

# Aspects of Social Justice Ally Work in Chilean Historical Fiction: The Case of the Pacification of Araucanía

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## Abstract

Majority-culture writers often depict cultures different from their own, but approaching cultures to which an author does not belong can be challenging. How might we read dominant-culture portrayals of marginalized cultures that tell stories of injustice? In this paper I utilize the frame of identity development in social justice allies in order to understand the narratives dominant-culture authors use in fiction to reflect sympathetic views of indigenous justice claims. In order to do so, I study three historical novels set in Araucanía during the second half of the nineteenth century, considering historiographical orientation, representation of cultural difference, and understanding of sovereignty: *Casas en el agua* (1997) by Guido Eytel, *Vientos de silencio* (1999) by J.J. Faundes, and *El lento silbido de los sables* (2010) by Patricio Manns. I will show that fiction, even in validating indigenous justice claims, does not overcome past narratives of dominance.

Representations can deceive us. The Mapuche warriors of Alonso de Ercilla's epic poem *La Araucana* are safely in the past, and their cultural difference poses no threat to present-day normative Chilean culture. However, that normative culture glorifies these fictional representations on the one hand and deprecates Mapuche communities today on the other. How did that happen? Various Mapuche groups resisted Spanish colonization for centuries, restricting European expansion in today's southern Chile. After Chilean independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century, the conflict continued. Laws of the nineteenth-century Chilean state created a system by which land, one of the main centers of Mapuche self-understanding, was usurped by *winka* (non-Mapuche) settlers in tandem with military actions that came to be known as the Occupation or Pacification of Araucanía (1860-1883). The Chilean state sought to exercise sovereignty over Araucanía through settler colonialism, entitlement of lands not currently held by the state, physical military occupation of the region, and the eventual confinement of Mapuche communities to "civilizing" *reducciones*. This process took over twenty years and culminated in 1883 with the final military defeat of the remaining Mapuche forces and the re-foundation of Villarrica by Chileans.<sup>1</sup>

Contemporary Chilean fictional narratives set in the second half of the nineteenth century in the region of Araucanía in southern Chile portray similar stories. The Pacification has histor-

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<sup>1</sup> The processes set in motion by the Pacification did not grind to a halt with the re-foundation of Villarrica. For example, legal and extra-legal land ownership policies and practices resulted in the further fragmentation and usurpation of Mapuche land-holdings. While these details are specific to the Chilean case, parallel processes of occupation and usurpation were taking place during the same period in Argentina (the Conquest of the Desert) and the United States.

ically drawn less attention than other nineteenth century historical processes such as the War of the Pacific<sup>2</sup> or the Civil War of 1891.<sup>3</sup> When it has been portrayed, stories of the Pacification center on the eccentric figure of Orélie-Antoine de Tounens, a French citizen who sought to be King of Araucanía and Patagonia.<sup>4</sup> Given the dramatic possibilities of this figure, the texts that deviate from the tendency to focus on this supposed French king stand out. Three of these exceptions—*Casas en el agua* (1997) by Guido Eytel; *El lento silbido de los sables* (2010) by Patricio Manns; and *Vientos de silencio* (1999) by Juan Jorge Faundes<sup>5</sup>—continue the pattern of texts about the Pacification that read it through the lens of majority culture, to varying effects.<sup>6</sup> Eytel's novel tells a story of settler colonialism, in which a quixotic figure establishes a town on the frontier. The frontier also figures in Manns' novel as a setting for a deformed *bildungsroman* wherein a Chilean soldier becomes a grotesque abuser shaped by his experiences in the Pacification.<sup>7</sup> Faundes' novel differs from the previous two in telling a post-Pacification story, focused on the work of a lawyer-journalist in Temuco and his conflicts with other Chilean power brokers.

The literary manifestations that re-create the Pacification of Araucanía and its immediate consequences imagined at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century exhibit, as do all historical novels, attitudes and concerns of the moments in which they are written. Therefore, an exploration of the relationship between these texts and certain shared characteristics indicates how post-dictatorial Chilean culture contends not only with its history but also its present. The resurgence of the "Mapuche Question" in public discourse since Chile's return to democracy makes the relationship between these texts and claims for justice from indigenous groups particularly salient. This article will show a way to make sense of how these stories speak to the historical conflict of the Pacification of Araucanía (1860-1883)—an ongoing military and social effort by the Chilean state to integrate land and resources viewed as theirs by right into their sovereign territory, abrogating all earlier arrangements with the indigenous peoples of the area—and its current consequences by reading texts through the lens of the psychological concept of identity development in social justice allies. This approach illustrates different modes of allyship exemplified within the narratives of these novels, revealing that recognizing the justice of indigenous claims, both today and in the past, does not itself overcome dominant and dominating narratives of the past.

