

***BOYSCOUTISMO* AS CHILEAN NATIONAL LITERATURE:
MASCULINITIES, MILITARISM AND NATIONHOOD**

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“Boyscoutismo as Chilean National Literature: Militarism, Masculinity and Citizenship” situates the narratives, essays, and poetry of Chilean Boy Scout publications as a neglected literary institution and cultural movement, *scoutismo*, within the broader literary and social currents of the first half of the 20th century in Latin America. Literary and cultural scholars are not the only observers who have overlooked the literariness of the Chilean Scout movement. The youth organization itself has often understated and underestimated its own distinction as a literary phenomenon. My reading of Chilean Scout texts finds, contrary to the organization’s overt privileging of physical activities and its manifest wariness of intellectualism, that active participation in Scouting involves a tremendous engagement with literary texts, both those that have influenced the movement and those which Scouting has produced. To engage in *scoutismo*, that is, to perform Chilean masculinities (often informed by notions of militarism), is far more than tying knots, tracking animals, and camping. It is also consumption and production of literature. My study theorizes *scoutismo* as a literary discourse in which concepts of gender, national citizenship, and militarism clash to construct meanings of Chilean identity.

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PREFACE

Because I am writing about Boy Scouting, it appears fitting to begin with an acknowledgement that is both earnest and good-humored. Just as a boy scout completes his formative program under the direction of leaders and with the teamwork of his peers, I have come to the completion of this long process thanks to the wise guidance and friendly encouragement of many individuals. For their roles in my formation as a thinker and a teacher/scholar, I owe gratitude to those who have guided me as committee members and professors: Joshua Lund, Gonzalo Lamana, Aurea María Sotomayor-Miletti, John Beverley, Giuseppina Mecchia, Bobby Chamberlain, Daniel Balderston, Juan Duchesne-Winter, Hermann Herlinghaus, Jerome Branch, Elizabeth Monasterios, Joel Hancock, Gema Guevara, Fernando Rubio, Christine Jones, Esther Rashkin, Edward Elías, Isabel Dulfano, and Gary Atwood.

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For posing genuine questions, enduring half-processed answers, offering encouragement and feedback, and for sharing campfire stories with me, I thank: Laurie, Paul, Loren, Jamie, Woodland and Star Shaw; Terrie and Lalanya Sherwood; Tamra, Bryan and Greyson Anderson; English Brooks and Kelly Johnson Brooks; Josh Smith and Jill Saxton Smith, and, above all, my patrol members: Inés and Simone Shaw and Amorette Sherwood. I assume full responsibility as the guide through the terrain in the pages ahead.

INTRODUCTION

Reading Boy Scouts

Upon carefully studying (or curiously leafing through) stacks of Boy Scout manuals and magazines, one encounters an array of graphics amid the chapters or columns of printed text. Some images are photographs, and others are drawings; some capture events, while others illustrate concepts. Most of these pictures, whether they appear in Chilean, British, North American, or other national settings, consist of peculiarly clad boys engaged in physical action. They may spy from a hiding place, organize a campsite, survey uncharted terrains from atop a summit, or administer first aid to an injured companion or civilian. Some even leap upon the necks of runaway horses to bring the animals and their helpless female riders to a halt, or wield their iconic staves to fend off villains twice their own size.

If one sifts through these texts long enough, some especially odd images will appear. Just as the diligent scout is rewarded for his patience with the glimpse of a rare animal or a natural phenomenon, the persistent reader of Scout texts will eventually catch sight of the depiction of a scout reading—not reading the tracks of an animal or a fugitive, or the patterns of the weather, but rather the pages of a book or magazine. In the archival Chilean Boy Scout publications that I have been able to access, most of which were published from the 1910s through the 1940s, two of these aberrant pictures (there are scarcely more than two of this type) reveal much about

Scouting's, or in the Chilean case, *scoutismo*'s concept of literature. More specifically, they manifest the degree to which *scoutismo* is conscious of its role as a literary institution.

The first of these images is a photograph published in the April 1920 issue of the magazine *El Scout Siempre Listo*, which portrays a uniformed *lobato* (a member of the youngest branch of the Chilean Boy Scouts) huddled in an abandoned wooden crate where he reads a periodical spread across his knees (see Figure 1).¹ The box presents a perfectly appropriate place in which to read a Scout text for at least two reasons. First, the *lobato* demonstrates scoutly resourcefulness in repurposing the discarded material as an improvised domestic space, a shelter or bivouac. Second, and more importantly, from all angles but that of the spectator, the box would appear to be nothing but a crate. Therefore, it serves another scoutly purpose: cover or concealment. Sitting deeper within the crate is a girl even smaller than the *lobato*. She wears no uniform and holds no magazine of her own. Rather, she looks at her boxmate, who may be reading aloud to her, though in the photographed moment the boy's mouth is closed. Nevertheless, a caption states: "Aquí podemos leer '*El Scout*' tranquilamente" 'We can read "*El Scout*" in peace here' (15). I do not suppose that any reader of that particular page has given the caption much thought. The boy may have actually uttered those words, or the subtitle might reflect ironic sentiments of the magazine's editor.² As I have already insisted, this is a strange image, and may it have challenged the editor to provide it with fitting language. In either case, the overall effect of the combination of image and words is (intended to be) mildly humorous.

¹ The Boy Scout movement originated in England 1908. Its youngest scouts were called "Wolf Cubs." In 1909 Chile was the first country outside of the British Empire to form a national Boy Scouts organization. The Boy Scout program in the United States began in 1910, and its youngest members were dubbed "Cub Scouts."

² Santa Cruz A., in his study of the magazine medium (which emerged in Chile mere years before the rise of Scouting in that nation), asserts that, in the new periodical form, photographs and other images were not merely decorative or illustrative of the written content. Rather, they were understood to speak for themselves, 36. Indeed, most images in Chilean Scout magazines appear without corny captions. Graphic depictions of scouts hiking, hoisting flags, or simply posing for portraits seem to need no explanation. But the image of a scout "caught" reading was not trusted to speak for itself, and required editorial mediation.

But this humor betrays a twinge of discomfort. The girl's presence may condition the unease at being seen. But I believe the image and caption would have had the same effect on their intended readers if the graphic had depicted two *lobatos* reading together, whispering the same affirmation of contingent security that appears in the caption. Had the *lobato* had been reading alone, stating “I can read ‘*El Scout*’ in peace here,” the humor and discomfort would still operate as they do in the existing meme. It is the act of reading, above all other factors, that suggests the need for concealment. But why should the protagonist of the photograph, the editor of the magazine, or the target reader of the April 1920 issue of *El Scout Siempre Listo* have believed, even humorously, that a scout ought to seek out cover in order to read a publication issued by the Scout institution? Before answering this question, let us examine the second image.

The second rare image appears two and a half decades later, on the title page of *Guía del scout* in its 1945 2nd edition (see Figure 2).³ Like the earlier photo, this drawing also features a wooden box, but here it is a two-tiered bookshelf containing several hardbound books and smaller texts, perhaps issues of magazines. Resting on top of the bookshelf is an iconic Boy Scout hat modeled after the Canadian Mountie headgear. The bookshelf and the hat occupy the background of this drawing, while a mature boy scout (or he may be an adult scout leader) fills the foreground. He has politely removed his hat, but he wears the Boy Scout uniform. The knee-high stockings compliment the short pants, and a short sleeved khaki shirt with a triangular neck scarf complete the look. Though dressed for action, he, like the aforementioned *lobato*, is busy reading. The mature scout grips a weighty hardbound tome, which he reads engrossed, his

³ *Guía del scout* was Chilean Maximiano Flores' 1912 translation of *Scouting for Boys*, the world's founding Boy Scout text by the British army hero Robert Baden-Powell. *Scouting for Boys*' first edition of 1908 was a text of over three hundred and fifty pages. Flores' first translation (which he based on Baden-Powell's 3rd edition) extended beyond five hundred and forty pages. Flores' 1945 2nd edition of *Guía del scout*, which contains the image I am discussing presently, was a magazine-length version of his prior translation. I am unaware of the image's origin. It may have been the creation of a Chilean Scout artist, or a Chilean appropriation of the work of a British Scout artist. I treat *Scouting for Boys* at length in my first chapter, and *Guía del scout* in my second chapter.

muscular body well settled into an armchair. The angle of his head and the expression on his face suggest serious interest and attention. Everything about his physical position denotes a prolonged engagement with the text. Between the reader and his bookshelf, a large dog sits eagerly awaiting the moment when the reading will end and the two may seek a more corporeal adventure. This drawing suggests that some significant changes had occurred in Scouting over the span of its early decades. With a bit of liberty, we may imagine that the two readers are the same person. The subject of the image has grown, and so has his modest library.⁴ The mature scout reads more comfortably than the *lobato* version of himself; he reads longer texts, and has amassed more of them than he can tote furtively to an abandoned box. And yet, while his armchair does not provide the same level of cover as his previous hiding place, the mature reading scout still does not quite perform this act in plain sight. The only witness sniffs the scene restlessly, like a younger scout or a wolf pup, a *lobato*. Though the drawing does not depict interior walls, the furniture and the removed hat disclose that he is in one of the least scoutly of spaces: the living room. After two and a half decades, the reading scout still reads in private, and yet he still reads as a scout. And the image of him doing so remains a rarity.

⁴ The timing, 1945, of the appearance of this image in a Chilean Scout publication also coincides with my contention, which I discuss at the end of this study, that *scoutismo* largely abandoned its literary aspirations at the end of the 1940s. The depicted scout's shelf may house most of the major works of *scoutista* literature.

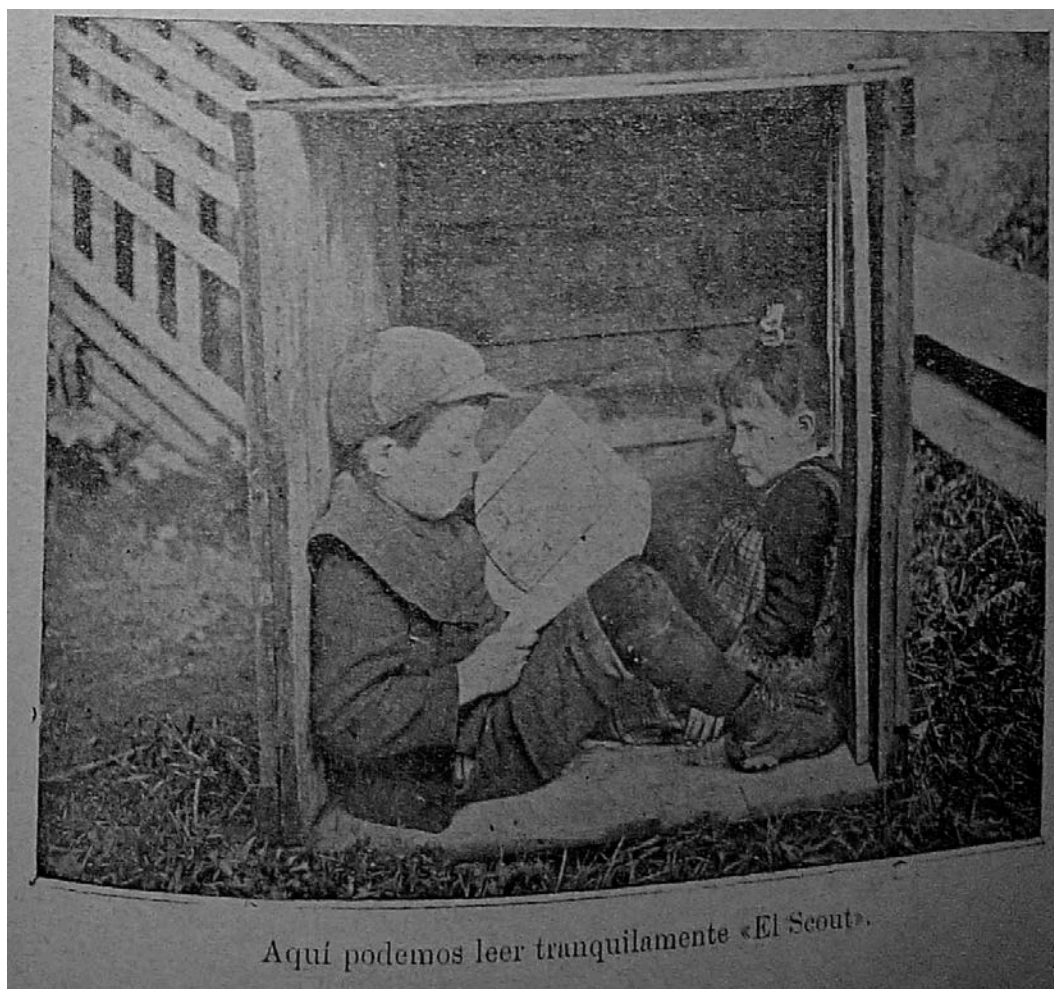


Figure 1. Photographer unknown. Untitled photograph. *El Scout Siempre Listo* April 1920: 15. Print.



Figure 2. Artist unknown. Untitled drawing. Baden-Powell, Robert. *Guía del scout*. 2nd ed. Trans. Maximiano Flores. Santiago: La Nación, 1945. Title page. Print.

A redirection of attention now, from the images in Scout manuals and magazines to the surrounding printed words, reveals that such publications present a significant amount of literature: short stories, drama, poetry and essays. There is even a Chilean Scout novel, Jacobo Danke's *¡“Hatusimé”! Novela para los adolescentes chilenos* (1947). *Scoutismo* is a literary undertaking; to participate in Scouting is to read, and not only to read instructive how-to guides, but also literary genres. Most of these literary selections are the works of adult Scout leaders, and in some instances, young Chilean scouts have also contributed their own literature to the institutional publications. Thus the consumption and the production of literature are common but ignored ways to do Scouting.

This is easy to overlook, considering the overt message that *scoutismo* expresses, via its own written word, no less: Scouting insists that it is not an intellectual pursuit (though it does claim to be an educational program). Scouts, the program often argues, study and compose the book of life, the book of nature. On several occasions, Chilean Scout founders, who were also Scout authors, identified intellectuals among the foremost enemies of their fledgling institution. This may or may not explain why the *lobato* chose to read his Scout magazine under cover. But it certainly speaks to the institutional discomfort manifested in the image's corresponding caption. I believe this discomfort has contributed to the rarity of written and pictorial acknowledgement of scouts as readers and of Scouting as a literary practice. This dissertation studies the profound implications of these rare images and their referents: the reality of the abundance of *scoutista* literature and the problem of the Chilean Boy Scout institution using its literature as a primary but underestimated method for constructing masculine, and often militarized, national subjects.

An early Chilean Boy Scout publication, *Reglamento* (1915), announces the requirements for one of the organization's highest awards, The Silver Medal for Bravery. A scout could either win this prize by saving another person from danger at serious risk to his own safety, or he could qualify for the same award by teaching five illiterate people to read (Boy-Scouts de Chile 21). This brief but revealing regulation insists that Scouting cannot be performed in illiteracy; Scouting is a textual practice.

One of Chile's foremost Scout authors captured the literary strain of his program: "La vida sencilla en la *bella* naturaleza con amigos . . . que saben cantar. . . , ¿no es acaso el más *hermoso* de los pasatiempos? . . . La noche llega, los scouts se estrechan alrededor del fuego del vivac (camp-fire). Los cantos turban el silencio, . . . pues es la voz clara y espontánea de un scout que comprende su ley" 'The simple life in *beautiful* nature with friends . . . who know how to sing . . . , is this not the most *lovely* of pastimes? . . . Night falls, the scouts gather around the campfire. Songs disturb the silence, . . . it is the clear and spontaneous voice of a scout who comprehends his law' (Vergara, "Ser scout" 1, my emphasis). Even those who have no direct familiarity with Scouting can accurately imagine the campfire as one of the organization's most iconic cultural practices. Vergara's insistence upon the beauty of this experience, "beautiful" and "lovely," momentarily but revealingly forgets preoccupations with duty, service, and sport, and demonstrates Scouting's concern for aesthetics. The campfire thus imagined and practiced is a space of communal participation in brief literary genres: the song, the poem, the short story, and the dramatic play.

As we will see in the following chapter, Boy Scouting as a movement began as a response to a handbook brimming with literary ambition. Its author crafted the book to resemble a series of "campfire yarns," the culminating moments of days "on duty" or at camp, when the

members of the culture put aside their utilitarian tasks in order to engage in oral forms of literature. Thus, whether the scout goes to camp or stays home with his institutional reading material, he will find himself immersed in a literary world. When the young and adult scouts complete their daily tasks—once they have safely guided the elderly across the street or chopped and neatly stacked the firewood, after they have denounced a criminal to the police or mended a farmer’s fence—and they rest on logs near a campfire or in armchairs with institutional literature in hand, the knotty tasks of character building and subject formation proceed in earnest.

This dissertation fills a gap in scholarship and criticism by demonstrating the extent to which Boy Scouting, particularly in its Chilean expression, amounts to a literary phenomenon. More specifically, my readings explore the implications of this narrative, poetic, and essayistic literature preoccupied with the themes of gender, nationhood and militarism. My study puts forth the argument that, to “do Scouting,” or to engage in Scouting as a cultural activity, is to explore a discursive field. It is upon textual terrain where writers construct theories and cultivate practices of masculinities, national citizenship and militarism, and where readers find themselves addressed as subjects whose masculinity and full citizenship (the fullest presently available form of political and social inclusion as an agent of the nation) appear underdeveloped and threatened. I attend to the educative and discursive complexity of the texts to ask: how have Scout authors and readers used their literature to train one another and themselves in the meanings of gender and nationality? How have notions of militarism informed the meanings of Chilean masculinities and citizenship? Scout literature may appear to be created primarily for children. But as some critics of children’s literature assert, such texts are at least as much a conversation among adults (the mature Scout authors, in this case) and a representation of adult preoccupations as they are a direct appeal to young minds (Hunt 4-5). Thus, at times, *scoutista* essays on militarism carry out

arguments between the men who write them. At other times, *scoutista* literary texts are men's efforts to instruct boys in the ways of manhood; military officials' and veterans' promotion of the virtues of militarism to potential recruits; and patriots' and political figures' addresses to Chilean citizens in formation.

I wish to acknowledge that most of the primary authors under my investigation have written Scouting or *scoutismo* as volunteers rather than as professionals. Some of these authors were children or adolescents at the moment of writing their stories or poems. Many of the texts I analyze were written hurriedly. This is particularly true in the case of magazines, whose monthly or bi-monthly deadlines do not necessarily foster prolonged reflection and revised composition. I believe that the perceived crises of Chilean literature, citizenship, masculinity, and militarism also contributed to the urgency and fervor with which the primary texts were produced. I point out these factors in order to clarify that the intent of my study is not simply to identify Scouting's internally inconsistent ideas or to dwell on its conceptual ambivalences. Above all, I aim to present and interpret the complexity of a cultural project that has at times been alarming (for example, in its bellicose xenophobia, anti-intellectualism, and sexism), at times admirable (in its aim to be of service to community, promotion of healthful lifestyles, and gestures toward class equality), and always tremendously ambitious (its radical approach to education, its aim to redeem society, and its efforts to defend or expand categories of cultural identity).

All translations from Spanish to English are mine, unless otherwise indicated in my Bibliography. In addition to providing translations, I have also opted to reproduce the original quotations. I do this for two reasons: first, copies of the Chilean Boy Scout texts I cite are not widely available in North America, and I wish to place some of their key passages in front of my readers. Second, I wish to allow my readers to experience the unique literary and rhetorical

aspects of the sources in their original language. In my reproduction of the primary texts, I preserve particularities of Chilean Spanish when they appear (more common in Santiago than in Valparaíso), such as the use of the soft *j* where standard Spanish uses a *g*, as in *jeneral*, the word “and” spelled *i* rather than *y*, and the use of *s* in place of *x*, as in *esperiencia*. Though I retain those specificities, I have, on a few occasions, provided minor updates or corrections without indicating them, such as my removal or addition of accent marks (some of which, in the original texts, appeared intentional, others as typographical errors) that I believe would have proven distracting. I have declined to fully translate my citations of *scoutista* poems, as I believe such translations would necessarily constitute new works of literature, which I do not aim to create here. Instead, I organically incorporate partial translations into my interpretations of those poems.

Methods

As my first chapter will document, a considerable amount of scholarship has addressed Boy Scouting and its founder, British war hero Robert Baden-Powell. Much of that work is historical. Several literary and cultural scholars have studied Baden-Powell as a writer, and his Boy Scout creation as a cultural, and, to a lesser degree, a literary product. As might be suspected, the majority of that scholarship focuses upon British history and culture. In the case of the Boy Scouts of Chile, only one scholarly work has been published by an author from outside of that institution—Rojas Flores’s book proves indispensable to my task. While his work profitably historicizes the key events and persons of the institution, from its foundation in 1909 through the 1950s, he, as a historian, is understandably unconcerned with the literary content and quality of

the Chilean Boy Scout publications. Rojas Flores's bibliography of primary sources reveals a vast output of Chilean Scout texts.

I spent six weeks in Santiago in the summer of 2011. Using Rojas Flores' bibliography as a starting point, I sought out as many texts as could be found. The headquarters of the two current organizations, La Asociación de Guías y Scouts de Chile, and La Agrupación Nacional de Boy Scouts de Chile, were currently able to allow researchers access to only a portion of their archival publications. Nevertheless, the personnel kindly allowed me to copy all their available materials. Alberto del Brutto, a former director of La Asociación de Guías y Scouts de Chile, generously shared his time and personal library of Scout texts. He also provided me with a copy of his own research, which I cite below. I found the majority of my primary texts in Santiago's Biblioteca Nacional. As my task was to identify the literary texts and qualities of the Chilean Boy Scouts, I found that manuals and magazines provide the majority of this content. In all the publications that I have accessed and evaluated, I have also found that publications in general, and literary selections specifically, are far more abundant from the 1910s through the 1940s. Thus, I focus the chronology of my study on those decades. I have created paginated PDF files of all of the Chilean Scout texts that I found, and I am able and willing to provide interested readers and researchers with any and all of those files. They include not only those cited in my study, but also other manuals and periodicals, pamphlets, reports, and internal histories.

My method is a close reading of British and Chilean Scout publications, informed by cultural studies, and theories of literature, masculinities, militarism, and nation (the concept of nation serves here to encapsulate such problems as citizenship, race, and class). All the while, I have born in mind the questions: what have scouts read *as scouts*? And *how* might they have read those texts? I do not assume that every scout has understood his role as that of a reader, nor

do I take for granted that all scouts have dutifully read any or all of their organizations' official publications. On the surface, Scouting is more apt to address its young participants as interpreters of animal tracks and other natural and social phenomena (to read others for signs of foreignness or gender, for instance), than to hail them as readers of literature. Scouting appears to privilege virtually every physical action over intellectual pursuits. It is significant, however, that I, like any scout reader, am able to identify Scouting's seemingly anti-textual gesture purely by reading Scout texts. And so I argue, against the grain of my primary texts, that to perform Scouting, or to participate in *scoutismo*, consists of a significant amount of page turning and page writing. By studying Scout texts, regrettably, I have not become fluent in Morse code, my competence to administer first aid has not increased, and I remain woefully inexpert at improvising a bridge to cross a ravine. I have, however, endeavored to learn Scout theory and ideology, as well as its narrative, essayistic, and poetic aesthetics, through its literature.

Militarism, Masculinities, Nation, and Other Nomenclature

Scholars and other attentive observers may justifiably critique Scouting's strains of militarism as a further iteration of the founder's army career. They might rightly perceive Boy Scouting's all-male culture as misogynistic, hyper masculine, or even homophobic. Critics may correctly regard Boy Scout devotion to citizenship as an excessively patriotic and perhaps even xenophobic ideology. I concede outright that Scouting's militarism is a given. However, I will argue that Baden-Powell's particular version of militarism represented a significant degree of flexibility and recreation within the culture of the army of his day. While there is no question that Boy Scouting serves male and masculine interests, my study unfolds the multiple and contested versions of boyhood and manliness that this culture allows and prohibits. And while Scouting

indeed concentrates its energy upon the formation of adequate national subjects, its requirements for citizenship are in some ways more achievable, and therefore more inclusive, than those stipulated by actual national governments. The most outstanding support of this claim lies in the total absence of the requirement (and there have always been requirements for membership) that a Chilean boy scout provide bureaucratic proof of his national citizenship.

Participation in, or belonging to the Boy Scouts is not dependent upon a person's essence or ontology. In order to *be* a Chilean boy scout, one need not present his birth certificate, his genitals or chromosomes, or any verification of military ties or commitment. He does not prove his citizenship, gender, or any militaristic tendencies in these ways. Rather, to be a Chilean boy scout is to *perform* one's militarism, masculinity, and citizenship.⁵ Within the literature of Scouting and *scoutismo*, these three concepts, taken in isolation, find multiple and contradictory senses. Further complicating this instability of meaning is the fact that these three themes interpenetrate and influence one another within Scout culture. Thus, throughout this study, I have found it unrealistic to attempt to treat these themes separately. I will devote the remainder of this section of my Introduction to an initial clarification of what I mean, in a Boy Scout context, by *militarism*, *masculinity*, and *citizenship*.

Among these three guiding themes, citizenship and masculinity are the most recurrent in *scoutista* literature, while militarism is the least frequent. However, even when militarism is not *scoutismo*'s immediate concern, its possibility always patrols the horizon. Just as I insist that Scouting is not thoroughly militaristic, I also must clarify that, in Scouting, not all things military constitute militarism, and I advise against readers' conflation of the two concepts. Nevertheless, the theme of the military, when addressed as an institution that operates separate from civil

⁵ See Butler.

society, is also an important theme in Scout literature. And like militarism (which “transgresses” into the civil sector), the “pure” concept of military also shares territory with the concepts of gender and nation.

Paul Joseph defines militarism as the influence that the institutional military exerts over the structuring of civil society. However, militarism is not simply wielded by the military unilaterally upon civil society. Militarism is also at work when the civil sector often provides support for military values and norms within the overall culture of society.

Different features of popular culture can provide the military with legitimacy. . . . Examples include respect for those in uniform; the patterning of children’s play; . . . the prominence of the military in books [and other media]; and the connections between traditionally understood masculinity and military participation.

. . . Preparations to use military force can make a full-scale enemy out of “the Other” or encourage the search for presumed enemies within a society. (585)

Throughout my study, numerous cases of militarism in Scout literature will illustrate these aspects of Joseph’s definition.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, Latin American soldiers and officers were not only trained in combat, but were also capacitated and employed in an array of technical fields, including infrastructural engineering and medicine. “Such activities reinforced the belief that the martial institution was uniquely qualified to promote modernization and define and defend national interests,” not only from armed enemies, but also “from the inept and misguided policies of civilians” (Alexander Rodríguez xiii). This allows for a deeper understanding of militarism in the context of turn-of-the-century Chile: militarism is often unconcerned with warfare, and preoccupied instead with applying an efficient and specialized set of skills to the formation and

ordering of civil society. Like those soldiers and officers, the boy scout was also thought to be especially suited to serve his nation, in peace or war.

Scouting is observably modeled in imitation of military society. The intricate uniforms and the disciplined observance of a hierarchic rank structure speak to a sense of authority. In its effort to express the formula for model citizenship, Scouting's structure and aesthetics draw and redraw lines between civil society and the military. Louis Althusser's essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" (1969) and Jacques Rancière's book *Dis-agreement* (1995) lend key philosophical concepts to my investigation of this interplay. Scouting constructs the young male citizen as what Althusser would deem an "interpellated state subject" (someone whose identity as, say, a consumer, a worker, a citizen, is always and already given by the State). At the same time, Scouting also seeks to form the scout as what Rancière would identify as a "policing" State agent, one who is empowered to interpellate (to hail, or identify and denounce) others as devious citizens or dangerous foreigners.⁶ By enacting these key concepts that Althusser and Rancière offer, Scouting *interpellates* and *deputizes* State subjects, placing them under an order of authority, while endowing them with a share of that authority. This, of course, is also an example of the difficulty in separating Scouting's themes of citizenship and militarism.

In *Gender Trouble* (1999), Judith Butler asserts that the body does not simply *express* or *reveal* an already existing gender. Instead, with the body, one *performs* and *constitutes*, his and/or her gender(s). This constructivist theory is foundational to any contemporary study of gender. Scouting regards masculinity as a traditional concept situated at one pole of a reductively simple binary, the other pole of which is represented by the concept of the feminine. Scouting as an institution invests in reaffirming that binary. However, Scouting does not rely on a logic that

⁶ Rancière's definition of "policing" can be summarized as the functioning of governments, political parties, jurisprudence, and other State entities and procedures that seek to conserve the economic and social status quo.

posits gender as natural. Rather, its literature exhibits much anxiety about the need to cultivate boys and girls, men and women, into opposite genders. Scouting, perhaps surprisingly, is a social constructivist theory of gender. Scouting has functioned as a stage on which youth and adults have performed their genders. Such performances include theatrical skits, speech acts (oaths), ceremonies, manners of (un)dress (uniforms, “skinny dipping”), and perhaps most important, the performance of reading Scout literature. Ben Knights draws upon Butler’s concept in order to state that the very act of reading is conceived as a masculine feat. “Texts [give] rise to renewed performances [in which] readers play a necessary and active part” (3). Knights suggests that most narratives are “address[ed] not to a supposed universality of [readers] but specifically to the masculine” (8). Boy Scout texts, perhaps more than any other type of writing, explicitly deploy this address to the masculine reader.

While Butler’s primary contribution to my study is the theory of gender performance, R. W. Connell’s main impact is the theory of multiple masculinities. Masculinity is not only pitted against femininity. Discrete masculinities may compete and cooperate without reference to the feminine. Connell’s interventions in gender studies also bring the body’s sensoriality, materiality, agency, and capacity for enjoyment more fully into view. The agile scout character, oblivious to how he performs his gender(s), *enjoys* his corporality while occupying multiple “valid” positions within the broad category of masculinity, and he also crosses categories of identity, moving between civility and militarism, modernity and pre-modernity, or boyhood and manhood. Perhaps in spite of Scout authors’ intentions, their literature often portrays scouts moving between masculinity and femininity.

Scholars who study gender often identify societies’ designations of the domestic or private as the feminine space, and the public sphere as a masculine space (Careaga and Cruz

Sierra 14). But is “nature” (the outdoors, wilderness beyond the rural) public or private? Is that space masculine or feminine? Scout literature allows another inscription of gender in terms of meaningful spaces; “nature” often acts as a space of questionable genders, and thus it can free the subject from gender constraints.

The theme of genders frequently intersects with that of sexualities. Baden-Powell expressed a sexual suppression so disciplined that it could even be read as a repulsion toward sex. Biographical studies point out that Baden-Powell resisted sleeping with his wife, preferring instead to sleep alone on the balcony of their home. His views on sexuality were so strict or lacking that procreation seemed almost a pleasureless duty. “Boy Scouts were even assured by him that sexual feelings were ‘unmanly’” (Judd 205). Jeal and others have speculated that Baden-Powell was homosexual, or had homosexual tendencies. If such was the case, given the values of Victorian and Edwardian society generally, he probably had few viable means to live openly, act secretly, or perhaps even to fully conceive of himself consciously as a gay man. While I am not concerned with ascertaining the founder’s sexuality, or lack thereof, his views on the matter appear to have made a mark on Scouting’s sense of sexuality. Insofar as Scout literature can be read with attention to sexualities, we will find in its pages a range of manifestations, including: a sexless masculinity, sex and sexuality as a strictly female and feminine problem, several occasions for queer and homosexual interpretations, utterances of homophobia, fear of heterosexuality, as well as instances of what I term the “ecoerotic” and the “ecosexual.” I find very few cases in Scout literature that can be read as endorsements of “traditional” heterosexuality.

Whether Scout authors believed they were promoting the “natural order” of genders for the biological sexes, or deliberately cultivating masculinity for boys and men, it is very likely

that they have influenced their target readers. “[B]oyology has shaped the lives of boys much as domestic ideology has shaped the lives of girls” (Kidd 68). Domestic ideology is a gendered problem resulting in especially harmful repercussions for females and femininities (and that same ideology is detrimental to males and masculinities as well). Supposing that Boy Scout literature, as a “boyology,” an ideology of maleness and masculinity, has influenced the lived experiences of actual boys and men, I attend to the ways in which it has both fostered the gross social inequality of male privilege, and also placed restrictions upon the practical and conceptual versions of masculinities. But I also remain sensitive to the instances in which Scout literature has allowed for relatively liberating possibilities of gender subjectivity.

Scout masculinity is an elusive creature to track. One of Chilean *scoutismo*’s leading thinkers unwittingly demonstrates the difficulty of defining masculinity: “[El *scoutismo* n]o pretende tener campeones ni formar pensadores, literatos o sabios. Solamente quiere *hombres normales* [que lleguen] a desempeñar correctamente y a entera satisfacción el papel que le[s] corresponde en . . . los servicios [a] su patria” ‘*Scoutismo* does not expect to have champions, nor does it aim to form thinkers, literary types, or wise men. It simply wants *normal men* to come and carry out correctly, and to total satisfaction, the role that corresponds to them . . . in the services [to] their nation’ (Vergara, *El scoutismo* 5-6, my emphasis). This statement was made after nearly three decades of *scoutismo*’s attempts to positively define masculinity. “Normal men” are not champions, nor great thinkers, and they certainly have no special relationship with literature.⁷ But what are “normal men”? *Scoutista* texts do not answer this question, though they often attempt to pair that concept with notions of literature, nation, and less frequently, with militarism.

⁷ As I have already indicated, and will continue to demonstrate, not all of *scoutismo*’s authors have been entirely comfortable with their institution’s literary devotion.

Among my three guiding concepts in Scout literature, *nation* is the most difficult to define, both for me and for Scout authors. Ernest Renan's essay "What is a Nation?" (1882) acknowledges the challenge of defining in positive terms that seemingly common-sense idea. Renan begins by rejecting *language, race, religion, and geography* as concepts synonymous with, or necessarily constitutive of *nation*. Many nations feature, even if through much conflict, a multiplicity of linguistic, racial, religious, and geographical configurations, and these continue to be nations nevertheless. And while geography remains mostly immobile, languages travel across it, and conquerors and the conquered often forget their heritage tongues. Races are "made and unmade" over time and space. Peoples change their religious affiliations according to political and social shifts. The pagan Roman Empire eventually endorsed Christianity, and remained Roman (8-18).

After identifying that which a nation is not, Renan asserts, "A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle" (19). He does not equate the "spiritual" with the religious, but he does affirm that, in early modernity, the nation had begun to take the place of the sacred that religion had previously enjoyed. Baden-Powell made references to the Judeo-Christian God in *Scouting for Boys*, but these mentions were infrequent and non-dogmatic. The primary object of his reverence and duty was the Empire, which he could only awkwardly attempt to also evoke as (if it were also) a nation. Perhaps he perceived that nation was eclipsing empire as the modern sovereignty. In Chile, where there was clearly only one entity of political sovereignty, *scoutismo* exceeded Baden-Powell in attributing a sacred or divine aura to the nation.

Renan offers a way to understand what nation does and does not signify. But what can it mean to be a Chilean citizen? How does *scoutismo* mediate the individual's place in that nation? Of course, nation, like race or gender, is a signifier and a social construct. Thus, one's nationality

can only make sense as something that is different from another's nationality, much as *masculinity* only renders a meaning as a distinction from *femininity*, and *civilian's* significance is possible because *soldier* involves a different meaning. *Scoutismo* often attempted to form a sense of Chileanness (*chilenidad*) in opposition to the meaning of Peruvian and Bolivian nationalities, while overtly seeking to emulate Britishness. Yet this fact only complicates the idea of nation, as Britain at that time was a vast empire (one sovereignty over the English, and over diverse peoples representing much of the world) and not technically a nation (which concept relies on a far more limited cultural inclusion). Chile, at the dawn of *scoutismo*, had not yet celebrated the Centennial of its independence from the Spanish Empire. Chileans keenly felt the newness of their nationhood, and many thinkers found in *scoutismo* a way to rehearse meanings of *chilenidad* as a historical, present, and future soul.

“[T]he culture of nationalism is constructed to emphasize and resonate with masculine cultural themes. Terms such as honor, patriotism, cowardice, bravery, and duty are hard to distinguish as either nationalistic or masculine because they seem so thoroughly tied both to nationalism and to manhood” (Nagel 402). And yet, for Chilean Scout thinkers, nation presented conflicting aims. First, they aspired to raise their nation's degree of civilization (and *scoutismo* was a sign of a civilized nation). But civilization threatened another objective, masculinization (and *scoutismo* was a sign of a masculine people). As Baden-Powell warned, and as Scout leaders in France and Chile believed, the ease of civilization tended to feminize its subjects. In civilized nations, Scouting served as what I call a “masculinizing savage supplement.”⁸ This increased dose of masculinity appeared necessary because of, not in spite of, modern nationhood.

⁸ See Vuibert 23-24.

Chileans' appropriation of Scouting expresses the questions: just how civilized is Chile? How much more civilized ought it to become? How masculine can a civilized nation be?

By the 1940s, after thirty-two years of *scoutismo*, the program continued to nurture the youths' "latente chilenidad" 'latent Chileanness' (Romero O. 11). Much in the same way that *scoutismo* did not simply assume that boys were naturally drawn to masculine interests, and thus sought to foster masculinity for them, it similarly did not conceive of Chilean youth as naturally or already Chilean. Their Chileanness had to be cultivated. *Scoutismo's* literature, then, did not (only) claim to be a naturalist depiction of Chileans being Chilean, but rather an attempt to coax and craft Chileanness into being.

Regarding other nomenclature in this study: the capitalized *Scout* or *Boy Scout* designates an institutional or cultural modifier, while the lower case *scout* or *boy scout* refers to a member of that institution or culture, whether he be a real person or a fictitious character. In Chapter One, it will be clear that *scout* and *scouting* also refer to military persons and a military practice. The term *scouter* refers to an adult Boy Scout leader. In my study, most Boy Scout authors are scouters. Those terms (*Boy Scout*, *boy scout*, and *scouter*) appear as such—that is, as Anglicisms—in my primary Spanish-language sources. I use the terms *Boy Scouting* and *Scouting* as synonymous nouns that identify the Boy Scout institution or Boy Scout culture, both in the British and the Chilean cases. *Scoutismo* is a term particular to the Chilean case. As I will further explain in this study, Chilean scouters first used the term *scoutismo* (scoutism) to refer broadly to their Boy Scout institution. I impose a more specific sense upon that term. In this study, I use *scoutismo* not to refer broadly to the Chilean Boy Scout institution, but to designate that organization's culture, particularly its literature. I do not make any claims of *scoutismo's*

particularly “high” aesthetic value or achievement. But I do insist that *scoutismo* be read as an expansive and significant literary *phenomenon*.

Taking this insistence further, I argue that *scoutismo* should be read as a literary movement. Before proceeding, I must acknowledge that the Chilean Boy Scout organization, during the time period of my study, did not refer to itself as a *movement*, whether social, cultural, or artistic (though the founder of the original British Boy Scouts preferred the term *movement* for his creation). Rather, La Asociación de los Boy Scouts de Chile adhered adamantly to its identity and status as an institution. The institution outlived what I designate as the literary movement within it.⁹ My reference to *scoutismo* as a literary movement is more precise than a simple synonym for “Scouting,” “the organization,” “the program,” or “the institution.” I base my claim on the primary texts I have been able to obtain. These are predominantly from the 1910s through the 1940s. After the 1940s, official Chilean Boy Scout texts are rarer in my findings, and they display far less attention to literature than those publications of the institution’s first ten decades. Four decades seem to have allowed this literary movement to catch fire, burn intensely for a season, and then to decline to a quantitative and qualitative smoldering. Further archival searches may render findings from the 1950s and onward that force a revision of my claim that *scoutismo* was a literary movement—perhaps the movement lasted longer than I am currently able to discern. Or more findings may reveal a later literary movement in Chilean Scouting, bearing aesthetic and rhetorical characteristics and grappling with themes other than those that I find in the temporal bounds of my current study.

