the State in Chile, 1850–1930,* 2009.

Nacuzzi, Lidia R. "Los Grupos Étnicos y Sus Territorios En Las Fronteras Del Río Salado de Buenos Aires (Siglo XVIII)," *Población y Sociedad* 21, no. 2 (December 2014): 49–92.

Nacuzzi, Lidia Rosa and Lucaioli, Carina Paula. "DECLARACIONES DE CAUTIVOS: PIEZAS DE ARCHIVO MULTIVOCALES DE LA FRONTERA COLONIAL (VIRREINATO DEL RÍO DE LA PLATA, SIGLO XVIII)," *Diálogo Andino*, no. 46 (March 2015): 27–37, https://doi.org/10.4067/S0719-26812015000100003.

Nakano Glenn, Evelyn. "Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1, no. 1 (2015): 52–72.

Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, Francisco. *El cautiverio feliz*, Biblioteca antigua chilena 5 (Santiago de Chile: Seminario de Filología Hispánica, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad de Chile, 2001).

Mauricio Onetto Pávez, "REFLEXIONES EN TORNO A LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE ESFERAS DE CONTROL Y SENSIBILIDADES: LAS CASAS DE RECOGIDAS, SIGLOS XVI-XVIII," *Estudios Humanísticos Historia*, no. 8 (2009): 177–204.

Mignolo, Walter. *The Idea of Latin America*. Blackwell Manifestos. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2005.

Olderr, Steven. *Symbolism: A Comprehensive Dictionary*. 2nd ed. McFarland & Company, Incorporated Publishers, 2012.

Ortega, Emmanuel. "The Sentimental Fantasy of Miscegenation: La Malinche in the Popular Mexican Imaginary." *Traitor, Survivor, Icon: The Legacy of La Malinche*, January 1, 2022.

Otero, Hernán. *El Mosaico Argentino: Modelos Y Representaciones Del Espacio Y De La Población, Siglos XIX-XX*. 1st ed. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno de Argentina Editores, 2004.

Oyarzábal, María Cecilia and Estruch, Dolores. “Indígenas y archivos. Entre el acervo documental y las herramientas metodológicas. El caso de jujuy colonial,” *Revista Historia y Justicia*, no. 7 (November 2, 2016), https://doi.org/10.4000/rhj.791.

Pérez Baltasar, María Dolores. “Orígenes de Los Recogimientos de Mujeres,” *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea* VJ (1985): 13–23.

Phillips, William D. *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, 1 online resource (268 pages) vols., The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), http://www.degruyter.com/search?f_0=isbnissn&q_0=9780812209174&searchTitles=true.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed, 1 online resource (xiv, 276 pages) : illustrations vols. (London ; Routledge, 2008), http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780203932933.

Pichel, Vera. *Las Cuarteleras: Cuatro Mil Mujeres En La Conquista Del Desierto*. Mujeres Argentinas. Planeta, 1994.

Quijada, Mónica, Carmen Bernand, and Arnd Schneider. *Homogeneidad y Nación: Con Un Estudio de Caso: Argentina, Siglos XIX y XX*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Humanidades, Instituto de Historia, 2000.

Quijano, Aníbal. “Colonialidad Del Poder y Clasificación Social,” Cuestiones y Horizontes (CLACSO, 2020), https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1gm019g.12.

Ratto, Silvia. “SOLDADOS, MILICIANOS E INDIOS DE ‘LANZA Y BOLA’. LA DEFENSA DE LA FRONTERA BONAERENSE A MEDIADOS DE LA DÉCADA DE 1830,” *IEHS*, no. 18 (2003): 123–52.

Ratto, Silvia. “Rompecabezas Para Armar: El Estudio de La Vida Cotidiana En Un Ámbito Fronterizo,” *Memoria Americana*, no. 13 (December 2005): 179–207.

Ratto, Silvia. “¿Para Qué Quieren Tener Cautivas Si No Estamos En Guerra? Las Variadas

Formas Del Cautiverio Interétnico En La Campaña Bonaerense (Primera Mitad Del Siglo Xix)," *Boletin Del Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani"* 32 (January 2010): 41–67.