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2 Narratives of the War of the Pacific can be found in both film and television. They are also well represented in the recent increase of historical narrative nonfiction in Chile. Recent Chilean narrative fiction includes Jorge Marchant Lazcano's *El ángel de la patria* (2010) and Carlos Tromben's *Huáscar* (2016).

3 The majority of narratives written about the Civil War of 1891 emerged at the centennial of the conflict. Exceptions include Darío Oses' *El viaducto* (1994) and Isidora Aguirre's *Balmaceda: Diálogos de amor y muerte* (2008).

4 This tendency culminates in *La corona de Araucanía: un diálogo con lo imposible* (1997) by Pedro Staiger.

5 Eytel lives in Temuco and writes prose and poetry. Manns grew up in the Bio-bio region, and though he is best known for his music, his narratives also reflect leftist political commitments. Faundes works as a journalist in Temuco and his work focuses on Mapuche history and culture.

6 Majority-culture is Chilean culture and Chilean racial formation develops a dichotomy between binary categories. Unlike many other parts of Latin America, in which an ideology of *mestizaje* dominates discussions, social difference in Chile is articulated primarily around social class. Patricia Richards argues persuasively that, despite the lack of explicit rhetoric on race, it nevertheless has contributed to nation-state formation in Chile (8). The majority of Chileans are racially mixed but a *mestizo* identity is not commonly claimed. In Araucanía, "the informal system of social classification ... refers to two oppositional categories of identification: Mapuche and Chilean or *winka*" (Richards 27), even as intersectional identities can build solidarity between these groups.

7 The frontier as a place and object remains a theme in Chilean historiography. In the context of nineteenth-century history and literature, this topic is not unique, as evidenced by canonical texts such as *La cautiva* and *Martin Fierro* and the work of David Viñas in the Argentine context.

## Social Justice Ally Development

These texts display ideological orientations sympathetic to the justice-claims of Mapuche groups, and therefore through their narratives they illustrate the negotiation majority-culture individuals experience in seeking to support the positions held by indigenous rights groups. In short: they are like aspiring allies for social justice. Keith E. Edwards has proposed a conceptual model for the development of the social justice ally that can help to understand the frame with which these novels face nineteenth-century Araucanía. The term ally may sound jarringly modern in this context, but the actions and justifications that this framework describes do not depend on a particular time or cultural context. In simple terms, an ally is a person that actively supports persons who belong to a group different than their own. A well developed ally for social justice around race, for example, “consciously commits, attitudinally and behaviorally, to an ongoing, purposeful engagement with and active challenging of white privilege, overt and subtle racism, and systemic racial inequalities for the purpose of becoming an agent of change in collaboration with, not for, people of color” (Ford 288). The indictment of white privilege in this definition rests on racial hierarchies within the United States in which whiteness is normative. However, allies do not have to belong to the dominant group of a particular identity category in order to function as an ally to another group.

Edwards’ model, which develops from and in conversation with earlier research on the subject,<sup>8</sup> focuses on “how those who already aspire to be allies can be more effective, consistent, and sustainable” (41), emphasizing that by recognizing the constitutive elements of our development as allies we can work better and more effectively towards social justice. Part of this work involves self-knowledge of one’s own intersectional identity and requires the acquisition of knowledge of others’ experiences. Edwards posits that allies for social justice must also develop metacognition of ally-ship itself. The categories Edwards describes may appear to show a progression towards ally-ship, but all of these categories are contingent and may manifest in the same person in differing circumstances. One of the categories that Edwards proposes explains aspiring allies who commit to social justice work in order to help people they already know, and it focuses a great deal on the individual, both as victim and perpetrator of oppression. Another category features aspiring allies who focus on the people of the marginalized group because helping is morally correct; as in the case of the first category, it also points towards the power of the individual to resolve problems for the people of a different group. The third category recognizes a link between dominant and marginalized groups and therefore the ally for social justice works with those persons belonging to marginalized identity groups to seek systemic change. These three categories understand justice differently; the first, following self-interest, sees incidents of discrimination as the exception to a generally just system; the second, altruistically, that “they,” those who belong to marginalized groups, need justice; and the third emphasizes the need for justice for all people on moral grounds, recognizing the interconnectedness of humanity. Though allies of all three categories can contribute to positive change when faced with injustice, the third category corresponds best to the consensus notion of effective social justice. This recognizes that injustice hurts all people, and that the work the ally does has the aim to liberate

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<sup>8</sup> A limitation of this approach is that the work done to this point on social justice ally development takes college students in the United States as their subject of study and development. While social science literature does not yet speak to the functioning of this framework outside the United States and outside of the traditional college-aged population (18-25 years old), the research that has been done is compelling, even as it recognizes its own limitations.

# HISPANIC STUDIES

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all people (see table 1).