⁹ Though that particular entity no longer exists, two distinct (and co-ed) national Chilean Scout organizations carry on its legacy today.

Chapter Scheme

This study of a Latin American nation's appropriation of a British cultural practice begins with a close examination of that original iteration. Chapter One commences with a consideration of the particularities of Baden-Powell's education, as well as his military career, that would condition the culture of his Boy Scout project. Particularly, I attend to Baden-Powell's roles not only as a military hero, but also as a deliberate designer of a new culture within the military: scouting. The army scout, under Baden-Powell's influence, would become a new type of dashing character on the actual colonial frontier, as well as in the pages of literature read in public schools and private armchairs. (Well before he formed the Boy Scouts, he fashioned scouting as a new and flexible culture within the seemingly strict structure of the military.) Having created an original character, Baden-Powell then set out to give him a new literary home, *Scouting for Boys* (1908), and a new cultural home, the (semi)civilian life of boyhood. Chapter One reviews the scholarship on *Scouting for Boys*, followed by my interventions to that body of work. Finally, Chapter One takes Baden-Powell and Boy Scouting to Chile, the first country outside the British Empire's domains to adopt the program. A key purpose of Chapter One is to give the reader a strong sense of Baden-Powell's (and British Boy Scouting's) literary and cultural voice. This voice may then serve as a point of comparison and contrast from which to read Chilean Boy Scout literature and culture, or *scoutismo*.

Chapter Two situates the first Chilean Scout literature, which was both oral and written, within the prevailing literary current in the region: *modernismo*. Early *scoutismo* was not neatly a subset of *modernismo*, but it shared important characteristics, especially aesthetic, with that movement. It also departed sharply from some of *modernimos*' political strains. Throughout my dissertation, I read *scoutismo* alongside and against more well known Latin American literature.

My most sustained example of this technique is my use of Rodó's narrative essay *Ariel* (1900) in order to frame the style and the aims of *scoutismo*, particularly in its earliest years. I often locate the voice and cultural project of early *scoutismo* between the style and politics of Baden-Powell on one extreme, and the aesthetics and social vision of *Ariel*'s Próspero on the other extreme. In this chapter I identify *scoutismo*'s profoundly epic worldview (I use "epic" in a Lukácsian sense). Chilean *scoutismo*'s epic worldview stands as its most important departure from the British Scout literature that preceded it. Chapter Two focuses primarily on two genres within *scoutismo*: speeches or sermons (secular, though sacred) that were orally delivered initially, and later printed as essays; and the more iconic scout genre, the manual or handbook. The juxtaposition of these two genres, the speech and the manual, allows for a consideration of the tension in *scoutismo* between the tendency toward a social movement, where orations and essays might feel more at home, and a social institution, where a manual or handbook suggest definitive order.

The manual of any organization might appear to stand as that organization's foremost authority in print form. It may appear logical to refer to the Scout handbook as the "Scout Bible." However, *scoutismo*'s handbooks have not made that claim for themselves. Instead, the organization's magazines have more explicitly identified themselves as official organs. I do not take this to mean that *scoutista* magazines somehow more clearly or more rigidly define Chilean Scouting's notions of masculinity, citizenship, or militarism. Rather, they reveal a great degree of discord surrounding the meanings and desirable applications of those themes. I do not head the matter of authority when I point out that the organization has deemed its magazines to be official, while it has not said the same of its manuals (I do not urge that we privilege *scoutismo*'s

magazines over its manuals). But I do find that the multi-voiced quality of the magazine print medium even more accurately expresses *scoutismo* than a single author's handbook.

Chapter Three reads the Chilean Scout magazine medium as literary equivalent of the Boy Scout campfire gathering, which I deem a Boy Scout *tertulia*. While a lengthy manual serves, in my view, as a literary version of Scout culture broadly, the magazine functions as a collective gathering in which multiple brief literary genres are shared. I dedicate chapter sections to three literary genres found in that medium: essays, short stories (and other brief narrative forms, including a Scout joke), and poetry. Through its magazines, we see that *scoutismo* explicitly—though often uncomfortably—wished to serve as a source of original Chilean Scout literature, and a propagator of existing Chilean literature. The magazines reissued some important works from Chile's literary canon, and provided then-current notable authors a venue to debut their new work. More important, the magazine medium allowed multiple adult authors to exert their views of nation, masculinity, and militarism, and it extended publishing opportunities for the organization's own young aspiring writers. Thus, in its magazines we see *scoutismo* most fully acknowledge and fulfill its literary ambitions.

Chapters One through Three attend to Scouting's and *scoutismo*'s most representative literary media and genres of the first ten decades: manuals and magazines, which contained speeches, essays, narratives, dramas, and poetry. My Conclusion reflects upon the achievements as well as the limits that my organizational and interpretive methods have rendered. It also points to further studies that may be accomplished in the area of Latin American Scouting as a literary and cultural phenomenon. My Conclusion discusses a separate study that I have underway, which will address a little-known Chilean Boy Scout novel, Jacobo Danke's *¡“Hatusimé”!* *Novela para los adolescentes chilenos* (1947). Though that novel will be the object of another

research project, I devote some space in my Conclusion to a consideration of the categorical possibility of a Scout novel, specifically a Chilean Scout novel, given the broader epic tendencies of *scoutismo*, which I develop in Chapter Two. As Lukács persuasively argued in his *Theory of the Novel*, the epic and the novel do not easily coexist.

Each chapter identifies key literary genres and modes, in order to demonstrate the overlooked extent to which Scouting and *scoutismo* have been committed to literature in an every-day sense of the word (artful narrative, metaphoric poetry, persuasive essay, published in books and magazines, for example). Throughout the literary genres in question, I have used the themes of nation (citizenship, race, class), masculinity (or gender more broadly), and militarism (or, at times, the military separate from civil society) as guiding concepts.

CHAPTER ONE - THE BRITISH ORIGINS OF BOY SCOUT CULTURE AND LITERATURE, AND SCOUTING'S SPREAD TO CHILE

Victorian Educational Foundations of Masculinities, Citizenship and Militarism

It is impossible to understand the literary and broader cultural meanings of the Boy Scout institution in Chile without first examining the educational, professional and broader cultural background of Robert Baden-Powell, the British founder of what has become a popular but controversial worldwide undertaking.

Baden-Powell's experience as a student in the British public school system from 1870 to 1876 was at least as influential upon the Boy Scout program, including its militarist trappings, as was his profession in the Army from 1876 to 1910. We must take into account the education Baden-Powell received as a young student because, in his adult roles in the Army and with the Boy Scouts organization, he fashioned himself as a unique pedagogue; he trained soldiers, and he instructed civilian boy scouts.¹⁰ From his own perspective, through all the adult phases of his life, he was an educator in the areas of the military, masculinities and citizenship.¹¹

¹⁰ In 1904 he initiated a Cavalry School and, in 1905, a corresponding publication, *The Cavalry Journal*. See Reynolds 131.

¹¹ Though Baden-Powell's initial sense of citizenship was limited to the nation and the empire, and though he would never abandon his commitment to patriotism, he gradually came to promote Boy Scouting and Girl Guiding as a gesture toward world citizenship. The majority of Scout organizations in the world now signal a balance between nationalism and global views of citizenship.

His admission to the prestigious single-sex Charterhouse public school (*college* in British usage) was no indication of his disposition toward formal study; he did not excel in academic pursuits. This is not to claim that he was a failure on campus, as the school itself did not prioritize academic study. Jeal characterizes the college's social and intellectual environment:

Academic standards at Charterhouse when [Baden-Powell] was there were lamentable. [He] hardly seemed to notice the [school's] inadequacies: History, English and Geography hardly taught at all; French and German entrusted to hapless foreigners ragged beyond endurance; Science taught by a master laughed at by the other staff . . . for teaching a utilitarian subject fit only for lower middle-class technicians. Later [he] would insist that a public school education was "good not so much for what is taught in the classroom as for what is learnt on the playing-field. . . ." (31)

Baden-Powell was not dismissive, but rather sincere, in identifying the playing field as a sight of valued education. Through sports the school succeeded in instilling the principles of teamwork, patriotism, and obedience, which aimed at the propagation of the existing class structure by preparing pupils to become leaders of industry or the military (Rosenthal, *Character Factory* 94; Swain 213, 217).

Rosenthal elaborates upon Charterhouse's transparency as a preparatory step toward military service:

For the public school boys who were expected to defend British interests across the seas, the character training supplied by sports was seen to be the best possible preparation for that jolliest of all sports, war. Skill in games was immediately translated into skill on the battlefield; those who excelled in the former could also

be counted upon for inspired performances in the latter. The language of sport frequently became the means . . . of rendering the exhilaration and challenges of warfare. (96)

Swain finds that the British public school culture from the 1800s through approximately the middle of the 20th century not only openly fostered military recruitment, it also served manifestly as training in gender. However, while such colleges seemed simplistic in their promotion of their graduates' army careerism, their cultivation of masculine subjects was more nuanced and pluralistic. "[T]here are different alternatives, or possibilities, of *doing* boy [in] each school setting, using the meanings and practices available" (215). Swain's reading of this cultural practice—British public schooling from roughly 1800 to 1950—indicates that, though the language then available to theorize gender did not use terms such as *essentialism* and *social construction*, boys were not regarded as already masculine. Boys' bodies and minds as raw materials could combine with environmental and practiced variables with the hope of rendering a suitable range of gendered outcomes. As long as these outcomes did not too closely approach those attributed to that equally nuanced field of the feminine, they were deemed sufficiently masculine. The sexual segregation of schools and the corresponding curricula and desired behavior patterns did not simply function as natural courses of action, but rather as deliberate systems of cultivation aiming to attain gendered results that nature could not spontaneously render. In other words, a constructivist approach to gender was at work long before the advent of contemporary social theory.

The college institution alone did not wield influence over the processes of identity formation. "The boys' peer group is one of the most important features of school as a social setting, for peer-group cultures are also agents in the making of masculinities" (217). Sixty boys

lived together in Baden-Powell's residence, where senior boys, not adult faculty, exercised the majority of the disciplinary roles upon the younger pupils, who were "corrected" by bullying and corporal punishment (Jeal 29). The formation of masculine and proto-military subjectivities was the work of institutions and informal social groups.

Partway through his Charterhouse career, the school relocated from London to the countryside. The school's move from the metropolis to bucolic Surrey prompted a deep attitudinal transformation of the school's ethos, which would later influence Boy Scout ideology: the turn from the city to the country proved "evocative of the life of the old landed gentry. The school [exalted] careers coloured by aristocratic ideals [such as] the military." The city-to-country turn also evoked the romantic myth of the frontier in colonial South Africa, India, Australia, and western North America. Notwithstanding the school's patrician social aspirations, the boys' living conditions resembled those of a camp or an army barracks. Curiously, the countryside Charterhouse school was a new structure, and yet it lacked what would have been available modern amenities such as plumbing and heating. Charterhouse, as a site of residence, obligated its pupils to "rough it" materially and offered a landscape in which pupils might engage in escapist fantasy, playing "backwoodsman trapper and Scout" while hiding from headmasters reimagined as hostile "Red Indians." Baden-Powell later recalled the experience, with his characteristic uncomplaining attitude, as an extended camp-out (32-33).

While his academic performance was poor, and though he seems to have read little during that time (at least from assigned curriculum), Baden-Powell excelled in artistic and athletic pursuits. He was a class clown, and participated in the rifle club. He sharpened his theater acting skills and his ability to draw. Later, while serving in the army in India, he would paint scenery for plays and concerts (Chalmers and Dancer 270). Later still, as an author of military and Boy

Scout texts, he would provide most of the illustrations for his books, demonstrating that he was an attentive observer and enthusiastic crafter of the image of the male figure. Boy Scouting, as literature and as a set of enacted forms, would perpetuate this gender-craft.

Baden-Powell's scholastic experience bore many characteristics that would prove amenable to the military culture of the day and to the Boy Scout movement that he would create a few decades later. Charterhouse, like other public schools of its status, was accessible to boys of families endowed with a degree of monetary or cultural capital. It permitted a relatively autonomous youth culture—as opposed to a culture created for the youth by adults—in which senior boys could exert more influence or authority over their younger mates than did the adult headmasters. Baden-Powell would later attempt to preserve this condition by urging boy scouts to follow the direction of an adolescent patrol leader, while leaving the role of the adult scoutmaster vaguely prescribed (Baden-Powell, *Scouting* 5). Indeed, upon reading the early British and Chilean Boy Scout texts and images, one might wonder to what extent, if any, adults figured into the scouts' real or imagined world.¹² As an all-male society, the public school conceivably fostered a sexual climate ranging from asexuality to homosociality, and perhaps even amorous or physically sexual male relationships. Baden-Powell's scholastic culture scoffed at intellectualism and extra-national studies, and prioritized instead physical play and patriotism. Finally, the public school system promoted military service as a gentlemanly occupation.

I assert that the British public school culture of young Baden-Powell's generation influenced at least as much of the enthusiasm for training in masculinity and militarism that would later surface in Boy Scouting as did Baden-Powell's actual military career. I also claim

¹² One article posits that the true test of courage presents itself when an adult Scoutmaster must permanently leave his troop due to a change of residence, a successor cannot be found, and the troop continues to thrive under the direction of its young leaders. See Gacitúa L. 3. This editorial is a rare case in that it addresses directly the ideal of the absence of adults. This ideal, or fantasy, is more commonly an unaddressed fact of Scout images and narratives.

that early British Boy Scouting's orientation toward militarism and masculinity was less simplistic and straightforward than was the corresponding orientation of the British public schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because the British public school system was unapologetically a springboard for military careerism, the militarist tendency that Boy Scouting would convey to its young participants—in some cases unabashedly, in other instances through much ambivalence or denial—was not novel when the movement began in earnest in 1908.¹³

Baden-Powell's Army Career: The Military Scout Versus the Soldier

It is not surprising that Baden-Powell should transition readily from college to the British Army in 1876 as a Second-Lieutenant of the 13th Hussars cavalry regiment. His immediate promotion to the officer's rank indicates that he had taken to heart the most prioritized lessons taught in the public school (Boehmer 1-li). In his three-and-a-half-decade military career, Baden-Powell devotedly served in and led divisions of the planet's most powerful imperial army. His actions in that capacity resulted directly and indirectly in the perpetuation of British rule over native peoples of India, Afghanistan, and West and South Africa.

Though the primary role of the soldier is that of a disciplined combatant, I perceive an unspoken understanding regarding the cultural context of this occupation, namely, that a British colonial soldier's lifestyle encouraged an impressive amount of leisure and recreation. The writings of Baden-Powell (particularly his *Scouting for Boys* and *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas*)

¹³ Privileged college boys were not the only youngsters encouraged to envision themselves as future soldiers. Many working-class and lower middle-class youths belonged to organizations such as the Boys' Brigade, the Salvation Army and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), which typically implemented militaristic symbolism (cadet uniforms) and practice (drills and marches). See Rojas Flores 16, and Judd 206.

and the work of virtually all historical and cultural scholars who have researched his life reveal—though it is not their express intent to do so—that a major aspect of military life entailed the pursuit of diverse pastimes while not carrying out direct military duty.¹⁴ These pursuits included hunting for sport; the staging of theatrical works; team sports such as polo, cricket and football; drawing; and writing. Baden-Powell engaged in all of these, and he also enjoyed recreational explorations of terrain, or hiking, though he remained constantly on the lookout for signs of enemy activity, such as footprints and broken branches. He also seems to have delighted in this vigilance.

Baden-Powell's military career spanned several decades. But during the first twenty years he was dismayed by his almost total lack of direct combat.¹⁵ From personal correspondences and journals, Rosenthal proves that Baden-Powell was disappointed by his lack of engagement with the enemy, as this limited his possibilities for rank advancement (*Character Factory* 20-26). Judging from violent characteristics that persisted into some of his official Boy Scout writings (see *Scouting*, especially the 1908 1st edition, and *Boy Scouts*), it appears that the lack of combat also thwarted even baser drives. In other words, in addition to his understandable desire for career advancement, he also manifested pleasure in the idea of corporal violence against racial, national, and sexual others and a fantasy of life-ending heroic self-sacrifice.

Many scholars have too simply viewed his military work as a precursor to a militaristic youth movement. I wish to emphasize that the relatively skirmish-free quality of his army career, taken into account alongside that same career's recreational or leisurely characteristics I have

¹⁴ Boehmer comes nearest to making this explicit, xvi. See also MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire*; Jeal; Rosenthal, *Character Factory*; Judd; Chalmers and Dancer; del Brutto; Vallory; and Springhall, *Youth*.

¹⁵ In 1881 in Afghanistan, "in the turmoil of a possible bandit raid he managed to shoot himself in the leg with his own revolver." Rosenthal, *Character Factory* 24.

also described, significantly nuances the form of militarism that Boy Scouting would inherit and develop.

In the largely non-bellicose climate of his army service, Baden-Powell refashioned his identity from that of a soldier to a role that was, according to dominant military theorists of his day, the marginal and little-understood status of the scout. In the context of “small” colonial warfare, scouting, that is, reconnoitering unknown terrains, tracking the motions and spying on the condition of the enemy, was often the task of cooperative (or apparently cooperative) natives. Scouting, according to prevailing military notions, was the errand of a racial other, one deemed fitter for that task, owing to familiarity with local surroundings and peoples. Fantasy played into this colonial imaginary of scouting, as “savages,” contrasted with westerners, were considered more in touch with the natural world, and less dependent upon material implements and comforts. Even white British scouts were often not official military personnel, but irregulars (MacDonald, *Sons* 70-73). Baden-Powell succeeded in claiming ground for the white colonial subject as a scout.

The racial aspects of scouting are suggestive, but for my present purpose, what is even more important about scouting as a military function is that the scout was not regarded as a combatant in the same way as was, for example, an infantryman or a cavalry soldier. The scout’s errand was to gather information about the enemy and his terrain, and to communicate that information to those who were suited, that is, materially equipped (with modern technology) and morally disposed (with valiance) to engage the adversary in armed conflict. Still, the scout was also a potential combatant; he might encounter the opponent and be obliged to defend himself and his mission, and to harass the enemy as far as possible (72-73). Regardless of his participation in or aloofness from combat, the army scout’s task supported the overall defensive

or offensive aims of the military and sovereign he served. Through Baden-Powell's deliberate instrumentality, army scouting, like sport, became a form of physical, moral, and epistemological development.¹⁶ Thus, in his army career, Baden-Powell furthered the already militarist ethos of the public school. But his peculiar military specialty, scouting, represented a less soldierly, if not less ideologically complex version of military action.

The soldier-to-scout shift was not only behavioral and conceptual, it was also aesthetic. Baden-Powell effected a change in the very sign of the soldier. MacDonald describes Baden-Powell's assumption of the scout identity as a ceremonial change of clothes, a sloughing off of the rigid and ornate Hussars uniform and the donning of the outfit of the frontiersman. This signified a casual dressing down as well as a fanciful dressing up. "[Baden-Powell] found the cowboy hat more practical than the army helmet, the flannel shirt with the soft collar better than the stiff-necked army tunic. A handkerchief round the neck prevented sunburn. His . . . revolver could be carried in an open 'cowboy' holster, [and] wearing one spur 'colonial' fashion had much to recommend it . . . (*Sons* 69. See also Chalmers and Dancer 271). Like the colonial frontier itself, in Baden-Powell's experience, military scouting was an in-between category. I employ a precise meaning of *frontier*, which does not simply designate all that lies beyond a known geography, but which represents a *border* or a *third space* that becomes culturally meaningful through signifying practices of those who physically and symbolically occupy it. Recognizing the indeterminacy between the image of the civilized colonial soldier on the one hand, and the "savage" racial other or autonomous frontiersman on the other hand is crucial to an

¹⁶ MacDonald rightly suggests that army scouting served as a unique form of literacy. *Sons* 66, 69.

understanding of the frontier myth that would prove integral to the Boy Scouts movement.¹⁷ Baden-Powell consciously designed the scout “look.” He fashioned a sign that was meaningful because it was sufficiently different from that of the soldier. This is important regarding his creation of Boy Scouting because he was not, as many scholars and general observers believe, merely carrying over a military program and soldierly style to his youth movement. Warren shows that, shortly after the Boy Scout organization was established and the uniform began to become standardized, “the adoption of shorts by the adult leadership, in which Baden-Powell himself gave the lead, was seen explicitly as breaking from a military image” (Warren, “Sir” 391). From our contemporary perspective, the image of a fully uniformed boy scout (of the initial and early eras in Britain and Chile, and the U.S. as well) may appear cast in the mold of the soldier. But with an understanding of the rupturing identity of the army scout, we will more appropriately recognize that the emergence of the boy scout, as a sign, perpetuated a radical departure from standard military semiotics.

In summary of military scouting’s importance as it regards Boy Scouting: martial scouting’s less regimented ways came as an addition to a broader army lifestyle that was already more dynamic than one might assume. Boy Scouting was and, in some ways, still is militaristic. Among other things, this means that military ways of life “spilling over” into civilian life have involved a recreationalization of civilian life. Boy Scouting may be viewed as a theory of the citizen that overemphasizes duty and ignores rights. While the program overtly hails the model citizen (the boy scout) as one beholden to duty, I argue that Boy Scouting also constructs a citizen that is entitled to rights or privileges, such as recreation, pursuit of curiosities, etc., and

¹⁷ MacDonald’s book, especially Chapter Two, provides excellent insight into the power that the myth of the frontier, whether North American, African, Australian, etc. played in the mind of many British soldiers of Baden-Powell’s generation.

this is an overlooked legacy of the militarism I have described above.

Baden-Powell embodied yet another soldier/scout duality that would impact his Boy Scout program. Through his army career Baden-Powell expressed the notion of the exemplary but unconventional British middle-class subject. He was unwavering in his devotion to the imperial and national causes of order and discipline, and yet he displayed a rebellious degree of initiative and individuality that appeared to prove the claimed exceptional character of the British. “At the heart of Scouting lay a whole series of incompatible aims, not the least of which was an undertaking to produce self-assertive independent young men who would nevertheless remain loyal supporters of the status quo” (Jeal 381).

On several occasions the lieutenant exceeded his authority or carried out orders contrary to those given him by his superiors. The most consequential of such acts of dutiful insubordination would become Baden-Powell's crowning military achievement, the event that would launch him into national celebrity: the defense of the British frontier town of Mafeking in South Africa, which was besieged by Boer farmers, the descendants of Dutch settlers who had left Europe centuries earlier. Though he had received orders to patrol the *unsettled lands* contested between the Boers and the British, Baden-Powell and the soldiers under his command occupied the *town* and defended it from within (Springhall, *Youth* 55; Rosenthal, *Character Factory* 28-33). Through his successful command of the defense of Mafeking, which the Boers surrounded for more than two hundred days, Baden-Powell represented the reassurance that, contrary to growing fears, British masculinity still retained its virility and superiority. This rogue action arguably saved Britain's colonial dominion in South Africa, and it hurtled Baden-Powell into the status of an imperial war hero.

Baden-Powell as Best-Selling Author and Social Critic

Baden-Powell was a man of words as well as a man of arms. Before his triumph in Mafeking, he was already the author of the best-selling *Reconnaissance and Scouting* (1884). This manual found direct application in the battlefronts of the colonial frontier, and was also assigned course content in many public schools and leisurely reading in private homes of young and adult civilian consumers (Reynolds 88). That manual's status as a text in public school classrooms attests to such colleges' affinity for the military, as a student could in effect satisfy academic requirements by reading information about army operations and skills. During the defense of Mafeking, the manuscript of what would soon become Baden-Powell's most famous military training book, *Aids to Scouting, for N.-C.Os. and Men* (1899), was about to be published in England.¹⁸ In spite of his poor academic record, Baden-Powell, as a military officer and later as the founder of the Boy Scouts, became a best-selling author and a thinker representative of middle- and upper-class interests and anxieties revolving around the security of the empire and the virility of its subjects.

Those interests and anxieties, or in Bhabha's terms, the "paranoid position of power," would prompt Baden-Powell to branch out from strictly military endeavors to join the ranks of social critics and social reformers (143). After soldiering and scouting abroad for a quarter of a century, Baden-Powell positioned himself in England among a group known as "boy experts" or "boyologists" who directed their critical analysis to urban working-class boys, whom they believed to embody both social corrosion as well as the potential for a more moral and efficient society. "'Boy Nature' [became] an almost distinct subgenre of early twentieth-century [British]

¹⁸ N.-C.O. stands for *non-commissioned officer*.

social criticism that was aimed at extending middle-class ideology to the working class-youth” (Rosenthal, *Character Factory* 89-90).¹⁹ “By the century’s turn, the boy had become an important literary and social topic. Typically bourgeois white men, boy workers saw themselves as ethnographers and role models” (Kidd 49). The writings of the boyologists, both those current and of the turn of the last century, “redefine gender as biological sex and presume biology as destiny . . . arguing that social imprinting is . . . negligible in comparison to hard wiring of biology” (45). Notwithstanding the boyologists’ simplification of their object of study, their work pointed to an unavoidable uncertainty: “Boyhood is at once self-evident and in need of interpretation” (52). In other words, the need to actively interpret boyness or maleness denies the possibility of a straightforward ability to merely recognize boyness or maleness. Boyology, in spite of its assuredness of the stable ontology of *boy*, functioned to construct its object.

For many of its authors, and perhaps for many of its young participants, Boy Scouting has represented the promise of social redemption. This is especially apparent in early Chilean Scout texts. Many Boy Scout authors have viewed their cultural product as an alternative education, in some ways superior to established school systems. For these reasons, it is crucial to represent Baden-Powell and Chilean Scout authors not only as youth mentors and teachers, but also as social theorists who have understood their Scout labor as a diagnostic theorization of and a restorative plan for their respective societies that they have deemed decadent or lagging.

The difficulty with which the British army had prevailed against the Boers challenged the previous confidence in the British Empire’s might and its very position in a colonial world that seemed to be escaping its control (MacDonald, *Sons* 3-4). Upon his return to London in 1903:

¹⁹ Rosenthal lists the following authors as representative “boy experts”: R. A. Bray, Arnold Freeman, S.J. Gibb, H.S. Pelham, Charles Russell, James Samuelson, J.H. Whitehouse, *Character Factory* 292.

Baden-Powell found himself affected by the general gloom that the various post-mortems on the [Anglo-]Boer war were causing amongst military men. It was widely suggested that before the war 60 per cent of would-be recruits had failed to pass undemanding medical tests. In . . . 1903 the Government set up an ominously entitled “Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration”. [P]ublic men were drawing doom-laden conclusions [and] it was not surprising that Baden-Powell should have joined in [the discussion]. (Jeal 358)

For those with a stake in the social status quo:

It was not necessary to be paranoid in [the early twentieth century] to feel that Britain, the British way of life and the British Empire were beset by a host of enemies both from within and without. . . .

The internal menaces . . . could be identified . . . as militant trade unionism, the strident feminist demands of the ‘New Woman’ and the suffragette (prepared to break the law, even to die in the pursuit of ‘Votes for Women’), the growth of socialism and anarchism, Jewish immigration, resurgent Irish nationalism, economic and industrial decline, the New Liberalism, poverty and disease, inadequate educational opportunity, and an endemic national inefficiency. Among the external menaces were the rapid development of the German navy, [and] the industrial challenge of more technologically innovative nations like the United States and Germany. . . . (Judd 204)

Baden-Powell was appalled by the situation that greeted him on his return from South Africa at the dawn of the new century. His language took on Gothic attributes as he described pre-apocalyptic urban scenes of young males “pale, narrow-chested, hunched up . . . smoking

endless cigarettes” (*Scouting* 297-98). His likeminded “boyologist” contemporaries (G. Malcolm Fox, C. F. G. Masterman, Lord Beresford) described the setting as a “pestilential city” populated by hooligans and wasters of “stunted, narrow [chests], easily wearied; yet voluble, excitable, with little ballast, stamina or endurance,” and “weedy youth with hollow chest[s], slouching shoulders, weak knees, and slack muscles” (qtd. in Rosenthal, *Character Factory* 131-32).

Conscriptionists and eugenicists argued, as did Baden-Powell (though he does not appear to have identified as a conscriptionist), that rigors like those of military service could revitalize the degenerating male body, and thereby, the imperial body, while reinvigorating a spirit of patriotic commitment (159). Baden-Powell represented a set of thinkers for whom “the failing strength of the nation was mirrored in the alleged deterioration of the male physique” (Boehmer xii). This upsetting concept found as its signifier the body of the young urban male. What is clear from works of historians and critics, as well as from Baden-Powell’s own writings, is that Boy Scouting arose not only as a proactive method of youth education and recreation, but that it came also as a reaction against real and imagined threats to individuals’ bodies and to the existing social order. For Baden-Powell, Boy Scouting posed a counter-strategy against enemy forces.

As I have discussed above, Baden-Powell had brought the marginal and debated practice of army scouting into higher regard in military theory and military culture. But it was his status as a best-selling author that propelled military scouting into the broader social imagination. *Aids to Scouting* had become part of the curriculum in many British public schools, and Baden-Powell became a living legend as the protagonist of Begbie’s biography *The Story of Baden-Powell: The Wolf that Never Sleeps* (1900) (MacDonald, *Sons* 82, 101). Army scouting was by then a popular and even fashionable subset within the overall military culture, as well as a literary sub-genre in

the armchair and at the classroom desk.²⁰ And with so many “enemies” lurking not only on the colonial frontier and at the continental borders, but also entrenched within domestic civil society itself, the idea of vigilant, disciplined, patriotic and healthy young male citizens patrolling and otherwise serving the nation and its colonies appeared irresistible. Capitalizing on his existing readership and the mood of the period, Baden-Powell began in 1904 to formally draft his Boy Scouts “scheme,” as he called it (Judd 212). Taking *Aides to Scouting for N.-C.O.s and Men* as a rough model, our author began work on *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*, which would be published in early 1908 in six fortnightly installments and soon after as a full book. Well before the first appearance of the concept and reality of the boy scout, Baden-Powell had crafted military scouting as a popular literary topic, with the manual or handbook as the privileged genre. Boy Scouting thus began as and continues to be a textual phenomenon.²¹

²⁰ MacDonald places the characters of Fennimore Cooper’s novels within a “literary pedigree almost always at the back of the public mind, [whence the army scout] became a colourful figure in popular culture,” *Sons* 74. MacDonald emphasizes the scouting expertise of characters such as Changachgook and Natty Bumppo.

²¹ While emphasizing Baden-Powell’s role as an author, it bears stating here that, in addition to his socially oriented motives, another purpose for creating the Boy Scouts *through his writing* was economic. In 1907 his military career was not fully concluded, and “[Baden-Powell] was placed on half-pay with the rank of Lieut.-General [while] the adaptation of scouting to the use of boys . . . was occupying his mind . . .” Reynolds 132. As Boy Scouting’s popularity grew, shifting from the status of a spontaneous movement to a regimented national institution within its first years, its author affirmed that he had intended Boy Scouting only as a supplement to existing youth organizations, *Scouting* 32. He claimed that only after the popular appeal of Scouting reached beyond even his hopes, the requests of the legions of adherents led him to make the Boy Scouts an entity separate from its predecessors, Boehmer xiii. Scholars such as Rosenthal and Jeal have debated the question of whether Baden-Powell’s claims on this issue were genuine (Jeal’s position), or whether he had designed to form his own organization (Rosenthal’s contention in “Knights and Retainers,” 607-08, and through much of *The Character Factory*). While this debate is intriguing, resolving it would accomplish very little; Baden-Powell was either more or less ambitious than he claimed to be. As far as I am concerned with this point, it is apparent that Baden-Powell enjoyed writing, had found a literary *niche* and an audience, and he exploited (here, in the verb’s most innocent sense) his status as an author. He can scarcely be judged too harshly for hoping to sell copies of *Scouting for Boys* and perhaps subsequent Boy Scout texts (including the magazines *The Scout* and *The Headquarter Gazette*, to which he would contribute regular articles) in order to supplement his now reduced military salary. If he could without too much controversy secure what was regarded by many as a legitimate living through military service, I see no reason why his Boy Scout work, as a textual and remunerated endeavor, should appear especially troublesome. Boy Scouting carries many serious polemics, but I do not include within them the question of whether Baden-Powell intended to forge his own autonomous institution or to provide supplementary support to the Boys’ Brigade, the YMCA and other such programs.

The Brownsea Island Camp Experiment: The First Rehearsal of the Boy Scout Movement

In the early twentieth century, camping was only recently becoming a form of recreation dissociated from military and other practical applications, as an activity for its own sake, even as an art. Robert MacDonald historicizes the concept as follows:

That camping was a novel and rather daring activity is plain from the words of its advocates, who . . . defend[ed] it as both safe and character-building. Camping was educational, . . . it encouraged resourcefulness and [i]t was virile. Its enthusiasts spoke at length of the healthiness of fresh air, and calmed fears of the cold and damp. The camping life was “enlightened Bohemianism.” (*Sons* 25)

The concept of camping season was under construction in that period, in part for the purpose of marketing equipment and books such as the forthcoming *Scouting for Boys*. “Although members of cadet corps sometimes attended summer camps[,] few Edwardian boys had the chance” to do so (Jeal 383-84).²²

After drafting the bulk of the Boy Scout scheme and delivering approximately fifty public lectures on the topic throughout the United Kingdom, Baden-Powell stepped further into the social scientist’s role when he orchestrated a social experiment. In order to test his Boy Scout scheme, he organized a weeklong experimental camp on Brownsea Island from 25 July to 9 August 1907. “[T]o be invited to go [camping] with the country’s greatest national hero seemed incredibly good fortune to the boys selected . . .” (Jeal 384). But would their parents or guardians consent to their sons’ prolonged exposure to the elements of nature, to a nationally revered but

²² See also Pryke, “The Popularity” 320.

personally unknown fifty-year-old bachelor and war veteran, and to boys of higher or lower classes?

Always insisting on Scouting's classlessness, Baden-Powell wanted a constituency [of young participants] drawn equally from the ranks of the privileged public school boys and the less affluent [and non-college-attending] working classes [from age ten to seventeen]. For the former he chose twelve from among the sons, nephews, and contacts of his army friends; for the latter he invited . . . Boys' Brigades to nominate deserving members. (Rosenthal, *Character Factory* 85)²³

This selection process reveals the distance between Baden-Powell and the working-class boys whom he especially wished to reform or elevate (88).²⁴ It appears that Baden-Powell wanted to represent his experiment as one inclusive of participants of various social classes. But Boehmer's research shows that, while revising his manuscripts for *Scouting for Boys*, he changed the word "classes" to "sorts" because "the Brownsea group was not as diverse . . . as he had at first claimed" (Boehmer 378; Baden-Powell, *Scouting* 302). Therefore, while considering Baden-Powell's writings about the class element in Boy Scouting's first test run, we should understand these as narrative and theoretical, rather than descriptive.

²³ It is unclear whether he was ironically, sincerely, or delusionally aware of the resemblance between his selection of twelve pupils to help him launch his movement, and the New Testament accounts of Jesus' selection of the twelve apostles at the outset of his ministry. Baden-Powell considered the activities of Boy Scouting as service to God (preferably but not necessarily the god of the Judeo-Christian tradition), but he was not heavy-handed or dogmatic on this point. The nation and the Empire were by far the most important objects of Boy Scout reverence and service. The most prevalent among the early Chilean Scout authors almost entirely suppressed matters of formal religion from the movement during the first several decades. Nevertheless, as my following chapters demonstrate, they crafted Scouting, or *scoutismo*, as a messianic discourse.

²⁴ This distance also helps to explain Baden-Powell's distress (which I believe involved some combination of disgust and sympathy) when faced with the spectacle of the lower classes upon his return to London after decades of living mostly among his more well-to-do classmates and army companions. Warren perceptively contextualizes Baden-Powell's return to England in 1903 as "his initiation into British civilian life." "Sir" 383.

He organized the boys into four patrols, each headed by a patrol leader. The four patrol leaders were public school boys, and three of these selected boys from the other demographic as their seconds-in-command. It is not stated whether the class dynamics of such selections occurred spontaneously or deliberately, but Baden-Powell concluded:

In this way the rougher boys were perceptibly levelled up in the matter of behaviour, cleanliness, etc.; they watched and imitated the others and improved to a remarkable degree in so short a time. And I am certain no harm was done to the other boys: indeed they gained a broader knowledge and sympathy with those whom probably they had through ignorance formerly looked down upon.

(qtd. in Rosenthal, *Character Factory* 86)

Though I assert that Baden-Powell should be regarded as a social critic and theorist, and though he, as well as at least one prominent eugenicist viewed his method as scientific, his Brownsea Island camp experiment was rather haphazard and prejudiced in terms of its methodology for studying and intervening in inter-class (or inter-“sort”) relations.²⁵ Most readily apparent is the looseness of the statement of his findings: What civilized behaviors did the lower-ranking campers observably acquire? And against what lowbrow tendencies did the privileged boys prove their immunity? Baden-Powell does not clarify.

With a social hierarchy set in place, he:

proceeded to initiate [the boys] into the mysteries and joys of Scouting. They played games and practised the skills of camping, cooking, tracking, and stalking; they listened to the great deeds of how the empire was won and learned the importance of loyalty to king, employers, and officers. They chanted Zulu

²⁵ Prominent eugenicist Karl Pearson endorsed his contemporary Baden-Powell as “a practitioner of the scientific method, at least as regards his Scouting techniques.” Quoted in Rosenthal, *Character Factory* 158.

choruses, found their way through the woods without help, and studied how to observe people without themselves being seen. . . . “The results,” as [Baden-Powell] commented in his report . . . “were such as to encourage the highest hopes as to the possibilities of the scheme when carried out on the larger scale.” (85-86)

Baden-Powell's report of the camp states:

We found the best way of imparting theoretical instructions was to give it out in short installments with ample illustrative examples when sitting round the camp fire or otherwise resting, and with demonstrations in the practice. . . . A formal lecture is apt to bore the boys.

. . .

For example, take one detail of the subject, “Observation” – namely, tracking.

1. At the camp fire overnight we would tell the boys some interesting instance of the value of being able to track.
2. Next morning we would teach them to read tracks by making foot-marks at different places, and showing how to read them and to deduce their meaning.
3. In the afternoon we would have a game, such as “deer-stalking”, in which one boy went off as the “deer”, with half a dozen tennis balls in his bag. Twenty minutes later four “hunters” went off after him, following his tracks, each armed with a tennis ball. The deer, after going a mile or two, would hide and endeavor to ambush his hunters, and so get them within range; each hunter struck with a tennis ball was counted gored to death; if, on the other hand, the deer was hit by three of their balls he was killed.

This was our principle for teaching most of the items.