Ratto, Silvia and Faberman, Judith eds., *Historias Mestizas En El Tucumán Colonial y Las Pampas(Siglos XVII–XIX)*, 1st ed. (Buenos Aires: Biblios, 2009).

Real Academia Española., *Diccionario de autoridades.*, Ed. facsímil, Biblioteca románica hispánica. 5. Diccionarios (Madrid: Gredos, 1969).

Reséndez, Andrés. *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016).

Rocha, Zarine L. and Aspinall, Peter J. eds., *The Palgrave International Handbook of Mixed Racial and Ethnic Classification*, 1st ed. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

Rodriguez, Jarbel. *Captives & Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 1 online resource (xxiii, 225 pages) vols. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), http://site.ebrary.com/id/10267290.

Rotker, Susana. *Captive Women: Oblivion and Memory in Argentina*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

Roulet, Florencia. "Mujeres, Rehenes y Secretarios: Mediadores Indígenas En La Frontera Sur Del Río de La Plata Durante El Período Hispánico," *Colonial Latin American Review* 18, no. 3 (December 1, 2009): 303–37, https://doi.org/10.1080/10609160903336101.

Roulet, Florencia. "Identidades Étnicas y Territorios Indígenas En La Obra de Don Luis de La Cruz: Entre Pehuenches, Huilliches, Llanistas, Ranquelinos y Pampas (1806)," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América 2011, Vol. 37, 221-252*, 2011.

Rubens, Peter Paul. "Rape of the daughters of Leucippus" 1617.

Rugendas, Johann Mauricio. "El malón" 1836.

Rusconi, Carlos. *Poblaciones Pre y Posthispanicas de Mendoza*, vol. IV (Mendoza, Argentina:

1962, n.d.).

Salomón Tarquini, Claudia. “Entre la frontera bonaerense y La Pampa Central. Trayectorias y redes de relaciones indígenas (1860-1920),” *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos. Nouveaux mondes mondes nouveaux - Novo Mundo Mundos Novos - New world New worlds*, September 29, 2011, https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.62065.

Sarmiento, Domingo Faustino. *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism, First Complete English Translation*, trans. Kathleen Ross, 2004.

Samuels, Shirley. *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America*. Oxford University Press, 1992.

Schlickers, Sabine. *La Conquista Imaginaria de América: Crónicas, Literatura y Cine*. New York: Peter Lang, 2015.

Schwartz, Stuart B. and Salomon, Frank. “New Peoples and New Kinds of People: Adaptation, Readjustment, and Ethnogenesis in South American Indigenous Societies (Colonial Era),” in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* (Cambridge University Press : Cambridge, 1999), 443–501.

Seaver, James E., and June Namias. *Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*. 1 online resource vols. Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, 2006. http://resolver.ebscohost.com/Redirect/PRL?EPPackageLocationID=3731.564560.2166554&epcustomerid=s8491974&db=3731.

Sharpe, Jenny. “Silence: The Archive and Affective Memory,” in *Immaterial Archives: An African Diaspora Poetics of Loss* (Northwestern University Press, 2020), 19–56.

Shumway, Nicolas. *The Invention of Argentina*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Second edition. (Zed Books, 2012).

Socolow, Susan Migden. “Spanish Captives in Indian Societies: Cultural Contact along the Argentine Frontier, 1600-1835.” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (1992): 73–99. doi:10.2307/2515948.

Soledad Salerno, Natalia. “Cautivas En Buenos Aires. Mujeres Indígenas de Las Pampas Recluidas En La Casa de Recogimiento,” *Fuegia* I, no. 2 (2018): 24–41.

Sommer, Doris. *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America*, Latin American Literature and Culture: 8 (University of California Press, 1991), https://libproxy.unm.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat05987a&AN=unm.22184503&site=eds-live&scope=site.