The universalism of this philosophy may appear to be at odds with the specificity of cultural and historical contexts. However, varied social realities can be studied in light of common processes. Understanding and highlighting these patterns does not require that the functions of their constitutive parts remain the same across contexts. It does, however, require careful consideration of the context in which the concepts born of the patterns arise. Social justice ally development evolves from the work of social justice activists in the United States. While this paper focuses on manifestations of this model within literary texts, the social justice goals of the authors inform the application of this model to these novels. In developmental psychology this model is applied to living, breathing human beings. Its application to literary texts does not imply a moral judgement on the authors or the characters; its function is descriptive. Identifying aspiring allies for social justice in fiction illuminates patterns and practices of action and reaction in the face of injustice. Reading this model in fictional texts does not demand a utopian posture or that the author re-write history to achieve an ahistorical justice outcome. This model reveals resistance to injustice, and the way in which contemporary historical fiction portrays this resistance reflects not only historical events and attitudes but also ideological perspectives on liberatory justice in the present day.

**Table 1**

*Summary of salient characteristics of aspiring ally identity development*

Motivation	Attitude to marginalized	System	Power
Self-interest: concrete interpersonal relationships	Focused on the individual	Just, failures are exception	Self exercises power, protection
Altruism: for others	Need justice for target group	Unjust, but doesn't seek to change the system	Seeks to empower others
Justice: for us	Need justice for all	Seeks liberatory systemic change	Seeks to empower self and others

Source: Edwards, Keith E. "Aspiring Social Justice Ally Identity Development: A Conceptual Model." *NASPA Journal*, vol. 43, no. 4, 2006, p. 47.

If the goal is liberation, in what way do these novels reflect, embody, or challenge this model for aspiring allies for social justice? All three express implicitly and explicitly the injustice of the Pacification of Araucanía and allude to or tell the stories of injustices faced by current populations in Araucanía rooted in this nineteenth-century conflict. Several aspects of the novels illustrate these connections. The first is the ways in which these texts question the normative narrative of nineteenth-century Chilean history; the second, the way in which these novels portray cultural difference in Chile, and especially the relationship between dominant Chilean culture and non-dominant cultures; and third, the image of sovereignty in the context of Araucanía. Attitudes facing these themes made manifest in fiction signal that, even with solidarity perspectives towards indigenous demands, the frame to make sense of this conflict continues to privilege dominant perspectives.

## Historiographical Orientation

The narrative turn in historiography has a decades-long trajectory, in which historians work with the constructed nature of historical narrative. This shift enables the questioning of earlier historiographical practices that present the past as a unitary and scientific subject of inquiry. Nineteenth-century Chilean history (and much of the history done in the twentieth) exercised epistemologies that the advent of postmodernism has thrown into question. Therefore, in speaking of the hegemonic narration of history, I refer to the culturally dominant narration of history, communicated through education and popular culture. This narrative orientation may or may not coincide with the work of academic historians. What is notable in these novels is not their fidelity to the historical archive and historiographical understandings of the events narrated but rather the way in which they portray the relationship between the stories they tell and how to judge the truthfulness of stories about the past. Until recently, the historiographical archive referring to Araucanía during the nineteenth century recounted a justified military conflict undertaken to impose western civilization and the sovereignty of the Chilean state over the territory south of the Biobío River. The hegemonic narrative lacks a nuanced understanding of the topic despite recent advances in historical pedagogy.

Fictional invention of elements of a story often distinguishes historical writing from historical fiction, and in the case of the novel *Casas en el agua*, by Guido Eytel, the reader learns of an entirely fictional town, though the context in which it exists reflects historical knowledge. Eytel's novel tells the story of the foundation, construction, and growth of the fictional town of San Estanislao de Rucaco during the Pacification. It focuses on the character don Rudecindo Guzmán, a quixotic figure that sees the foundation of the town as his legacy to humanity. As a dreamer, Guzmán does not realize—or refuses to see—the corruption from which he benefits, and which results in the exploitation of the ordinary colonists of the town in addition to the bloody violence to which the indigenous population is subject. The narration follows Guzmán's life from his initial mission to accompany a group of nuns to Temuco, which resulted in their abandonment, and his eventual foundation of the town up to his sudden death and funeral.

Two principal narrative voices tell the story/history of this town in addition to occasional interventions by a *payador*. One voice is presented as the reproduction of a fictional work, *Los vencedores de Arauco*, in the style of a chronicle and as a defense of Chilean state power. The narrator of *Los vencedores*, Severando Contreras, begins the text with an explanation of his motives saying that “no me anima otra intención que encender la antorcha iluminadora de la Verdad sobre los luctuosos sucesos de la guerra de Arauco, que algunos malintencionados han querido oscurecer con el tenebroso manto de su inquina” (Eytel 8). However, at the close of the text the reader learns that *Los vencedores* was commissioned by the merchant who covertly directed the Chilean incursion on Mapuche territory. The text juxtaposes this voice against a third person omniscient narrative voice which recounts events in a realist style that eschews the apologetic orientation of Contreras' text. This juxtaposition creates irony faced with Contreras' narration style, and this irony questions the truthfulness of texts written as chronicles of the past. Contreras' exaggeration of a tone reminiscent of certain nineteenth-century texts plays with the readers' expectations for the historiographical archive and this move undermines the authority that the style seeks to impose.