Discipline was very satisfactory indeed. A “court of honour” was instituted to try any offenders against discipline, but it was never needed. In the first place the boys were put “on their honour” to do their best; in the second place, the senior boys were made responsible for the behaviour of the boys forming their patrol. And this worked perfectly well. (qtd. in Reynolds 143-44)

Reynolds recounts an occurrence that was meant in good fun, but which also manifests the senses of authority and vigilance that Boy Scouting was already cultivating:

One evening the male members of a house party which the owner of the island . . . was entertaining, decided . . . to pay the camp a surprise visit. They had not gone far, however, before two of the boys sprang out from cover and “arrested” them; the prisoners were marched into camp and had to pay a suitable ransom. (144-45)

Within the framework of a theory and method that emphasize the observation of nature, a deer armed with projectile capabilities that ambushes its pursuers stretches of the imagination. The stalking game only thinly disguised the simulacra of the pursuit of a combative criminal or military enemy, presumably armed with a revolver (six shots).²⁶ The “arrest” of the “intruders” indicates that the trainees imagined their camp, perhaps playfully but convincingly, as a besieged stronghold. But the use of the term “ransom” –rather than “bail” or “fine,” for example– indicates that the logic of this particular game easily shifted from that of protection and policing to aggression, more evocative of organized crime or terrorism than of national defense. The program of the Brownsea Island camp fostered the desire to fortify the nation and its colonial

²⁶ Soon after, *Scouting for Boys* would include the following prescription for a “Scouting game” called “Siberian Man Hunt”: “One scout as fugitive runs away across the snow in any direction he may please until he finds a good hiding place, and there he conceals himself. The remainder, after giving him twenty minutes’ [head]start or more proceed to follow him by his tracks. As they approach his hiding place, he shoots at them with snowballs, and everyone that is struck must fall out dead. The fugitive must be struck three times before he is counted dead,” 47. As in the case of the “deer,” the “fugitive” is somehow more deadly and harder to kill than his pursuers, the scouts, 216, 226.

outposts against intruding outsiders or hostile natives, as in the case of the arrest, and to impose order and justice upon those already within the boundaries, as the “court of honour” and the deer hunting game demonstrate. Baden-Powell was a master storyteller, and his tales of the siege of Mafeking appear to have provided crucial narrative around the campfire.

Baden-Powell enlisted the help of a few other adult camp directors who would become Boy Scout leaders. These included Kenneth McLaren, who had been Baden-Powell’s closest friend since their earliest days in the army, and P. W. Everett.²⁷ At the time Everett was employed by media mogul C. Arthur Pearson and was working closely with Baden-Powell toward the promotion and publication of the forthcoming *Scouting for Boys*. Baden-Powell’s performative and didactic abilities, including his skill as a storyteller, impressed Everett:

I can see him still as he stands in the flickering light of the fire – an alert figure, full of the joy of life, now grave, now gay, answering all manner of questions, imitating the call of birds, showing how to stalk a wild animal, flashing out in a little story, dancing and singing round the fire, pointing a moral, not in actual words, but in such an elusive and yet convincing way that everyone present, boy or man, was ready to follow him wherever he might lead. (145)

Not only narration, but also performance in a broader theatrical sense, constituted foundational principles of Boy Scout culture. Baden-Powell urged: “Songs, recitations, small plays, etc., can be performed round the campfire, and every Scout should be made to contribute something to the programme, whether he thinks he is a performer or not” (*Scouting* 151). And “in all [Scout

27 Several biographers, Jeal most convincingly, have suggested that Baden-Powell’s and McLaren’s friendship approximated a homosexual relationship. I use the term “approximated” rather than “amounted to” in consideration of legal, social, and personal repression against homosexuality during the Victorian and Edwardian eras.

activities] all Scouts should take part, because we do not want to have merely one or two brilliant performers, and the others no use at all” (179).

Symbolic imagery also played a significant and deliberate role. Baden-Powell drew upon an arsenal of living relics, recognizable emblems of national and imperial greatness, and of frontier adventure, which pointed to military exploits as well as colonial exploration. Affixed to a cavalry lance, the very Union Jack that was riddled by Boer bullets during the Mafeking defense flew over the chief’s tent. Emerging from that tent each morning, Baden-Powell roused the patrols by blowing a kudu horn, a trophy from one of his African tours of duty. His outfit also featured the now iconic flat-brimmed Stetson “Boss of the Plains” hat and the shirt he had designed and worn while leading the South African Constabulary, a military police unit charged with maintaining order among the British, natives and Boers in South Africa after Britain’s victory against the Boers (Jeal 385). This look, completed by knee socks and shorts, which would soon after distinguish the Boy Scout uniform, was significant in its original context as well its recontextualization at the Brownsea camp, because it represented Baden-Powell’s deliberate effort to refashion the very image, mentality and function of the army scout (MacDonald, *Sons* 69). He instructs his readers in *Scouting for Boys*:

In teaching your boy to be alert and energetic, teach him also how to be restful and not to worry.

The *physical attitude* of the natural man, as one sees it in the savage, . . . is a graceful slackness of body, but with eyes and ears alert, able on the instant to spring like a cat from apparent inertness to steel-spring readiness. (318, my emphasis)

Through this ensemble of clothing and “physical attitude” Baden-Powell struck a semiotic and utilitarian balance between the romance, freedom and lawlessness of the frontier and the hierarchic order of the military or police force. This was a balance between comfort and stiffness in both attitude and body—in Boy Scout terms, “moral” and “physical”—a balance between play clothes and ceremonial garb. This duality still typifies various nations’ Boy Scout uniforms, which convey a sense of orderliness and adventurousness, seriousness and silliness. The French Scouter, Paul Vuibert, writing in 1911, went so far as to deem the outfit *chic*. It also converted its wearer into a character of a beautiful novel. Furthermore, Vuibert found that the knee-high socks, adorned with a dangling braid and paired with short pants, conveyed “a certain flirtatiousness” (31-32). The uniform, perhaps the most comprehensive of Scout texts, conveyed stylishness, symbolized literary protagonism, and playfully hinted at sexuality.

Baden-Powell also paid deliberate attention to the style of his language. I have already mentioned, and will return to, the importance of storytelling. When *Scouting for Boys* was published in early 1908, its chapters were subdivided into “Campfire Yarns.” Thus, the book that would come to embody the initial theory of the movement was conceived as a textual perpetuation of the camp experience; boy scouts and other readers could literarily experience the Brownsea event, where:

At the evening campfire, Baden-Powell would tell “yarns”. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century the word “yarn” meant . . . “a marvelous or incredible tale”. Sailors had often told stories while twisting together the yarns of fibres from which ships’ ropes were made. So by 1907 the word had a humorously dated quality. This persuaded him that it was quirky enough to be memorable. Words

like “jamboree”, “posse”. . . and “yarn” would create a characteristic atmosphere for his Movement. (Jeal 385)

A twenty-first century North American audience can aesthetically experience Wes Anderson’s film *Moonrise Kingdom* (2012) as an ironic portrayal of the Boy Scouts of (North) America of the 1960s.²⁸ Curiously, in 1907, for the first British Boy Scouts, or at least for their founder, a degree of irony or humorous self-awareness informed the design of their culture. This culture was new a new blend of existing and imagined cultural ingredients, and yet it was intentionally colored with a retro or vintage sensibility. (This backward-looking sensibility also bore reactionary strains.) Also significant is the sailors’ practice of “twisting yarns,” that is, the fusion of the culturally productive acts of narration and material fabrication. This is echoed in Boy Scouting’s blend of the equally valued practices of storytelling and material crafts.

I will conclude my reading of the Brownsea Island camp by offering some observations about that experiment’s significance to Boy Scout theory and practice. First, a major social problem that Scouting aimed to remedy was class disparity. The founder conceived his solution from upper- and middle-class perspectives. To the critical observer it appears rather paternalistic in its aim to transform the working-class boy by bringing his attitudes and behaviors—if not his full subjectivity and privilege—into greater alignment with the ideals and interests of the ruling classes. At least during its first years, Scouting would focus on the formation of exemplary leaders and model followers. It would also prioritize attitudes accepting of social circumstances over efforts to change social structures.

Second, the logistics of the experimental camp involved a paradox of a core Boy Scout concept: the land. Brownsea Island was the private estate of a stockbroker with whom Baden-

28 Perhaps owing in part to many national Boy Scout organizations’ (at times, fierce) enforcement of brand exclusivity, the scouts in the film are not Boy Scouts of America, but “Khaki Scouts.”

Powell had recently formed an acquaintance (Rosenthal, *Character Factory* 85). Thus it was necessary to obtain permission for the use of the land for the purpose of the camp. In *Scouting for Boys*, whenever the topic of camping or exploration (“woodcraft”) arises, the author must subtly deal with a pesky fact: there is little available wilderness that the British boy scout may simply occupy (Jeal 420). Unlike the colonial frontiersman or army scout, who, as myths suggested, could explore and inhabit the natural world free of red-tape borders, the boy scout depended upon the availability of privately owned land and the disposition of the landowner in order to carry out his most defining activities. From the outset, Boy Scouting has involved the confrontation between the liberating narrative of the open frontier with the restrictive reality of private property.²⁹

Finally, as Jeal notes, the genius of locating the exposition camp on an island fed upon the allure of such popular novels as *Robinson Crusoe* and *Treasure Island* (384). The experimental camp provided boys with a chance to briefly enact a life separate from the modern one. And yet, the island was, after all, located in a domestic harbor just offshore from a busy port city. Here I do not intend to uncover a de-romanticizing fact, but rather to point out an instance of Boy Scouting as a functional blending of fantasy and real limitations.

Scouting For Boys: From the Literal to the Literary

While the Brownsea Island experiment demonstrated that Baden-Powell’s design could function on a small scale, his handbook proved that Boy Scouting offered massive appeal. Just as British

²⁹ The first national Chilean Scout magazine, *El Scout “Siempre Listo”* (1913-14) featured several short stories about boy scouts who often ran the risk of incurring the disapproval of the landowners on whose fields and farms they camped and explored. Such disapproval hinged on the scouts’ behavior or on preconceived notions that the landowner held of the new Scout movement. Such short stories receive greater attention later in this study.

college students could engage army scouting literature without formally enlisting in the military, I argue that readers were and are able to participate in Boy Scouting as a literary and broader cultural practice, regardless of their enrollment status or formal participation in the program (though I assume most readers of Boy Scout texts have been enrolled members). I intend to keep close sight of the fact that the Scout canon has been in the hands and minds of numerous everyday readers, most of whom have probably been children and adolescents (that is, men-, citizens-, and, sometimes soldiers-in-training).³⁰ From its first publication through the conclusion of the Second World War, in English-language markets, *Scouting for Boys* ranked as the second-most-sold book, bested only by the Bible (Boehmer xi; Jeal 396; Judd 201). As closely as possible I will attend not only to academic readings but also to meanings that such target readers may have been able to derive, considering plausible dominant and deviant readings.

Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship (1908) narrates its author's stories as an agent of the military and of masculinity in the service of nation and empire. It celebrates the conceptual and embodied joys of boyhood and manhood, of fighting or surveying one's (sovereign's) enemies, and of representing the ideal citizen. While relishing these joys, it also dwells upon the instability of masculinity and of military and national/imperial might. It presents diagnoses of and prescriptions for British society's purported ills, fatal if untreated; it asserted that Britain would face the same fate as that of the extinct Roman Empire if its boys would not recuperate their manliness and defensive patriotism (Baden-Powell, *Scouting* 277). Notwithstanding the persistence of ominous motifs, *Scouting for Boys* refuses to succumb to despair. The peril-fraught quality of modernity only served to heighten the sense of literary

³⁰ I acknowledge the pliability of the soldier as a metaphoric as well as a literal figure, representatively applicable to virtually any cause or struggle: armed or ideological, militaristic or militant, political or personal. But I also acknowledge the likelihood that some young readers of *Scouting for Boys* or other Scout publications may have been persuaded thereby to enlist in their respective nations' armed forces.

thrill. *Scouting for Boys* is anxiously devoted to and ultimately confident of the survival and supremacy of British culture.

Review of Scholarship on *Scouting for Boys*

The next pages will review the most important scholarship and criticism of *Scouting for Boys*, which will help to establish basic characteristics and varying arguments about the book. The main debates are those between Rosenthal and Jeal, and between Springhall and Warren. After representing and engaging the following scholars' works, I will plunge fully into my own readings of *Scouting for Boys*.

Warren recognizes the ideological pitfalls of the book, but he develops a relatively favorable assessment of the text. "[T]hroughout Baden-Powell's writings there is an enthusiasm for social and personal health with warnings about decadence and unhealthy living[,] ideas of a healthy population with all their eugenic undertones inform much of Baden-Powell's writings" ("Citizens" 238). He acknowledges the first edition's excesses of defensive and exclusive patriotism and racism, but points out that Baden-Powell, a developing rather than a static thinker, improved his text by removing the most offensive (i.e. overtly racist and violent) portions from the 2nd and all later editions.³¹ Warren argues that the most important thrust of the book is:

found in the cult of the outdoors, the centrality of the activity and symbolism of the camp and the reaction against the pressures and alienation of the urban environment. In fact, this should cause the reader of *Scouting for Boys* no surprise since the bulk of its contents are devoted, not to imperial symbolism or patriotic

³¹ He may have modified subsequent editions based on his own maturing views, at the insistence of progressive social pressure, or as a result of both motives.

instruction, but to the world of the wild and how it might be enjoyed and used. It was therefore the camp, not the Empire, which remained for ... Scouts ... the most enduring symbol and metaphor of their ideals. (253-54)

Springhall disputes Warren's interpretation. However, he leaves the widely circulated *Scouting for Boys* untouched, and instead appeals to its author's "[p]rivate correspondence," which he supposes is "always far more revealing than official statements about the real intentions behind a movement like Scouting, [and thus] gives a much more ambivalent answer than Warren would allow to the question of whether or not the Boy Scouts were military or peace scouts" (Springhall "Baden-Powell" 936). Springhall's assertion illuminates the broader question about the militarist aspects of Baden-Powell and his Scout movement. However, precisely because he bases his reply to Warren's reading of the handbook upon Baden-Powell's private communications, rather than on a reading of *Scouting for Boys*, he fails to approach the discursive campfire around which the author and his many readers have met, which is where the lived, imagined and expressed culture of Scouting has in fact unfolded.

In another article, Warren argues that, rather than favoring soldiering:

Scouting for Boys['] true bias . . . is about scouting for boys. [O]f central importance to him was his enthusiasm for scout training with its individualistic bias, its emphasis on personal character development and the moral influence of the small group or patrol, its assertion of the responsibilities of the young [Army] officer (now [the Boy Scout] patrol leader) and its vigorous antipathy to drill-based training. His eccentricities and enthusiasms as a soldier are carried fully into *Scouting for Boys*. . . . ("Sir" 387)

Baden-Powell's "eccentricities as a soldier" find clarification in my above discussion of the

marginal practice of army scouting, which was initially at odds with the mainstream regimentation of military culture.

While Springhall maintains a critical stance toward the militarism in *Scouting for Boys* and Baden-Powell's broader Scout project, Rosenthal devotes considerably more energy toward casting the book and its author as troubling. Contrary to Warren, Rosenthal reads the handbook far "less [as] a practical guide to outdoor living than a thoroughly didactic introduction to Scouting's ideology. In a sense the handbook is the movement, defining the total universe of the Scouts" (*Character Factory* 161). In order to allow Rosenthal to justify his totalizing claim, I will cite him at length:

The world of Scouting for Boys teems with threats, enemies, violence, sudden catastrophes. Such a world can only be negotiated at great peril, and only then if one is capable of looking over one's shoulder and round the next corner simultaneously, all the time keeping any eye peeled for the covetousness of foreign nations. . . . Out of the wealth of detail . . . emerges a coherent view of life and set of assumptions that place struggle and violence of all kinds squarely at the heart of things. (165)

The book depicts "a context in which warfare, crime prevention, and crime detection implicitly become the normal, everyday activities in which human beings engage" (168). Plunging its readers into an endlessly perilous state, "*Scouting for Boys* can perhaps best be thought of as a manual of survival, attempting to equip those enmeshed in a dangerous world with the necessary tools to endure" (169).

Psychoanalyst Nancy Burke, who does not rely on Rosenthal, finds *Scouting for Boys* as an "insight into the process by which anticipation of specific, frightening experiences can come

to manifest itself in a phobia of the future per se,” and suggests the use of the manual as “a guidebook to the constellation of accommodations that are entailed in creating a life devoted to warding off unwanted outcomes” (655). Several readers of Baden-Powell, including myself, use the word “anxiety” to characterize the ways his writing manifests social and political fears. Burke, however, reads more psychosis than neurosis in the foundational Boy Scout text. She perceives an anti-social strain in Scouting’s tendency toward “broadening one’s own survival skills, rather than one’s network of reliance” and suggests that this is common among traumatized individuals (656-67).

Rosenthal and Burke are right in identifying the doom and fear in the text, but they miss the matter of the book’s massive appeal. For Rosenthal, it is as if the handbook’s many readers had found in it a desired source of distress or mental illness. Specifically, they do not perceive the wink that Baden-Powell extends to his readers-turned-fellow-adventurers. *Scouting for Boys* does not concern itself (and its readers) with surviving and enduring an apocalyptic catastrophe so much as it invites the citizen-in-formation to cheerfully confront real and imagined challenges that await him in the natural and social world, to enjoy rather than stoically withstand the act of survival. Are not adventure stories and novels also fraught with seemingly insurmountable risk and danger, and thus with thrill? Whether one agrees with the ways in which the manual hopes the reader will prevail (e.g. how he will become and remain masculine, how he will represent his nationality, and the extent to which he will do so by militarist methods) should certainly remain an active question. Rosenthal’s book is invaluable to the scholarship on Scouting, and it pays needed attention to the disturbing aspects of the movement and its founder. But his topic emerges too one-dimensionally, missing the complexities that make Scouting a dynamic cultural problem. In my estimation, Rosenthal is correct in claiming that the handbook “defin[es] the total universe

of the Scouts,” but he limits this totality to only one broad category: that of fear, danger, crime, war and other disasters. But the book’s scope of topics was in fact so far ranging as to include physical fitness and recreation, justice, colonialism, race, class, sex, history, discipline, economics, religion, social deterioration, and even art –the book contains numerous illustrations, drawn by the author, depicting healthy, cheerful and peculiarly attired boys engaged in exciting actions, usually with no adults in sight. While inviting the young reader to engage in juvenile play and fantasy, it simultaneously–and quite transparently– barrages him with mature anxieties. This foundational text invites its reader to celebrate and magnify his boyhood while it burdens him with the duty of saving his gender and his nation from impending collapse. In terms more balanced than Rosenthal’s, the book maintains a jolly tone while aiming to soberly caution and empower its young reader.

Jeal, in his exhaustive biography, offers a more nuanced reading than Rosenthal’s, shedding light on the considerably freeing effect that the text might have had on middle-class young readers accustomed to rigid social expectations. “Boys [readers of *Scouting for Boys*] sensed that Baden-Powell was on their side, trusting them ‘on their honor’ to behave well in exchange for unaccustomed freedom” to venture away from home, to explore, to create and record experiences (395). Rosenthal’s book repeatedly points to militarism as Scouting’s primary underlying motive. Though in a few instances the handbook invites its readers to consider a military career, Jeal asserts that *Scouting for Boys*’ main “hope [is] to produce future colonists” (419). Bearing in mind the political thrust of post-colonial studies, I maintain that the meaning of the colonist carries profound ethical and historical baggage, and does not necessarily denote a more innocent (less violent, whether epistemologically or physically) meaning than that of the soldier. Thus, the distinction–supported or resisted by scholars of Scouting–between the soldier

and the colonist may be one of kind more than of degree. Still, this distinction informs and, depending on the critic's interpretation, destabilizes the question of militarism.

MacDonald is attuned to a subtle authorial technique that Baden-Powell employs: though the book prompted the Boy Scouts movement into existence, rhetorically it "described a reality, not a proposal; it showed an organization already in existence, not evolving" (*Sons* 126). The first readers of *Scouting for Boys* may have already known that army scouting was a popular practice (or at least a popular literary topic), and upon reading *Scouting for Boys* they may have been under the impression that Boy Scouting was already occurring all around them, and that they merely needed to 'get with the program.' In reality, the program at that point only existed in literary form (within the pages of the handbook) and in the author's and readers' imaginations. The book begins by narratively retrofitting the service that British boys in Mafeking rendered as "Boy Scout" service, wherein one of Baden-Powell's fellow officers organized the town's boys into a messenger and lookout service in order to allow adult men to take up arms as combatants.

MacDonald also points further than Jeal to claim that Baden-Powell was not merely on the boys' side, but also "treat[ed] boys as grown-ups; he asked them to take his enthusiasms as their own, and he invited them to read and study adult texts . . . refusing to patronize his readers" (*Sons* 127). It is true that though Baden-Powell was gifted in addressing youths, he did not speak down to them. This is a merit, but it also may have served to induce his readers not only in his enthusiasms and delights, but also in his anxieties.

Boehmer provides the most developed literary analysis of *Scouting for Boys*. She makes a simple but crucial observation: "the style was conversational," and "the handbook's essential casualness . . . powerfully caught youthful imaginations" (xii-xiii). Baden-Powell possessed "a flair for processing his experiences into fast-moving, accessible prose," and a talent for "making

things up as he went along” (xvi-xvii). In accord with what I recognize as a fundamental tension (but not a contradiction) in Scouting as an embodied and discursive cultural practice, Boehmer notes that “the text casts doubt upon book learning in favour of the lore of the bush, and is in many respects anti-academic, as its cavalier unconcern about the accuracy of quotation and textual borrowing confirms. (It also attempts through its yarning to reinvent the oral tradition of story-telling at the fireside)” (xxvi). The tension involved in these instances of lore and yarning lies in the reliance upon the printed book, rather than the spoken word. The highly textual nature of Scouting (and, of course, of *Scouting for Boys*) should prompt us to be somewhat wary of another critic’s claim that “Baden-Powell *ultimately* wants the reader to stop reading and go on a hike” (Sundmark 118, my emphasis). I concede that Baden-Powell expressed anti-academic sentiments. And yet, while it appears valid to claim that Baden-Powell “ultimately” privileged activities (and ways of learning) that do not involve books over those that do, *Scouting for Boys* and the many Scout texts that came after it provided pages upon pages of Scouting as an alternative to miles and miles of Scouting. In other words, I argue that reading falls squarely within the set of legitimate ways of doing Boy Scouting. By claiming that “one of . . . its many *startling* contradictions is that it is . . . *surprisingly* literary,” even Boehmer appears hesitant to fully recognize her object of study as a piece of literature: (xxvi, my emphasis).

A difficulty in applying a literary analysis to *Scouting for Boys* lies in its refusal to abide by rules of genre and movement. Boehmer approaches this problem from two distinct angles. First, in a rearward gesture it aims (perhaps for some it has succeeded) to re-enchant the modern world, and second, it is postmodern (xxv, xxxv). In response to Boehmer’s first angle, Baden-Powell and scholars of his life and work identify many of his “enemies.” I would add that one of his most formidable enemies was boredom. The following passages illustrate this: “Often by

suddenly looking back you will see an enemy showing himself in a way he would not have done had he thought you would look around” (*Scouting* 72). And: “If at first you constantly remind yourself to [be hyper-observant], you will soon find . . . it is a very useful habit, and makes the duller walk interesting” (78). As I have already argued, fun ranked highly among Scouting’s ethics. In another passage, the author tediously narrates an occasion in which he had used scout skills to deduce the items in a man’s lunch. Leading the reader to assume that the conclusion, as many of his deductions did, related to some transgression or crime, Baden-Powell admits: “There is no important story attached to this, but it is just an example of everyday practice which should be carried out by scouts” (95). He relished the game or the chase, even when there were no stakes. His re-enchantment of the modern world, then, was sometimes a response to the horror of monotony.

Boehmer’s second angle is the more innovative: “If the emphasis on performance in *Scouting for Boys* bears a present-day aspect, we could go so far as to say that features of its style might be called . . . ‘postmodern’. There is the text’s delight in mini-narratives and citation . . . ; there is its non-progressive structure[. T]he handbook’s collage format invites a pick-and-mix reading, a hopscotch pattern” (xxxv). I allow the postmodern description of *Scouting for Boys*, in terms of its form. Pushing this further, I would urge that the gender theory operative in *Scouting for Boys* could be seen as postmodernist, in the sense that it all but admits that masculinities are not natural or spontaneous outgrowths of male bodies. Scouting’s priority of performance is in line with late twentieth and early twenty-first century theories of the socially constructed quality of gender (Butler 1999). Scouting does not so much assert that boys and girls are naturally drawn to sex-specific activities and endowed with distinct attributes, as it insists that society must cultivate the sexes into appropriate genders, it must induce males and females to enact

masculinity and femininity respectively. Scouting's non-essentialist theory of gender is not necessarily more emancipatory or progressive than a naturalistic or 'grand narrative' view of the concept, as it too seeks to authoritatively define, achieve and maintain masculinities within bounds; though Scouting ultimately recognizes these bounds as social rather than natural, it continues to seek and perhaps to achieve gender confinement.

This brings us to a final point from Boehmer, who is alert to the theme of masculinity in *Scouting for Boys*. The book displays "an avid—some might say invasive—interest in every aspect and angle of the boy-body—its fitness and muscular strength, its uprightness and cleanliness, the proper functioning of its orifices [including the] anus [and] urethra. . . . The moral imperative of true manliness is physical restraint" (xxi). Baden-Powell insists on a daily "rear" (defecation), and he ignores the urethra's urinary function, focusing instead upon the physical dangers of ejaculation under any circumstances, which I discuss below. "The fit male form is certainly the focal point of [the handbook's] aesthetic" (xxxii). Whoever failed to satisfy this standard of beauty owed the failure to the misuse of his body.

In a study of the theme of citizenship in literature, Sundmark juxtaposes *Scouting for Boys* with the Swedish children's novel *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* (1906, by Selma Lagerlöf). Through the two books, Sundmark develops the distinction between literature that constructs nation as a project and literature that conceives of nation as an experience. "[N]ation as project' is exclusive—it will inevitably create insiders and outsiders in the name of nationalism—whereas 'nation as experience' is inclusive" (114). "Baden-Powell's Empire is 'nation as project,' and as such [is] less likely to appeal to the heart or imagination (or, indeed, to rationality)" (117). Sundmark is mostly right in this assessment. Literary scholars attuned to questions of nation will recognize the problem of exclusion inherent to the 'nation as project'

model. (Sundmark does not explain why the ‘nation as experience’ model escapes this pitfall.) Baden-Powell’s nation is a project, not an experience, in that *Scouting for Boys* does not merely present an already-existing nation that beckons citizens to experience it. The book hails the reader as one who must (re)build, advance and defend the nation and its empire. Exclusion operates in *Scouting for Boys*, because the reader who takes the book’s directions seriously must vigilantly discern and guard against foreign threats and denounce subversive insiders, etc. But I disagree with the more literary point of Sundmark’s observation. Because Baden-Powell salutes his reader as a needed agent in carrying out nationhood and expanding the empire, comparing the boy scout to literary heroes such as Rudyard Kipling’s Kim or Arthur Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes, which I will discuss below, *Scouting for Boys* appeals precisely to the heart and the imagination (though it may appeal less to the head, as far as critical thought is concerned).

Some scholars, such as Rosenthal, have appeared perplexed by Scouting’s massive appeal to boys, given the program’s insistence upon strict discipline. Vallory explains that, through its austere but positive Scout Law, Oath and Promise, *Scouting for Boys* “allowed readers to bring the rich world of fantasy of the book into real life” (11).³² Baden-Powell achieved this appeal by narratively linking the Scout Law to the “unwritten rules” by which “scouts” of all past generations had abided. Chief among these are the knights of King Arthur, and the samurai of Japan, both of which he conceives of as strictly male and battle-ready, though these may have also served their respective sovereigns as “peace scouts” in inter-war periods. Baden-Powell’s romantic portrayal of the knights’ and the samurais’ strict adherence to

³² The Scout Law initially contained nine, and later ten rules for fulfilling Boy Scout commitments to one’s nation, his immediate fellow beings, and to a far lesser degree, to one’s God and to oneself. Many scholars have noted that, unlike the Biblical Decalogue consisting mostly of negative prescriptions, “Thou *shalt not* . . .” commandments, the Scout Law is mainly phrased positively and descriptively, e.g. “A scout *is* . . .”

demanding codes of conduct (chivalry and *bushido*), exemplifies how the handbook markets discipline to young male citizens and potential soldiers for the Empire.

Original Reading of *Scouting for Boys*

Having reviewed the most illuminating studies of *Scouting for Boys* with attention to the book as a form of literature that revolves around problems of masculinity, militarism and nation, I will now continue with my own readings that address those themes. Though I make some attempt to work through the three guiding concepts one by one, these often interpenetrate and inform one another, making their entirely compartmentalized treatment impossible. A literary exploration of masculinity, militarism and nation, as well as their intersections, should prove productive.

In consideration of *Scouting for Boys*, or any subsequent canonical Scout texts, we must identify that which this culture and these texts regard as being at stake. The affective consequence of the failure to perform masculinity, citizenship and militarism is shame. Baden-Powell states this descriptively (this is the way of things) rather than prescriptively (this ought to be the way of things); he does not endorse the mobilization of shame, but rather warns of it as if it were another natural catastrophe awaiting the unprepared and the undutiful. The boy who fails to perform an appropriate role will be “despised as a coward even by his former friends” (*Scouting* 12). Shame’s sister affect is disgrace, which Baden-Powell identifies as the appropriate emotional state for the one who fails to be the first to observe and respond to signs that reveal events as innocuous as the movements of animals and as menacing as the foreigner’s likelihood to commit a crime (21).

Also at stake is life itself. Though I maintain that Baden-Powell exudes an amiable authorial personality, he also expresses a certain delight in the idea of death, and this desire follows discrete paths for males and females. Once a youngster becomes a boy scout, he is in a position to symbolically “lose his life” by failing to fulfill his oaths and promises. The forfeiture of the Scout badge and the boy’s expulsion from the social unit of the patrol represent his loss of life (35). The boy scout can lose his life honorably and literally, however, by “flinging it down” in order to defend the nation or another human (13). Either way, the text appears eager for boys to die violently.

Baden-Powell presents a yarn based on a rite of passage which Zulu and Swazi males must undergo “before they are *allowed to be considered men*,” wherein the young initiate confronts his death in order to take upon himself his race (which here, as elsewhere in my study, functions similarly to nationality), his gender, and inclusion in his society’s armed forces (152, my emphasis). (Chilean scouter Maximiano Flores’ essay, “Eduquemos,” in the first official national Chilean Boy Scout magazine, plagiarizes this yarn in an effort to apply it to Chilean society. I analyze that essay in my third chapter.) My intent here is not to question or verify the existence of this rite, nor do I aim to assess the author’s accuracy in representing it. My purpose is to examine its meaning in the service of Boy Scouting. When a Zulu or Swazi boy reaches fifteen or sixteen years of age, the men of his community strip him of his clothing and paint his naked body white. They arm him with a few basic implements and cast him from the village, threatening that “he will be killed if anyone catches him while he is still painted white.” The initiate must remain hidden and alone in the wilderness for a month’s time, providing for himself all of his basic needs by hunting and gathering. He may only return—assuming he has survived the dangers of the elements and his own people—when the paint has entirely faded from his body.

This, we assume, may not be accomplished by bathing, but rather by the long process of exposure to the environment. Upon successful completion of this rite, proving that he can care for himself, the boy-turned-man becomes a soldier of the tribe, which is the highest possible honor. “It is a pity that all British boys cannot have the same sort of training before they are allowed to consider themselves men—and the training which we are now doing as scouts is intended to fill that want as far as possible” (152).

In the African ritual, the male community actively renders the initiate vulnerable and marked. Before the initiation, the boy apparently is not readily recognizable as lacking. Thus his superiors must actively (and perhaps forcibly) divest him of nearly all material except that of his own body, which they differentiate with paint. The body is threatened with destruction by those whose ultimate wish is to appropriate it for the purposes of their own defense. For Baden-Powell (and for Flores), I argue that the body paint betrays unease about the civilized races’ virility. The body painted in the “opposite” color is the body that undergoes the most rigorous trial. It is the body that must be banished, and the body fit to be killed if sighted within the bounds of the community. The painted body trope, in the hands of Baden-Powell and Flores, suggests that the fully integrated (fully formed, fully educated) citizen of the society in question must have earned his racial-cultural-national status by serving a term embodying the status of an invented other. This yarn acknowledges the socially constructed “nature” of gender and race, as those who must undergo the rite do not yet possess full masculinity, nor do they enjoy complete racial/national belonging. Even the native must “go native,” or put on and then shed whiteness.

As a universal observation of adolescence, all societies surely note that, at the onset of puberty, girls’ bodies commence a new process for which male bodies have no easy equivalent. Gloria Anzaldúa puts a finer point on this: “The female . . . bleeds every month but she does not

die [and] by virtue of being in tune with nature's cycles, she is feared [by men]" (Anzaldúa 39). Whether the Zulu and Swazi rite of passage I am discussing here is a fact or Baden-Powell's belief or creation, western readers and African observers might regard—consciously or otherwise—the boy's month in the bush as an effort to keep pace or compete with the adolescent girl's menstruation that may serve as (the basis for) a female rite of initiation of *being allowed to be considered* a woman. Scouting, in an attempt to fill this void for civilized boys, also manifests a male lack of an equivalent to menstruation as a marker of advancement through one's sex, gender, and citizenship. Though Scouting claims to mark the civilized nation, it appropriates the "savage" practice as a suitable model for the formation of men, citizens, and soldiers.

Many scholars have acknowledged the abundant sex and gender biases in the foundational Scout manual. But no critics have noted *Scouting for Boys'* tendencies toward discursive femicide. While the text casts a boy's death as meaningful—whether as a disgrace (and symbolic) or as an honor (and literal)—it is also enthusiastic for the violent deaths of females. But these receive a distinct narrative treatment. In an effort to convince the reader of the importance of preparedness, Baden-Powell recounts a purportedly true recent story in which "a woman drowned . . . in shallow water before a whole lot of [non-respondent] men. . . . It would have been a *grand opportunity* for a Boy Scout . . . to go in and fetch her out" (25, my emphasis).³³ Toward the end of his book, Baden-Powell revisits the story, "where[in] a woman drowned herself before a whole lot of people in a shallow pond, and took half-an-hour doing it, while not one of [the on-looking men] had enough pluck to go in and bring her out. [T]o their eternal disgrace [they] let the poor woman drown before their eyes. Had one Boy Scout been there, there

33 The Boy Scout motto is "Be prepared."

would I hope have been a very different *tale to tell*. It was just the *opportunity* for a Boy Scout to distinguish himself” (250-51, my emphasis).

In another short story (also purportedly historical and less recent), which the author titles “The Elsdon Murder,” a mysterious outsider murdered an old woman in her home. Though no proto-boy scout was present to prevent the attack, a shepherd boy in the vicinity spied a foreign-looking stranger, whom he stealthily observed without being seen himself. Significantly, this protagonist did not yet know of the murder, he merely was accustomed to exercising observation and deduction, key among Boy Scout practices. When he happened upon the site of the slaying, he recognized the stranger’s boot prints, and he overheard the crowd rumoring that a band of Gypsies was prowling the countryside, “robbing and threatening death to anyone who made any report of their misdeeds.”³⁴ Seizing the opportunity to risk his own life, the boy led the police back to the place where he had seen the foreigner, who as a result was captured and hanged. When the shepherd—who, like a scout, was kindhearted—“saw the murderer’s body hanging there on the gibbet he was overcome with misery at having caused the death of a fellow creature,” even though he had only performed his “duty to the King to help the police in getting justice done” (28-31). Though the protagonist suffered on account of the man’s execution, the short story had moved beyond its regard for the murder victim almost as soon as it had narrated the incident. Neither the narrator nor the characters give her a second thought. And yet Baden-Powell unintentionally reveals that the victim herself must have acted as a scout: the narrator states that the Gypsies’ primary goal was to rob, and that they threatened bodily violence only to those who dared report their crimes against property. Thus, the victim, who was either robbed or

³⁴ *Scouting for Boys* is replete with references to feet and footwear as the surest identifiers of differences of social class, nationality, as well as general character. Not surprisingly, the shepherd noted the unique nail pattern on the stranger’s boot soles.

a witness to a robbery, probably made an attempt to denounce the criminals to the authorities. And yet the narrative does not consciously recognize this, and fails to credit her as a vigilant citizen whose death was in the line of duty.

The deaths of the female victims of drowning, neglect, and murder were meaningless and un-mourned. *Scouting for Boys*' discursive femicide destroys female bodies in the ultimate service of representing masculine pleasures and opportunities (or missed pleasures and missed opportunities) such as heroic action, detective-like deduction, the execution of justice, and the punitive execution of criminal and/or foreign male bodies. This foregrounds not only the femicidal tendencies of the Scout handbook, but also the book's preference for the literary over other modes of writing. As the author laments, if the story of the drowned woman had included a boy scout protagonist, it would have been a "different tale to tell." For Baden-Powell, what was at stake was not so much a female life as an opportunity for masculine distinction and an ideal narrative. Baden-Powell prefaces his "Elsdon Murder" by stating: "The following story, which in the main is true, is a sample story . . ." (28). The author casually and openly dismisses the need for full veracity (in effect, he insists that something like the following occurred, and what the recounting may lack in historicity, it compensates with a moral lesson), and emphasizes his own task as that of a storyteller, rather than a reporter or a historian. I suggest that *Scouting for Boys* and many Scout writings be read with this literary ambition in mind.

Baden-Powell defines the military scout as "generally a soldier . . . chosen for his cleverness and pluck to go out in front of an army and find out where the enemy are [*sic*], and report to the commander about them." But there are also "peace scouts" who resemble frontiersmen more than soldiers, and these are "real *men* in every sense of the word" (13, original emphasis. See also page 300). This statement exemplifies the interconnectedness of militarism

and masculinity, and yet it treats the latter more complexly than it does the former. While the first portion of the passage is able to concretely define and describe the army scout, the language turns hyper-symbolic and referential as it attempts to convey a meaning of gender: the use of the qualifier “real” and the italicized *men*, overstate and fail to express positively their referent. The phrase “in every sense of the word” only exacerbates the failure to convey a single or stable meaning of masculinity. Significantly, this passage also exposes *Scouting for Boys*’ privileging of masculinity—vague as it may be—over militarism. The reader may deduce from this passage that, when compared to a war scout, a peace scout is even more fully a man. But he will only have a clear sense of what a war or peace scout does, and will be no nearer to a concrete definition of manhood. This passage simultaneously prioritizes and obscures gender. It also deprioritizes militarist actions and identities.

In addition to ethnographies and narratives, *Scouting for Boys* also uses games to induce its readers to perform their masculinity and nationality, often in a military context. The war-themed game called “Dispatch Running” requires a messenger to sneak past opponents acting as besiegers. In his effort to dodge the besiegers, the messenger “can use any ruse he likes, except dressing up as a woman” (180). The possibilities and prohibitions speak to multiple masculinities and the banishment of the feminine. The rules of the game allow virtually endless possibilities of masculine disguises (identities), while reducing the feminine to a singularity. The rules also highlight the concept of *passing*; any permissible and successful ruse would constitute an act of *performing convincingly as* a masculine subject. Games typically prohibit specific maneuvers (which otherwise are physically possible) because these would, if permitted, prove competitively over-advantageous. In soccer, for instance, the prohibition of the use of hands speaks to the material possibility of doing so as well as the excess of benefit. The impermissibility of “dressing

up as a woman” betrays the possibility of (and fear of) a boy succeeding in such a ruse, and thus wielding an unfair advantage. It also manifests the anticipation that such an idea might occur to the players, regardless of their attempt to carry it out.