State Press of Argentina, *Relación de los cristianos salvados del cautiverio por la División Izquierda del Ejército Expedicionario contra los bárbaros, al mando del Señor Brigadier General D. Juan Manuel de Rosas.* (Buenos-Aires: Impr. del Estado, 1835).

Stolcke, Verena. “Los Mestizos No Nacen Sino Que Se Hacen.” *Avá*, no. 14 (July 2009): 193–216.

Stoler, Anna Laura. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic and Colonial Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Sutcliffe, Thomas, *Sixteen Years in Chile and Peru* (London: Fisher, Son and Co., 1841).

Svampa, Maristella. El Dilema Argentino: Civilización O Barbarie : De Sarmiento Al Revisionismo Peronista. Colección La Cultura Argentina. Buenos Aires: El Cielo por Asalto, 1994.

Sweet, James H. “The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (January 1, 1997): 143–66. https://doi.org/10.2307/2953315.

Tamagnini, Marcela, and Marcela Tamagnini. “Multiple Articulations in the Southern Cordoba Border and Mamüel Mapu (1836-1851).” *Frontera Norte* 31 (2019). https://doi.org/10.33679/rfn.v1i1.1977.

Telles, Edward Eric. *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America*. 1 edition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

Telles, Edward E. & René Flores “Not Just Color: Whiteness, Nation, and Status in Latin America” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 93, no. 3 (2013): 411–449. https://doi.org/10.1215/00182168-2210858

Townsend, Camilla. *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma: The American Portraits Series*. First edition. New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2005.

Tuck, Eve and Yang, K. Wayne. "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (September 8, 2012).

Undurraga, Carolina González. "'De La Casta a La Raza' El Concepto De Raza: Un Singular Colectivo De La Modernidad. México, 1750-1850." *Historia Mexicana* 60, no. 3 (2011), 1491–1525.

Van Deusen, Nancy E. *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Narrating Native Histories. Durham; Duke University Press, 2015.

Varela, Florencio. *Biblioteca Del Comercio Del Plata.* (Montevideo, 1845).

Vaughan, Alden T. and Clark, Edward W. *Puritans among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676-1724*, John Harvard Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.04950.

Vázquez, Cecilia. "Entre el arte y la política: La representación de la figura de la cautiva en la obra de Daniel Santoro," *Culturales* 1, no. 2 (December 2013): 171–98.

Veracini, Lorenzo. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), https://libproxy.unm.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat05987a&AN=unm.658117357&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Videla, Marisol. "Viviendo Precariamente Entre Dos Fronteras: El Cautivo Como Sujeto Mediador En Araucanía y Las Pampas, 1750-1800," n.d..

Villalobos, Sergio. *Los Pehuenches en la Vida Fronteriza: Investigaciones* (Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1989).

Villar, Daniel and Jiménez, Juan Francisco. "El Continuo Trato Con Infieles: Los Renegados de La Región Pampeana Centro-Oriental Durante El Último Tercio Del Siglo XVIII," *Memoria Americana*, no. 13 (December 2005): 151–78.

Voigt, Lisa. *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

Wakefield, Sarah F. *Six Weeks in the Sioux Tepees*, 1 online resource. vols. (Guilford, Conn.:

Twodot, 2016), http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=1127730.

Weber, David J. *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, UNITED STATES: Yale University Press, 2005), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unm/detail.action?docID=3420228.

Weld, Kirsten. "Introduction: The Power of Archival Thinking," in *Paper Cadavers: The Archives of Dictatorship in Guatemala* (Duke University Press, 2014), 1–26.

Zarate C., María Soledad. "MUJERES VICIOSAS, MUJERES VIRTUOSAS La Mujer Delincuente y La Casa Correccional de Santiago 1860-1900," in *Construcción de Identidad En Chile, Siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Lorena Godoy et al. (SUR/CEDEM, n.d.), 149–79.

Zarley, Jesse. "Between the Lof and the Liberators: Mapuche Authority in Chile's Guerra a Muerte (1819–1825)." *Ethnohistory* 66, no. 1 (January 1, 2019): 117–39. https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-7217365.