The reader observes the tension between narrative voices throughout the novel, and one representative example is the narrative of the death of a young soldier. According to the omniscient voice, during the initial journey to Temuco the soldiers progressively see the nuns they

are charged to protect as sexual objects to satisfy the men's desires. A young soldier spies on the nuns bathing in a waterfall and when his companions realize this, they attack him with insults and stones. As a consequence, the soldier falls from his hiding place and dies. Contreras' text describes the same event in the following manner, which Eytel places immediately following the omniscient narration.

El primer mártir de la columna fue el joven soldado Matías González González, de apenas diecisiete años y que, según el parte del sargento mayor, se encontraba apostado de vigía en unas altas rocas cuando fue sorprendido por los araucanos, quienes lo lapidaron y lo hicieron caer al vacío, aunque es necesario anotar que el valeroso soldado adolescente alcanzó, antes de morir, a poner sobre aviso a sus camaradas, los que abrieron fuego obligando a los indios a retirarse. (Eytel 19)

The contrast between the emplotment of the two versions undermines the authority of the historiographical archive. The key event does not change: the soldier dies when he falls from the cliff. However, such an event does not obey the narrative teleology imposed by *Los vencedores de Arauco* without interaction with the enemy. In this first mention of flesh-and-blood indigenous people in the novel, they are an ideologically motivated invention of those who seek to annihilate them. This reading of the narrative voices contests the interpretation of another literary critic that "no existe [...] ninguna interpretación o enfoque moral sobre lo acontecido" (Flores 33) in Eytel's novel. The irony produced by juxtaposition functions as a ferocious critique of the morality of the Pacification as a colonizing and civilizing enterprise. This moral weakness undergirds the euphemisms and vindications of the voice of the chronicle, the perverse ignorance shown by the supposed hero and founder of the town in the omniscient narration, and therefore the conformity of Chilean culture faced with the abuses committed in its name. Through the narrative construction of *Casas en el agua*, the reader empathizes with that which questions the narration, and in so doing approximates Edwards' second category of social justice ally, the aspiring ally motivated by altruism. However, in the context of aspiring social justice ally development and both Manns' and Faundes' novels, altruism is in scant supply.

Patricio Manns' *El lento silbido de los sables* utilizes juxtaposition to a similar end throughout his novel, undermining a triumphant national history through the contrast of the intentions and the impact of Chilean soldiers. The Pacification, even in a military family, was known to be "una guerra sucia, inmundada" (Manns 21) that would test the moral mettle of even the best soldier. The protagonist Orozimbo Baeza is "víctima, pero sobre todo victimario ... al mismo tiempo, es sujeto y objeto de la Historia y de su historia" (Moreno 131). Manns' novel has no contrasting narrative voice to play explicitly with historiographical conventions. Instead, the narrative undermines recuperative value through the grotesque use of violence and the progressive loss of a moral center. The colonel to whom Baeza reports emphasizes this dehumanization.

Ojo, subteniente, que un militar no tiene convicciones. Solo órdenes y alcohol en el cerebro. Las convicciones las tiene el mando central del Ejército y nosotros debemos acatar sus órdenes. Ningún Ejército se ha equivocado nunca. Somos más infalibles que el Papa. ¿Y sabe por qué? Porque el soldado no debe pensar. El soldado obedece. (31-32)

Soldiers are no longer their own moral agents, running counter to narratives that seek model citizens in the valiant soldier. Dehumanizing the soldiers enables the subsequent dehuman-

ization of the Mapuche they seek to subdue. This novel lacks altruism, instead highlighting self-interest and grotesque exploitation that in their exaggeration of the moral iniquity of the Pacification underscores the euphemistic language or direct silences about this chapter of Chilean history.