While nearly any masculine ruse is permissible, Baden-Powell acknowledges that some boys occupy that category uneasily, not quite pulling off the trick. “There are . . . boys who, though with other boys, are not of them. These need special individual study and special treatment, which will avail in almost every case” (317). This vague passage probably alludes to boys who exude “inappropriate” masculinities and/or indications of homosexuality. The author’s faith in the capacity of “special treatment” is repressive, as it suggests the need for reformation. But it is also important to acknowledge his insistence upon the social unit’s full inclusion of such individuals: Baden-Powell’s prudish but careful language here does not cast these boys out to the realm of the feminine; for him, these are still boys.³⁵ The fact that this passage immediately follows an injunction against masturbation (“self abuse”) supports my belief that it is a sexuality-related recommendation—that it advises Scout leaders to identify, retain and reform possible homosexual scouts. But this passage could also point to any show or orientation of sexuality, not solely homosexuality, as Baden-Powell’s theory of masculinity rested heavily upon restraint, regardless of the sex or gender of the subject and object of sexual desire. He even taught that sexual feelings in general were “unmanly” (Judd 205). Here lies a link between Scouting’s theories of gender and sexuality and of citizenship. Baden-Powell based his insistence against “self abuse” and any form of (mentally or physically) active sexuality more in terms of health

³⁵ Eduard Vallory’s book on the worldwide Scout movement shows that the bans against homosexual boys and gay adult Scout leaders have been an aberration particular the Boy Scouts of America, 129. In the institutional texts of La Asociación de los Boy Scouts de Chile, I have seen no reference to policies of exclusion based on sexualities. The BSA’s formal exclusions of homosexual scouts and gay adult leaders were repealed during the writing of my present study.

than in terms of religious virtue. But this is not to say that morality was of no concern. When *Scouting for Boys* warns of the dangers of masturbation, the risks are to the body and the mind. The consequences include physical ailments, nervousness and lunacy. Baden-Powell claimed that boys could even avoid nocturnal emissions (which require no intent or action, and in fact may result from restraint from sexual behavior) through proper nutrition and sleeping positions, and that they should avert this occurrence because the loss of fluid purportedly resulted in a loss of bodily vigor. This physical failure ultimately becomes a moral transgression, as the boy who fails to exercise restraint forfeits his vitality and mentality, and renders himself incapable of being of service to his nation and empire (351-52).

Other instances of explicit calls to performance include a set of three Scout plays (one of which is called a “display”), also authored by Baden-Powell. While Rosenthal regards these plays as representative of Baden-Powell’s and *Scouting for Boys*’ overall (troubling) ideology, I read them as instances of a marked transformation in the author, specifically a dark turn exceeding what otherwise are his most violent expressions. Further, I find that these changes coincide strictly with the change in genre, from the short story or how-to guide, to drama. It is as if Baden-Powell the (dis)playwright took on a markedly different voice from that of Baden-Powell the tall tale narrator or instructor. Indeed, his typical narcissistic first-person retreats entirely from the (dis)plays, where austere and haughty heroes apply their merciless and non-nonsense approach to imperialism.

“The Diamond Thief (Best performed in . . . dumbshow)” is a dialogue-free portrayal of frontier justice that restores a temporarily threatened order:

A party of prospectors [in] the wild country of South Africa . . . have found a magnificent diamond. They are now making their way back to civilization with it. . . .

[They set up camp], cook their food, weave mattresses, sing songs of home, play cards, etc. The diamond is taken out . . . for all to look at and admire. It is then put carefully back [in its box, which] is placed out in the open where it can be seen and one man is [appointed] as sentry to guard it. The remainder . . . lie down to sleep. When the camp is all still, the sentry gets tired . . . and begins to nod.

While he is dozing the diamond thief sneaks into sight, creeps near to the camp, and crouches, watching the sleeping man. . . . Inch by inch the thief creeps up, till he stealthily removes the sentry's gun . . . out of his reach; then he swiftly glides up to the diamond-box, seizes it, and sneaks quickly away, without being discovered, dodges about, walks backward, and wipes out his tracks as he goes in order to confuse pursuers.

The leader wakes [and] starts when he sees there is no sentry standing about. He . . . rushes to the sleeping sentry . . . and asks him where is the diamond. Sentry wakes up confused and scared. Remainder wake and crowd angrily together threatening and questioning the sentry.

When one suddenly sees the footprints of the thief he [and] the rest follow [the trail and] go off the scene. The leader . . . then turns back to the sentry who is standing stupefied. He hands him a pistol and hints to him that having ruined his friends by his faithlessness, he may as well shoot himself. . . . A shout is heard in

the distance just as the guilty sentry is putting the pistol to his head—the leader stops him from shooting himself.

Remainder of the men return bringing in with them the thief and the diamond all safe.

The thief standing with arms bound, is tried and condemned to be shot. He goes away a few paces and sits down with his back to the rest and thinks over his past life.

They then try the sentry, and condemn him as a punishment for his carelessness to shoot the thief.

The sentry takes a pistol and shoots him. Remainder then . . . lift the dead man . . . and carry him to the grave . . . so that everyone [in the audience] can see the ‘body’. . . . All shake hands with the sentry to show that they forgive him.

Pack up camp, put out fire, and continue their journey with the diamond. (123-25)

Initially the play appears as an exceptionally violent manifestation of its author. By freeing his characters from the constraints of modern civilization (not least among these being verbal discussion), they enjoy an idealized masculine social setting in which to enact frontier justice upon the villain who threatened them economically.

Pressing the reading further, I also suggest that all the characters may represent contending elements of a single psyche, such as Baden-Powell’s, and the act of sleeping suggests subconscious mental and physical activity. I argue that this play works out a violent resolution of shame and self-hatred brought on by sexual drives and, given the severity of the “justice,” I read specifically homosexual drives in the text. The party unit, with its internal hierarchy (leader,

sentry and “remainder”) may carry out the functions of the Freudian Superego and Ego, the consciously recognizable elements of the mind. The thief appears as (if he were) a force external to the mind, though he has always been close on the trail of the party, and attempts to realize the impulses of the Id. The thief, unarmed as far as we know, intends no bodily harm; he does not take the sentry’s pistol, but rather removes it from the sentry’s reach. He is thus concerned above all with avoiding and abolishing devices of restraint. The play, however, gives Baden-Powell free reign with his violent impulse (self-directed, perhaps). The thief’s transgression into the sleeping camp, I believe, represents a sexual “impropriety” manifested during an unconscious moment, possibly an accidental but psychologically motivated utterance or physical action, possibly amid the all-male domesticity of the campsite, or possibly in isolation. When the psyche becomes conscious of the transgression, he is confused, but more importantly, angry and ashamed to the point of self-loathing and suicidality. The blame is internal; how could the self have permitted this? Some quick searching and negotiation, however, reconceive of the perpetrator as external, the unconscious drive had crept in and wrought the havoc, and the once careless self must permanently and dramatically destroy or suppress this intruder. The individual, having resolved the disturbing conflict, may now safely resume his position in his broader society or return to civilization, bringing his treasured masculinity safely with him.

Though the thief is the villain, his character most clearly demonstrates Scout knowledge. He pursues his opponents, he watches and listens without being seen or heard, and takes pleasure in this. He almost escapes undetected. Also significant is the fact that only the narrations of his actions are sensual, he approaches “in by inch,” reaches his hand to touch the middle of the sleeping body (where we may assume the pistol is holstered), and “glides” toward his object of desire. Only his actions are told with attention to embodiment and the thrill of

pursuit, gazing, and (temporary) escape. He alone takes care to obscure the signs of his presence and remain invisible. Finally, the prescription that this play be enacted in dumbshow “speaks” to the unspeakable nature of its deepest content. If Boy Scouting carries a homosexual strain, the “Diamond Thief” play provides profound insight, and attests to the institutional and personal violence that police it.

Baden-Powell the (dis)playwright abandons all sense of Scouting as a form of diplomacy; in his dramas the multiculturalism of empire gives way to the racism of nation.³⁶ In a theatrical piece simply titled “Display,” John Nicholson, a British administrator in India, meets with local chiefs, one of which is Mehtab Singh, who defies custom and asserts his equality to the British by “swagger[ing] into the [meeting] room with his shoes on,” rather than removing the footwear in expression of his inferior status (279). Nicholson verbally and physically humbles Singh, restoring the proper order of shame. While the “Diamond Thief” depends upon nonverbal action for its strength and, as I argue, dramatizes an internal struggle, this text’s force resides chiefly in Nicholson’s words—a speech act of national and racial differentiation. Nicholson scolds the audacious Singh: “you forget that you are dealing with a Briton—one of that band who never brooks an insult from an equal, much less from a native of this land. Were I a common soldier it would be the same; a Briton . . . amongst a thousand of your kind, shall be respected, though it be brought about by his death. . . . Take – off – those – shoes” (279-80). Singh initially holds his ground, glaring at his “superior.” The two contenders do not resort to physical violence, but instead their wills wrestle, and Nicholson’s forceful repetition of his order delivers the decisive blow—Singh stoops and removes his shoes. It is as if Singh had known all along that he was

36 My distinction between empire’s multiculturalism and nation’s racism here do not merely designate feelings of good and ill, but objective characteristics of the two types of sovereignties, or cultural and semiotic degrees of inclusion and exclusion.

inferior, and needed only words to restore him to his proper place in the colonial order.³⁷ This display depicts a colonizer obliging the colonized to do precisely what such a subject is supposed to do, according to the logic of colonialism, which is to produce and then display his difference as an Other (Bhabha 122-23).

Scouts perform their masculinities and nationality. In spite of his repeated admonition against indulgence in sports spectatorship—his slogan “play the game” was as much a literal urging to engage in sport as it was a metaphor to promote active citizenship—on a noteworthy occasion, Baden-Powell suggests that it is also appropriate for scouts—given the proper attitude and aesthetic disposition—to be spectators of such performances, to place the male body under the male gaze. The author discloses: “I yield to no one in enjoyment in the sight of those splendid specimens of our race, trained to perfection, and playing faultlessly; but my heart sickens at the reverse of the medal—thousands of boys and young men, pale, narrow-chested, hunched up, miserable specimens . . . hysterical [read *feminine*] as they groan or cheer” (*Scouting* 297-98). The author’s competitive and thus active rendering of his own spectatorship, “I yield to no one,” exemplifies the ideal that every act of observation should be intensely vigorous. The pleasure that Baden-Powell derives from watching attractive specimens, juxtaposed with his adverse response to the scene of the (to him) ugly masses rowdily expressing pleasure at the same spectacle, express his aesthetic hierarchy. All sorts of spectators may enjoy the same spectacle. Manly (and middle-class) restraint allows a more exquisite consumptive act. Feminine (and

37 The third Scout play, “Pocahontas; or, the Capture of Captain John Smith,” which I do not discuss beyond this footnote, also relies upon vitriolic colonial rhetoric. The hero unleashes language similar to Nicholson’s upon his captor, King Powhattan. However, in this case, Smith’s words fail to save him, while Pocahontas’ intercession proves heroic, 51-62.

lower-class) effusion constitutes a lowbrow form of consumption, and also amounts to an upsetting parallel spectacle for the manly viewer.³⁸

The theme of militarism occurs in various instances in *Scouting for Boys*, but the manual addresses the problem by name in only one section, titled “Militarism,” acknowledging frequent criticisms of the founder’s intent to “foster among the boys of Britain a bloodthirsty and warlike spirit.” He assures his reader that such critics have misinterpreted his program. And yet, “Even if I had advocated training lads in a military way (which I have not done), I am impenitent enough to see no harm in it” (300). My study involves an attempt to confirm, but also clarify Baden-Powell’s and Scouting’s militarism. While the question of whether he cultivated a warlike spirit is subject to interpretation, here I will address further the question of bloodthirstiness. *Scouting for Boys* may not attempt to create bloodthirsty readers, but it is a bloodthirsty book. The text is thirsty primarily for the blood of boy scouts. The emphasis of *Scouting for Boys*’ militarism is always more upon sacrifice than upon defense, and less still upon attacking one’s nation’s enemies. We have already seen examples of this, but will now consider the matter in the context of combat.

Femicidal tendencies not only inform the book’s masculinism and nationalism, but also its militarism. “Every boy ought to learn how to shoot [a rifle], else he is no more good when war breaks out than an old woman, and merely gets killed like a squealing rabbit, being unable to defend himself” (11). This passage reveals the author’s aversion toward females and the feminine, as well as the aged. The “old woman,” supposedly, is not only of no use in wartime. Without the specified action of another agent (an enemy), she grammatically brings death on

38 In an unrelated passage, the author advises, “Don’t lark about with a girl whom you would not like your mother or sister to see you with,” 221. While on the surface this suggestion warns against mixing with members of lower social classes, it also remits or displaces the spectacle of the female to the female gaze. It is not the boy, but his mother and sister, who most actively look upon the girl in question.

herself, she “merely gets killed.” She cannot lay down her life, her death amounts to no sacrifice, as she is of no value to begin with.

“It is quite likely that England will some day be attacked just as Mafeking was, unexpectedly, by a large number of enemies. [W]e ought really not to think too much of any boy . . . unless he can also *shoot*” (283, original emphasis). “Remember it is going to be the business of everyone of you to keep the old flag flying, even if you have to bleed for it—just as your forefathers did before you” (292). After many references to the virtue of laying down one’s life, the text, in its final pages, confronts the possibility of taking enemy lives:

We have all got to die someday; a few years more or less of our own lives don’t make much matter in the history of the world, but it is a very great matter if by dying a year or two sooner than we should otherwise do from disease we can help to save the flag of our country from going under.

Therefore think it over—BE PREPARED to die for your country if need be; so that when the moment arrives you may charge home with confidence, not caring whether you are going to be killed or not.

If your enemy sees that you are bent on either killing or being killed, the probability is that he won’t wait to oblige you. (292)³⁹

This is the only instance in which Baden-Powell breaks from his insistence upon rushing into action and urges his reader to first “think it over.” Thus it appears that the author reserves this as one of the book’s most crucial messages.

39 Notice the distinction between the old woman *getting* killed, and the boy *being* killed. *Getting killed* is a more grammatically active and yet somehow less willful and noble act than *being killed*.

While *Scouting for Boys* dedicates far more attention to being killed than to killing, the handbook does in fact include instruction on this matter as well, addressing it coolly and uncomplicatedly:

Shooting at a fixed target is only a step towards shooting at a moving one like a man. . . . You will not find a deer or an enemy kind enough to stand still while you shoot at him, he will be running and dodging behind cover, so you have to get your aim quick and to shoot quick.

Aim first at the man, then moving the muzzle a little faster than he is moving, fire while . . . it is pointing where he will be in a second or two later, and the bullet will just get there at the same time as he does and will hit him. (286)

Scouting for Boys includes a lengthy section, “How to Make Money,” that describes and promotes various professions. When directly discussing the possibility of an army or navy career, the author does not use the rhetoric of “duty,” nor does he discuss the matters of defense or killing. Instead, he emphasizes the opportunities to find adventures in diverse geographies in the company of good comrades (237). Ultimately Baden-Powell presents military careerism as one among many professional considerations for his young readers. And yet, I maintain that *Scouting for Boys* does in fact consist of a significant degree and a specific type of militarism. The founding Scout text is not military recruitment propaganda. The author, I believe, would not have hesitated to use Scouting to endorse conscription if he had supported that measure of defense and expansionism. His insistence that “every boy ought to learn how to shoot” is not the same as urging that every boy enlist officially in the armed forces. This particular militarism is not concerned with bringing boys into the military institution, but rather with extending practical and cultural elements of the military into broader civil society. As I have just demonstrated, he

was convinced that Britain's boys would be called upon to defend their nation and empire from foreign aggression. And yet, as I have also discussed above, I maintain that the leisurely and recreational qualities of military life rank more highly as a priority of Scouting's unique and problematic version of militarism.

Baden-Powell offers much of *Scouting for Boys*' content in the form of criticism of his favorite literature, which included works by Rudyard Kipling and Arthur Conan Doyle. The works of Kipling represent Baden-Powell's ideological and professional commitment to British colonialism. From Kipling's novel *Kim*, Baden-Powell exalts the namesake character, young Kimball O'Hara, the son of an Irish sergeant in India, who, like Baden-Powell, had lost his father, but also his mother, as a small child. "[Kim's] playmates were all natives, so he got to talk their language and to know their ways better than any European." Kim found that he could pass as a native, and when his deceased father's regiment discovered him, only his birth certificate convinced the soldiers that he was a British citizen. His education and care then became the responsibility of British colonials in India. "But whenever he could get away . . . he dressed himself in Indian clothes, and went again among the natives as one of them. [F]inding that Kim had special knowledge of native habits and customs, [it was seen] that he would make a useful agent for Government Intelligence work, that is, a kind of detective among the natives." As a trial of his strong-mindedness [one his trainers] attempted to mesmerize him, . . . to make Kim's thoughts obey what was in his own mind," which technique involved the man "la[y]ing his fingers on the boy's neck." The boy successfully avoided the man's attempt. In addition to Kim's ability to assume other identities and his "strong-mindedness," he also developed the skill of observing and memorizing visual clues: He could quickly stare at a tray full of arbitrary items, or glance into a store window for an instant, and then recount and describe all the objects that he

had seen. From Kim's training in observation Baden-Powell adopted "Kim's game," in which the scout replicated Kim's drills in memorization and reporting, an exercise in reconnoitering. "Kim [is able to] effortlessly become what . . . most of the Indian characters in the novel . . . cannot quite become: a competent and reliable reader of texts, ultimately, in fact, of society as a text" (Mohanty 24). "[T]he adventures of Kim are worth reading, because they show what valuable work a boy scout could do for his country if he were sufficiently trained and sufficiently intelligent" (Baden-Powell, *Scouting* 18).

Baden-Powell's *explication de texte* of *Kim* highlights three matters of interest: first, it celebrates the boy's (Kim's) resistance to his adult male mentor's attempt to penetrate his mind and alter his will. This can represent the triumph of youth over adulthood. It also suggests the "moral" feat of dodging the full consummation of a homoerotic encounter. On a basic level, this interpretation notably feminizes Kim as the one pursued or "flirted with," and the one who effectively stamps out the attempted seduction. And while I believe that to be a sound reading, especially as it is based on a critical but by now common sense of gender norms, we should also take into account Baden-Powell's peculiar gendering of courting or, as he called it, "lovmaking." Pryke suggests that early British Scout theory placed females as the more desirous and assertive party in the context of heterosexual interaction, attraction, and sexuality ("The Boy Scouts" 198-99, 202). For Baden-Powell, boys were sexually passive, and if sex occurred, boys were victims of girls. Females, in that theory of sexuality, were not the objects of males' desire, but the agents of their own desire to prey upon males. Masculinity was sexually passive or defensive, while female sexuality was aggressive agency (MacDonald "Reproducing" 522). In that framework, sexuality of any form (regardless of the carrying out of sex acts) was transgressive. This provides an even deeper glimpse into Baden-Powell's latent reading,

suggesting that Kim's repulsion of the would-be seduction embodied a thoroughly masculine quality, while the adult male's attempt to mesmerize him represented a feminine act.

Second, Baden-Powell's retelling of *Kim* renders Indian natives as disposed toward crime, especially theft and homicide. Kim aids the police in discovering native plots to *murder* British colonial government officials. The text denies these enemies of the potential to *assassinate*. This is a minor detail, more based in the unwritten than the written, but it demonstrates a subtle gesture that denies the political aspect of native resistance. In such a reading, natives can only conceive of and carry out crime; they lack the political capacity for legitimate revolution. This aspect highlights the potential for the European to fulfill his citizenship, even, or especially, as he occupies colonized land, while it refuses the citizenship of the colonized.

Third, *Scouting for Boys* celebrates Kim as a protagonist who carries out the work of an authorized agent of national/imperial discipline. Baden-Powell seems to have believed that *Kim* could function instructively to teach young citizens to act (to work and/or play) as spies and allies to the police. This ideological reading is upfront and squarely in the service of the era's prevailing political climate. Edward Said, in a study of Kipling's novel, observes that "Baden-Powell's conception of the Boy Scouts" stands as a "perfect example of [*Kim*'s] odd mixture of fun and single-minded political seriousness." Scouting represents a "remarkable conjunction of fun and service designed to produce row after row of bright-eyed, eager and resourceful little middle-class servants of empire" (13-14).

Baden-Powell would later draw extensively upon Kipling's children's fictions in the *Jungle Books* (1894 and 1895) as narrative bases for his manual for younger scouts, "wolf cubs," in his *The Wolf Cubs' Handbook* (1916). With Kipling's permission and approval, which he

rarely granted, Baden-Powell transported the human and animal characters from the storied jungles of India to the imagined world of the youngest scouts (Jeal 500). In the *Jungle Books*, Akela is the fatherly wolf who trains his cubs and the adopted Indian boy, Mowgli, in the “law of the jungle.” Baden-Powell interpellated the 8-11 year old boys as cubs in formation toward eventual “wolf” or Boy Scout status. Adult leaders of the British Wolf Cubs and the Chilean equivalent, *Lobatos*, would be called “Akela.” Thus, in the Wolf Cubs and *Lobatos* branches of Scouting, to an even higher degree than in the case of the Boy Scouts age bracket, the boys and their leaders explicitly take on the roles of literary characters as the rhetorical device for carrying out their programs.

Conan Doyle’s character Sherlock Holmes satisfies Baden-Powell’s obsession with seeing the criminal artfully discovered and brought to justice within the domestic metropolis. Kipling’s and Doyle’s heroes represent Baden-Powell’s conviction that the powers of observation and deduction guaranteed the restoration of threatened order. Baden-Powell’s positivist mindset was thoroughly forensic; every action leaves readable traces, and thus a trained reader should be capable of interpreting the sum of the goings-on around him. This is most important as it regards the actions of enemies and deviants—ultimately, no crime or disorder may go unpunished or uncorrected. It was the physical world that laid the conditions for a panoptic social effect, and would-be wrongdoers were well advised to be on their best behavior, as their crimes would surely be brought to light under the watchful eye of the dutiful citizen.

Baden-Powell promoted the actions of Kim and Holmes, described above, as the privileged form of literacy, superior to book learning. But he had now placed sizeable book in the hands of an audience that he interpellated as a unique subjectivity. Judd suggests that *Scouting for Boys*’ style and structure principally address young and semi-literate readers

(203).⁴⁰ And yet, notwithstanding its apparently modest level of rhetorical sophistication, the form of address in *Scouting for Boys* is far from simplistic. The manual offers a way to critically view categories of childhood, adolescence and maturity as social constructs. While inviting the young reader to engage in juvenile play and fantasy, it simultaneously barrages him with anxieties that perhaps should be reserved for adults. Consistent with the ambivalence that pervades many of Boy Scouting's most outstanding ideals, this foundational text invites its reader to celebrate and magnify his boyhood while it burdens him with the duty of rescuing his gender and his nation from impending destruction. In more constructive words, the book maintains a jolly tone while aiming to empower its young reader. In terms of subject formation, any young male reader taking the book's message to heart would have been convinced of his own individual importance within society and the scope of his agency. Boy Scout practice and theory may enable individuals to build community, to render real service and to acquire valuable skills and knowledge. But initially, this subjectivity remained bound within patriotism and, more narrowly still, within a select male society.

Whether as a result of the book's regard for its target audience, its author's ideological positions, or a combination of both, *Scouting for Boys'* treatment of such weighty matters is often conceptually underdeveloped, and biased as far as nationality, race, class, gender, and sex are concerned. And yet in terms of length, the dutiful scout who read the entire text would have trekked through what in current-day formatting amounts to over three hundred and fifty pages. I mention the book's length in order to note that, though Baden-Powell repeatedly claimed that book learning was inferior to the acquisition of knowledge through in-person instruction and hands-on practice, he provided his scouts with a protracted piece of reading material. While it

⁴⁰ Based on my above assessment of British public schools of the time in which Baden-Powell was a student, it seems that such colleges would have had little constructive effect on their pupils' literacy.

may appear that Baden-Powell wished above all to place the ideal subject in the literal wilderness, *Scouting for Boys* plunged its reader into a discursive jungle and equipped the boy scout with a winding map that urged him toward masculinity and citizenship, the route sometimes avoiding and sometimes treading the way of militarism.

Boy Scouting Reaches Latin America

The dissemination of *Scouting for Boys* and the culture to which it gave rise were so sudden that by 1909, sons of English immigrants in Argentina were forming local Scout units, “patrols” and “troops,” on their own, as the book directed (del Brutto 2; Baden-Powell, *Scouting* 32).

However, Scouting was not yet formally organized by and for Argentines. English language media in South America published news of the manual and the novel program it prompted, attracting the attention of Chilean youth leaders (Rojas Flores 17; Cabezas 1).

In early 1909, Baden-Powell added South America to his travel résumé. The scarce historical work that has been published on the Chilean Boy Scouts (Rojas Flores is the only scholar who has published a study of the phenomenon from outside of the institution) and the available institutional histories and other documents are nearly silent about exactly what may have induced Baden-Powell’s visit to the Southern Cone. At that time he was balancing his Boy Scout work with his duties as a Lieutenant-General on half-pay, and would not fully retire from his military career until 1910 in order to devote all of his working attention to Boy Scouting.⁴¹

⁴¹ Springhall suggests that Baden-Powell’s total retirement from the army reflected his intent, at least at that moment, to “dissociate the Boy Scouts in the public mind from the [military].” *Youth* 56, 66n22. Elsewhere Springhall insists that Baden-Powell’s private correspondences reveal an intent to foster military objectives through the Boy Scout program, “Baden-Powell” 936. Thus Springhall’s earlier suggestion may point to a dissociation that was more cosmetic than substantial.

Thus this trip corresponded to a relatively brief window in which Baden-Powell was both a military officer and the “Chief Boy Scout.”

Reynolds reports that Baden-Powell was “on holiday” during the time of this journey, but does not account for the destinations of his travels at the time (149). Kiernan refers only in passing to Baden-Powell’s 1909 “visit” to South America (219). Rojas Flores provides a solid history of the Scout organization in Chile, but he leaves wide open the question of exactly what prompted Baden-Powell’s excursion to Chile.

Given *Scouting for Boys*’ social Darwinist commitment to the survival and supremacy of the British Empire, it is unlikely that its author would travel to South America with ambitions to spread the movement there. If he was convinced that the Boy Scout scheme would in fact assure Britain’s primacy in the world, and if he was sincerely wary of “enemy” nations’ intents to defeat Britain militarily and/or economically, why share that scheme with other nations? I raise the matter of motives because it suggests much about the tension that has always conditioned Chilean Scouting’s views on militarism.

Attentive writers and readers of Chilean Scout publications of the first decades were most likely not ignorant of the observation—for many, the denunciation—that their institution bore elements of militarism. This critique came from outside and from within the organization. The unfolding body of Chilean Scout publications would prove undecided about the appropriate role of militarism within Boy Scouting. As was the case with *Scouting for Boys*, within the pages of nearly any Chilean Scout publication from 1911 through well into the 1940s, the readers would encounter messages claiming that their program was not at all militaristic, acknowledgements of the militaristic posture of the program and the need to eradicate it, as well as unproblematic celebrations of Scouting as a proto army and preparation for military service.

By the 1960s, these contrary attitudes would contribute to a rift in the original organization, La Asociación de Boy Scouts de Chile, resulting in two distinct Chilean Boy Scout organizations. It is significant that the problem of militarism continues to inform these two contemporary Chilean Scout organizations' representations of Chilean Scouting's origin story; representative authors of the two current organizations present strikingly different narratives about Baden-Powell's motives for traveling to Santiago in March of 1909. A recent paper by Alberto del Brutto, former regional director of and author within the Asociación de Guías y Scouts de Chile, presents Baden-Powell as the curious traveler who jumped aboard a trans-Atlantic ship bound for South America because the smell of coffee emanating from the vessel intrigued him sufficiently to travel and discover the aroma's origin (1).⁴² Conversely, the website of La Agrupación Nacional de Boy Scouts de Chile frames the journey within the military context; it emphasizes that Baden-Powell was serving as a high-ranking officer at the time of this travel, and that he appeared in Chile in response to an invitation from that nation's Minister of War, Darío Zañartu (Agrupación Nacional). La Agrupación Nacional does not cite supporting documentation. Thus, it is unclear how that institution knows that Zañartu in fact invited Baden-Powell to meet with him in Chile. Murkier still is the matter of whether Zañartu contacted Baden-Powell in England, while he was in Argentina, or suddenly upon knowing of his appearance in Chile. Baden-Powell's entire visit to Chile may have been an afterthought. He sailed from Southampton to Buenos Aires, and spent at least ten days in Argentina. While there, he expressed interest in visiting Chile (del Brutto 2). We are still without clarity regarding the full content or the precise objectives of the meeting between Baden-Powell and Zañartu.

⁴² Del Brutto cites page 383 of F. Díaz L.'s translation of William Hillcourt's 1964 book *Baden-Powell: The Two Lives of a Hero*, which is also remarkably vague concerning Baden-Powell's motives for traveling to Santiago.

All authors who have mentioned this event appear to have overlooked a brief entry in a Chilean Scout magazine published in 1920, which reproduces a letter, in translation, that Baden-Powell addressed to los Boy Scouts de Chile that year. As far as I have been able to discern, this was Baden-Powell's first communication to the Chilean Boy Scouts since the year of his visit, over a decade earlier. In that letter, he reveals that he had held multiple meetings with Chilean military personnel, though this does not prove the motive for his visit to Santiago.⁴³ This is significant not only because it points to the relation between Boy Scouting in Chile and the military aspirations of that nation, but also because the content of the letter is representative of the ambivalent position that militarism has long held in Boy Scout culture. The letter states:

Cuando estuve en Chile manifesté *en uno de mis discursos a su valeroso ejército*, que yo consideraba que era más agradable para los soldados chilenos entrar a pelear en un combate que sentarse a un banquete. Quise decir con eso que no solo tenían aptitudes militares, sino lo que era más importante aún: tenían el espíritu de los verdaderos soldados y patriotas. Es siempre el espíritu lo que vale en esta vida.

Así también acontece con los scouts. Sé que trabajan bien y que *tienen un aspecto marcial*. Todo esto es muy satisfactorio. Pero lo que a mí más me agrada, y lo que nos hace esperar un gran desarrollo del scoutismo en Chile, es el

⁴³ Latin American military officers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often consulted with their European counterparts in order to improve their own operations. In the 1880s the Chilean military had solicited training from the German army, and shortly thereafter Brazil's armed forces received training from French delegates. See Smith 74, and Alexander Rodríguez xiii. Baden-Powell habitually sought to increase his own knowledge of military history, practice and theory by visiting with heads of foreign cavalry units. "It was typical of his methods of work that, as soon as possible after taking up his new appointment, he went to see for himself what was being done in cavalry training in other countries; doubtless this also appealed to his recurrent travel-fever, . . . he always preferred to learn by observation rather than from reports or from books," Reynolds 130.

espléndido espíritu que han heredado los niños chilenos de sus antepasados.

(Baden-Powell, “Último mensaje” 2, emphasis mine)

When I was in Chile I expressed, in *one of my lectures to its valiant army*, that I believed that it was more enjoyable for Chilean soldiers to go into battle than to sit down to a banquet. I wished to say by this that they not only had military aptitudes, but rather something even more important: they had the spirit of true soldiers and patriots. It is always the spirit that matters most in this life.

And so it is with [boy] scouts. I know that they work well and that *they have a martial aspect*. All of this is very satisfactory. But what pleases me most, and what makes us hope for a great development of scouting in Chile, is the splendid spirit that the Chilean youth have inherited from their ancestors. (Baden-Powell, “Último mensaje” 2, my emphasis and retranslation)

This letter begins by commending the Chilean soldiers for taking great pleasure, as the author assumes, in actual armed conflict. Then the message quickly attempts to offer a more moderate interpretation of the initial utterance. By his phrase “Quise decir” ‘I wished to say,’ Baden-Powell suggests that in 1909 he failed to express himself appropriately, and inadvertently condoned bellicosity. The author now endeavors to privilege essence over action; it is the “spirit” that defines the ideal Chilean citizen. But his revisionist appeal to the essential spirit does very little to distance itself from the working concept of the desired national subject, which remains that of a soldier and a patriot. When Baden-Powell evokes the spirit that the Chilean boy scouts

have inherited from their ancestors, he may be recalling his reference from a decade earlier, which I cite below, to the heroes of the nation's independence.⁴⁴

While Baden-Powell's letter from 1920 leaves motives unclear, it makes evident that his (only) visit to Chile in 1909 consisted of plural meetings with that nation's military personnel. More pertinent to my study, the letter also demonstrates his celebration of, as well as his partial and ultimately unsuccessful distancing from, the military essence or "spirit" of Boy Scout culture. It also suggests that by 1920 Baden-Powell was aware and concerned that Chilean Scouting's enthusiasm for militarism exceeded his own. (He may have also been aware of and concerned by the Chilean armed forces' enthusiasm for Chilean Scouting.) But let us now return to 1909.

Word of Baden-Powell's appearance in Santiago spread quickly among prominent social figures. Primary among these were the gynecologist Alcibíades Vicencio and the prestigious Instituto Nacional's professor of physical education Joaquín Cabezas, who asked him to present a lecture on his Boy Scout system (Rojas Flores 17).⁴⁵ Having spent much of the previous year delivering fifty public lectures on Boy Scouting to British audiences (Boehmer xlii), he was prepared to grant a well-rehearsed lecture in front of Vicencio, Cabezas, their cohorts, and

44 Readers of the first decade of Chilean Scout publications, especially its magazines, would have been exposed to repeated references to two national ancestral categories: the Mapuches (Araucans) and the Spanish conquistadors. (I use the term "national ancestry" in order to refer to what is commonly but uncritically dubbed "race." By "national ancestry" I intend to designate socially recognized cultural heritages in fusion, rather than biological genetics. Both groups, the Spanish and the Mapuche, were revered for their ferocity. Though historically the Mapuches were defeated (conquered, genealogically integrated, or displaced), they have been represented as a worthy opposition for the victorious Spanish. According to the racial-national theorist Nicolás Palacios, the particular Spaniards who conquered and colonized Chile were decedents of the Germanic and Visigothic conquerors of the Iberian Peninsula. Palacios' insistence on the northern European origin of those Spanish conquerors supports his assertion that these, at the time of the conquest of Chile, were already heirs of a conquering race. For Palacios, the Mapuches' ferocity made them the New World equivalents to the European Nordic peoples. See Palacios, *Raza Chilena* Chapters 1-3. Palacios and several of his contemporary Chilean Scout writers remembered the foundation of "the Chilean race" as the glorious melding of warlike peoples into a single, unified nation of natural fighters and adventurers. Baden-Powell was likely unaware of this lore, but readers of his 1920 letter to the Chilean Boy Scouts would have born such notions of their national ancestry and of their own inherited "spirit."

45 Among the most prominent British "boyologists" were medics and schoolteachers, Kidd 50.

numerous university students on 26 March 1909 in the Salón de Honor in the Universidad de Chile.⁴⁶ Also in attendance were Chilean president Pedro Montt, the afore-mentioned Minister of War, Zañartu, and several other officers of the nation's armed forces.

Baden-Powell's Boy Scout project bore lofty ambitions. But as was the case with his writing, the tone of his lecture in Santiago (delivered in English, simultaneously interpreted and later translated in Spanish) was casual and folksy. (Early Chilean Scout literature, on the other hand, would present a far more formal and solemn mood.) The official website of the current-day Chilean Scout organization, La Agrupación Nacional de Boy Scouts de Chile, recounts the experience, reproducing and commenting upon Baden-Powell's lecture: "Evoquemos estos recuerdos del pasado e imaginemos al ilustre militar inglés, explicando en su idioma a la concurrencia, el significado de la institución que con tanto cariño fundara. Su improvisación, fue sencilla, sobria, llana, sin pretensiones de retórica y sobre todo, pintoresca y llena de animación" 'Let us evoke these memories of the past and imagine the illustrious English military man, explaining in his language to the audience the meaning of the institution that he founded with so much care' (Agrupación Nacional). The following citations are Baden-Powell's words. He begins with what would have been, for this openly Anglophile audience, flattering remarks:

Chile y la Gran Bretaña son países que tienen muchos puntos de semejanza, que han tenido gloriosas vinculaciones en el pasado y que yo espero habrán de tener estrechas relaciones en el futuro. . . . Entre los puntos de contacto que noto entre estas dos naciones, debo señalar . . . el hecho de que ambas se ganaron su independencia y la posición que ocupan en el mundo, por el esfuerzo de sus propios brazos, por el sacrificio abnegado de sus padres y fundadores. Y si ambos

⁴⁶ The first Chilean boy scouts were of an older demographic than the primary and secondary school-aged boys who later became the most representative participants. Rojas Flores 18.

pueblos, el británico y el chileno deseamos mantener esa posición para nuestros países respectivos, es preciso que procuremos también ser dignos de ella.

(“Texto”)

Chile and Great Britain are two countries that have many points in common, that have had glorious links in the past, and I hope they may have close relations in the future. . . . Among the points of similarity that I note among these two nations, I should mention . . . the fact that both won their independence and the position that they occupy in the world by the effort of their own strength, by the abnegated sacrifice of their fathers and founders. And if both peoples, the British and the Chilean, wish to maintain that position for our respective countries, it is necessary that we seek also to be worthy of that position. (“Texto”)

The British guest lecturer invites his Chilean audience to share in his preoccupation with the hard-won acquisition and dogged preservation of independence and global or continental prominence. His insistence upon a nation’s worthiness to be independent and prominent attests to his deeply moralistic view of citizenship; national independence and eminence are not only strategic and utilitarian, they are markers of virtuousness.

Continuing, Baden-Powell explicitly points to the need to form good national citizens, a necessity that he claims that academic education cannot completely satisfy. Implicitly, he also proposes the idea that the youth ought to be readers, though the type of reader they should be is an idea that would come to be contested sharply within the Chilean institution. “¿Qué es el scout?” ‘What is the scout?’ he asks:

Cuando un niño *lee* u oye referir la vida de uno de estos exploradores, *la novela de estas existencias* llenas de intereses, inmediatamente tiene el impulso de

imitarla. He aquí el cebo que hemos puesto para traer a los niños y hacer de ellos verdaderos hombres: los invitamos a ser Scouts, exploradores *como esos héroes de romances reales*. (“Texto,” my emphasis)

When a boy *reads* or hears a reference to the life one of these explorers, *the novel of these existences* full of interests, he immediately has the impulse to imitate it.

This is the bait that we have set in order to attract the boys and make true men of them; we invite them to be Scouts, explorers like those *heroes of real novels*.

(“Texto,” my emphasis)

Baden-Powell regards “these explorers or scouts” not only as real persons, but also as characters of a narrative. Waxing metaphorical, Baden-Powell states, “Estoy seguro que la idea hallará adeptos en Chile y que muy pronto estará la institución produciendo entre ustedes sus frutos” ‘I am sure that the idea will find many adept in Chile and that very soon the institution will be producing its fruits among you.’ (“Texto”)⁴⁷

The lecturer proceeds to describe his method and the main points of his cultural program. The following quote sketches some of the most prioritized aspects of Scouting and the kernel of Baden-Powell’s address to his Chilean audience. Though we may productively derive symbolism from what follows, for the moment we should read it literally:

⁴⁷ I assume that the Spanish translation of Baden-Powell’s speech, like any translation, was imperfect. An important indication of this is the fact that Baden-Powell seldom used the word “institution” to refer to his program. He preferred the term “movement.” The Chilean Scout authors would prove to be in favor of the word *institución*, and would scarcely conceive of *scoutismo* as a social movement. This points to a key distinction between the British and the Chilean versions of Boy Scouting: though Baden-Powell’s Boy Scout scheme, as outlined in *Scouting for Boys*, may have appeared to prescribe a totalizing program for nearly every aspect of the young person’s life, and though it frequently interpellated the reader as one always already bound to duty to his nation and gender, it also offered multiple reminders of the agency that he intended for his followers to exercise in carrying out the cultural program. The Chilean Scout texts (with the exception of its translations of Baden-Powell’s works) spelled out a far more regimented cultural program.

Ante todo, es preciso, tener muy presente que todo lo enseñamos por medio de juegos y ejercicios, y nada absolutamente por medio de lecciones propiamente tales. La institución puede desarrollarse lo mismo en las ciudades que en el campo, pero, por supuesto, el campo es el verdadero terreno para aplicarla con todo su vigor. . . . Enseñamos a los niños a desarrollar sus facultades de observación, tomando nota de todo lo que ven y tratando de darse cuenta de todo, estudiando y aprendiendo a conocer las huellas en un camino, el vuelo de los pájaros, los diversos ruidos a la distancia, el carácter y condiciones de los que transitan por un campo, y, en suma, todo lo que está a su alcance, de suerte que nada escape a su observación, y estamos ciertos de que esto les será sumamente útil en cualquier función que sean llamados a desempeñar más tarde en la vida. Les enseñamos a buscar por sí mismos los elementos para su alimentación, a matar los animales que deben comer, a distinguir las plantas, a cocinar, a arreglar sus ropas, a bastarse a sí mismos en cuanto es más indispensable. Les enseñamos a componer y abrir un camino, a hacer un puente provisorio, a construir cercado, a trabajar en los rudimentos de la carpintería . . . , a ser, en suma, hombres útiles en todo momento. . . . La historia patria y el desarrollo de los sentimientos patrióticos, forman parte de esta enseñanza, y muy principal. El Boy Scout debe estar convencido de que debe a la patria el sacrificio de su vida, si es necesario. Todo esto, lo repito, se hace en forma de juegos y ejercicios prácticos, nunca en forma pedagógica. (“Texto”)

Above all, it is necessary to bear in mind that we teach everything by means of games and exercises, absolutely nothing by means of lessons, strictly speaking.

The institution can be developed in the cities as well as in the country, but, of course, the country is the true terrain in which to apply it in all its strength. . . .

We teach the boys to develop their faculties of observation, taking note of all they see and trying to be conscious of everything, studying and learning to recognize the prints in a trail, the flight of birds, the diverse noises off in the distance, the character and conditions of those who cross a field, and, in sum, all that is in their reach, such that nothing may escape their observation, and we are sure that this will be highly useful in whatever function they may be called to carry out in the future. We teach them to seek, for themselves, the elements of the food they will eat, to kill the animals that they must eat, to distinguish the plants, to cook, to mend their clothing, to be self sufficient. We teach them to design and clear a path, to make a temporary bridge, to construct a fence, to work in the rudiments of carpentry . . . , to be, in summary, men useful in every moment. . . . The history of the fatherland and the development of patriotic feelings form very principle parts of this teaching. The Boy Scout must be convinced that he owes to his country the sacrifice of his life, should it be necessary. All of this, I repeat, is done in the form of games and practical exercises, never in a pedagogical way. (“Texto”)⁴⁸

The current-day Chilean Scout website concludes: “Cerró la manifestación el Dr. Alcibíades Vicencio con un discurso en que hizo votos *para que fructificara la semilla sembrada en Chile por el creador de los Boy Scouts*” ‘Doctor Alcibíades Vicencio closed the manifestation

48 The notion of designing and building paths, roads and bridges, as well as walls and fences, places the subject in a position to foster access and penetration, and to enforce barriers. Through Boy Scouting, this fluidity and rigidity occurs materially, as in the literal acts of constructing actual trails and means for crossing ravines and rivers, for example, and delimiting the bounds of a camp. It also speaks to the ambivalence that latently drives Scouting as an identity-forming practice and theory, the simultaneous insistence on stable categories (of gender, age, race, nationality, class) as well as the intricate network of “pathways” that the scout might follow across those categories’ supposed boundaries, while still remaining within the bounds of Boy Scouting.

with a lecture in which he expressed the desire that the founder's seed, planted in Chile, should flourish' (Agrupación Nacional, my emphasis). Within an hour of the conclusion of this lecture, which I identify as the first Chilean Boy Scout text, over three hundred youths, mostly university students, enrolled in what would formally become La Asociación de Boy Scouts de Chile two months later on 12 May 1909 (Rojas Flores 18; Porras Castillo 22).

Baden-Powell only spent three days in Chile, and he never returned to that country. In his book *Boy Scouts Beyond the Sea: My World Tour* (1913), which recounts his visits to scouts on nearly every continent, he does not mention his South American trip of 1909, nor does he claim credit for the spread of Boy Scouting to Chile. His subsequent near silence on his travel to Chile is striking.

The brevity of his stay in Chile is significant for a few reasons. First, it makes evident that he did not linger to help launch the Scout movement there. On this point I read Baden-Powell as a father who sired a movement and then left immediately after. This, of course, is not to accuse him of abandonment, but to make explicit the gendered and even sexualized story of the *conception* and *nurturing* of Chilean Boy Scouting; Chilean Scout writings are pregnant with comparisons of the genesis and development of Scouting in their country to Baden-Powell's vigorous seed deposited in fertile Chilean soil. As we will see in the remaining chapters, those who soon after became the first Chilean Scout authors would faithfully propagate Baden-Powell's simple horticultural symbolism. This metaphor would express the melding of national cultures, and would manifest (perhaps suppressed) notions of gender and sexuality. I do not assert that this frequent trope points necessarily to the homoerotic tendencies of many Chilean Scout writers and orators (though this may have been the case). Rather, it points to a profound Chilean desire for bodily and cultural union with British masculinities.

Second, Vicencio, Cabezas, and other Chilean scouts dealt with Baden-Powell not as a collaborator, but as a foundational thinker and author. With no sustained access to his person, they were obliged to study his text in order to produce Scouting in Chile.

Third, though Chilean scouts and scouters attribute to him the status of the original founder of the Boy Scout experience in their country, I regard Chilean *scoutismo* as a predominantly Chilean cultural and literary phenomenon, despite the fact that phenomenon began as a deliberate interpretation of a British cultural practice. This last point implies that, while we must take into account the influential cultural, political and economic position that Great Britain held in the world at the turn of the last century, we should acknowledge Chilean thinkers and actors as the authors of the form and content of *scoutismo*.

With particular attention to the concepts of militarism, masculinity and citizenship, the following chapters analyze *scoutismo*'s literature—its unique essays, poetry and narratives—as well as its oratory and performative genres—namely its lectures and theatrics—in order to interpret that which Scouting, as a literary and cultural institution, has done for the culture of Chile, and that which Chilean culture has done with Scouting.

CHAPTER TWO - MODERN EPICS: THE RISE OF LATIN AMERICAN BOY SCOUT LITERATURE

The Literary Context of the Emergence of *Scoutismo* in Latin America, and the First Chilean Scout Publications

It is significant that *scoutismo* should appear in Chile during *modernismo*. Lasting roughly from 1880 to 1920, *modernismo* was a literary and intellectual movement that affirmed that Latin America's cultural attributes were already (uniquely) modern and did not rely upon mediation or validation from the cultural authority attributed to Europe and the United States. *Modernismo* also sought to cast off some of the Euro- and Anglocentrism of scientific positivism—its privileging of European- and North American-style economic and cultural standing as the desired and guaranteed end point of appropriate development (Pakkasvirta).

Notable thinkers, writing before or from outside of Spanish American *modernismo*, such as Argentine Sarmiento (*Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism* 1845) and Brazilian Da Cunha (*Rebellion in the Backlands* 1902) expressed dismay about the perceived backwardness of their nations' rural or hinterland populations, and yearned for modernization through British and north-western European infusions of blood, learning, industry and culture in order to overcome what they viewed as problems of inefficiency, superstition, laziness, and illegitimate violence.

Uruguayan *modernista* Rodó viewed the Latin American urban soul and body as being at risk of “mutilation” (Rodó’s term) by the increasingly prevalent model of modernity – industrialization and utilitarianism– which threatened to render the Latin American *pueblo* aesthetically and spiritually insensible, not to mention bodily deformed by its incorporation into the literal machinery of industry. Rodó’s narrative essay *Ariel* (1900) presents the hope of a new Latin America championed by the character called Próspero, an intellectual mentor, and Próspero’s young pupils, whom he charges with the messianic redemption of Latin American culture (Rodó 50). In the real world, individuals who held values expressed in *Ariel* would come to be known as *arielistas*, aesthetes and intellectuals who would shun mutilating utilitarian and industrial pursuits in favor of uplifting meditative seclusion and the appreciation of fine art and high culture. *Ariel* also represents *modernismo*’s general commitment to pan-Latin American solidarity, eschewing nationalism in favor of continentalism.

Rodó is among the most influential *modernista* writers. He contended with the renowned Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío to be regarded as the voice of *modernista* Latin America.⁴⁹ Darío cultivated a set of images that included the wistful princess, the color blue, and the delicate and melancholy swan. The swan stands among the most representative symbols not only of Darío’s work, but also of *modernismo* in general.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, however, *modernismo* had fallen into decline. A common critique asserts that the movement had become excessively decadent (González 14). Mexican *modernista* poet Enrique González Martínez’s poem “Tuércele el cuello al cisne” (1911) sentenced the swan to a violent death, and heralded the owl as a more desirable symbol of Latin American literary expression. González Martínez’s owl admittedly lacks the

49 See Rodó’s *Rubén Darío: su personalidad literaria, su última obra*.

swan's beauty and introspection, but it comprehends and actively engages with its environment. The swan "no siente el alma de las cosas ni la voz del paisaje" 'does not feel the soul of things nor does it hear the voice of the landscape' (3-4), while the owl's "inquieta pupila . . . se clava en la sombra [e] interpreta el misterioso libro del silencio nocturno" 'restless pupil penetrates the shadows and interprets the mysterious book of the nocturnal silence' (12-14).

The image of the alert owl forcefully replacing the serene swan corresponds chronologically and resonates culturally with the arrival of the image of the boy scout, equipped with his knapsack full of utilitarianism, and capable of supplanting the bespectacled and book-toting *arielista* as the symbol of the young Latin American subjectivity. The scout takes an oath to live outwardly, to immerse himself in his physical and social surroundings, to read the meaning of signs not only in alphabetic writings but also in the physical and social world. Much to Próspero's dismay, the scout was to be an agent of usefulness, especially to his own nation.

Ariel enjoyed influence throughout Latin America in its own era (González 78; Franco 120-21; Real de Azúa XXIV). Rodó's influence in Chile, by the time of the founding of the Boy Scouts there, is further evidenced by the fact that the Chilean Congress invited the author of *Ariel* to deliver a solemn speech on the occasion of Chile's Centennial celebration of 17 October 1910 (Ainsa 35). Contrary to the national character of the event, Rodó's speech bore a similar message to that of *Ariel*, preaching inter-Americanism over nationalism.⁵⁰ Along with Rodó (a verifiable *arielista* in attendance at the festivities), Chilean boy scouts also figured prominently in the official program of the Centennial celebration. Unlike Rodó's contribution, Boy Scout activities during the festivities were nationalistic in nature, and included Chilean flag ceremonies and military style marching demonstrations (Rojas Flores 19). By convoking Rodó and the Boy

⁵⁰ See Rodó's "El Centenario de Chile."

Scouts as authorized participants in the Centennial program, the nation evoked Próspero and Baden-Powell, the swan and the owl, as equally welcome but not entirely compatible party guests. Throughout the present chapter I will turn to Rodo's *Ariel* to further contextualize the emergence of *scoutismo*, which contended with *arielismo* to express *la juventud de América*.⁵¹

In the previous chapter we have seen that the cultural practice of British Boy Scouting owes its existence to a book. Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* (1908) prompted the Scout movement into being. But this printed text, composed of personably narrated yarns, bore a profoundly oral quality. It was that storyteller's spoken address, not his book, that sparked Scouting in Chile in 1909. Thus, to a greater extent than in the original British case, Chilean Scouting arose faithful to the oral ethic and aesthetic. In claiming that Chilean Scouting was more oral than British Scouting, I do not intend to primitivize the South American manifestation. To the contrary, Chilean *scoutismo* from the outset displayed a baroque form of spoken literature that contrasted sharply with Baden-Powell's down-to-earth style. The literature of the first two years of *scoutismo* appears to have been entirely oral. But those who voiced the movement also aspired to render their new culture in writing.

Notwithstanding Baden-Powell's fame among the Chilean social circles that formed Scouting in their country, his *Scouting for Boys* would receive no overt recognition from the Chilean Scout institution until 1912. The first Chilean Boy Scout publications (at least those identified as official and national) appeared in 1911.⁵² This chapter will examine the ways in which the first two important Chilean Scout publications, an edited booklet titled *Boy-Scouts de*

⁵¹ Rodó dedicated *Ariel* "[t]o the youth of America."

⁵² I have found no indication of an official, national-level Chilean Scout text printed before 1911. Among the many Chilean Scout texts that I have been able to retrieve are copies of a Valparaíso magazine called *Dichos y Hechos*, from January to December of 1913. The magazine's banner head states that it was founded in 1910. However, it was not an official, national Scout publication, but rather the periodical of the students and scouts of that city's Instituto Comercial. I do not know whether those issues predating 1913 addressed Scouting, or whether they limited their focus to student affairs.

Chile (Institución fundada el 21 de Mayo de 1909), and Manuel Alcayaga's handbook *Manual del boy-scout*, reveal the budding movement's desire to more fully become a literary institution. We will find that these texts also reveal the ways in which orality, whether colloquial or elaborate, remained the standard for early written *scoutismo*.

Appearing in January of 1911, the Chilean Scout publication was a booklet of approximately one hundred and forty pages, titled *Boy-Scouts de Chile (Institución fundada el 21 de mayo de 1909)*, by the institutional authorship of El Directorio Jeneral de los Boy-Scouts de Chile. One or more members of the general directorship, which included the medic Alcibíades Vicencio as president, and several other directors, many of whom were military captains and generals, appear to have assembled this lean compilation. The booklet's main content consists of lectures that Chilean scouters and supporters had verbally delivered to the scouts during the previous two years. It also reproduces documents that government and military personnel had written to or about the Boy Scouts of Chile. The booklet ends with selections of British and French self-help writings in translation (without acknowledgement of translators) and patriotic Chilean anthems. The following two sections of this chapter contain key passages from the first Chilean Boy Scout publication. These passages and my interpretations of them represent the earliest Chilean *scoutismo*, including the preoccupations of its authors and the intellectual and social climate in which they uttered and then published their emerging movement.

Sacred Oratory

Two months after Robert Baden-Powell's speech in Santiago in 1909, Vicencio, now the president of a burgeoning establishment, presented a founding lecture of his own to an audience of some three hundred Chilean boy scouts during an outdoor excursion (Porrás Castillo 22). This

is the first of the lectures reproduced in the 1911 booklet. The presiding Chilean scouter begins by recalling Baden-Powell's words, recently addressed to "nuestro mundo social i . . . la juventud estudiosa. . . . Con la unción apostólica del que concibe una idea que afirma la felicidad de la patria i acrecienta el acervo del bien de la humanidad nos exhortó a fundar entre nosotros la institución de los 'Boy Scouts'" "our social world and . . . the studious youth. . . . With the apostolic unction of one who conceives an idea that affirms the happiness of the fatherland and that propagates the accumulation of the good of mankind, exhorted us to found among us the institution of the "Boy Scouts" (Vicencio, "Discurso" 25). Recalling the tone of Baden-Powell's address, which I have discussed in my previous chapter, we will note that the Scout founder did not present himself as an apostle, nor did he "exhort" his Chilean audience to, as it were, "go and do likewise" by carrying out their own Scout mission. Rather, he simply expressed his confidence that the program could be taken up and "bear fruit" in Chile as it had done throughout the British Empire. This is significant because Vicencio's speech, including his re-presentation of Baden-Powell, characterizes a key difference of literary tone between Baden-Powell's project and what I am addressing as Chilean *scoutismo*. Certainly both projects express lofty social ambitions through soaring rhetoric. Bearing in mind my argument, in the prior chapter, that a degree of humorous irony or self-awareness colored Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys*, I find that, by comparison, early Chilean *scoutismo* took itself far more seriously. Much like *modernismo*'s hallmark essay *Ariel*, early Chilean *scoutismo* exudes a baroque literary style and hyper-sincerity infused with messianism.

After recalling some of the most outstanding concepts of Baden-Powell's address, Vicencio then points to what he regards as signs of recent decline in Chilean society, problems that *scoutismo* already promises to remedy:

Queremos que la juventud, al contemplar el menguado espectáculo que desde hace años venimos presenciando, de ver nuestras instituciones i nuestras leyes convertidas en lo que pudiéramos llamar mentiras convenientes, sienta en su rostro el látigo de la vergüenza i les devuelva, ella que es la esperanza, el perdido sello de verdad i de austeridad republicanas. . . . Queremos orientar vuestra alma juvenil, radiosa i bella como un sol primaveral, hacia otro punto del horizonte, donde como una aurora surja la sociedad futura. . . . Queremos una civilización efectiva i no embustera; una civilización cuya cultura sea radiante . . . como lo son los astros para todas las pupilas, que no deje sumergida en las oscuridades pavorosas del dolor, de la ignorancia, i de la miseria a la mayoría de los hombres, sino que lance sobre las profundas simas que dividen a las distintas clases sociales el firme puente del afecto, de la tolerancia i de la solidaridad humana. . . . “El ángel del sacrificio i [el] de la victoria, dice Mazzini, son hermanos: ambos cubren con sus alas la cuna de la humanidad futura”. (30-31)

We want the youth, upon contemplating the miserable spectacle that we have been witnessing for years, of seeing our institutions and our laws converted into what we could call convenient lies, to feel upon their faces the whiplash of shame, and we want them to strike back with the force of hope, the lost seal of republican truth and austerity. . . . We wish to orient your young soul, radiant and lovely like the sun in springtime, toward another point on the horizon, where the future society rises like an aurora. . . . We want an effective, and not a deceitful civilization; a civilization whose culture is radiant . . . like the stars for all pupils, that does not abandon the majority of men submerged in the frightful darkness of

pain, ignorance, and misery. We want a civilization that thrusts upon the lofty peaks that divide the distinct social classes the firm bridge of affection, tolerance and human solidarity. . . . “The angel[s] of sacrifice and victory,” says Mazzini, “are brothers: both cover with their wings the cradle of the future humanity.” (30-31)

In the beginning of this passage, Vicencio claims that, due to corrupt institutions and laws which he does not identify, society presents a miserable spectacle that the scouts ought to experience as a whiplash of shame to the face.⁵³ They should counter this blow with the equally vague combination of hope and recuperated republican austerity. Through the ambiguity, so much comes across clearly enough: the scouts are already beset by a degraded and immoral society, and they are called upon to redeem their civilization. This redeeming act casts them as agents of what ought to be a more strictly administered state.

Baden Powell’s speech in Santiago two months prior included the literal construction of bridges as one of the defining actions of the boy scout. Here, Vicencio treats that act as a metaphor. Beyond furnishing improvised means for crossing gullies or streams, *scoutismo* should also serve as a firm bridge that reconciles a society stratified by social ranks as disparate as deep canyons and Andean summits. Vicencio conceives of this reconciliation as one that

53 Antonio Sáez-Arance, in an article entirely unconcerned with the Boy Scouts of Chile, illuminates the growing sense of *malaise* that plagued the Chilean consciousness at the historical moment of the Centennial. “This ‘agony of the spaces of national cohesion’ is parallel to the explosion of the so called ‘social question’ The Centennial crystalized the perception of the elite as a thoroughly lazy class The various social critics, ‘witnesses’ or ‘writers of the crisis’ were not unified by an ideology or by a singular social stance. Some hailed from the oligarchy, others from the emerging middle classes. Nationalists predominated . . . but they also included radical democrats and socialists. What unified them was the explicit imputation of the great problems of the country to the directing elites. The literature of the epoch, especially the naturalist novel, had already helped to extend a devastating image of this social group, described as prey to the most irrational passions and perpetually in pursuit of purely selfish interests,” 384-86. Consistent with the mood that Vicencio was setting for nascent Chilean *scoutismo*, public figures and intellectuals from across the social and political spectrum conveyed an apocalyptic tone.

would elevate all to the highest social rank, a gesture of equality imagined from a middle- or upper class perspective.

Vicencio's terms *sacrifice* and *victory* are particularly significant and deliberate, as he issued this speech on the thirtieth anniversary of the *sacrifice* of Arturo Prat. (The scouts concluded this excursion with a visit to Prat's widow.) Chilean naval officer Arturo Prat is a national hero, best remembered for his dying act, on 21 May 1879, when he boarded an enemy Peruvian ship, the Huáscar, as his own defeated vessel, the Esmeralda, sunk into the Pacific. Once aboard the Huáscar, Prat managed to kill a few enemies before he was in turn slain. Chile lost this Battle of Iquique, but Prat's last feat is lauded as inspirational to Chile's ultimate victory in the War of the Pacific, and for many, remains a source of nationalistic pride.⁵⁴ By evoking Prat in this passage, Vicencio points to military service as a means for recuperating the values of a lost age.

Like the early Chilean Scout lectures and the printed texts that followed them, Vicencio's founding speech to the first Chilean boy scouts strikingly resembles Próspero's valedictory address to his young pupils. Vicencio's voice resembles that of Próspero more than that of Baden-Powell. In *Ariel* and Vicencio's lecture, an apostolic master charges the select male youth to go forth and give rise to a new society. Rodó's essay imagined this new society as a pan-Latin American unity and sensibility that would transcend nationalism and eschew (or warily regard) British, northern European, and North American cultures and industrial patterns of development. Contrastingly, the Chilean Boy Scout organization envisaged the new society as a reinforced and consolidated nation that would finally be able to determine its own economy and culture, by

⁵⁴ Included in the same publication is the text of a speech given to the scouts by a survivor of the Battle of Iquique. Cornelio Guzmán urged his audience to imitate Prat, who attained his high position not only by hard work and bravery, but also through the "love of study" 51.

embracing British and North American models. In spite of serious ideological differences between *Ariel* and the early essays that articulate Chilean *scoutismo*, both cases serve as platforms on which particularly Latin American literary characteristics find expression. Vicencio's *Arielization* of Baden-Powell offers an example of "how the expository texts in the modern Latin American tradition formulate the uniqueness of Latin American literature . . . and how what is truly peculiar and unique in Latin American literature emerges from this complex and rather contradictory process" (González Echevarría 9). I am thinking of Rodó's and Vicencio's baroque language, the utter earnestness and formality of their tone, the persistence of the sacred and the epic in their compositions. Literary theorist Georg Lukács, writing less than five years after Vicencio, encapsulated the link between youth (by which he meant actual young subjects and, more importantly, pre-modern societies) and the certainty of triumph, as expressed in epic literature:

The heroes of youth are guided by the gods: whether what awaits them at the end of the road are the embers of annihilation or the joys of success, or both at once, they never walk alone, they are always led. Hence the deep certainty with which they proceed: they may weep and mourn, forsaken by everyone, on a desert island, they may stumble to the very gates of hell in desperate blindness, yet an atmosphere of security always surrounds them; a god always plots the hero's paths and always walks ahead of him (86).

It is Lukács' meaning of the epic to which I refer throughout this study of *scoutismo*.⁵⁵

Nearly two months after Vicencio's inaugural speech, minister of war Roberto Huneus Gana directed another address to the Chilean boys scouts.⁵⁶ This lecture took place in a military

⁵⁵ By this, I do not claim that early 20th century Chile was necessarily more or less modern than other modern nations. Rather, I leave that as a concern for Chilean Scout authors.

school, which setting exemplifies the extent to which Chilean Boy Scouting became an institution of national subject formation.⁵⁷ The voice of the military authority is, to a significant degree, the voice of Chilean Scout authorship of this early period. Huneeus Gana laments: “El carácter i el ejercicio de la voluntad no son, por desgracia las virtudes de nuestro pueblo. Poseemos una idea mediocre de nuestras fuerzas. . . . Respetemos el recogimiento de los teóricos; pero abramos las ventanas de nuestras celdas . . .” ‘Character and the exercise of the will are, unfortunately, not virtues of our people. We possess a mediocre idea of our strength. . . . Let us respect the accomplishments of the theorists, but let us open the windows of our cells . . .’ (32-33). Huneeus Gana points to the need for a “consorcio de lo ideal i de lo real” ‘a consortium of the ideal and the real.’ As a manner of arguing for the compatibility of disparate concepts, he proposes the union of “la fuerza moral de los transijistas i la fuerza corporal de los soldados” ‘the moral force of the social reformer and the corporal force of the soldier’ suggesting that, if these two forces seem incompatible, it is due to faulty education (32-33). He concludes in an especially heightened tone:

Sois vosotros . . . la ambicionada aurora de aquel dichoso, de aquel excelente día que será el único eterno, el único sin noche, en la historia de la humanidad.

⁵⁶ Darío Zañartu was serving as minister of war in March of 1909 when Robert Baden-Powell visited Chile.

⁵⁷ The military school was not the only institution of learning to take serious interest in the Chilean Boy Scouts program. On 5 October 1910, the national Ministry of Public Instruction issued a brief memorandum to the rectors of Chilean public primary and secondary schools in solicitation of the institutions’ support of the Scout effort. The first Chilean Boy Scout publication reproduces the memorandum, perhaps to impress upon its readers the fact of the State support that the movement had already gained. The document states: “This Ministry sees in the [Boy Scouts] institution high educative ends that cooperate considerably toward the greater amplitude and perfection of our national education . . . In [their] excursions [the scouts] widen their intellectuality, in the observation . . . of scientific, industrial, and other topics . . . The [Ministry] recommends that you lend the greatest faculties to the professors and students of the establishment that you direct, so that they may belong to the boy scouts in the sense that they may . . . organize themselves in the very establishment and that they might take part in the diverse civic and educational acts that they may propose to realize,” Balmaceda 63-64. This solicitation would later gain more traction in 1928 and in 1931 under the direction of the national government (during the presidency of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo), when Chilean primary schools would officially become the clubhouses of the boy scouts, and teachers would be required to serve an additional duty as adult Scout leaders or facilitators, Rojas Flores 41-42.

Sufriréis seguramente tropiezos i desencanto en vuestro camino, pero siempre encontraréis alguna voz que, como la del actual Ministro de Guerra i Marina, os diga convencidamente: “El porvenir es vuestro. Adelante adelante i siempre adelante!” (36)

You [scouts] are . . . the long-awaited aurora of that splendid, that excellent day that will be the only eternal day, the only day without night, in the history of humanity. You will surely suffer hindrances and disappointment, but you will always find some voice that, like that of the current Minister of War and Navy, will tell you, convinced, “The future is yours. Onward onward and always onward!” (36)

The first passages that I select here demonstrate *scoutismo*’s concern for developing the moral and physical forces while disregarding or even discouraging intellectual development. Huneus Gana offers a concession, which I only slightly modify here as, “Let us respectfully recognize the accomplishments of our intellectuals, but let us distinguish ourselves from them by realizing our latent will, thereby freeing ourselves from the dungeon that confines us” (33). The “consortium of the ideal and the real” in the overall framework of the speech suggests that theoretical intellectualism is overly removed from reality and pragmatism. He also equates moral strength with a bodily strength proper (in his view) to the soldier, and proposes that full national liberation relies upon a soldierly or militarist subjectivity.

The long quote I cite above resembles Rodó’s *Ariel*, which was, by the time of Huneus Gana’s speech, among the most well known essays directed to the youth of Latin America. In the penultimate section of *Ariel*, the scholarly master Próspero sends his disciples forth to carry out a society-transforming mission that bears characteristics of militancy and messianism; he sends

them into spiritual combat to preach the gospel of delicacy and intelligence (50). As they go about their duty, the *arielistas* are accompanied by their master's guiding voice, and they also perceive that a benevolent celestial entity supports their efforts. Similarly, Huneus Gana's indefinite language allows his listeners to interpret him on a metaphysical plane; he promises the scouts that they will never be beyond the reach of "some voice" that will always assure them that they are bound to inherit the future and complete their appointed task. While Próspero, who evokes New Testament-like rhetoric, sends his *arielistas* into the multitude as sheep among wolves, war minister Huneus Gana, also employing lofty language, sends the scouts rather like wolves among sheep (and from our vantage point we might add, as owls among swans).

The lectures printed in the 1911 booklet begin to establish an opposition between *scoutismo* and contrary cultural forces. Scouters such as Huneus Gana express antagonism between the scout and figures such as the intellectual (which figure, at the time, arguably has as its maximum expression the *arielista*). Heroic boy scouts protagonize *Scouting for Boys*. But other characters, the enemies, lurk everywhere in its pages. Chilean *scoutismo* also came into existence in response to *enemigos*. Early Chilean Scout discourse shows a hostile stance toward the perceived excesses of theoretical intellectualism. Early Chilean Scout addresses and printed texts abound in references to *the enemy*, or *our enemies*, which are often identified as intellectuals and critics. *Ratones de biblioteca* (bookworms) were common objects of early Scout leaders' derision. Here we will briefly depart from the first Chilean Scout booklet in order to examine a fiery lecture uttered during the September 1915 Jamboree.⁵⁸ Lieutenant and Chilean Scout director Tobías Barros exults:

⁵⁸ The Jamboree is typically a multi-day Scout event in which boy scouts from a region, nation, or potentially multiple nations that sponsor Scout organizations, gather to engage in educational and recreational activities. As I state in my previous chapter, Baden-Powell seems to have made a deliberate and humorous aesthetic judgment in

¡Bendita mil veces la institución bajo cuyo pabellón os reunís hoy, y a cuyo llamado habéis acudido prontamente! ¡Bendita entre todas, porque a su sombra se desarrollan—como al beso del sol las semillas—los sentimientos generosos del alma: el compañerismo, la lealtad, el patriotismo y la hombría de bien! . . . El scoutismo chileno es una escuela de honor, de deber, de abnegación y de bondad. El scouts [*sic*] chileno es la esperanza viva de lo que el porvenir nos reserva como nación. (qtd. in Rojas Flores 29-30)

Blessed a thousand-fold be the institution under whose pavilion you gather today, and whose call you have promptly heeded! Blessed among all, because under its shadow develop—as seeds under the kiss of the sun—the generous feelings of the soul: companionship, loyalty, patriotism and good manliness! . . . Chilean *scoutismo* is a school of honor, of duty, of abnegation and goodness. Chilean scouts is [*sic*] the living hope of that which the future holds for us as a nation. (qtd. in Rojas Flores 29-30)

Barros then calls upon the scouts to stand firm in their ranks against the onslaught of critiques that “unworthy,” “rickety,” and “myopic intellectuals” had launched against them. “Habéis mostrado que, a despecho de los que nos denigran, los boy scouts de Chile son un almacigo de esperanzas, un joven bosque de robles araucanos que ya no temen las tormentas. . . . Salud a vosotros, joven milicia infantil . . .” “You have shown that, to the dismay of those who denigrate us, the boy scouts of Chile are a trove of hopes, a young forest of Araucan oaks that no longer

choosing such an outmoded or “retro” term with which to express his new movement. Rojas Flores demonstrates that the Chilean Scout organization initially used the word *Concentración*, 24. Eventually the Chilean institution opted for the stylized Anglicism *Jamboree*.

fear the storms. . . . Health to you, young infantile militia . . .’ (qtd. in Rojas Flores 30). Barros’ lecture reveals that the whole of Chilean society did not celebrate the Boy Scout undertaking.

Some of *scoutismo*’s most ardent enemies were in fact intellectuals, including some of Chile’s celebrated literary figures. Pablo Neruda and Gabriela Mistral issued criticisms of the Chilean Scout institution. Neruda’s critique is fierier than Mistral’s, and, in tone and style it approximates *Ariel* and early *scoutista* lectures:

Obedecer. . . no hablar, ni reír, ni moverse en las filas en que cada niño se mueve con una rigidez de esqueleto Obedecer . . . y así envenenar el alma de los únicos que pueden prometer algo. . . . Así corromper el alma de los únicos que mañana podrán luchar con los corrompidos, y todo eso con banderas, con música, con uniformes, poniendo sitio a cada futuro ser, con la sugestión y amenaza para reducirlo, MAQUINIZARLO, incluirlo en el engranaje del Mundo que han hecho. . . . Exploradores que nada exploran [, a quienes se les enseña] la agresividad, el odio, el patriotismo de la tierra, limitado y obtuso. . . . ¡Ya es de no soportar esto! Los niños ¿qué más podemos amar entre los humanos, nosotros? Ellos, infantes que mañana abrirán otras rutas y caminarán por las que empezamos a abrir nosotros. Y ensuciarles así el alma, empequeñecerlos así, cortar en ellos todo lo que tiene alas y hacerlos marchar así. . . . Scouts . . . la pasividad, el polvorismo, la guerrería de grito y canto, la mecanización, la estupidez. (qtd. In Rojas Flores 131-32)

Obey . . . no speech, no laughter, no motion in the files in which every child moves with the rigidity of a skeleton. . . . Obe[dience] . . . and thereby poisoning the soul of the only ones who can promise anything. . . . thereby corrupting the

soul of the only ones who tomorrow will struggle with the corrupted, and all this with flags, with music, with uniforms, besieging every future being, by [the power of] suggestion and threat in order to reduce him, MECHANIZE HIM, include him among the gears and cogs of the World they have made. . . . Explorers who explore nothing . . . [who are trained in] aggression, hatred, and the limited and obtuse patriotism of the land. . . . This should no longer be tolerated! What can we love more among humankind than the children? Infants who tomorrow will open new routes and who will walk the paths that we began to open. To defile their souls so, to reduce them so, to clip their wings and force them to march so. . . . Scouts . . . passivity, the way of gunpowder, the art of warfare with shouting and singing, mechanization, stupidity. (qtd in Rojas Flores 131-32)⁵⁹

Neruda leaps fully into the discursive struggle for the fate of the nation's youths. This was a struggle in which *arielismo* and *scoutismo* had already taken ideological sides almost opposite from one another, but in which they closely resemble one another in literary tone and style. Neruda shares Mistral's well-known concerns for the young body: the scout, he laments, is forced to remain motionless or to move only in a mechanized fashion. Neruda clearly views *scoutismo's* militarism not only as a bodily problem but as an endorsement of bellicosity. But like Próspero and Chilean scouters, Neruda fears for the very soul of the subject in formation and for the destiny of the society at large. Like his *scoutista* opponents and his ally Próspero, he too exalts the youth as the only hope of the future. He too casts the youth as society's sole moral reserve.

⁵⁹ Rojas Flores Cites Neruda from *Claridad* 5 Nov. 1921: 3-4.

Neruda allows for a valid sense of patriotism, but the “limited and obtuse patriotism of the land” too restrictively confines loyalty within one’s national borders. By describing patriotism in this way, Neruda also points to the more spiritual or transcendent sense of society that Próspero theorizes for Latin America. Neruda also shares Próspero’s horror at the idea of the human soul becoming mutilated through its subordination to the literal and social machinery of industrialism. For Próspero, this was a corporeal, intellectual and spiritual disfigurement that cast its victim in the image of hideous Caliban. Neruda’s passage ends with the accusation of Scouting as a force of stupidity, which heightens the tension between *scoutismo* and intellectualism.

Gabriela Mistral, the poet, schoolteacher, curriculum designer, and children’s advocate, initially applauded the Scout program with two versions of a poem dedicated to the scouts (Mistral 223-24, 570-71). The initial version, titled “Los cantos del scout,” first appeared in the February 1915 issue of *Pacífico Magazine* (Zegers B. 224).⁶⁰ In 1917, the poem, initially thirty-nine lines in ten stanzas, underwent some minor changes in punctuation and was expanded to forty-four lines in eleven stanzas, and appeared republished as “Himno de los scouts” in Volume Two of Manuel Guzmán Maturana’s five volume *Libros de lectura para enseñanza primaria* (Zegers B. 571). I will briefly engage in a reading of this poem, using the 1917 “Himno de los scouts” as the definitive version.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Pacífico Magazine* was a Chilean literary periodical intended for educated and discerning readers. It was published from January of 1913 through August of 1921, and was modeled after *Mundial Magazine*, a journal that Rubén Darío published in Paris, Santa Cruz A. 39-41. I find it noteworthy that Scouting, as a poetic theme, should be welcome in such a periodical as *Pacífico Magazine*.

⁶¹ Mistral’s 1917 poem “Himno de los scouts” also appears on pages 33-35 of the 1972 *Manual del boy scout de tercera clase*, by La Asociación de Boy Scouts de Chile. As I will discuss, upon concluding this study, I regard the end of the 1940s as the end of *scoutismo* as literary movement. But isolated cases, such as the 1972 reemergence of Mistral’s poem, continued to occur. The 1972 manual is mostly concerned with instructions in tying knots, handling knives, and administering first-aid.

An outstanding characteristic of “Himno de los scouts” is that the title bears the only explicit reference to the Scout institution; the title is the only aspect that may prevent the reader from recognizing the work as a sensual love poem. The imagery consists of a vast pastoral setting that celebrates, bathes, and blesses “nuestros cuerpos” ‘our bodies.’ “Nuestros cuerpos” occurs twice, emphasizing the delight in bodies interacting with each other and with the landscape, giving and receiving pleasure: “y hasta la yerba del sendero / [...] con placer se deja pisar” ‘and even the grass on the path / [...] with pleasure allows itself to be trod’ (27-28). The use of “nuestros cuerpos” ‘our bodies’ in the plural, as opposed the tendency in the Spanish language to pair a plural possessive adjective with a singular noun, such as *nuestro cuerpo* (‘our body’) is also significant because it insists upon plural individuals, and it refuses the sense of *corps* as an institution. Patriotism, nation, the army, sexes, and genders are absent from the poem. The absence of those themes may explain why “Himno de los scouts,” which is entirely harmonious with early official *scoutista* discourse in terms of its reverence for (and sensualization of) nature, and its enthusiasm for the bodies that roam and contemplate that sacred space, does not appear in official *scoutista* publications of 1910s.

Mistral’s approval of Scouting’s bodily benefits extends beyond her poetry. Rojas Flores cites a pedagogical manuscript written in 1916 or 1917, in which Mistral stated that she favored “el desarrollo físico de la juventud, co[mo] la gimnasia, el escautismo y los deportes” “the physical development of the youth, such as gymnastics, Scouting, and sports”. Notwithstanding Mistral’s initial enthusiasm for Scout culture, she became disillusioned with aspects of the program’s effect upon the bodies of its young members. In 1933, she warned against “ejercicios duros a la SCOUT” “harsh SCOUT exercises,” favoring instead natural motions and rejecting

“militarized and militarizing” training (qtd. in Rojas Flores 134. See also del Brutto 7).⁶² Like the Scout movement itself, Mistral showed genuine regard for the development of the young body. Her critique of the militarist aspect of Scout activity is more a bodily than a political or ideological one; she fears that the very movements of marching and drilling are an unnatural imposition upon the young form.

In Lieutenant Barros’ view, critics of the Scout organization were not mere contrary commentators. Rather, they were a force that, at least initially, had frightened the sapling recruits. However, he affirms that these had withstood the onslaught, had grown in might, and no longer feared their “unworthy, rickety, and short-sighted intellectual” opponents.

Although the oratory and the essay are literary genres in their own rights, those which I have discussed above also carried out a substantial narrative function: they conveyed an epic story arc of a society that had departed from its path and had momentarily fallen into moral and physical (and economic) decay. But owing to transcendent determining forces, a society as glorious as the Chilean nation was destined to attain redemption. According to that narrative, the messianic agency of the Boy Scout institution had begun to effect social redemption.

Scoutismo began as a form of epic literature, transmitted orally and via print. And yet, from its outset, this literary institution manifested ambivalence between its devotion to the epic mode and its desire to also express a modern Chilean sensibility. Nationhood, after all, is a modern concept and phenomenon. Though, as Benedict Anderson suggests, the nation’s novelty is often obfuscated by the tendency to imagine it as timeless (11, 203). Boy Scouting, whether in

⁶² Rojas Flores’s cites Mistral’s 1916 or 1917 statement from: Mistral, Gabriela. *Magisterio y niño*. Ed. Roque Esteban Scarpa. Santiago: Andrés Bello, 1979, 248. Rojas Flores’ derives his citation of Mistral’s later statement from *Revista de Educación* May 1933, 18-21. I recognize that Mistral’s 1933 critique of Chilean Scouting postdates Barros’ 1915 lecture. Here I use Barros and Mistral as representative of a broader antagonism that *scoutismo* perceived, sometimes with justification, between itself and lettered society or intellectualism.

Britain or elsewhere, initially endeavored to articulate modernity and nationhood while also yearning for a pre-modern, even tribal, society. Chilean *scoutismo* came about as sacred, messianic literature, which glorified its target readers as saviors, mingling uncomfortably with modern genres such as motivational self-help and instructional how-to writings, which interpellated their readers as underdeveloped subjects.