The initial pages of *Vientos de silencio* present the reader with a note that shows the author's awareness of the conventions of the traditional historical novel while also making explicit his resistance to a model in which sources are cited, instead arguing that in its novel-ness "es un mundo que debe bastarse a sí mismo, aunque necesite obviamente de un lector que lo reviva y recree según su propia subjetividad, cultura y componentes del inconsciente colectivo" (Faundes 8). This grasp of the constructed nature of the text surfaces occasionally within the novel. At its conclusion, narrative time jumps to the present day, in which an indigenous character, previously reincarnated in the body of a German colonist in the late nineteenth century, finally reincarnates within his own culture and continues to fight for its preservation and growth. The explicit link between the injustice done to the Mapuche in the Pacification and its aftermath and Mapuche political demands today, such as activist work against the construction of hydroelectric dams, echoes the revisionist historiographical orientation it reflects. The Pacification was usurpation, "un robo con genocidio" (Faundes 245). Through activist work in the current day, per the narrative voice, justice can be achieved. At this point in the novel, a Mapuche voice seeks justice, which contrasts from earlier chapters in which it was dominant-culture Chileans who were making similar arguments within their own contexts. Therefore, in the meta-historiographical portion of the text, the reader encounters traces of aspiring allies motivated by both self-interest (defending friends) and altruism (saving the oppressed), though at the conclusion, that work is contrasted not with that of an ally but of an activist.

## Cultural Difference

Questions related to cultural difference, especially the expression of the relationship between perceived majority and minority, permeate these novels. All portray events related to conflicts between cultures, generally a culture attributed to the Chilean state and a culture associated with the recently-defeated Mapuche resistance to the Chilean state. In a newspaper note about the presentation of *Vientos de silencio* by Juan Jorge Faundes, it stands out that the text "insinúan [sic] la historia de incomprensiones y malentendidos culturales que aún existe en el país" ("Ficción") through the historical narration of the work and death of Francisco de Paula Frías (1847-1889). Frías was a Chilean journalist who defended the rights of Mapuche groups in Temuco through journalism and legal wrangling before his extra-judicial assassination at the hands of the interim governor of the province. With action that occurs between 1881 and 1891, the Pacification functions as a background since the journalist's life and death are its immediate consequence. The central conflict of the novel centers on Frías' work, which seeks to expose the abuses enacted on poor colonists and indigenous communities by those with greater power through his newspaper, *La voz libre*, and the corruption and resistance of local Chilean leaders to changing their methods and personal profit-seeking. Cultural differences are encountered throughout the novel, since archetypical characters are used to portray the perspectives of German and North American colonists, indigenous leaders and their families, radical Chileans that seek justice for the perspectives with which the narrative voice sympathizes, and the self-conception of the powerful that consider themselves to be pioneers and civilizers. The spirit of a dead *machi* that visited a young German man and decides to share his body integrates an indig-

enous voice. Through this character, Nergal Hoffmann, and an ex-captive, Magdalena Garrido, the text introduces elements and explanations of the Mapuche worldview. This contrasts with the narrative voices of *Casas en el agua*, who invented Mapuche where there were none present and covered up abuses against living Mapuche bodies. The indigenous characters in Faundes' novel suffer inhumane abuse of their persons in order to literally speak through the voice of Europeans. Text reproduced from Frías's newspaper denounces these abuses and seeks solidarity between those discriminated against on the basis of race and wealth.<sup>9</sup>

In *Vientos de silencio* the rhetoric of race and class solidarity returns time and again, without nuancing the material differences between the Mapuche and poor colonists. This enforces the Chilean tendency to conflate race and class and in the process, deracialize class. Frías advocates for the enforcement of current (1880s) laws. Conversing with a colleague he admits that

Fue una guerra. Nos impusimos por la guerra. Pero ahora, en el contexto de toda la injusticia que nuestra invasión significa, y aunque suene paradójico, debemos ser justos con los vencidos y poner fin a los despojos, robos, usurpaciones, asesinatos y violaciones... ellos tienen derecho a que se les respete según la ley que nosotros mismos les impusimos por la fuerza. (Faundes 81)

Frías is loyal to the Chilean state. He seeks the integration of all in the territory into the Chilean nation under the wing of modern civilization. In this way, the novel reproduces a patronizing perspective not only of the civilized state towards the defeated populations, but also in the person of Frías, the incarnation of paternalism. He describes himself feeling like the father of everyone "inclusive de este pueblo que está naciendo" (Faundes 89) while he observes all "desde la altura de su caballo" (89). He expresses this attitude frequently, like when he uses the title "toqui" in an ironic manner to describe corrupt Chilean leadership in Temuco. Magdalena, ex-captive of the Mapuche, widow of a Mapuche toqui, and friend of Frías, questions his ironic use of the term. In a condescending tone, Frías affirms that it is not offensive because it is ironic, and he proceeds to define irony as if she did not already know what it is. Since the text portrays Frías as a hero, this attitude emphasizes the dangers of the role of an ally that prioritizes their role as an individual in social justice work, which can prick the conscience of the reader and resembles Edwards' first category: ally for self-interest. Like *Vientos de silencio*, both *Casas en el agua* and *El lento silbido de los sables* explore themes of cultural difference in ways that focus on binary difference and characters' self-interest as it relates to their interpersonal relationships.