From Messiahs to Men in Formation

Chilean *scoutismo*'s first publication contains no introduction or preface, and bears almost no indication of editorship. It begins as if it were from out of time; the reading scout begins the text in an epic mode, and finds himself hailed as an agent within a messianic force. Only after the specifically Scout-related selections, which I have discussed above, does an editorial voice appear briefly, shaking the reader out of the timeless realm, rendering the booklet self-referential and modern: "Los Directores harán que los Scouts lean i comenten [las siguientes selecciones], a fin de formar en ellos el hábito de pensar en su perfeccionamiento moral . . ."

'The Scoutmasters will make the scouts read and discuss [the following selections], in order to form in them the habit of thinking about their moral perfection . . . ' (Directorio Jeneral 67).

The editors of this booklet then include selections written by non-Scout authors that may provide ideas worth incorporating into the social theory that *scoutismo* was becoming. Or perhaps the booklet's editors hoped that boy scouts and their local leaders would critique these texts within *scoutismo*'s nascent conceptual framework. These works of self-help counseling are "El carácter.–El verdadero caballero," which is a translation of "Character: The True Gentleman," a chapter from Scottish author Samuel Smiles' book titled *Self-Help* (1845), and two articles, or possibly chapters, of un-cited origin, titled "La voluntad" and "Perseverancia en

el esfuerzo” by an obscure author identified as S. Roudès, whose writings appear to be translations from French reissued in the Scout publication, rather than new creations from within the Chilean Scout institution.⁶³

The moment or placement of the editorial statement, “The Scoutmasters will make the scouts read and discuss [the following selections], in order to form in them the habit of thinking about their moral perfection, within the overall collection in this publication, is significant. Because it occurs after the official Scout texts and before the selections written by non-Scout authors, it has the effect of suggesting to the reader that he activate his critical faculties not while reading heroic texts of the national institution, but while reading pragmatic foreign sources. By placing these instructions at this juncture of their booklet, the compilers not only effect a drastic shift of genre, but they also allow their young readers to infer that the official Scout material is not subject to their discussion and evaluation (*scoutista* texts, then, function ideologically), while the non-Scout writings might be handled more flexibly or critically. On the one hand, these editors do not explicitly invite their readers to engage intellectually with the printed lectures of Scout (and some government) authors. But on the other hand, they refrain from imposing an institutional interpretation or application of the selections curated from outside the organization. The editors’ caveat stresses that such critical thought should lead to a pre-determined result: the scouts’ moral perfection. Editors’ intentions aside, I must stress that this brief editorial instruction amounts to an invitation to engage in a relatively free, collective, and critical act of

63 In the case of Smiles, the Chilean Scout publication identifies only the author and chapter title, ignoring the title of the book from which it was taken. In *Scouting for Boys*, Baden-Powell recommends Smiles’ text. *Scouting for Boys* had not yet been published in Spanish, but Chilean Scouter and professor of English Maximiano Flores was probably at work translating its third edition by 1911 or sooner. His translation would be published in Chile in 1912. Flores, being closely familiar with Baden-Powell’s book, may have been the one who suggested the inclusion of Smiles’ chapter in the first Chilean Boy Scout publication. Robert MacDonald claims that readers of British working class boys’ magazines would have been familiar with Smiles’ writings. “Reproducing” 525.

meaning-making on the part of the young and adult readers, and such invitations are rare in early *scoutista* texts.

Smiles' influence upon Baden-Powell is apparent. Chilean *scoutismo*, however, makes this connection more readily appreciable. In his foundational handbook, Baden-Powell lists Smiles' *Self Help* as suggested reading (*Scouting* 239). But the compilers of the first Chilean Scout text took the additional measure of providing a translation of Smiles' treatment of one of Baden-Powell's greatest preoccupations: character.

For Smiles, character is the most determining societal force, "dignificando todo puesto, elevando toda posición social . . ." 'dignifying every office, elevating every social position' (Smiles 67). As his theory goes, there are no unworthy social positions. No positions or ranks need to be abolished, no subjects need to be emancipated. Rather, every member of society needs merely to dignify his or her position by assuming an attitude and personality that is called *character*. Though Smiles' most overt gesture is to describe a moral quality, I also read his treatment of that theme as a theory of citizenship, a theory of how individuals exercise their social rights and carry out (or impose upon others) social duties.

After attempting to deemphasize the importance of social rank, Smiles' privileging of hierarchy becomes apparent: "Hai muchas pruebas por las que puede ser reconocido un caballero, pero existe una que jamás falta: ¿Cómo ejerce el poder sobre sus subordinados? ¿Cómo se conduce con las mujeres i las criaturas? ¿Cómo trata el oficial a sus soldados, el patrón a su dependiente, el maestro a sus discípulos, i el hombre en cualquier posición que esté?" 'There are many tests by which a gentleman can be recognized, but there is one that never fails: how does he exercise power over his subordinates? How does he conduct himself with women and

children? How does the official treat his soldiers, the employer his employee, the teacher his disciples, and the man in whichever position he may be?’ (104-05).

Smiles does not answer these rhetorical questions. Certainly the implication is that the gentleman treats those whom he outranks with kindness or respect. But the emphasis here is upon high position, not upon prescribed ethical or moral behavior. According to the above passage, in its most restrictive sense, character is most clearly attainable for and measurable in those who occupy higher positions within a social hierarchy. One’s male sex and high military rank stack the odds in his favor. Even though character may dignify every social position or rank, the maximum expressions of character are reserved for the few. At any given moment in any society, a certain notion of masculinity will tend to be regarded as dominant (over femininities and other forms of masculinity). R.W. Connell labels the dominant mode, whatever form it may take, as “hegemonic masculinity.” With the onset of industrial modernity, western hegemonic masculinity came to be associated more with abstract, financial and intellectual labor and less with manual toil (*Masculinities* 14). Smiles’ true gentleman embodies hegemonic masculinity. He is hierarchically above all women and children, and he also socially outranks most other men, whether these be soldiers, laborers, or employees. Connell’s designation of this masculinity as *hegemonic*—which suggests a tolerable degree of social consent, though it allows leaves room for social manipulation and abuse—renders the concept apt for civil societies of the modern era, where openly violent coercion and outright authoritarianism appear to be decreasingly valid.

Smiles’ chapter prefigures an important strain in Scout theory. Baden-Powell, writing half a century after Smiles, drew upon the author of *Self-Help* to develop his insistence that the ideal citizen should consider himself a brick in the wall of the Empire. His metaphor held that the Empire was built like a brick wall that fortified a society against exterior as well as internal

forces. His logic stressed that, while indeed some bricks are higher and others are lower in the structure, they all depend on the others' fixedness. "[W]e have each got our place, though it may seem a small one in so big a wall. But if one brick gets rotten, or slips out of place, it begins to throw an undue strain on others, cracks appear, and the wall totters" (*Scouting* 282). It is easy enough to understand that a brick high in the wall would eventually fall if lower bricks should fail to hold their positions. But it did not occur to Baden-Powell that a brick low in the wall might not be so negatively affected by the loss of a brick at the top. His brick wall metaphor did not entertain the possibility of a less stratified society.

In its early phases Scout theory prioritized the scout's dutiful disposition to those hierarchically above him, including his employer. Chilean Scout Law VII states: "Un scout debe obediencia a las órdenes de sus superiores sin preguntar la razón de ellas" 'A scout owes obedience to the orders of his superiors without questioning their reasons' (Directorio Jeneral 11). Roudès, in his "La voluntad" (year of original publication unknown) issues a claim that is unharmonious with the *scoutista* principle of obedience and drastically distinct from Smiles' "true test of a gentleman": resembling Próspero more than Baden-Powell, Roudès warns his readers against allowing themselves to be subservient employees. He warns against becoming:

un ser pasivo, un humilde pero productivo utensilio en las manos de aquel que os paga; . . . empleado modelo del cual es permitido abusar, teniendo en vista vuestra admirable resignación. No aceptéis semejante decadencia, no inclinéis jamás la cerviz bajo el yugo de la necesidad. Poseéis en vosotros mismos, en estado latente, medios superiores de lucha i de resistencia; ¿por qué no os serviréis de ellos? (116-17)

a passive being, a humble but productive utensil in the hands of the one that pays you; a model employee fit to be abused, owing to your admirable submission. Do not accept such decadence; never bow your head beneath the yoke of necessity. You possess in yourselves, in a latent state, superior means of struggle and resistance; why will you not make use of them? (116-17)

Rather than advocating a change in attitude about one's low social circumstances in order to conform with the existing social order, Roudès argues that such a condition should provoke a "cólera jenerosa" 'generous rage' that will activate one's will. He urges his readers to tell themselves, "Quiero tener en la sociedad el lugar que me corresponde" 'I want to have the social position that rightfully belongs to me' (117). This message may initially resemble a discourse of liberation (especially in the context of a "developing nation," or in socially stratified Chile) in that it calls upon its reader to overthrow restrictions imposed by others. But it is concerned with empowering a target audience to triumph as individuals or as select groups, rather than with profound social change.

In tension with "hegemonic masculinity" is the concept of "protest masculinity,"

a marginalized masculinity, which picks up themes of hegemonic masculinity in the society at large but reworks them in a context of poverty. An active process of grappling with a situation, and constructing ways of living in it, is central to the making of gender.

[Protest masculinity] is certainly an active response to [a] situation, and it builds on a working-class masculine ethic of solidarity. But this is a solidarity that divides the [protest] group from the rest of the working class." (Connell, *Masculinities* 114, 117)

Roudès' idea of *cólera generosa* urges its reader to harness protest masculinity in order to ascend toward hegemonic masculinity.

Earlier in the first Chilean Scout booklet, Vicencio had called upon the scouts to enact a national community of solidarity. But Roudès proposes a different approach, and here he is far from resembling Próspero:

¿Cuál ha sido la vida del gran industrial que veis pasar por la calle i al cual envidiáis su fortuna . . . ? Su vida no ha sido, sencillamente, más que la acción de una voluntad paciente, uniforme, inmutable. . . . Nada ha podido desviarlo de su fin . . . separando los obstáculos con habilidad o con dinero i quebrantando las resistencias, insensible a las tentaciones del camino, sordo a todo sentimentalismo, ha marchado sin detenerse . . . hasta conseguir la victoria que deseaba, la superioridad que ambicionaba. (Roudès 108-09)

What, you may wonder, has been the life of that great captain of industry that you see pass through the street, whose fortune you envy. . . ? His life has been nothing more, quite simply, than the action of a patient, uniform, and invariable will. . . . Nothing has succeeded in deviating him from his objective . . . removing obstacles with skill or with money and breaking resistances, insensitive to temptations along the way, deaf to all sentimentalism, he has marched without halting . . . to the point of obtaining the victory that he desired, the superiority that was the object of his ambition. (Roudès 108-09)

In Roudès' model, the successful push from protest masculinity to hegemonic masculinity would redirect the working body from physical tasks to the carrying out of activities possible only in clerical or executive positions. I do not suggest that Baden-Powell would have disapproved of a

scout's ambition to become a captain of industry. Rather, he would have encouraged it, provided that one's social position should already point toward that possibility. But Roudès approves of the readers' envy of the rich man's wealth, and he promotes a ruthless vision of social and economic ascendancy. His message urges the reader to bend others' wills to one's own, "voluntades adversas, inespertas, frágiles, dispuestas de antemano a aceptar vuestro dominio, a secundar vuestros proyectos, a trabajar por vuestra fortuna" 'adverse, inexperienced, and fragile wills predisposed to accept your dominion, to support your projects, to work for your fortune' (122).

While Roudès' "La voluntad" speaks to the masculine subject in society, his "Perseverancia en el esfuerzo" (year of original publication unknown), primarily addresses the masculine subject in isolation. He begins by offering a critique of the modern man:

El gran defecto del hombre moderno consiste en emprender cinco, seis, diez cosas a la vez i en querer conducir en una sola línea de avance las finanzas, el deporte, la política i las artes, en tentar todas las experiencias, en comprender todos los estudios, en esforzarse por abrazar el mundo entre sus débiles brazos.

El que quiere triunfar deberá abandonar tan defectuoso método. No deberá perseguir más que un objeto. (123)

The great defect of the modern man consists in undertaking five, six, ten things at once and in conducting in one procedure finance, sport, politics, and the arts, in attempting all experiences, in comprehending all studies, in attempting to embrace the world in his weak arms.

He who wishes to triumph must abandon such a defective method. He should pursue but one objective. (123)

Roudès criticizes the student who indulges in reading an array of texts, all of which may be potentially serious. And yet, “para nosotros este . . . espíritu mosca . . . no es sino un perezoso” ‘for us this . . . flighty spirit . . . is simply lazy.’ Because such a reader’s attention is disorderly and involuntary, Roudès claims, he is the “tipo desparramado,” the ‘type that is spread too thinly,’ in a “paseo del espíritu” ‘leisurely stroll of the spirit.’ Such a student’s activities are enjoyable, but “sin provecho alguno” ‘without benefit whatsoever’ (125). At the time of the publication of the first Chilean *scoutista* booklet, Baden-Powell’s *Scouting for Boys* was not yet directly accessible to Chilean boy scout readers—its third edition would be translated into Spanish by scouter and professor of English, Maximiano Flores, in 1912. The world’s founding Scout book amounted to precisely the type of reading against which Roudès warns. The following year, *Scouting for Boys* in translation would barrage the Chilean scout reader with an overwhelming variety of topics, presenting him with the meandering, unfocussed reading that Roudès identifies as the great defect of the modern man. (At least the diligent reader of *Scouting for Boys* would be able to pursue such a haphazard course of study within a single book.)

Roudès counsels against being “taciturno, arisco i enemigo del sano reír” ‘sullen, standoffish, and opposed to healthy laughter.’ The danger lies in “el tiempo perdido en charlas inútiles, en las visitas prolongadas a los cafés. . . . Sed alegres, . . . tomad vuestra parte de goce, buscad los placeres elevadas, las conversaciones espirituales e inteligentes pero, no os dejéis aprisionar demasiado por estos encantadores entre actos de vuestra vida activa” ‘time wasted in useless conversations, in prolonged visits in cafés Be cheerful, . . . take your part of joy, seek elevated pleasures, spiritual and intelligent conversations, but do not allow yourselves to be imprisoned by those charming intermissions of your active life.’ While evoking a pejorative caricature of the intellectual, Roudès also subtly advises against excessive or misguided

socialization. Steering his reader, as he does in his other text, toward individualism, he concludes: “Lo mejor será, entonces, que no fiéis sino en vosotros mismos, que no escuchéis sino vuestras propias inspiraciones. [Ésta] es la manera más agradable de llegar a ser hombre pronto . . .” ‘What is best, then, is that you trust only in yourselves, that you listen only to your own inspirations. [This] is the most pleasant way to become a man quickly . . .’ (127). On the surface, Roudès presents a theory of masculinity that views the one who successfully (also quickly and pleasantly) becomes a man as one committed to a singular specialization, obeys his own will and who abstains from intellectual and caffeinated conversations. But the scout in search of a positive and categorical definition of masculinity would search in vain here, where manliness is not determined by a definable act or attribute, but by an infinite possibility of differences or self-distinctions. This is among the earliest of many incoherent attempts by *scoutismo* to define masculinity.

Although Roudès warns against the supposedly useless habits of the modern subject (for him, one who pursues multiple branches of knowledge), he also presents the act of study in a triumphant light: “El hombre valeroso [es], por ejemplo, el estudiante que a pesar de su repugnancia deja el lecho para ir a buscar una palabra en el diccionario, que termina su tarea aunque le asalta el deseo de sollozarse, que vence el aburrimiento concluyendo una página de árida lectura . . .” ‘The brave man [is], for example, the student who, in spite of his repugnance, leaves his bed to go in search of a word in the dictionary, who completes his homework even though he is assaulted by the desire to sob, who overcomes boredom by concluding a page of arid reading . . .’ (129). What is most striking about this passage is the notion that the brave man reads in bed. The geographical trope is also telling: The page is not a space to inhabit and to cultivate, but an expanse or an obstacle to surmount and then leave behind. This citation comes

just after Roudès offers the example of climbing Mont Blanc as an act of “perseverance of effort,” and therefore he casts the act of study as a daunting and grueling but worthy accomplishment. According to Roudès and those *scoutista* editors who placed his work in this edition, the scout may imagine himself heroic if he slogs through a challenging or boring reading. Any scout who would complete the “arid reading” of the then forthcoming *Manual del boy-scout* (the first original Chilean Scout manual, by Manuel Alcayaga, which would be published later in 1911, and with which I will conclude the present chapter), would certainly benefit from Roudès’ encouragement on this point.

To summarize *scoutismo*’s use of Smiles and Roudès: both authors’ works emphasize the personal and the attitudinal over the collective and the structural as the grounds of social engagement. Smiles privileges the modification of the subject’s perspective about society, at the expense of the subject’s work toward social change. Roudès varies somewhat from this when he urges his reader to demand for himself a higher position in society (here he is at odds with Baden-Powell’s brick metaphor), but he does not go so far as to critique the existing set of available social categories or ranks. Finally, Roudès makes the act of study a central and yet multivalent axis of masculinity. For Roudès, reading can make or break one’s attainment of masculinity.

The first *scoutista* publication was deeply at odds with itself. The booklet begins with a radical vision of citizenship in Vicencio’s call to social transformation and horizontal solidarity. And yet, the booklet also promotes the notion that the citizen of low position should be content to solidify his own station, and that by so doing he would ensure his own happiness as well as the overall stability of his nation. My attention to *scoutismo*’s failure, at least in its early expressions, to provide a coherent theory of citizenship is not merely motivated by my own social and

political position. Rather, I emphasize this matter because, as I have shown in the pages above and in the prior chapter, Robert Baden-Powell's project in general, and Chilean *scoutismo* in particular claimed to present nation-transforming forces. Solidarity and equality were imagined to be vital thrusts and results of that transformation, but these very concepts tend to recede to the background of *scoutista* discourse in the movement's first publication. *Scoutismo*'s first attempts at theorizing masculinity were also unstable, and often depended on contrasts to shifting notions of intellectual activity, particularly the consumption of literature. As we have seen in Baden-Powell's history, militarism has always been an uneasy theme in Scouting, and the same will be true of its Chilean variant. But within the pages of *scoutismo*'s first publication, this theme enjoys relative simplicity.

The Forgotten First Chilean Scout Manual

Baden-Powell's commercially successful manual *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*, first published in 1908, did not make an immediate appearance in the Chilean Scout canon. The booklet I have discussed above served as the canon's first major publication, and it appeared in 1911, two years after Chilean Scouting had been organized. 1911 saw the emergence of another text that would become significant, though only briefly, in Chilean *scoutismo*, as well as in the history of Boy Scout publications in general. Valparaíso's Manuel Alcayaga created the approximately six-hundred-page *Manual del boy-scout*, very likely among the world's first Boy Scout manuals not authored by Baden-Powell, and one of the first of such manuals written in a language other than English.

In spite of its original and local contribution to Chilean *scoutismo*, Alcayaga's handbook fell out of use a year later when Chilean scouter and professor of English Maximiano Flores

published his Spanish-language translation of the third edition of Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* as *Guía del scout*.⁶⁴ Flores' direct translation included the page dedicating the book to the British royal family, and multiple references to British institutions, practices, and places, including British colonies. Chile is a concept absent from Flores' un-adapted interpretation, which in effect pledges cultural allegiance to Great Britain in Spanish.⁶⁵

The August-September 1913 edition of *Dichos y Hechos*, the publication of the scouts and students of Valparaíso's Instituto Comercial, reproduces a letter from Baden-Powell's secretary to Alcayaga, who was then the former general secretary of the Boys Scouts of the Chilean port city. The letter of 19 June 1913 reads: "I am directed by Sir Robert Baden-Powell to thank you most cordially for your kind letter of May 10th, and the copy of the Boy Scout Manual which he has been very much interested to see. He thanks you for your kindness in sending it to him and hopes that the Boy Scouts in Chile will have every success in the future" (Walker 26).

64 The magazine "*El Scout*" *Siempre Listo*, published in Santiago in sixteen issues from 2 November 1913 to 30 August 1914, featured an advertisement (in all but its first two issues) that read: "There is a book that should be in the library of every scout, of every father and every educator. The newspaper EL MERCURIO has said that this book 'is the most useful work that Chilean presses have yielded in the last twenty-five years': it's the *Guía del scout*; don't confuse it. It was written by an Englishman, the general Sir Robert Baden-Powell, and it has been translated into all the languages of the civilized peoples. Chile had the honor of publishing its Spanish language edition. It is sold for three pesos . . . and that money will be destined *exclusively* to increasing the literature of the scouts . . . If you want the good of your country, buy it today, because tomorrow supplies could be sold out. Keep in mind that considerable requests for it have come from Spain and all the South American republics. Ask for it at the HUME i WALKER Bookstore." *Guía del scout*. The magazine did not mention, much less promote, Alcayaga's manual.

65 I suggest that *Scouting for Boys* rendered as *Guía del scout* should be (and was) understood as British literature in translation. As a professor of English and North American literature and a Chilean scouter, Flores dedicated much of his work to promoting English-language literature in his nation. In addition to his translation of *Scouting for Boys*, he also translated E. Le Bretton-Martin's novel depicting a British Boy Scout group, *Boys of the Otter Patrol* (1913). He was the editor of *Glimpses of English Literature* (1922), an anthological selection of North American and British writers such as Poe, Dickens, Kipling, Tennyson, Macaulay, Emerson and Thorough, intended for the use of Chilean students. The book's cover features an illustration of an Andean landscape, above which three hands, emerging from the clouds, converge in a gesture of friendship. Each wrist wears a bracelet, one of these bears the name "GBRITAIN," another, "U.S.A.," and the third, "CHILE." Below the mountains, a banner unfurling across an olive branch proclaims "Friends for ever." With this in mind, we can more fully appreciate Flores' contribution to Chilean *scoutismo* as a literary expression. Though at the time of its publication *Guía del scout* represented for Chile the pinnacle of Scout literature, other voices from within that nation's institution—primarily through its periodicals—would soon express desire that *scoutismo* should yield original Chilean literature, or at least further the advancement of national literary production. My final chapter examines that aspect of *scoutismo*.

The reply from the British Scout Headquarters did not express concern for the authorization or rightfulness of Alcayaga's contribution, but rather welcomed it. Baden-Powell did not appear threatened by the creation of an original Chilean Boy Scout handbook, nor did he recommend his own work instead of or alongside Alcayaga's. And while the reply does not suggest any complaint on Alcayaga's part, it is curious that Alcayaga should have waited until after the publication of Flores' translation to notify Baden-Powell of his original work. This suggests that Alcayaga may have made an effort to prevent the neglect of his book.

Why should the Chilean Boy Scouts privilege Baden-Powell's manual over Alcayaga's? The simplest answer is that Chilean Boy Scouting was a product of thinkers who, in their majority, believed that Chile would progress culturally and economically by imitating British practices. A passage that best exemplifies this sentiment comes from Alcibíades Vicencio, whose prologue to *Guía del Scout* states:

La cultura inglesa es considerada como un timbre de orgullo para la especie humana. El scoutismo es uno de sus más celebrados frutos de los últimos tiempos. Al incorporarlo a la actividad educativa de la juventud chilena, parécenos que en algo sumáramos el vigor de la encina anglo-sajona a la gallardía del laurel latino.
(Vicencio, Prólogo VI)

English culture is considered as a stamp of pride for the human species. Scouting is one of its most celebrated fruits of recent times. By incorporating it to the educative activity of the Chilean youth, it would seem to us that in some way we were adding the vigor of the Anglo-Saxon oak to the gallantry of the Latin laurel.
(Vicencio, Prólogo VI)⁶⁶

⁶⁶ See my following chapter for a discussion of the sexualized and gendered characteristics of Vicencio's metaphor.

Alcayaga was also enthusiastic about the value of British masculinities. Like Vicencio, he believed that vigor or activity was a peculiarity of British masculinity, and an aspect that Latin American boys lacked. British childrearing and education produce “[quizás] menos sabios; pero más hombres de acción, menos roedores de bibliotecas; pero más observadores del libro universal de la naturaleza” ‘[perhaps] fewer wise men, but more men of action, fewer book worms, but more observers of the universal book of nature’ (Alcayaga 6). Chilean scouts acclaimed British culture. But while zealously embracing *Scouting for Boys*, largely due to its national origin, they overlooked a central and overt theme of the book: Baden-Powell’s assessment that British masculinities, citizenship, and military spirit were in dire conditions.

The fading out of Alcayaga’s Chilean manual in favor of the Spanish-language translation of *Scouting for Boys* represents not simply the absorption of the municipal by the national (Alcayaga’s manual was primarily directed to the scouts of Valparaíso), but rather the Chilean by the British. This case illustrates the tension in early Chilean Scout writing regarding national identity: those who became the first authors and supporters of Chilean Scouting viewed the program as a means for more fully consolidating national sovereignty and identity, though Rojas Flores points out that Valparaíso scouts initially asserted their local autonomy vis-à-vis the national level of direction. And yet Vicencio, Flores, and Alcayaga embraced the belief that such aims would be best attained through the imitation of British and North American cultures (in the areas of economy, family, education for example). While this explanation is valid and productive, it does not satisfactorily answer the question: why should the Chilean Boy Scouts privilege Baden-Powell’s manual over Alcayaga’s handbook?

A second answer also arises from Vicencio’s prologue to Flores’ translation. Perceiving the need to preemptively justify the decision to produce a direct translation, rather than an

adaptation of Baden-Powell's manual, or the creation or continued use of a new Chilean text such as Alcayaga's unacknowledged work, Vicencio explains: "Intencionalmente el directorio se ha desviado de la idea de hacer una adaptación, pues, careciendo de experiencia sobre la materia, con facilidad la tarea habría podido degenerar en una deformación de la obra" "The directorship has intentionally veered from the idea of making an adaptation because, lacking experience with the material, too easily the task might have degenerated into a deformation of the work" (IV). And yet Baden-Powell's own experience with Boy Scouting can hardly have been much more long-running than the Chileans' experience with the program; Boy Scouting was almost equally as new in the British domains as it was in Chile. Granted, Baden-Powell spent approximately five years conceiving his program before he first experimented with it in the Brownsea Island camp and then released his book. But in terms of actual practice, Baden-Powell's head start over Chilean scouts was miniscule. Therefore, the experience that Vicencio vaguely identifies cannot satisfactorily be labeled as Boy Scout experience.

In *Scouting for Boys* Baden-Powell liberally draws upon his military experiences. What is more important still is that he crafts these into narrations, with many of them taking on characteristics of tall tales. For example, while discussing the value of the skill of tracking, he tells his reader: "I myself led a column through an intricate part of the Matopo Mountains in Rhodesia by night to attack the enemy's stronghold which I had reconnoitered the previous day. I found the way by feeling my own tracks, sometimes with my hands and through the soles of my shoes . . . and I never had any difficulty in finding the line" (*Scouting* 78). In stark contrast, Alcayaga remains autobiographically absent in his impersonal and formal writing style.⁶⁷ As a result, an attentive reading of his book does not reveal whether he had in fact served in the

⁶⁷ I have found no published biographical information about Manuel Alcayaga.

Chilean armed forces. Obligatory military service was not formalized in Chile until 1896 (fifteen years before the publication of Alcayaga's book), but this obligation was limited to the National Guard, and did not pertain to the Army or Navy, and such service, required of every male Chilean from age twenty to forty, could be passive, sedentary, or active (DGMN). If Alcayaga was forty years old by the time he wrote his Scout manual, it is conceivable that he never served, voluntarily or obligatorily, in the Chilean military. But his manual's approximately six hundred pages appear to demonstrate practical knowledge, giving the impression that he too was an experienced soldier. Regardless of his experience or inexperience, he was a detail-oriented writer, at least in a technical sense, about such matters. And so Vicencio's explanation of lack of military or Boy Scout experience on the part of Chilean scouters remains unsatisfactory.

Without further attempting to propose motives for the Chilean Scout organization's prioritization of Baden-Powell's British manual over the creation of their countryman Alcayaga, I will now address the implications of that decision. We must now examine more closely the literary qualities of both books in question. Baden-Powell far surpasses Alcayaga in the area of storytelling; his *Scouting for Boys*, translated as *Guía del Scout*, succeeds where Alcayaga's book fails to fulfill a literary function for Chilean readers, even though Baden-Powell's text is entirely unconcerned with Chile.

While he is a poor storyteller, Alcayaga does, however, curate a narrative that more closely resembles an epic than a storyteller's yarn. In other words, Alcayaga's taste in narrative prose seems to be more harmonious with that of his fellow Chilean scouters than with Baden-

Powell's storytelling. Alcayaga quotes Carlos Varas Montt, who praises the Chilean boy scouts.⁶⁸

“Merecía ya nuestro pueblo esta vigorosa entonación de las facultades de la raza. El niño se iba haciendo débil y enfermizo. Una engañosa y funesta inversión de lo que es sentimiento del valor y de la inteligencia iba haciéndoles reñidores embusteros. El hombre mismo, el adulto, se iba desarrollando libremente, sin sujeción á ninguna moral ni á ningún deber cívico. Al sincero se le llamaba hipócrita, al reflexivo indolente, al laborioso bobo. . . . Y no faltaba quienes hacían objeto de sus burlas al empeñoso *sportman* que desarrolla su cuerpo o al hombre de bien que en la calle defiende a un animal del castigo cruel del guiador.

El boy-scout aporta un espíritu nuevo, una regeneración, una sangre nueva a nuestro cuerpo social un tanto relajado. Desde hoy serán más frecuentes los casos de abnegación y habrá entre las masas humanas del país hombres que se ruborizarán de no concurrir con sus fuerzas y sus facultades a la ejecución de un acto viril y meritoso. Desde hoy habrá también miles de muchachos que se ruborizarán de mentir, que serán sinceros en cada [acto], que sabrán respetar a sus mayores, amar a la patria como se debe y sacrificarse por la mujer, por el niño, o el anciano. . . .

Honremos pues, como se debe, a los boy scouts y deseemos para su sana y simple doctrina una inmensa propagación al través de las almas juveniles de este país.

68 Alcayaga apparently perceived no need to identify Montt's role in society. He was likely a relative of Pedro Montt, who was the president of the republic at the time of the foundation of Chilean Boy Scouting.

Ellos son la juventud honrada, la niñez severa y piadosa, la primavera llena de savia y de energía de nuestra raza nacional.

Abrid paso al boy scout. Él es en un accidente el facultativo, el sacerdote, la autoridad que va a favorecer al hombre caído en medio de las faenas en una hora ingrata de su vida. . . .” (qtd. in Alcayaga 21-22)

‘Our people had long deserved this vigorous toning of the race’s faculties. The child was becoming weak and sickly. A deceptive and ill-fated reversal of that which is the feeling of valor and intelligence had been making them quarrelsome liars. Man himself, the adult, was developing freely, without attachment to a single moral or to a single civic duty. The sincere was called a hypocrite, the reflexive, indolent, the laborious, foolish. . . . And there was no lack of those who converted into the object of their mockery the tenacious sportsman who develops his body or the good man who defends an animal from the cruel punishment of the driver.

The boy scout contributes a new spirit, a regeneration, a new blood to our somewhat slackened social body. From today onward there will be greater frequency of cases of abnegation, and there will be among the human masses of the country men who will blush if they do not present themselves with their strength and their faculties to the execution of a virile and worthy act. From today onward there will also be thousands of boys who will blush if they lie, that will be sincere in every [act], that will know how to respect their seniors, to love their country as they ought, and to sacrifice themselves for the woman, the child, or the elderly. . . .

Let us honor, therefore, as must be done, the boy scouts, and let us wish for their wholesome and simple doctrine an immense propagation to all the young souls of this country.

They are the honorable youth, the severe and pious childhood, the springtime full of sap and energy of our national race.

Make way for the boy scout. In an accident he is a medic, a priest, the authority that will favor the man fallen in the midst of his labors in a thankless hour of his life. . . .' (qtd. in Alcayaga 21-22)

To fully appreciate this speech, we need to recall from Vicencio's first address the phrase, "the whiplash of shame," the disgraceful blow that he hopes the scouts will suffer as they contemplate the society that surrounds them. If Vicencio's inaugural sermon establishes a narrative of national degradation, and optimistically foretells an impending rectification, Varas Montt's epic announces that, through the Chilean Boy Scout institution, a proper affective order has been restored. Now those who will suffer shame and fear are not the scouts (see Barros' speech above), but those who deride and fall short of *scoutismo*'s ideals.

By placing Varas Montt's epic at the beginning of his manual, Alcayaga momentarily compensates for his own narrative deficiencies. But unlike Baden-Powell, Alcayaga is a poor storyteller, insofar as a storyteller is one who can narrate his or her own experiences as culturally valuable products and as units of mutual exchange. In 1936, Walter Benjamin, writing over two decades later, on the other side of both the Atlantic and the First World War, observes the long-coming demise of the art and worth of storytelling. In his essay "The Storyteller," the radical German thinker, "for whom even nostalgia could serve as a revolutionary weapon" (Eagleton

18), is quite in sync with comparatively more conservative Chilean scouters of the 1910s.

Benjamin laments:

the art of storytelling is coming to an end. Less and less frequently do we encounter people with the ability to tell a tale properly. . . . One reason for this phenomenon is [that] experience has fallen in value. [N]ever has experience been contradicted more thoroughly than [by modern mechanized] warfare. . . . Experience which is passed on from mouth to mouth is the source from which all storytellers have drawn. And among those who have written down the tales, it is the great ones whose written versions differs least from the speech of the many nameless storytellers. (83-84)⁶⁹

Alcayaga might have amassed a store of military experience, but he had not succeeded in redeeming the narrative value of such qualifications. Alcayaga's book was not sufficiently, or even remotely, literary. While this observation cannot prove the motives behind the disappearance of Alcayaga's book, the effect of that disappearance is a more literary *scoutismo*. The dismissal of Alcayaga's work attests to *scoutismo*'s uneasy but persistent literary aspirations.

Nevertheless, Alcayaga was a social critic, as most Scout authors have been. Like the others, he was a proponent of militarism and model citizenship, and he expressed ideas about masculinity that are crucial to the overall literature and theory of *scoutismo*. Lest his peculiar and overruled work fall entirely from memory, let us examine it further.

⁶⁹ This suggests that the storyteller is not necessarily the same figure as the author of short stories. Though Benjamin's model of the storyteller is Nikolai Leskov, an author of published short stories, he subordinates the fact of Leskov's *writing* to his seeming ability to *tell* stories. As I will discuss in the following chapter, *scoutismo* consists of a significant amount of short stories, as well as storytellers' tales. *Scoutismo* values both storytelling and short stories.

Whether Alcayaga had read *Ariel* is unclear, and ultimately unnecessary to determine. But he issues a statement that seems handcrafted as a rebuttal to Rodó's influential essay, condemning the tendencies of what has come to be known as *arielismo*. In Part III, Próspero shares with his pupils a parable of an ancient king whose castle served as the gathering place of diverse persons and cultures. These congregated amid the structure's architecture and its grounds to receive material relief from pain and hunger, but especially to engage in collective aesthetic pursuits. In this "house of the people," hospitable generosity, friendship, sensuality, and reciprocity reigned. However splendid the festivities may have been, the king reserved for himself an even higher pleasure. Excusing himself from his role as patriarch and host, he regularly withdrew into the castle's deepest chamber. In solitude the king devoted himself to serene meditation upon no other theme than his own being. Próspero interprets his own allegory, explaining to his pupils that, while they should remain open to all that the world may offer and teach them, they will not be truly free (free from economic activity or utilitarian pressures) if they do not devote themselves to the noble leisure within their own interior realms (Rodó 13-15).

In the final scene of *Ariel* (Parts VII and VIII), having warned his pupils against the dangers facing Latin American culture, Próspero becomes especially fervent and militant (which, of course, should not be confused with *militaristic*) as he sends his disciples among the multitudes: "Os hablo ahora figurándome que sois destinados a guiar a los demás en los combates por la causa del espíritu. . . . No os desmayéis en predicar el Evangelio de la delicadeza . . . el Evangelio de la inteligencia. . . . Ariel . . . significa . . . noble inspiración en el pensamiento, desinterés en moral, buen gusto en el arte, heroísmo en la acción, delicadeza en las costumbres" "I speak to you now supposing that you are destined to guide the rest in the combats for the cause of the spirit. . . . Do not be weary in preaching the Gospel of delicacy . . . the

Gospel of intelligence. . . . Ariel . . . symbolizes . . . noble inspiration in thought, selflessness in moral, good taste in art, heroism in action, delicacy in customs' (53). The disciples then leave Próspero's presence and walk among the people:

Por mucho espacio el grupo marchó en silencio. [S]e verificaba en el espíritu de todos ese fino destilar de la meditación, absorta en cosas graves. . . . Cuando el áspero contacto de la muchedumbre les devolvió a la realidad que los rodeaba, era la noche ya. . . . Sólo estorbaba para el éxtasis la presencia de la multitud.

[E]ntonces . . . el más joven del grupo, conocido . . . por su ensimismamiento reflexivo, dijo, señalando sucesivamente la perezosa ondulación del rebaño humano y la radiante hermosura de la noche:

—Mientras la muchedumbre pasa, yo observo que, aunque ella no mira el cielo, el cielo la mira. Sobre su masa indiferente y oscura, como tierra del surco, algo descende de lo alto. La vibración de las estrellas se parece al movimiento de unas manos de sembrador. (55-56)

Through much space the group marched in silence. Upon the spirit of them all was evident that fine distillation of meditation and absorption in grave things. When the harsh contact of the masses awoke them to the reality that surrounded them, it was night now. . . . The only obstacle to their ecstasy was the multitude.

Then . . . the youngest of the group, known . . . for his reflective and escapist withdrawal into himself, said, pointing to the lazy undulations of the human herd and the radiant beauty of the night:

—As the multitude goes by, I observe that, even though it does not look to the heavens, the heavens looks upon the multitude. Upon their indifferent and dark

mass, like the soil of a furrow, something descends from on high. The vibrations of the stars resemble the movement of the hands of a sower. (55-56)

These pupils, whom Próspero has interpellated as militant preachers, have by this point trod a great distance from their master's lecture hall, presumably through densely populated urban space, together but separated from one another as well as from the multitude, owing to their state of private meditation. What we must recognize here is that Rodó has failed to depict his heroes as active agents of the change they are overtly charged with effecting. They do not lead the people in a combat or a cause. The young *arielista's* reference to the vague hands of a celestial sower indicates that the socially transformative work will be achieved by powers other than his own and those of his comrades; though their master has deployed them, the struggle is out of their hands. Even though these youths undergo harsh contact with their fellow men, the narrative does not even suggest that this contact benefits the supposed lesser beings. Divine or metaphysical forces will transform the multitude. Thus Próspero's disciples will remain unencumbered in their seclusion, intellectual leisure, and superiority, which, one could argue, *Ariel* (perhaps in spite of itself) ultimately presents as their core duties and privileges.⁷⁰

Alcayaga counters these tendencies of *arielismo* when he warns:

El niño que estudia en el colegio todos los ramos indicados en los planes escolares, llega a formarse una masa de ideas y de noticias que, hasta cierto punto, puede desarrollar en él estímulos para obrar. Pero, si esos estudios han sido en exceso teóricos o si han influido más en el pensamiento que en la voluntad, ellos

⁷⁰ González Echevarría suggests that the “interior kingdom” represents for Rodó a refuge from the enslaving demands of utilitarianism, 23. Granted, Próspero advised his listeners that their withdrawal in their own interior kingdoms was necessary for them to truly call themselves “free men,” Rodó 15. And yet, the public festivities at the castle constituted a “paradisiac liberty,” 14. I suggest that rather than a refuge—a temporary escape from a momentary threat—the interior kingdom in *Ariel* represents the elite subject's principal mode of being. Consider, for example, that the fabled king shows no sign of disdain for the public activities that occur. He derives pleasure from the gatherings that he hosts, but is most fully himself in his interior seclusion.

mismos pueden aflojarlo del contacto de sus semejantes, inclinarlo a la meditación pasiva del gabinete y amilanarlo para la lucha de la existencia. (5)

The child who studies in school all the indicated branches in the academic plans comes to form a mass of ideas and information that, to an extent, can develop within him the stimulus to work. But if those studies have been excessively theoretical, or if they have influenced the mind more than the will, those very studies can slacken his contact with his fellows, incline him toward passive meditation in his chamber, and daunt him as regards the struggle for existence. (5)

Beyond merely identifying the shortcomings of academic education or book learning, Alcayaga expresses concern that overly-academic or cerebral tendencies place the youth at risk of apathy, uselessness, and isolation. He warns that the school student is at risk of being won over to his teacher's direction and losing his own initiative, becoming accustomed to "soluciones hechas o impuestas desde afuera, desconfiando por completo de sus cualidades de hombre y de batallador" 'solutions made or imposed upon him from outside, distrusting completely his qualities as a man and a battler' (6).⁷¹

The ambivalent theme of militarism allows literary comparisons between Alcayaga's and Baden-Powell's manuals. Below, Alcayaga offers a broad description of the Scout program: "[L]os Boy Scouts, sin tener una organización militar, siendo sobre todo una institución cívica, contribuyen poderosamente a establecer principios de orden y disciplina. . . ." "The Boy Scouts, without having a military organization, being above all a civic institution, contribute powerfully to the establishment of principles of order and discipline. . . .' (11)

⁷¹ Here we should recall that Próspero ends his lecture by sending his disciples into *el combate*. Notwithstanding the tremendous differences between the authorial voices of *Ariel* and *Manual del boy-scout*, both texts hail their readers as combatants.

What follows in the same passage is a typical occurrence in Boy Scout texts, including Baden-Powell's writings. Above, Alcayaga has just denied Scouting's military character(istic). As Baden-Powell often felt compelled to do, Alcayaga here appears eager to dispel fears that Chilean scouters were fostering a military endeavor.⁷² However, only four pages transpire from the preceding citation, and Alcayaga, like many of his counterpart authors, then describes Scout activities that do in fact simulate military procedures:

[Nuestra] preparación se adquiere [t]eóricamente, en el club o cuarteles de los Boy Scouts, y prácticamente en el campo libre [donde m]archan, corren, se esconden y maniobran como soldados exploradores. Su instrucción militar comprende: ejercicio de fuego, manejo de las armas de guerra, lectura de las cartas topográficas, alineaciones, trincheras, medidas de distancia, reconocimientos, servicios de escuchas . . . etc. (15)

[Our] preparation is acquired . . . theoretically, in the clubhouse or barracks of the Boy Scouts, and practically in the open country [where they] march, run, hide themselves, and maneuver like soldier explorers. Their military instruction comprehends: shooting practice, handling of weapons of war, reading of topographical maps, military drills, trench work, measuring of distances, reconnaissance, spy services . . . etc. (15)

On the surface, the early Scouting manuals by Robert Baden-Powell and Manuel Alcayaga starkly resemble military training guides. But Baden-Powell wrote in a personable, casual style that managed to maintain a sense of fun, all while keeping one boot firmly planted in real insistence upon “be[ing] prepared” to perform virtually any action, the giving of one’s life

⁷² In Scouting's early years, numerous groups, particularly labor-oriented and politically left-positioned, opposed the growing movement on the basis that it was too militaristic. See Baden-Powell, *Boy Scouts* 57.

for his nation being the highest ideal and honor. As Benedict Anderson has observed, “it is [the idea of nation] that makes it possible . . . for so many . . . people, not so much to kill, as [to] willingly die for such limited imaginings” (7). Even more so than Baden-Powell, Alcayaga paints a picture of danger and risk, and his tone tends toward aggression. A significant difference between early British and Chilean Scouting is that the latter more openly signals not only the honor of dying for one’s nation, but the duty of actively pursuing its enemies. This is not to say that Chilean *scoutismo* explicitly called upon the ranks of its readers to hunt down and eliminate enemies of the nation. But let us consider the fact that Alcayaga instructs his Boy Scout audience in the manner of capturing and treating prisoners and hostages:

Si hay que hacerse acompañar de un guía o prisionero deberá, para impedirle la fuga, cortarle los botones del marrueco, cintura, tirantes, etc, etc., de manera que el individuo vaya con sus pantalones tomados con una o ambas manos; situación verdaderamente incómoda que no le permitirá correr largo trecho.

Si tiene que hacer un rehén, se elijará hacerlo entre las personas de mayor importancia en poder del enemigo. (285)

If it should be necessary to go accompanied by a[n enemy] guide or prisoner, you should, in order to prevent his escape, cut the buttons from his [clothing], belt, suspenders, etc., so that the individual must go with his pants held up by one or both hands, a truly uncomfortable situation that will not allow him to run a long distance.

If you must take a hostage, choose one of the persons of greatest importance in power of the enemy. (285)

While Baden-Powell also indulges in violent fantasies in *Scouting for Boys*, he often frames them as games (recall the “Siberian Man Hunt” and deer hunting games discussed in my prior chapter). Often Alcazaga does not distinguish between Boy Scout activities and military operations. He does not offer so much as a wink to his reader (or his reader’s parents or guardians) that such activities might amount to mere make believe.

But the lifestyle picture that Alcazaga creates is not only bellicose or fraught with danger. He also portrays another aspect of *scoutismo* that by now is regarded as iconic of Scout culture: that of the rustic, the bucolic, the artisanal, and the homosocial. Not only do scouts occupy the natural landscape, they also while away the hours in an alternative domestic space: “En el club los scouts se entretienen en lecturas y conferencias apropiadas . . . o en recreos deportivos. Por lo regular el club es una sala . . . cuyos muebles y decorado son obra de los scouts” “In the clubhouse the scouts entertain themselves and each other with appropriate readings and lectures . . . or in sporting recreation. In general the club is a hall . . . whose furniture and decoration are the work of the scouts’ (15). Ideal scouts are not only capable combatants. They are also able to cook for themselves and their companions, make and mend their own clothing, and tend to their own and each others’ wounds and illnesses. They are also to craft and decorate their own home away from home.⁷³

73 Øystein Gullvåg Holter refers to a social study of “an all-men group of employees in a kindergarten” that “found greater variance and role freedom among the men, that they more easily could take on ‘homely’ activities, show feelings, and so on. Yet it also demonstrated that men in this situation distanced themselves from feminine standards,” and, of course, from actual females, 25. The conditions of the study of the kindergarten were not entirely analogous to the (real or imagined) case of a Scout unit in action, first because the scouts are significantly older than kindergarten students and younger than teachers, and second, because Scout texts and imagery like Baden-Powell’s and Alcazaga’s give the impression that no adult leaders are present. Nevertheless, the kindergarten study provides a concrete case of an all-male educational space as one that fosters the imaginary and real exercise of multiple masculinities. This multiplicity permits the entry into the masculine of actions and attitudes that otherwise would likely be attributed to the feminine. It bears stating here also that Baden-Powell, while serving in the Army, at times participated in the traditionally feminine pursuits of relishing the selection of curtains, furniture, and other home decorations, both for himself and for the wives of his army mates. Chalmers and Dancer 270. And this in spite of, or in addition to, his preference for “roughing it.”

As if suddenly recognizing that he has indulged too much in extremes of combat and coziness, Alcayaga concludes this depiction of the ideal of Scout life with a clarification regarding the military and domestic behaviors that he and I have just addressed. “Pero estos son trabajos accidentales de los scouts. Su verdadera misión es civil y educadora” ‘But these are coincidental works of the scouts. Their true mission is civil and educative’ (15). Turning, in the following sentence, to a romantic imagination of a North American frontier or British colonial way of life, he states that the scouts “[d]eben aprender a vivir como *pioneers* del progreso, como los *ranchmen*, los *cowboys*, los *trappers* . . . *bushmen* [y] *prospectors*” ‘should learn to live like pioneers of progress, like ranchmen, cowboys, trappers, bushmen [and] prospectors’ (15). The use of Anglicisms is curious, given that Alcayaga could have evoked South American *huasos* and *gauchos*. What is more curious is that, in a moment of geographically, temporally, and culturally displaced nostalgia, Alcayaga should evoke these frontier types as agents of progress. It is an act of the imagination to evoke actual itinerant and economically precarious North Americans laborers such trappers and cowboys who believed that their task was to bring about national progress. And yet Alcayaga is reasonable to remember such workers as (perhaps unintentional) creators of conditions for a conceptual, territorial, and economic expansion of an emerging nation.

This peculiar form of memory leads us to a final matter: history as Alcayaga presents it. Sáez-Arance notes that, at the time of Chile’s Centennial, the majority of the population knew little of the events and processes of their nation’s history (382). Alcayaga’s manual features a section subtitled “Fastos memorables de Chile” ‘Memorable facts of Chile,’ which presents historical events dating back to the Conquest, not in chronological order, but rather in a month-

by-month arrangement, like a calendar marked with holidays. For example, rather than beginning with a year, the “Fastos” begin with the month of January, and list historical events that occurred on that month, date by date (32). The same pattern repeats for each month of the year. Though Alcayaga may address his contemporaries’ broad lack of knowledge of Chilean history, his “Fastos” encourage the reader not to see a historical process. Instead, they merely allow the reader (unless he is willing to break apart this structure and re-situate all of its contents on a chronological plane) to observe (perhaps even memorize) important occurrences in a scattered non-sequence. As Ernest Renan observed, “Forgetting, [or even] historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation” (11). Alcayaga’s presentation fosters curious, non-sustained reading rather than critical or disciplined study. For the reader, this creates the likelihood of a non-synthetic or an ahistorical concept of national history. Compatible with *scoutismo*, it creates a ceremonial reading of history and culture, thus fostering a reverence for, rather than an investigation of the nation. Regarding *scoutismo*’s literary ambition, it is also problematic that this is an entirely non-narrative history. Alcayaga’s discarded text offers no story of Chile, no story of masculinity, nor does it present a story of militarism. Baden-Powell’s manual, of course, presents no story of Chile, but it does provide stories of national masculinities complicated by militarism.

For Britain as well as for Chile, which was the first nation beyond the British Empire to instate the Boy Scouting, the emergence of the program represented a struggle to define and transform national culture. Though Boy Scouting offered to the male youth and their leaders a method for achieving material objectives, and provided a pattern for recreation, I argue that, above all, it amounted to a unique literary and cultural practice. It was on these grounds that *scoutismo* most forcefully and most fully articulated its social aims and fears. By prioritizing

Baden-Powell's handbook, early Chilean Scout leaders recuperated for their program a literary quality that Alcayaga's manual threatened to compromise. In order to avert this risk, they rejected the domestic in favor of the foreign. As a result, the text that prevailed in expressing dominant Chilean Scouters' desires for national redemption was the quintessentially British Boy Scout handbook. While Alcayaga's manual created no illusion or effect of the oral, Baden-Powell's handbook served as a storyteller that could be read and orally retransmitted.

In 1915 the Chilean Boy Scout Association advised that adult Scout leaders should be competent readers of *Guía del scout*, and that they should be able to adapt Baden-Powell's text to Chilean history and national character (Boy-Scouts de Chile 8). While this prescription maintains the privileging of the British handbook over the already forgotten Chilean manual, it also bursts through the institution's characteristic ambivalence toward book learning, and plainly manifests *scoutismo's* literary desires. This instruction cultivates an image of a Scoutmaster resembling Próspero as much as Baden-Powell, one whose pupils might sit at his feet to hear a theory or a story, as well as follow him through forests and over mountains, perhaps even into combat.

Flores' 1912 translation of Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* served as the Chilean Scout organization's primary manual for approximately four decades. In 1948, a new translation of *Scouting for Boys*, rendered by Jorge Núñez Prida, appeared as *Escultismo para muchachos*. As of June 2011, the store of the headquarters of La Asociación de Scouts y Guías de Chile in Santiago was well stocked with the 2008 thirteenth Chilean edition of Baden-Powell's manual, which has been greatly reduced in length in comparison to the original British work and Flores' translation. In 1951, La Asociación de Boy Scouts de Chile produced a new text titled *Manual del boy scout*. This handbook, as well as its 1959 second edition, demonstrated no aspiration

toward literariness. Rather, it consisted starkly of instructional writing and imagery, and amounted to approximately 120 pages, compared to the roughly 540 pages in Flores' translation of *Scouting for Boys*. It was an original Chilean production that lacked the divergent extremes of Baden-Powell and of Alcayaga. Based on the texts that I have been able to access, by the end of the 1940s *scoutismo* appears to have largely abandoned its literary aspirations. And yet during its first four decades, the institution remained devoted to the formation of literature as well as the formation of subjects.

The young Chilean scout who attentively read and, where directed to do so, thoughtfully discussed his organization's first official publications would have confronted a tangle of messages about his own role in upholding and even redeeming his society. Such a reader, or even one who, as may have been more likely, paid only partial attention, would have found himself interpellated as an agent of social salvation, an authorized defender of his nation and his gender, at once a restorer of a lost order and the agent of an entirely new society. It did not matter that this reader should have to negotiate, or decline to negotiate, conflicting ideas prescribed by the literary institution to which he belonged. Early *scoutismo* was an attempt to construct a Chilean version of the still freshly drafted British Boy Scouts scheme, which was nothing if not an attempt to theorize the boy's total experience and to safely chart his journey through a peril-fraught socialscape.

Rosenthal aptly observes the British Boy Scout program: "*In its ideal embodiment* Scouting was not just an organization a boy joined but a total ideology that he absorbed and that thereafter determined his thinking, feeling, and acting" (10, my emphasis). I do not assume that all actual boy scouts fully assimilated or embraced Scouting or *scoutismo*. But literarily and theoretically, Baden-Powell's scheme and early Chilean *scoutismo* presented a totalizing

approach to the male experience. It was an attempt to resurrect a lost way of life while forging a new identity and subjectivity by various means of excursions, *play* (which included the word's performative or theatrical sense) and ceremony, and above all, through literature.

CHAPTER THREE - LOADED MAGAZINES: *SCOUTISMO*'S GENRES OF CAMPFIRE LITERATURE

The Boy Scout Magazine as a Literary Campfire

The Boy Scout manual—*Scouting for Boys* representing that genre's standard—serves broadly as the literary equivalent of lived Scout culture. In a similar way, Boy Scout magazines function as the literary counterpart of a particularly significant Scout practice: the campfire. As I claim in my Introduction, we must understand the iconic fireside gathering as one of the richest expressions of Boy Scout culture. When the sun sets, physical tasks cease. But Scout work does not end at that moment. Rather, it takes on greater intensity, especially as the culture is concerned with the formation of masculine national subjects. Around the flames, boy scouts and their adult leaders give voice to their masculinities, nationality, and sometimes their military imaginaries, by singing anthems or reciting poems, by narrating stories, by enacting miniature plays, or by pronouncing moralistic lessons. The campfire is the Boy Scout *tertulia*.

Like a published form of this definitive Scout event, the magazine medium also shares essays, short stories, and poems—brief genres compatible with the campfire setting. The magazine's form is like a fireside program that becomes an apparatus for the literary cultivation

of citizens characterized by particular concerns for masculinities and military savvy.⁷⁴ Some of Scouting's and *scoutismo*'s most prominent authors have described or prescribed the campfire experience as the ideal communal sharing of brief literary genres (Baden-Powell, *Scouting* 151, 179; Vergara "Ser scout," 1). Like the Scout campfire, the Scout magazine presents a miscellany of brief cultural productions with a minimal organizational structure, and it devotes itself to the creation of desired subjectivities.

Certainly there are key distinctions between the group experience by the fireside and the solitary consumption of a magazine. And yet the nature of magazines makes their production and consumption a practice vastly more shared than the instance of a local troop of boy scouts assembled around a blazing log. In terms of imagining geography, the Scout periodical enlarges the circle of participation from that of a campfire to a bonfire of national proportions. In terms of imagining temporality, the campfire-magazine duality is also a productive model for understanding *scoutismo*—broadly as a culture, and specifically as a literary institution—because *scoutismo* simultaneously aims to enact primeval culture and to signify modern nationhood. Through the campfire and its printed corollary, the magazine, Scouting allows its participants to play at primitivism and modernity, to rehearse tribalism and nationalism.

The Spanish word *revista* translates as "magazine" in English. Much like the campfire event that I have described above, *revista* signifies a theatrical and/or musical spectacle, or a variety show ("Revista," RAE). Significantly, the term also stands for the visual inspection that a commanding officer casts over his soldiers ("Revista," *Larousse*). The concept of *revista*, then,

⁷⁴ José A. Alfonso, the president of the Chilean Scout institution, upon re-launching the magazine *El Scout Siempre Listo* in September of 1919, envisioned the publication as a "unifying bond between us all . . . spread throughout the Republic," 1.

touches upon central Scout themes such as literature, popular performance art, and military order.

The Spanish word *revista* expresses much that enriches our understanding of the periodicals I examine in this chapter. However, it also bears an important limit, as it designates “journal” in an academic or strict literary context. The Spanish term *magacín* (or *magazine*) is even more descriptive of the texts under my present analysis, and more harmonious with Scout culture. The etymology of the English word *magazine* tends to a lesser degree of specialization than the Spanish *revista* (Santa Cruz A. 36). The origins in the Spanish *magacen* (later, with a prefixed article *al-*, *almacén*), come from the Arabic *makhazin*, designating a storehouse or warehouse, while *revista*, when not referring to a printed text, has historically signified a specialty store (Santa Cruz A. 36). It is significant that a printed magazine often displays a far lesser degree of thematic specialization than an academic or literary journal—Chilean Scout magazines present a rambling range of content. Another pertinent historical definition of “magazine” has been “a building [that houses] a supply of arms, ammunition and provisions for an army for use in time of war” (“Magazine”). A modern sense of *magazine*, in English, is the piece of a firearm that stores bullets. “Magazine” expresses *scoutista* periodicals’ sprawling store of conceptual content, with aims toward masculinity and citizenship, while also evoking a military application. *Scoutista* magazines not only function like a campfire experience, but also as armories and loaded ammunition chambers with which to struggle toward masculinity and citizenship. And yet this particular ammunition is not specialized nor standardized. It emits, as it were, bullets, darts and arrows of disparate forces, trajectories and degrees of precision. The *scoutista* magazine as a printed medium does not store a unified set of messages. Instead, it is loaded with a motley set of projectiles.

As a basic but significant distinction between *revista* and *magacín*, Santa Cruz A. designates *magazine* as an illustrated periodical (33). Ossandón B. and Santa Cruz A. demonstrate that *magacín* was coming into use as a signifier and a referent at the time of the foundation of the first Chilean Scout periodicals.⁷⁵ At the turn of the century, Chilean magazines such as *Zig-Zag* (founded in 1905) began to carve out a unique mediatic space that no other periodical print form had occupied. The new medium expressed a cultural transformation that tended to new ways of seeing, and new relationships between printed words and images (Ossandón B. 10-11). The originality of the magazine medium temporally and culturally coincided with the novelty of *scoutismo*. Boys and men in short pants and Stetson hats appeared hiking the streets of Santiago and Valparaíso at the same time that the pages of a new form of periodical began to arrange and juxtapose graphic and textual signs in previously unseen ways. Institutions and movements often create and maintain periodicals in order to define and advance their ideological and aesthetic objectives. The new magazine medium was harmonious with *scoutismo*'s aspirations.

From this point onward I will opt for the English word “magazine” without italics or quotation marks. I do so in spite of the fact that *scoutista* magazines of the 1910s through the 1940s identify themselves as *revistas* or *órganos oficiales*, and not as *magazines* or *magacines*. (In the 1910s, these periodicals' editors may have been hesitant to embrace the neologism, though they were eager to adopt the print medium). I will refer to Scout periodicals as magazines because these publications epitomize what Ossandón B. and Santa Cruz A. identify as the new periodical genre in Chile at the turn of the last century. I also opt for the term magazine because

75 Santa Cruz A., Ossandón B. and their collaborators do not include Scout publications in their studies of Chilean magazines.

my contemporaries would readily recognize Scout periodicals as such. Notwithstanding their literary ambitions, Scout magazines rarely resemble specialized literary or academic journals.

The advent of the magazine medium in Chile altered and broke with the sensibilities and notions of validation sanctioned by illustrated-lettered culture (Ossandón B. 11). I find that magazines allowed *scoutismo* to remain distinct from what it perceived as the excessive intellectualism of *letters* (as I have shown in my previous chapter) while still enthusiastically pursuing *literature*. The magazine not only set itself at odds with highbrow forms of periodicals, it also presented its themes and content in a non-hierarchic form (13). A target reader of a single issue of a *scoutista* magazine might rightly wonder: which is more important, the article that specifies requirements for rank advancement, or the poem on the opposite page? Which poem is more important, the one written by a celebrated national author, or the one composed by a Chilean boy scout? Perhaps it is just as likely that the magazine's nonhierarchical form diminishes the possibility of the reader questioning matters of greater and lesser importance.

Ossandón B. claims that the new magazine genre tended to replace sound judgment with inclination, reason with sight, and author with the order of signs. This new order of signs, he supposes, prompted the reader to skim rather than focus, and to read more broadly than deeply (11). If magazines appeared to interpellate readers as possessing flighty attention spans, it is not surprising that these periodicals should, as Ossandón B. claims, construct notions of youth (14). Magazines directed at young audiences were among the earliest published in Chile (Santa Cruz A. 33). From its outset, the magazine genre aligned closely, though not exclusively, with youth and adolescence. The Chilean Boy Scout magazines that I have studied bear the structural characteristics that Ossandón B. describes; they appear to encourage casual and un-sustained reading and thinking practices.

However, in spite of the simple form of these texts, their content requires closer scrutiny. *Scoutista* magazines point to and provoke complex struggles through which target readers—both young and adult—have made sense of their gender(s), nationality, and views on militarism. The effort to forge identities was not only limited to individual subjects. *Scoutista* magazines of the 1910s through the 1940s reveal the organization's desire to be a literary institution—preferably an institution of Chilean literature.

The themes of masculinities, nationhood or citizenship, and militarism often intersect in *scoutismo*'s literature, making a thematic organization of this chapter an unwieldy option. I organize the remainder of this chapter according to the literary genres found in Chilean Scout magazines: essays and articles, narrative literature, and poetry. This approach will render *scoutismo*'s investment in literature more apparent, and will allow us to observe the interactions of these themes across multiple forms of Chilean Scout literature that appear in its magazines. Further, my procedure through each section of this chapter in a generally chronological order (by preceding from the earlier to the later essays, for instance) will render observable the directions in which *scoutismo* has attempted to conduct its most central and troubling themes. *Scoutismo*'s efforts to propose or fix meanings of literature, masculinity, citizenship, and militarism reveal a work perpetually in process. We can see this process through a comparison of *scoutista* magazine entries across decades, across literary genres, and in the contests between authors. But the in-process quality may also manifest itself within a singular essay, story, or poem.

***Scoutista* Essays and Articles: About-face**

Scoutismo's yearning to function as an institution of national literature, via its magazines, bore internally competing notions. Patriotism battled feelings of cultural inferiority. Xenophobia

scrimmaged against the fetishization of British culture. These struggles often occurred within a singular issue of a magazine, though they also extended across *scoutismo*'s multiple periodicals. Victorious ideas remain difficult to determine. Of all the magazine subgenres that this chapter examines, *scoutista* essays speak most explicitly, though ambivalently, of this struggle.

A piece that captures much of the phenomenon that I have introduced above is “Dos palabras” in the 1 January 1914 issue of the national-level magazine “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo*. The editors opine: “¿[N]o es verdad . . . que ya era tiempo de disputar el campo a cierta perniciosa literatura de libros i periódicos que dentro del país se escriben i que en gran parte nos viene también del extranjero, cuyo resultado no es otro que el de engendrar o despertar en nuestros niños malos instintos i perversas inclinaciones?” ‘Wasn’t it high time that we reclaimed the terrain from a certain pernicious literature of books and periodicals written in our country, and which, to a great degree, also come to us from abroad, whose result is none other than the engendering or awakening in our boys of bad instincts and perverse inclinations?’ (Cabezas, Flores and Gacitúa L. 1). The article proceeds to list the titles of brief literary selections, particularly short stories, which had already appeared in the new magazine’s first four issues, celebrating them as educationally and morally valuable. And yet these were not Chilean works.⁷⁶ Many were translations of foreign origin, in spite of the fact that Chile was the first non-British country to form a national Scout organization. Short stories about scouts were of British and Scandinavian derivation. Essays were often the works of French scouters. Morally appropriate literature, then, could come from extra-national Scout authors. But that literature’s desirability ultimately depended on more than moral characteristics. The editorial continues, “deploramos . . . que no contemos todavía con una literatura netamente chilena, lo que sería nuestro ideal” ‘we

⁷⁶ The editors fail to acknowledge that, in the prior issue of their magazine, they had published “El himno de los boy-scouts,” by renowned Chilean poet Samuel A. Lillo. See the poetry section of this chapter.

deplore the fact that we do not possess a genuinely Chilean literature, which would be our ideal' (1). Consistent with the epic mindset of *scoutismo*'s foundational essays, which we have seen in my previous chapter, the editors offer assurance that the evil tide is already turning in the favor of good; "it was high time that we reclaimed the field" heralds *scoutismo* as a force that has *begun* to restore proper moral order. But the piece primarily points to the remaining struggle to *fulfill* that purpose, as non-Chilean text(ure)s still pervaded *scoutismo*.

In its March 1914 issue, "*El Scout*" *Siempre Listo* shifted from lament to action as it presented its plan for realizing a Chilean literary expression. That issue's editorial, "Gracias scouts," requested its national readers' contributions of essays and articles that reflect upon or report domestic and international Boy Scout themes, and narrative literature such as novels in series and short stories consisting of moral lessons and adventure. The invitation also called for images of scouts in action, which may include photographs or drawings, as journalism or art (Cabezas, Flores and Gacitúa L. 3). Though the request did not mention poetry, "*El Scout*" *Siempre Listo* and other Chilean Scout magazines would eventually publish poems written and submitted by their readers.⁷⁷ By issuing this petition, the editors maintain for themselves the prerogative of defining the institution's and the magazine's priorities and needs. But they also extend to a broader base the task of constituting *scoutismo*, thus complicating a top-down model of culture. Most important to my study, they manifest the desire that *scoutismo* should be a Chilean literary culture.

The editors of "*El Scout*" *Siempre Listo* were not the only Chilean scouters convinced of the crisis of national literature. The July-August 1913 issue of *Dichos y Hechos*, the student and scout magazine of the Instituto Comercial de Valparaíso, features an award-winning essay titled

⁷⁷ *Boletín Scoutivo*, the official periodical of the national institution during the 1930s and 40s, was a major publisher of *scoutista* poetry.

“Don Juan Valera,” by the school’s own professor of Spanish, César Silva.⁷⁸ The article features a drawing of Silva in action: in a cartoonish but reverent style, a serene, elegant, and towering figure, carrying under his arm a collection of loose pages bearing the title “Estudio sobre Juan Valera” ‘Study on Juan Valera,’ reads aloud from a book whose spine bears Juan Valera’s name (26). This image graphically suggests that Silva presented his essay to the students, scouts, and faculty (some members of the faculty may have also been local-level Scout leaders) of the Instituto Comercial.⁷⁹

The content of Silva’s composition does not regard militarism or masculinity, nor does it overtly address Scouting. But its central concern, the intersection of literature and the nation, squarely situates its content within the broader *scoutista* anxieties of its day. The appearance of the essay in a student and scout magazine demonstrates that the interests of the text, because they aspire to fuller Chilean nationhood through prose, poetry and essay, are urgent *scoutista* themes. The essay shares the lament expressed in “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo*’s editorial “Dos palabras,” cited above. But beyond regretting the ill effects of foreign literature upon Chilean readers, Silva also deems Chilean culture and literature to be suffering from the effects of foreign literature:

La juventud [chilena], que no se ve libre todavía del influjo tal vez omnímodo
de la literatura francesa, apenas si se aparta de esta peligrosa senda [se deja]

llevar, sin el debido discernimiento, por la corriente caudalosa que han abierto en

⁷⁸ Though the majority of the essay addresses the literary work of Spanish author Juan Valera, its introductory pages are strictly concerned with what Silva views as a Chilean literary deficiency. *Dichos y Hechos* (which serialized the entire essay over several issues) introduces Silva’s essay as a “Work Awarded in the Centennial Contest,” 26. *The Hispanic American Historical Review* identifies the same essay as a “Work Awarded by the Council of Letters and Fine Arts,” 761.

⁷⁹ On 5 October 1910 the national Ministry of Public Instruction had issued a memorandum urging Chilean public schoolrectors and teachers to serve as adult Scout leaders, and to allow the schoolbuildings to function as Scout clubhouses, Balmaceda 62-64. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Chilean primary schools would officially become the clubhouses of the boy scouts, and teachers would be required to serve an additional duty as adult Scout leaders or facilitators, Rojas Flores 41-42.

el pensamiento contemporáneo el prestigio i el mérito indudables de los autores del norte de Europa. . . .

[A]sí una imitación servil viene a reemplazar, cuando no a ahogar, todo aliento fecundo de propia originalidad, i a hacer que el alma nacional se consuma estérilmente, sin dar los frutos que por otro camino sin duda pudieran lograrse.

[V]eo en nuestra patria [pocos] escritores que estén exentos de este mal, cuyas aflicciones no les lleven a empaparse en tendencias tan contrarias o desemejantes a las nuestras. . . . Todo saber es extranjero, toda moda se nos impone, sin que queramos corregirla o atenuarla con la estimación o estudio de lo que está más cerca de nosotros. . . . Hasta cuando, por escepción, aprendemos algo, en autores [hispano]americanos o de la península [ibérica], se ve que no hallamos bueno sino lo que es reflejo . . . de estrañas influencias. Esta tiranía, en que, si no por conveniencia, al menos por orgullo, no debiéramos caer, nos hace recelosos i desconfiados de nosotros mismos, i . . . enjendra un desprecio injustificado hacia casi todo lo que producimos. . . . Los críticos que se alzan ahora con el magisterio i que deciden o informan el criterio de nuestro público, apenas si encuentran algo bueno en sus propios amigos o camaradas, [se divierten] en desacreditar, con visible mala intención, toda obra que no haya salido del cenáculo en que ellos son adustos i descontentadizos corifeos.

[E]stos ominosos síntomas parece que van desapareciendo de nuestro pequeño mundo literario i [se está] despejando el camino de insalvables obstáculos. Ya se ve apuntar, en jermen todavía i como con cierta vacilación, la planta que puede arraigar con vigor en nuestro suelo, i cierto número de escritores, escasos aún,

estudia nuestras costumbres i nuestras aspiraciones . . . sin verlas al través del falso prisma de determinadas escuelas o de concepciones estéticas que no pueden medrar en nuestro propio modo de ser peculiar i castizo. . . . Manuel Magallanes Moure, los dos Lillos, i algunos más, hablan al alma chilena después de haberla escuchado i comprendido, i sus palabras son como el eco, como la resonancia poética, si no de las mejores, al menos de sus más jenuinas ideas i sentimientos. Se ve que ellos aspiran a darnos con interpretación espontánea i libre, artística i fiel, el verbo dormido de nuestra conciencia colectiva, [basándose en] el medio en que viven. . . .

Basta con que su obra sea bella . . . i que infunda en todo el que lo . . . lea el sobrehumano deleite que hace olvidar todo enojo. . . . De esta manera cumple el arte su misión, i . . . merced a su virtud suavizante o purificante, es el . . . poder redentor que nos rescata de la esclavitud con que nos tiranizan nuestras propias pasiones e infortunios. (26-28)

The [Chilean] youth, which is not yet free from the perhaps absolute influence of French literature, as soon as it distances itself from this dangerous path, [permits itself] to be carried away, without the proper discernment, by the rushing current which the undeniable prestige and merit of northern European authors have wrought upon contemporary thought. . . .

Thus a servile imitation comes to replace, when it does not drown, every fecund breath of one's own originality, and causes the national soul to sterilely consume itself, without bearing fruits that otherwise could be born.

I scarcely see in our own country writers who are free of this malady, whose afflictions do not lead them to drench themselves in such tendencies so contrary to or dissimilar from our own. . . . All knowledge is foreign, every style is imposed upon us, and we do not even want to correct or attenuate it with the estimation or study of that which is nearest to us. . . . What is more, as an exception, when we learn something from [Latin] American or Spanish authors, we only find to be good that which is a reflection of . . . foreign [non-Hispanic] influences. This tyranny, under which—if not for the sake of our interests, then at least for our pride’s sake—we must not fall, makes us suspicious of ourselves, and . . . engenders an unjustified disdain toward nearly all that we produce. . . . The critics, who now elevate themselves with their pretension, and determine or influence the criteria of our public, upon finding something good in their own friends or comrades, amuse themselves by discrediting, with visible bad intention, every work that has not emanated from the coterie they serve as arid and impossible-to-please spokespersons.

It seems that these ominous symptoms are beginning to disappear from our little literary world, and that obstacles are being cleared from the road. The plant able to vigorously take hold of our soil can already be seen to sprout, though in germinal form and hesitantly, and certain writers, still few, study our customs and our aspirations . . . without seeing them through the false prism of determined schools or aesthetic conceptions that cannot develop in our own way of being peculiar and pure. . . . Magallanes Moure, both Lillos, and a few others, speak to the Chilean soul after having listened to it and comprehended it, and their words

are like the echo, like the poetic resonance, if not of the best ideas and feelings, then at least of their most genuine ideas and sentiments. They aspire to give us spontaneous and free interpretation, artistic and faithful, the dormant word of our collective consciousness, drawing from the environment in which they live. . . .

It is sufficient that their art be beautiful . . . and that it pour into all who read it the superhuman delight that causes forgetfulness of all anger. . . . Thus art fulfills its mission, and owing to its soothing or purifying virtues, it is the . . . redeeming power that rescues us from the slavery with which our own passions and misfortunes tyrannize us. (26-28)

We must not overlook the fact that the first cited paragraph suggests that young Chileans are deeply devoted to literature.⁸⁰ For Silva, this devotion, however admirable, is misguided. Texts from abroad are not only an inconvenience, but rather, literature is the ground on which the nation's identity and youths are being lost. According to Silva's essay, freedom and souls are at risk of being taken away. Chileans are not appropriated *into* other cultures (they are not gaining those cultures' prestige or joining those societies). But they are led away *by* those cultures nonetheless. Initially a geological metaphor expresses menaces that come from land and water; the French *path* is dangerous, and the *river* of other northern European cultures is a certain hazard.

Chilean culture's originality and independence are not yet realized, and their fulfillment and propagation are doomed. The essay begs the question: which is the right route, if not the dangerous path Chilean culture is presently upon, or the current that threatens to wash it away? Even if Chileans are on their own soil, they are led across it by Chilean guides who follow maps

⁸⁰ Regardless of whether Silva's assertion on this point is broadly representative of Chilean youth, I regard it as an indication of the influence of Rodó's *Ariel*.

of foreign terrain in the service of strange sensibilities. Even Chile's best writers and critics are maintaining their fellow citizens under cultural tyranny.⁸¹

With optimism not quite equal to the epic faith of the orators and authors of the speeches and essays in *scoutismo*'s first publication—the 1911 booklet titled *Boy-Scouts de Chile* featured in my previous chapter—Silva perceives that Chile, for the first time, is beginning to produce authentic literature. Unlike the narrative arcs of *scoutismo*'s epic essays, this is not a story of a restoration, but rather of a true beginning. And yet, like those epics, Silva's essay narrates a process of national redemption through national literature.

In the penultimate paragraph cited above, Silva's geological metaphor gives way to a horticultural allegory. Though the dangerous trail has now become a road whose obstacles are beginning to roll away, the success lies not in a newly possible route, but rather in the arability of the existing soil. The attainment of authentic national literature is not the result of treading another culture's path, but of sinking roots into, and shooting branches out of, the local environment. The writers who seem successful in this cultivation (some of whom—such as Manuel Magallanes Moure and Samuel A. Lillo—had already been featured in Chilean Scout magazines) are cultivating a plant that, upon blooming, will require a new identity, as its once-dormant and unknown seed originates in the depths of the soil, and its full form is not yet visible.⁸² Nor is Silva able to positively catalog this native species' properties. This plant's

⁸¹ The prestigious Chilean newspaper *El Mercurio* purportedly deemed the Spanish-language translation of Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* to be “the most useful work that Chilean presses have yielded in the last twenty-five years,” *Guía del scout*.

⁸² The January 1913 issue of *Dichos y Hechos* reviews a poetry reading by Chilean Manuel Magallanes Moure. The article's author was more impressed by the poet's appearance (his mood and style) than by the poems he shared from his recent book *La jornada*. The article says very little, but it reproduces two poems from *La jornada*, the Mistralesque “Niños,” and “Carta a Noël.” It also features a drawing, probably made by a student, of the poet reading his works to an audience, which, in the image, only consists of adults, presumably the school's faculty. The poet appears disproportionately larger and better formed than the distortedly squatty teachers who seem rapt in thoughtful admiration, or in an aesthetically receptive state. Magallanes Moure, in comparison, appears serene and

beauty, utility, and survival are still in question. But the affirmation that it is a Chilean variety holds sufficient promise.

Silva's position on literature as a geo-cultural matter lies between that of Rodó's Próspero and the posture of early *scoutismo*'s most prominent voices. Pro-Hispanic, but more specifically, nationalistic, Silva stands nearer to, but not with, Próspero, and decidedly at odds with the Anglophile *scoutista* strain that the prominent Maximiano Flores was promoting through his Spanish-language translation of Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys*, as well as his articles in "*El Scout*" *Siempre Listo*, of which magazine he was a primary editor. The founder of Scouting in Chile, Alcibíades Vicencio, in his prologue to Flores' translation of *Scouting for Boys*, yearns for *scoutismo* to fulfill a cross-pollination between the vigorous English oak and the gallant Latin laurel (Vicencio, Prólogo VI). Through that process, he views Chilean culture broadly, and Chilean masculinity specifically (with attention to the attractive Chilean male body), as receptive of British culture (and, at least metaphorically, of woody British bodies). In other words, Vicencio describes the introduction of the British Scout movement into the Chilean social body as a sexual production that feminizes the Chilean parent as the fertilized partner, and masculinizes the British parent as the pollinating agent. Nevertheless, the pollination still masculinizes Chilean culture. For Silva, however, the influence of British and northern European literature is not symbolized adequately by a desirable (and sexualized) unidirectional flow of pollen or sap into Chilean culture, but rather by another fluid: the dangerous current of a river that threatens to sweep away or drown the developing national subject. The sway of great European literature portends to render Chilean culture not strengthened or masculinized, nor

in control of the scene, E.M. 8-10. The image and the article point to a reverence for poetry, if not, on this occasion, a serious engagement with it.

reproducible through contact with superior stock, but rather displaced, sterile, or extinct. Silva's reference to Chilean literary and cultural purity can be read here as a metaphor of asexual production, while Vicencio evokes a heterosexual conception of a new Chileanness (with homosexual or at least homogenic undertones). In spite of his distinction from Vicencio, Baden-Powell, and nearly every other major *scoutista* author, regarding preferred "methods" of cultivating Chileanness, Silva also comprehends national culture in horticultural terms. The seed of Chilean literature bears the capacity to bloom, and perhaps to flourish, in its purity. Such a genus would serve aesthetically and practically; it would bear intoxicating and medicinal properties able to sooth and heal the national soul and body (Silva 28).

César Silva invoked an autochthonous literary expression to redeem Chilean culture. Like Silva, Maximiano Flores was a professor of literature. But rather than looking inward, this specialist in British and North American literature called for a two-fold deliverance of Chile, through the emulation of British culture, and by means of a British imagination of sub-Saharan African practices. Having translated Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* in 1912, Flores, now co-editor of the official national Chilean Scout magazine, launched the first issue of "*El Scout*" *Siempre Listo* in November 1913 with his essay, "Eduquemos," which addresses most of the guiding themes of my study: masculinity, militarism and nation. For Flores, the crisis is not specifically one of national literature, but of an intimately related problem: national education.