The politics of language use reflects cultural difference in Eytel's *Casas en el agua*. The chronicle text initially echoes Alonso de Ercilla's heroic mode, referring to the Mapuche as "la heroica raza araucana" (38); "los herederos de Lautaro" (41). However, as the novel progresses, the Mapuche lose that aura as Contreras' narrative voice stops using the term *araucano* and instead calls them *indios*. Rather than Lautaro's heirs, they become the cowardly Indians hiding in Argentina (54) who speak a primitive language (68) and are linked to the land and barbarism (115). The chronicle shifts its language about indigenous people from the vocabulary of sixteenth-century epic poetry to nineteenth-century anti-indigenous polemic. The type of allusion through diction

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<sup>9</sup> The relationship between class and race and the breakdown of solidarity between disadvantaged groups reflects historical structures in which working class people of a dominant racial group express racist attitudes towards others. Immanuel Wallerstein emphasizes: "when therefore we analyze the role of classes, nations, races within a capitalist world-economy, discussing them as both concepts and as realities, we speak quite deliberately about the ambiguities that are intrinsic, which means that they are structures. To be sure, there are all sorts of resistances. But we need to start by emphasizing, rather, the mechanisms, the constraints, the limits" (231). These intrinsic ambiguities manifest in fiction as well as lived experience, as evidenced in *Vientos de silencio*.

matters to cultural difference here, as the reader is not exposed to an unmediated indigenous perspective. The power to tell the story, as seen in the differing versions of the same events, is contested time and again.

As Michel-Rolph Trouillot reminds us, power is constitutive of historical production and story, and through this “play of power fiction can pass for history” (29). *Casas en el agua* lays bare some of these plays through contrasting narrative voices in the context of cultural difference. The revelation of interpreter duplicity in favor of the settlers highlights a pivotal moment in which the characters in the novel, all of whom generally remain safely ensconced in their world view, are forced to confront the question of power, language, and story. The disjunction of the presence of the Mapuche in the town highlights the cultural difference between the agents of settler colonialism and the indigenous population. If in earlier visits Mapuche had come to explore the store and look at the fort from a distance, this time “llegaron al fuerte para hablar por primera vez de verdad” (Eytel 111). This group of about twenty strapping young men dressed in black ponchos surrounds a mounted older man, lonko Malihuenu. In the Chilean leader’s experience, he has said nice things to the Mapuche and he has heard nice things back; however, this encounter undermines his perception of his town’s relationship with the surrounding indigenous population. The interpreters, contracted by those with economic interests in the exploitation of the town, have to this point told each side what they wanted to hear instead of translating what the other group actually says. Lieutenant Zilleruelo breaks the illusion of communication and understanding, pushing the interpreter and shouting that everything he represented as the words of Malihuenu was “una sarta de mentiras” (113); Malihuenu demands a stop to the abuses perpetrated against his people by the Chileans, and that if they didn’t leave the territory “él mismo se iba a encargar de expulsarlos” (113). Zilleruelo’s disclosure of the horrendous abuses perpetrated on indigenous bodies was not, however, entirely altruistic. His access to Malihuenu’s words comes from a romantic relationship he established with Karina, a *mestiza* woman, and he bases his denunciation of the Chilean settler colonialist project primarily on that relationship. When he defends the Chilean forces from a Mapuche ambush, he worries that someone will tell Karina what he did, but “más terrible era saber que estaba matando por una causa injusta. Siempre había soñado con pelear acompañado por la razón, pero ahora no sabía de cuál lado estaba Dios y de cuál el diablo” (140). Though Zilleruelo decries the abuses committed against the indigenous population, his primary concern remains himself and his own moral turpitude in participating in the slaughter. His ally-ship focuses on self-interest surrounding his interpersonal relationships, emphasized by his disappearance from the novel after Karina’s death.

Personal relationships with Mapuche or *mestiza* women also condition the reactions of the protagonist of *El lento silbido de los sables*, though the carnivalesque degradation of his character and consequent actions stretch any conception of Orozimbo Baeza as an ally to the Mapuche. Baeza’s participation in Chilean culture in the capital and on the frontier contrast with the indigenous persons represented, who are more often than not dead and sexually violated bodies. Fernando Moreno observes this pattern: “el otro es visto pero no reconocido, considerado como el espacio y el cuerpo que se discrimina, se avasalla, se viola” (132). In the first section of the novel Baeza goes to Boroa, a town full of blonde-haired and blue- or green-eyed Mapuche, to retrieve captive women of European descent. The narrative voice describes the leader of this community in stereotypical terms: “silencioso y sin ninguna expresión particular en el rostro, redondo, moreno, barbilampiño. Sorprendían sus ojos azules y el pelo rubio pajizo” (Mann 40). Years later, Chilean troops attack Boroa in a grotesque display of violence and gore, and Baeza sends word ahead of the attack because of his personal relationship with a woman in the town

as opposed to the ideological opposition to the war that he explores in parts of the novel. The protagonist's gestures towards ally-ship and solidarity are enmeshed in his self-interest, and his ultimate descent into depravity moves him out of the entire process of ally work. In Manns' novel, the role of cultural difference as it relates to ally development follows the same pattern of reflecting self-interest present in both Faundes' and Eytel's novels, though the resolution of the novel negates even those few tokens of solidarity.

## Sovereignty

The notion of sovereignty saturates discussions of Chilean territorial expansion and one can also trace this political-diplomatic concern in fictional texts. Sovereignty is a concept that evolves through time and in varying contexts. With roots in the attribution of authority, the notions of autonomy, control, and recognition are often used to determine its exercise. Sovereignty is applied to states and is the power to operate in a determined territory without the interference of external actors. Therefore, it makes sense to connect the Pacification and its consequences to sovereignty, in which at least two groups fight over Araucanía, both of which feel they have the right to the same territory. The most grotesquely violent of these three novels, *El lento silbido de los sables*, shows the evolution of a soldier throughout the armed conflict of the Pacification, clearly demonstrating the exercise of power over territory. Chile's nineteenth-century republican colonialism "puede [...] ser entendido como un acto de canibalización institucional de cuerpos físicos, ideas, bienes y territorios" (Menard 324), and the protagonist of the novel functions as both consumer and consumed in this play for extended sovereignty. Patricio Manns' *El lento silbido de los sables* consists of two parts, both portraying the moral development (or ruin) of Orozimbo Baeza, a fictional figure who shares characteristics with some notable soldiers and generals of the late nineteenth century. Baeza begins the novel and his military career worried about morality, especially the outrages against indigenous groups and women of all ethnicities. The first section of the novel, "Contradicciones de un caballero de la guerra," explores how Baeza tries to maintain his moral system when faced with the war he fights in and still survive it. With the passage of time he does not like the person he becomes but he experiences an epiphany, he realizes he is morally broken, and consequently abandons all morality. Therefore, in the second part of the novel and the war, Baeza physically and morally rots, raping, betraying, and killing. As a result he becomes a general, "una caricatura, un personaje chocante, hiperbólico, disonante" (Moreno 132).

This novel has a clear political-ideological aim, as the dedication page declares: "está consagrado a estimular la lucha de los pueblos originarios, de América Latina, en general, y de Chile, en particular, para obtener la restitución de sus tierras tan bestialmente arrebatadas" (Manns 7). The contest for sovereignty in the text loses importance with the degradation of Baeza's character; if he can exercise the grotesque abuses acted out on indigenous bodies, and particularly on indigenous women's bodies, the Chilean state's sovereignty is strengthened, the state of which he is representative in (formerly) Mapuche territory. These bodies symbolize the consolidation of the sovereignty of the Chilean state, but the novel also describes it explicitly. Before his moral fall, Baeza resists being sent south as a soldier, arguing that the Mapuche "son connacionales... vivimos en un mismo país. Un soldado no puede disparar contra su propio pueblo" (Manns 24). Once in the south, he leads a troop and stops in a store with an Italian proprietor who declares that he likes Chile, prompting the following exchange: "Esto no es Chile – observó cáustico Orozimbo Baeza, aplicando sus nuevos conocimientos-. Usted vive en la Nación Mapuche." -Es

lo mismo, señor oficial. Está dentro de Chile” (38). The narration denies the distinctiveness of Mapuche groups and in so doing constructs more strongly the sovereignty of the Chilean state over the territory. In Baeza’s case, the reader encounters a character that becomes an anti-ally focused entirely on self-interest. Despite his initial moral rhetoric, Baeza values his own life, position, and pleasure more than any suffering that another might experience, especially when those suffering do not belong to his social groups. Sovereignty implies dominance, and through mechanisms of dominance the antagonists in both other novels also function as negative counter-examples to aspiring allies.

Sovereignty is racialized, based on “una metafísica del mestizaje” (Menard 330) that depoliticizes indigenous demands. Eytel’s novel reflects the historical racialization of settler colonialism as a mechanism for state sovereignty through one of the major antagonists of the novel: the merchant who gains most economically from the development of San Estanislao de Rucaco. Omission characterizes this merchant’s explicit role in the narrative, such as when Rudecindo Guzmán explains his decision to stay and found the town: “era preferible quedarse y consolidar esa avanzada patriótica, imponer nuestra soberanía en el lugar más bello del mundo” (Eytel 44). The not-so-shadow power in San Estanislao de Rucaco, Abdón Sotomayor, directs the monopolistic economic system that conditions this patriotic advance and assertion of sovereignty. From Guzmán’s perspective, “hombres como Abdón Sotomayor eran los que iban a hacer grande a la patria, a convertirla en una potencia no sólo del continente sino también del mundo” (127). However, unlike the idealistic and naïve Guzmán, Sotomayor “sabía perfectamente que si el dinero no va acompañado por el poder no sirve de nada, así que se esmeraba por manejar el pueblo a su antojo sin que el sargento mayor siquiera lo sospechara” (126). Using others as a front, Sotomayor became the legal owner of the majority of the land surrounding the town, usurping the land rights of the local Mapuche. He also runs a network of informers, sells liquor, and encourages the abuse of the indigenous population through his support of a rogue military squad. Guzmán has no control over Sotomayor; though Guzmán’s rhetoric flies high, Sotomayor’s practices replicate common strategies on the frontier of settler colonialism and drag Guzmán’s idealistic dreams of foundation and peaceful relationship between cultures into the mud. Within the structure of the novel, Sotomayor commissions and pays for the official text Contreras composed, telling his own version of the story. However, this is not explicitly revealed until the final chapter. Thus, *Casas en el agua* mimics the assertion of narrative sovereignty over Araucanía through the chronicle while also showing bits and pieces of the corruption, exploitation, and abuse that allow that sovereignty to be consolidated for Sotomayor’s economic gain. Sotomayor, though less personally abhorrent in his moral failings than Baeza, similarly presents the model of an anti-ally; social justice does not have a place in the drive for economic development enabled by stronger sovereignty.

The economic interests of Chilean merchants and landowners also surface in *Vientos de silencio*. In the landscape of 1880s Araucanía after the fall of Villarrica, rapacious settlers sought to accumulate more wealth, property, and power, a process which Frías fought legally and journalistically and which lead to his murder. One of the major antagonists of the novel, the interim governor Máximo de la Maza, views himself as a pioneer, “igual que los *pioneers* del lejano oeste de los Estados Unidos de América: explorador, colonizador, heroico” (Faundes 39). In addition to personal gain, the assertion of sovereignty through settler colonialism contributes to the nineteenth-century trope of the dichotomy between civilization and barbarism, which allows de la Maza to wave aside any concerns about the manner in which the Pacification occurred because, in the end, the installation of western civilization becomes the greater good. “Después los

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indios y los colonos nos agradecerán que hayamos traído a la ruda frontera los modales, gestos, maneras y lenguajes propios de las personas que viven en las grandes ciudades. Eso es civilizar según el diccionario. Por eso estoy aquí” (44). At the end of the novel, this notion of civilization triumphs through Frías’ murder, as the intellectual authors of the crime remain free and able to exercise political power in Araucanía and elsewhere. De la Maza himself represents yet another anti-ally, an agent of the state who abuses his power to exert not only the state’s sovereignty over Araucanía but also for his personal gain. Sovereignty draws out anti-allies, figured in Manns as the protagonist of the novel and in Faundes and Eytel as antagonists, due to its overt connection to dominance.

## Conclusions

These novels tell events located in Araucanía during the second half of the nineteenth century and show that the historical novel written in Chile after 1990 dealing with the Pacification seeks a new method to understand the past it tells. The reader observes the process of the development of the social justice ally in its contingent nature in every text. This process describes varying reactions to historical events that allow the present-day reader to imagine not only what was, but also what might have been and what still could be. These historical events help to interpret the abuses and injustices of the recent past and current events, but in practice the novels reflect challenges—necessary and important—that those with privilege must navigate in a discriminatory society to tell these stories. The effect of these challenges on the reader depends on context and empathy. In reading historical fiction through the development of the social justice ally, we acquire a new vocabulary to make sense of horrible events that does not deny the past, but rather primes us to look for resistance to damaging discriminatory practices. While one might remain pessimistic that ally-ship could function effectively in a particular historical moment, these readings also open space for a cautious optimism for the present and future in which these stories are read. The injustices portrayed in these novels might spur the reader towards reflection and action in their own context.

The frame for writing about the Pacification of Araucanía and its immediate consequences continues to privilege dominance, both in content and in structure. In no moment in these novels does a character or narrative voice recognize that the oppression of a few impedes the liberation of all. As Martin Luther King Jr. wrote in his 1963 *Letter from a Birmingham Jail*, “injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.” Within these novels, the reader glimpses flashes of humanity’s interconnectedness, but ultimately these texts cannot represent the actions of a well-developed ally for social justice and aren’t meant to. The history they describe cannot elide the violence, abuse, and discrimination that were the experience and lasting consequence of the Pacification. The novels present variations on the ally for self-interest and the ally for altruism, as well as clear counter examples of anti-allies for social justice. Post-dictatorial Chilean culture is reflected in sympathetic views of indigenous claims, but historical imagination is limited by the narratives of dominance that define the Pacification. All three novels were written during the period following the military dictatorship, and in their narrative worlds, power remains with the powerful.

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