Flores' "Eduquemos" also presents the first case of a *scoutista* phenomenon that I name the "about-face." Deconstruction, post-modernism, and post-structuralism demonstrate that internal incoherence and subjective ambivalence are common characteristics of texts in general. However, I find a particular tendency in many *scoutista* essays toward an abrupt change of conceptual direction. I borrow the term "about-face" from military usage, where it defines a

sudden change of course, rerouting the individual toward the opposite direction. The military about-face appears more at home in the context of drilling than in actual combat, thus it is a common feature of the disciplinary training of subjects (“About-face”). Often a *scoutista* essay gains momentum toward a thematic target, and then unexpectedly and without explanation (and without uttering “¡media vuelta!”) turns one hundred and eighty degrees to charge against another objective. This alteration of the thematic route, however, never amounts to a departure from the overall exercise of *scoutismo*. I interpret *scoutismo*’s about-faces as signs of: the institution’s perception of itself as being harassed by multiple opponents (though the Chilean government, particularly through its branches of the military and education, was a loyal ally); its writers’ beliefs that Chilean literature, masculinity, nationhood, and militarism were in danger; and the sheer multiplicity of meanings of any and all of those four “threatened” constructs.

Flore’s “Eduquemos” begins as a defensive response to criticisms of the school system’s failure to train the youth: “estimo que nuestra enseñanza [escolar] es tal vez uno de los baluartes más poderosos que nos quedan para acometer honradamente la obra magna de redención de la patria” ‘I esteem our [scholastic] teaching to be perhaps one of the strongest bastions that we have left with which to honorably seize the great work of national redemption’ (1). Chile is embattled, but its school system remains a key protection. However, that stronghold is no match for its opponent, “nuestra enseñanza [escolar] es un pigmeo, comparada con el medio contra el cual luchamos, que es un monstruo de vergonzosa ignorancia i corrupción moral” ‘our [scholastic] teaching is a pygmy compared to the environment against which we struggle, which is a monster of shameful ignorance and moral corruption’ (1). After defending traditional schooling, of which he is a practitioner, Flores reveals that he shares some of the popular dissatisfaction with that system.

Pregunto yo, cuando la enseñanza es poca en extensión, i cuando está separada de la vida por los cuatro muros de una escuela, ¿por qué hacer única responsable a la enseñanza de los actos que ella no vijila? . . . la escuela actual . . . no abarca la realidad de las cosas en toda su amplitud, i por lo mismo, no prepara a sus educandos para la realidad. La escuela es un factor indispensable para la educación, pero no es el único. (1)

I ask, when [scholastic] teaching is small in extension, and when it is separated from life by the four walls of a school, why hold it solely responsible for the teaching of acts that it does not oversee? . . . the current school system . . . does not cover the fullness of reality, and therefore it does not prepare its pupils for reality. The school is an indispensable factor of education, but it is not the only factor. (1)

The school is a valiant institution, but it is a mere Lilliputian incapable of fending off the monsters that beset it. It needs a heroic companion to join in its combat. Though victory seems within reach, Flores' phrase "one of the most powerful bastions we have left," indicates that the battle is still hot. The author's evocation of monsters is consistent with the overall narrative of *scoutismo*, as it is squarely within the framework of the epic genre, which guarantees the hero's triumph, though he must fulfill the journey (Lukács 86). But, for Flores, the school is not that hero.

"[D]e Inglaterra ha surjido un movimiento de enseñanza estraescolar que [se esparce] por todo el mundo civilizado [y ha sido] adoptado . . . por todos aquellos a quienes interesa el porvenir de las naciones" "[F]rom England there has arisen a movement of extra-scholastic teaching that extends through all the civilized world and has been adopted . . . by all of those

who are interested in the future of the nations' (1-2). Scouting "forma[a] al hombre honrado, robusto, hábil i valiente, buen ciudadano . . . siempre en marcha hacia un ideal de democracia" 'form[s] the honest, robust, capable and courageous man and the good citizen . . . ever marching toward an ideal of democracy' (2).⁸³ Scouting promises to succeed where schooling fails, it assures the formation of moral and capable citizens of the nations of the future.

Flores' next paragraph breaks abruptly, in an about-face, from a celebration of modern nationhood and democracy, formed in the image of Great Britain, to a desire for non-modern "savagery" as the cultural model for a Chilean future. Here Baden-Powell's translator plagiarizes page 152 of *Scouting for Boys*: "Los salvajes zulúes i swazis someten a sus hijos a una ruda prueba antes de considerarlos como hombres" 'The savage Zulus and Swazis subject their sons to a harsh challenge before considering them men' (2). Flores evokes the extreme initiation rites that I have summarized and interpreted in my first chapter, in which the young male initiate is stripped naked, painted white, given minimal provisions, and forced to survive alone in the jungle for a month's time. His success bestows upon him three distinctions: citizen (or full member of the tribe), man, and soldier. Flores then asks, "I nosotros ¿qué hacemos? Para vivir, que es luchar, necesitamos también soldados, aunque munidos de armas espirituales i materiales distintas" 'And what do we do? In order to live, which is to fight, we too need soldiers, but these must bear distinct spiritual and material arms' (2). Chileans navigate a modern and civilized jungle fraught with perils: the snakebite of disease, economic and political predators, and disorienting passions (2). Here Flores shares Silva's concern: Chileans' desires threaten to leave them lost in the wilderness. For Silva, those harmful passions are Chileans' enthusiasm for British and northern European literature. Flores does not clearly name the passions against which

⁸³ Though British Scouting and Chilean *scoutismo* are intensely concerned with imperial or national citizenship, their texts seldom reference democracy.

he warns, but it is clear that he, like Silva, regards Chileans' cultural desires with extreme caution. But Flores sees redemptive value in the literature that troubles Silva.

Flores rightly assumes an already modern Chile (his is not among the voices that hailed *scoutismo* as one of the means toward Latin American civilization and modernization). Such a refined culture not only consists of the dangers discussed above. Its comfort and safety are also existential threats. “[L]os beneficios de la civilización . . . traen consigo un defecto inherente [al hombre]: tienden a adormecer la individualidad i la iniciativa. . . . Demasiado tarde, pretendemos despertar su iniciativa i espíritu de trabajo encerrándolo[] en muros para hacerlo[] meditar en especulaciones serias i abstractas que atemorizan i ahuyentan a los más y no capacitan a los menos. Ignoramos voluntariamente que somos animales” “[C]ivilization’s benefits . . . bring man an inherent defect: they tend to numb his individuality and initiative. . . . When it is too late, we pretend to awaken his initiative and his work ethic by enclosing him between walls, in order to make him meditate upon serious and abstract speculations that frighten and chase away the majority, and that do not capacitate the minority. We willfully ignore that we are animals’ (2-3). “Eduquemos” captures Scouting’s and *scoutismo*’s aspirations to explore a broad scope of identities, from the modern national citizen to the tribal warrior, extending to renewed membership in the animal kingdom.

Flores concedes that the school system is a force for national redemption (1). And yet, like Manuel Alcayaga and many other *scoutista* authors, he warns against the school’s tendency toward what he would likely have recognized as the *arielista*-like practice of bookwormish withdrawal into one’s own interior realm, in favor of self-absorbed pondering upon abstract speculations that do not capacitate the thinker in any way (2-3). This amounts to a censure of that which occurs in Próspero’s lecture hall or classroom: fruitless contemplations from which not

even the elite few may derive benefit. Flores does not call for the reformation of schools. More radically, he affirms that *scoutismo* offers a superior education, a bold proclamation for a successful professor of literature. But here Flores does not acknowledge that *scoutismo* is yet another textual engagement.

Valparaíso's Brigada del Instituto Comercial joins *scoutismo*'s discussion about foreign influences upon Chileanness in a collectively authored essay. "El patriotismo i los scouts" reflects upon a recent national Chilean Scout Jamboree held in honor of its special guest, Theodore Roosevelt. Rather than presenting a celebratory report of the former U.S. president's visit to the nation's scouts, the article reminds its readers that Valparaíso's local Scout authorities had called upon their patrols and troops to boycott the event. The authors support their local leaders' order, announcing that "no era *patriótico* asistir a una manifestación en honor de un personaje que había hecho mucho daño en América del Sur" 'it was not *patriotic* to attend a manifestation in honor of a person who had done much damage in South America' (Brigada del Instituto Comerical 28, authors' emphasis). It is not surprising to see patriotism defended as a key Scout virtue, and it is common to understand patriotism in terms of national interests. However, it is rare to find Scout texts that articulate such a clear socio-political protest, especially a protest leveled against the United States in the name of Latin America. We should bear in mind that the scouts of this particular brigade were likely students and colleagues of César Silva. While Silva bases his vision of the development of Chilean culture on the privileging of authentic Hispanic literature (a gesture harmonious with the cultural project of *modernismo*), his students and coworkers (who, after all, primarily study and teach commerce at the Instituto Comercial) express their desire for national autonomy upon political and economical

grounds. Though their essay makes no reference to literature, it is difficult to ignore in it what appears to be the influence of, or sentiment shared with, Rubén Darío's poem "A Roosevelt," which denounces its namesake as the "futuro invasor de la América ingénué" 'future invader of guileless America' (Darío 84-85).⁸⁴

In order to express its notion of patriotism, this Scout essay also problematically evokes gender. The authors liken the hosting Chilean government to a "dueña" 'lady of the house,' or 'landlady' who, though presumptuous, feigns an unconvincing modesty as she "agasaja[] a quien nos desprecia con el ánimo de mendigar vergonzosos favores" 'lavishly host[s] one who despises us, with the intent to beg shameful favors of him' (Brigada del Instituto Comerical 28).⁸⁵ This language genders and sexualizes the nation as feminine and even as sordid. By receiving Roosevelt, Chile acts as a prostitute who, though independent, is a prostitute nonetheless. This essay creates a link between nation, gender and sexuality: when patriotism fails, masculinity and proper sexual order fail also. Such failures are not mere negations, but rather they amount to "side-switching." Patriotism, masculinity and honor do not simply disappear, but become, respectively, treachery, femininity and disgrace.

Cabezas, Flores and Gacitúa L. begin their 1913 essay "La palabra de honor" by discussing that iconic Boy Scout virtue: honesty. "Scout's honor," the English language equivalent to the notion of "la palabra de honor," suggests the logocentric quality of scouts' utterances. "La palabra de honor" is reserved for transcendent matters; a scout's word of honor is

⁸⁴ Darío's "A Roosevelt" censures the U.S.'s aesthetic, spiritual, cultural, political and economic aggressions against Latin America.

⁸⁵ Though the event in question was a national Chilean Boy Scout Jamboree, the authors primarily accuse the Chilean government of anti-patriotism and of causing the scouts to feel obligated to participate in honoring Roosevelt, Brigada del Instituto Comercial 28. This perspective indicates the extent to which the State was felt to wield authority (not coercive, but hegemonic) over the scouts as what Althusser calls "state subjects."

not to be employed trivially. Scout speech is not representative, nor is it discursive. Scout speech is the verbal form of transcendent reality. This is not to say that the authors suggest that, by mere virtue of being a scout does one possess this power of language. Instead, the scout must impose self-discipline in order to attain this degree of agreement between speech and transcendent reality. The authors first attempt to illustrate their concept with a school context, promoting honesty with one's teachers and classmates. But as we have seen in Flores' "Eduquemos," the school setting suffers from serious limitations, and it falls short of the transcendence that requires the scout's word of honor. Then comes the about-face:

Lo que llamamos "prácticas en tiempo de guerra" aclarará lo que estamos tratando de explicar. . . .

Cuando se toma prisionero un soldado, se le pregunta . . . si desea dar su palabra de no fugarse. Si accede a esta proposición, no hai necesidad de encerrarlo ni de ponerle un guardia. . . . Si quebranta su promesa se hace acreedor a la muerte. (1)

What we call "wartime practices" will clarify that which we are trying to explain. . . .

When a soldier is taken prisoner, he is asked if he wishes to give his word that he will not escape. If he accepts this proposition, there is no need to lock him up or place a guard over him. . . . If he breaks his promise he becomes worthy of death. (1)

While the essay's primary objective is to encourage truthfulness, it says more about war. War is the transcendent reality *par excellence*. Here war serves not as national defense or expansion, but as a context that permits one to fully enact his honor. Curiously, in this essay the character who

exemplifies the “word of honor” is the enemy. What is more, it is an enemy who has surely become a prisoner by being outmatched or by committing a misstep on the battlefield.

Employing one’s word of honor in such a situation is a no-win situation. Either he promises to remain captive (perhaps to be executed or otherwise mistreated, perhaps never to be released); or he honestly declares his intent to escape, thus exposing himself to immediate execution or incarceration, and his captor’s heightened vigilance; or he dishonestly expresses intent not to flee, and risks all the abuses above, in addition to certain loss of his honor. Swearing by scout’s honor is no triviality.

This essay closely resembles Manual Alcayaga’s startling instructions, in his 1911 *Manual de boys-scout*, on how to transport a prisoner of war. Like Alcayaga, the authors of this essay address boy scout readers as if they were likely find occasion to take prisoners on the battlefield. While Alcayaga teaches his readers to cut the prisoner’s suspenders, thus complicating his flight (285), these authors instruct the captor to invite the captive to give his word of honor.

In his article “Los Boy-Scouts de Copiapó,” Tres Ekis produces *scoutista* concepts of gender and sexualities that fuse with notions of education. The author partly echoes Flores’ critique of the school system (in his essay “Eduquemos”). But Tres Ekis’s fervor surpasses that of Flores; Scouting does not come to school’s rescue, rather, it supplants scholasticism. In school, students learn to read, write, and acquire some theoretical knowledge “de escaso valor en la vida, mientras que [el scoutismo] forma hombres en el más amplio significado de la palabra” ‘of little value in life, while [*scoutismo*] forms men in the most ample sense of the word’ (21). What is the most ample meaning of *men* or *man*? For Tres Ekis, masculinity signifies a rejection

of reading, writing, and theory. A man is not a schoolboy. But what is he? This article exemplifies Scouting's inability to positively define masculinity. In (spite of) Scouting, masculinity remains non-essential, *scoutista* authors seldom succeed in identifying its kernel, or defining it positively. While Tres Ekis attempts to discredit the school's cultivation of abstract thought, he can only treat masculinity as a pure abstraction. This article represents a broader strain in *scoutista* literature in which schools fail to form true men, and *scoutismo* unconsciously fails to produce a stable meaning of masculinity.

After rejecting the value of classroom education, and the school's failure to form masculine subjects, the author's other intent is to report on a day-long outdoor excursion. More precisely, he reports on an outing in which he did not participate—he merely observed the scouts' return. I propose the terms "ecosensual" and "ecosexual" to characterize his conception of the boys' encounter with nature. "Los boy scouts recibieron en el campo las caricias vivificantes de la luz i de las brisas; aprendieron a leer nuevas i hermosas páginas de la madre naturaleza; acumularon conocimientos, virtudes i enerjías de salud, que acentuarán la grandeza de nuestro pueblo i el vigor de nuestra raza" 'In the country, the boy scouts received the exhilarating caresses of the light and the breezes; they learned to read new and beautiful pages of Mother Nature; they acquired knowledge, virtues and healthful energy, which will accentuate the greatness of our people and the vigor of our race' (21). While sexual activity was popularly believed to drain males' energy, the boys' sensual frolic with the feminine entity, Mother Nature, invigorates these initiates, who in turn invigorate the entire national race. In this sense, the received or increased vigor masculinizes the scouts and the nation, though these are paradoxically dependent upon a classically feminine entity for that invigoration. At the same time, the boys are passive recipients of the mother's caresses and whispers, and thus feminized in

this act of lovemaking, while the Earth is masculinized as the more active partner, according to norms of genders and sexualities. As if partly alert to the role “reversal” that he has created, the author then counteracts this slip by means of a paragraph that urges scouts to learn to not only receive bodily pleasures from the Chilean earth, but to also exploit her many natural resources, thus restoring a more familiar gendered and sexualized order.⁸⁶

In addition to receiving bodily pleasures in the outdoors, these scouts have also begun to master a superior form of textuality, as they have learned to read the book of nature. The pages, which might have been more multivalently, and thus more artfully, expressed as *hojas*, which signifies “pages,” “leaves” and “blades,” are deliberately called *páginas*, which only designates “pages.” The metaphor of print literature appears even where Tres Ekis would deem it most unwelcome, in the wilderness.

Just as the author must imagine the scenes above (having not attended the Scout outing), he conjures as well the following scene, carrying out an about-face in the process:

Hai ocasiones en que el polvo que ensucia el rostro de las juventudes tiene un gran significado i evoca sublimes recuerdos. ¡Así me figuro que vuelven los heroicos soldados de la patria, después de haber ofrecido su vida en los campos de batalla, después de haber escrito con caracteres de sangre i fuego una nueva página de la historia nacional! (21)

There are occasions on which the dust that mars the face of the youth carries a great significance and evokes sublime memories. This is how I imagine the

⁸⁶ The November 1941 issue of Chilean Scout magazine *Boletín Scoutivo* features “Plan para el fomento de la chilenidad,” in which authors Romero O. and Velis L. more graphically expand Tres Ekis’ gendered and sexualized vision of humans’ relationship to the Earth, and citizens’ relationship to their country. “The homeland denies us nothing, it is generous as a mother; but she needs her children to know how to penetrate into her entrails or scrape her fertile womb with a gesture of will and triumph.” 5.

fatherland's heroic soldiers coming home, after having offered their lives on the battlefields, after having written with characters of blood and fire a new page of national history! (21)

For the author, the meaning of the image of disheveled young men is potent and dualistic; it evokes images of lovemaking and war. This last image is strikingly at odds with the affectionate portrayal of scouts in nature, which is the referent (albeit imagined) that provokes the scene of death and destruction (*sangre i fuego*). Tres Ekis's article defies and depends upon notions of literature, or reading and writing. Sensual play in nature is the appropriate form of reading. War is the manly form of writing the nation's narrative. This is one of the rare instances in which *scoutismo* suggests, though not overtly, a positive or concrete characteristic of masculinity: war is masculine.

In spite of the instructive nature of its title, the anonymously authored "Para ser hombre" perpetuates the inability to positively define "man." The essay advises its readers to become "hombres en el verdadero sentido de la palabra; porque es necesario distinguir entre un *hombre* i un *apocado*, o *mariquita*, como se dice vulgarmente" 'men in the true sense of the word, because it is necessary to distinguish between a *man* and a *sissy*, or a *fag*, as is said vulgarly' (20). Before addressing the importance of the author's implied distinction between a "man" and a "sissy" or a "fag," I wish to address my translation of *mariquita*, and the effects of the author's use of that term. I translate *mariquita* as "fag," rather than as "effeminate," because the author attributes the term to the vulgate—he regards the word as crude and offensive.⁸⁷ By permitting the word to briefly appear, the author manifests that he is concerned not only with gender, but also with sexuality. He wrestles with the former while keeping the latter at arm's length. (It seems unlikely

⁸⁷ I also recognize that my rendering of *mariquita* as "fag" pertains to later twentieth century and current American English, rather than the English contemporary to the original text.

that a man of his time would analytically separate the two categories as current-day social scientists and cultural critics do.)

Leaving the reader to make what s/he will of the meaning of *mariquita*, the author pursues the sense of *hombre*, basing himself entirely on the importance of difference or distinction. “He aquí algunas [características de] la verdadera hombría: [Primero, la] capacidad para hacer algo distinto de lo que hacen los demás. . . . La hombría se muestra avanzando por sí sola i haciendo algo distinto de los otros, siempre . . . mostrando que se tiene personalidad propia” ‘Here are some [characteristics of] true manliness: [First, the] capacity to do something distinct from that which the rest do. . . . Manliness shows itself by going forward on its own and doing something distinct from the rest, always . . . demonstrating that one has a personality of his own’ (20). Masculinity, seemingly self-evident and defined by a fixed or unified sense, is in fact possible in as many forms as there are individuals (all male and female individuals, if we strictly apply the author’s formula). According to the first mark of manliness, anyone and everyone can be a man, provided that no subject imitate or follow another. This theory not only leaves masculinity infinitely definable and therefore useless as a meaning, it also suggests that Scouting, as an attempt to cultivate masculinity, can offer no singular route to this objective. Careful readers in search of instructions in manliness would either be frustrated or liberated.

While the first mark of a man pits each individual against all others, the second mark of manliness divides the subject against itself. “Lo que marca en segundo término la diferencia entre un *hombre* i un *apocado* es el dominio de si mismo” ‘The second characteristic that marks the difference between a *man* and a *sissy* is self-control’ (20). The male body is like a spirited horse with a will of its own, a will that the author suggests is not the same as the boy’s conscious mind. The author does not recognize that such a steed already possesses the first characteristic of

masculinity: absolute individuality. Nevertheless, the second mark of manliness is the triumph of the boy's will over his body's will. "Lo que a vosotros importa es aprender a decir 'no' a los sentimientos que, como el corcel encabritado, podrían arrastraros por un camino peligroso, por ejemplo, el deseo de . . . leer libros inconvenientes" "What you must learn is to say "no" to feelings that, like a bucking horse, could carry you down a dangerous path, for example, the desire to . . . read inappropriate books' (20-21). Here, as elsewhere in *scoutismo*, literature appears as a potentially dangerous element of the struggle to become a masculine adult. But even appropriate books, in excess, threaten a boy's masculinity: "Se llama apocado . . . aquel que no es capaz de renunciar a lo que le causa algún placer como una lectura . . . cuando ha llegado la hora de dormir, o quedarse en cama cuando es hora de levantarse" "We identify as a sissy . . . that boy who is unable to renounce something that gives him some pleasure, such as reading . . . after bedtime, or staying in bed when it is time to arise' (21). This passage echoes the sentiments of Roudès, studied in my previous chapter. Roudès and this anonymous author identify reading as an act that may fulfill or undermine masculinity, and both writers name the bed as a site where masculinity may triumph or fail. Masculinity and its other(s) depend not on specific actions, but rather on the timing of those actions. For Roudès, reading in bed can be heroic. For this anonymous author, reading after bedtime is for wimps. Real men go to bed on time.

In addition to offering a mostly negative or empty definition of manliness, "Para ser hombre" also demonstrates ambivalence regarding the ultimate desirability of attaining manliness and adulthood. The author expresses the delight that he and others who study boys derive from observing youngsters' erratic and unpredictable movements, stealing one another's caps, climbing over fences, each part of their bodies seeming to have a will of its own. Meanwhile, adults proceed predictably: they walk, they sit, they converse, they walk again.

Though the man bridles his horse, “[e]so no ofrece nada de interesante” ‘[t]here is nothing interesting about that’ (20). And so the text begins to reveal dissatisfaction with manliness. The text concludes with an about-face: “En fin, queridos scouts, no tratéis de aparecer como *hombres* antes de tiempo. Sed muchachos alegres i sanos i tened presente que todos podéis desarrollaros robustos i respetados, sin necesidad de imitar los hábitos de los hombres, que no son siempre dignos de tomarse como ejemplo” ‘Finally, dear scouts, do not try to appear like *men* prematurely. Be cheerful and healthy youngsters and remember that you can develop yourselves robust and respected, without need of imitating men’s habits, which are not always worthy to take as exemplary’ (21). Over the course of the brief article, the author convinces himself (and potentially his readers) that manliness, whatever it is, can wait, and perhaps should be postponed indefinitely.⁸⁸

“Crónica nacional i extranjera: Copiapó,” by an unidentified contributor in “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo* of July 1914, narrates the arrival to Copiapó of two “Lady Scouts” from a distant port city, traveling twelve hours on horseback, a trek that few men would make “por gusto” ‘for pleasure.’⁸⁹ While the phrase “por gusto” may risk reducing the girls’ journey, however arduous, to a leisurely act, the article genuinely commends these girls for their virility. It simultaneously jabs at the average Chilean man’s masculinity. Taken within the general context of *scoutismo*’s priority of masculinity for males, this article may appear to begin as yet another alarmist commentary on Chilean manliness. However, the text enacts a revealing about-face:

⁸⁸ Here it is productive to recall a passage from the first Chilean Boy Scout publication, which not only bases masculinity upon individuality, but also urges the boy to hurry to manhood: “What is best, then, is that you trust only in yourselves, that you listen only to your own inspirations. [This] is the most pleasant way to become a man *quickly*,” Roudès, “Perseverancia” 127, my emphasis.

⁸⁹ Note the Anglicisms used in Chilean Scouting, where the boys are called *boyscouts*, and the girls who belong to the organization are called *girl guides* or, here, *lady scouts*.

Ojalá que la resistencia i el valor de estas dos gallardas scouts encuentren *imitadoras* entre nosotros, pues nunca será tarde para pensar en el abandono en que hemos dejado la educación física de la mitad de nuestra raza, las mujeres, que . . . van creciendo cada día más raquíticas i apocadas, diferenciándose tan notablemente de la mujer chilena de que nos habla la historia. Poco a poco han ido desapareciendo ese valor i esa enerjía que, junto con la más pura virtud, fueron las características de nuestras madres. (6, my emphasis)

Hopefully the toughness and courage of these two dashing scouts will find *female imitators* among us, for it will never be too late to think about the abandonment in which we have left the physical education of half of our race, the women, who are daily growing more rickety and timid, differing notably from the Chilean woman of whom history tells us. Gradually that valor and energy—as well as that purest virtue—which our mothers possessed, have been disappearing. (6, my emphasis).

“It will never be too late” betrays a lack of urgency, though not a shortage of desire, for the restoration of a supposedly lost quality. What is most remarkable about this passage is that the traits that Chilean women have lost can far more easily be labeled *masculine* than *feminine*, according to social conventions of the time. This text longs for the renewal of the imagined masculinity of Chile’s foremothers and forefathers. Unlike most *scoutista* treatments of gender, this text fears the feminization of Chilean women as well as men. This conceptualization of gender notably frees that category of identity from notions of biological sex. Sexuality, however, appears in this article to be a female problem, as the Chilean women of prior ages are believed to have possessed, in addition to the namable “valor and energy,” that unnamed “most pure virtue.” Although Scouting—in spite of its many queer characteristics—bears significant anxieties

surrounding homosexuality, certainly the author does not suppose Chilean women of his day to be overwhelmingly lesbian. I make this somewhat tongue-in-cheek remark in order to earnestly critique his construal of sexuality as a solely female problem. Instead of believing his contemporary Chilean women and men to revel together in (hetero)sexual impropriety, he leaves males out of his reprehension (and perhaps out of his conscious consideration of sexuality altogether). This manifests at least three possible assumptions about male sexuality. The first possibility is an endorsement of male heterosexual conquest, by which boys and men perform traditional or heteronormalized masculinity with impunity and applause, and by which girls and women—in addition to, or as an aspect of, performing their sex's heteronormalized femininity—incur shame. I have found no expressions of this first assumption of male sexuality in other *scoutista* texts. The other two possible meanings of the author's silence on male sexuality, both of which meanings find expression elsewhere in Scouting texts, manifest either a conception of sexual restraint as a foundation of masculinity (there is no male sexuality *of which to speak*), or an even more unspeakable signal toward male homosexuality (this male sexuality *must not be spoken of*).⁹⁰ While the essay's theory of male sexuality remains a matter of interpretation, its theory of gender rather clearly, and surprisingly, conceives of and desires the ultimate masculinization of male and female Chileans as a remedy for the nation's, or race's, bodily and moral degeneration.

At some point after August of 1914 the magazine “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo* ceased publication, owing to adverse circumstances not clearly identified (Alfonso 1). In September of 1919 the magazine's reappeared as *El Scout Siempre Listo* and came under the direction of new

⁹⁰ See my first chapter for a discussion of restraint as a Victorian and Edwardian British characteristic of masculinity, and of Scouting as a flight from sexuality altogether.

editorial personnel. A significant essay appears two issues later, “El amor a la patria” by J. Benavente, who warns:

Desconfiad de los que, por amor a la Humanidad, dicen ellos, se desentienden del amor a la patria. ¡Es tan fácil poner nuestros amores en las estrellas! Ese amor por las abstracciones lejanas no molesta, ni exige sacrificios, ni responde con ingratitudes. Lo difícil es amar muy cerca a lo que unas veces es alegría, otras veces dolor o mucha tristeza, a lo que, si tal vez nos aligera la carga de la vida, otras veces es pesadumbre.

Esos que no aman cerca y pretenden hacernos creer que aman muy lejos, me recuerdan a esos seres de sensibilidad perturbada, que no se emocionan por nada en la realidad y lloran . . . al leer una novela.

[S]in patria no puede haber Humanidad. (21)

Do not trust those who, out of love for Humanity, claim to be unable to comprehend love of country. It is so easy to place our love in the stars! That love of distant abstractions does not disturb, nor does it demand sacrifices, nor does it respond with ingratitude. It is difficult to love up close that which, at times, is a joy, at other times, a pain or much sadness, to love that which at times may lighten our lives' loads, and at times may afflict us.

Those who do not love at close range, and attempt to make us believe that they love broadly, remind me of those of perturbed sensibilities, who feel no emotion for anything in reality and who cry . . . while reading a novel.

[W]ithout country there can be no Humanity. (21)

The author capitalizes *Humanity* and leaves *country* in lower case; like his imagined ideological opponent, he ultimately privileges humanity above nation. He closes by acknowledging that country serves as a means to a loftier end: humanity. “Abstracciones lejanas,” ‘abstractions which are distant,’ as opposed to *lejanas abstracciones*, ‘abstractions, all of which inherently are distant,’ acknowledges that humanity shares an important characteristic with nation: both are abstractions, though he may urge that the nation is an immediate or proximate abstraction, somehow a less abstract abstraction. Thus, though he appears to attempt to develop a substantial contradiction between country and humanity, he fails to do so. More revealing to my study, he conceives of a greater antagonism between country and literature.

In order to illustrate the antithesis of country, he mobilizes an ideological opponent. Who is this ideological opponent? One who privileges humanity over nationality? One who cares not for his country? An anarchist? All these figures take shape as *enemigos* in the pages of *Scouting* broadly, and *scoutismo* specifically. But the most certain identity of this ideological opponent is the reader of novels. Benavente associates literature (at least developed narrative literature) with antinationalism and detachment from reality. On this important point the author is at odds with a significant number of *scoutista* authors, both those who seek to develop their Scout culture by emulating (or translating) British and western-northern European writers, and those who urgently call for Chilean literature to fill the pages of *scoutista* magazines. Writers such as César Silva saw literature’s (yet unfulfilled) potential to represent already existing Chilean reality. Silva and other *scoutista* authors also regarded literature as a means toward imagining and forging a new Chilean reality.

In the next issue of the same magazine (after the issue that published Benavente’s “El amor a la patria”), a photograph of Leo Tolstoy appears with a caption that reads: “Leon Tolstoy

... , uno de los precursores del scoutismo” ‘Leo Tolstoy ... , one of Scouting’s precursors’ (Photograph of Tolstoy). Upon what merit does Tolstoy become a proto-Boy Scout? A common knowledge of his biography reveals some war experience, as well as his independent Christianity. Scouting values both of these. But, as his primary identity is that of a renowned novelist, it is far more likely that *scoutismo* would wish to claim him as its own owing to his literary status. The *scoutista* magazine inducts into its movement a revered foreign novelist almost immediately after setting novels against patriotism. With this case, as with others in my study, I do not intend to uncover a contradiction, but rather to demonstrate the usually privileged, but often scorned, significance of literature within *scoutismo*. The juxtaposition of Benavente’s essay and the portrayal of Tolstoy also illustrates Ossandón B.’s observation of the magazine genre’s disregard for hierarchy of content (13). I would expand this to urge that, as far as its magazines are concerned, *scoutismo* also defies or disregards a clear hierarchy of importance of its most central themes.

All of the magazine articles and essays that I have cited above appear in issues of *Dichos y Hechos* in 1913, “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo* in 1913 and 1914, and *El Scout Siempre Listo* in 1919.⁹¹ Rather than exhausting the many essays and articles in Chilean Scout magazines of the 1920s through the 1940s, I will end this section of my chapter with an examination of articles that reveal a decades-long debate concerning the extent to which the Chilean Scout uniform should signify militarism.

Uniforms are not literature, in the strictest sense. And yet, like Scout literature, Scout garb reflects deliberate attention to aesthetics and functionality in an effort to render a new

⁹¹ Other *scoutista* magazines that I have found in archives include: *El Scout Valparaíso* of 1923, *Siempre Listo Iquique* of 1930 through 1931, *Boletín Scoutivo* from 1933 to 1944, *El Scout Magallánico* of 1940, and a 1955 Catholic (and therefore technically unofficial) magazine titled *Scout*. I will cite short stories and poems from some of these periodicals in the following sections of this chapter.

identity and a new culture. As I have shown in my first chapter, it is erroneous to assume that Baden-Powell merely replicated a soldier's ensemble for the newly created boy scouts. Granted, the first Boy Scout uniform readily suggested military discipline and reproducible homogeneity, and current-day Scout uniforms continue to evoke an affinity for the armed forces. But I insist that the most important characteristic of the earliest image of the fully-arrayed boy scout is his uniform's nod to the style of romantic individuality and freedom attributed to the British colonial frontiersman or the North American cowboy. That innovation is perhaps more difficult for us to recognize than it would have been for observers of the first boy scouts, whether in British territories or in Chile.

The editors of *El Scout Siempre Listo* preface an article titled “¿Cual debe ser el uniforme de los instructores de Boy Scouts?” by stating that they consider the matter of the uniform to be a serious problem. Without imposing an official stance, they invite their readers to respond to the article in a “torneo de ideas” ‘tournament of ideas’ (18). Indeed, the theme would become a point of debate for decades.⁹² The author, a reverend and scoutmaster, argues that the original uniform is superior to the military style that his counterparts evoke by accessorizing their uniforms with army jackets, white gloves, and golden braids on their shoulders. He accuses these scoutmasters of playing soldier, and of placing themselves above their scouts. Citing Baden-Powell, he argues in favor of scoutmasters dressing exactly like their young scouts, a gesture of brotherly equality that was believed to achieve greater educational success. “[Pido] que no se altere el uniforme

⁹² In the 1960s, a time period beyond the main focus of my present study, La Asociación de los Boy Scouts de Chile underwent a process of institutional breakdown and reconstruction. See del Brutto. Presently, there are two distinct Chilean Scout institutions. La Asociación de Guías y Scouts de Chile features a uniform that has departed notably from the original design, and therefore even further from a military appearance. Particularly, it consists of a sturdy grey shirt that resembles that of a laborer, and it permits blue jeans and a Scout baseball cap as part of the full array. La Agrupación Nacional de Boy Scouts de Chile retains a uniform closely resembling Baden-Powell's creation, consisting of khaki shirts and khaki pants or shorts, and a wide-brimmed hat. Though this appearance presently evokes an especially old-fashioned army look, we must recall that that image, at the time of its debut in the early 1900s, marked a notable departure from official British military wear of the time.

original del scout que es superior en todo sentido al estilo militar” ‘[I ask] that the original uniform, which is superior in every sense to the military style, not be altered’ (MacDonald Hobley 18). The author’s insistence demonstrates that the original Chilean Boy Scout uniform, modeled closely upon Baden-Powell’s design, did not overwhelmingly signify militarism. Nevertheless, a number of its wearers found its resemblance to martial attire to be inviting of (or to “match with”) army-informed embellishment.

As a reply to the article above, an anonymous author contributes “¿Cuál debe ser nuestro uniforme?” to the magazine’s April 1920 issue. The author simply reports that the Boy Scouts of [North] America have adopted a “beautiful” uniform at the recommendation of the United States’ minister of war, “de acuerdo con la experiencia recogida en la Guerra europea por todos los ejércitos en lucha” ‘according to the experience gathered in the European War by all the armies in combat’ (13). The piece makes no reference to war hero and Scout founder Baden-Powell as an authority on the matter of the uniform. Accompanying the article’s brief journalistic language is a drawing of an adult North American Scout leader and a rather mature boy scout, both pictured wearing the recognizable broad-brimmed hat. But, to MacDonald Hobley’s probable dismay, they use military jackets instead of shirtsleeves, and pants instead of shorts and knee socks. Both are stern, and the adult appears to be giving the boy an order. The article expresses no approval or alarm at the decision taken by “los scouts Yankees;” the author does not lament or endorse outright the new style of the Boy Scouts of America. Still, his favorable aesthetic reception of the image, and his appeal to the practical war experience subtly situate the article as a voice in favor of militarizing the Scout image.

Two months later, MacDonald Hobley returns with an article titled, “El uniforme de los boy scouts.” Though he does not directly reply to the report on the decision of the Boy Scouts of

America, he continues to critique the militarization of the Chilean Scout uniform. While his first article censured his fellow scoutmasters, he directs his second piece at the tendency of young boy scouts to follow the poor example of their adult leaders. Particularly, he critiques scouts' use of swords as adornments of their uniforms (5). The sword, though potentially lethal, in the 1920s would likely have been read as ceremonial and symbolic rather than viewed as a utilitarian tool of defense or offence. And yet that symbol, contextualized upon the overall Scout attire, evokes armed action.⁹³ The author again cites Baden-Powell as the exemplar who recommended a (relatively unweaponly) pocket knife to be hung from the belt and a first aid kit ready in the backpack, both of which accessories would appear at odds with the lacerating sword. MacDonald Hobley insists that the Scout image should be both fashionably expressive and capable of enacting utility, without suggesting or enabling bellicosity. Chilean scouts and their adult leaders should be alike among themselves, and should resemble their counterparts in the rest of the civilized world. While the author does not express first-hand knowledge of actual uniforms of foreign Scout organizations, he believes that Chilean scouts display a unique tendency to confuse Boy Scouting with soldiering. He fears that other nations may ridicule Chile's boy scouts and scoutmasters who, by using swords and other military regalia, enact an operetta (5).

The military characteristic of the Chilean Boy Scout uniform may have provoked foreign ridicule, but the martial style appears to have helped those scouts to be taken quite seriously at home. In March of 1925, while the military governed the nation, a group of uniformed boy scouts took an active role in thwarting a newspaper distributors' labor strike. Historian Rojas

⁹³ The primary weapon of the Chilean soldier had long been the firearm rather than the sword. MacDonald Hobley presents an occasion to note that, while the use of firearms was a common Boy Scout and student activity in Chile, I have seen no reference to the use of firearms as accessories—whether authorized or otherwise—to the Chilean Scout uniform. For a primary source on scholastic rifle shooting in Chile, see República de Chile, *Programa de tiro escolar*.

Flores believes that the junta government of 1924-25 likely called upon scouts to oppose strikes associated with public transportation and food distribution (131). I posit that the spectacle of soldier- or police-like agents conveyed a sense of authority unmatched by an image of civilian strikebreakers.

In September 1925, by “Decreto Ley 520,” La Asociación de los Boy Scouts de Chile was declared a national institution. The decree establishes the legal exclusivity of the name, imagery and symbolism of the institution (35-36). “Decreto Ley 520” and its authority over the Scout uniform would become the heated topic of multiple entries in *Boletín Scoutivo*, *scoutismo*’s official periodical of the 1930s and 40s.

The magazine’s April 1933 issue features an essay defensively titled “Para proteger el uniforme del scout,” which laments the public’s failure to distinguish between true and false scouts, even though the true scouts wore the uniform correctly and the imitators only approximated the style with khaki shirts and wide-brimmed hats (4).⁹⁴ Instead of celebrating the influence that scouts seemed to have exerted over the public, the author retrenches against mimics. Though the title calls for a protection of the uniform, the content of the message makes no reference to the (il)legality of its use. Furthermore, the article does not attribute an organizational characteristic to the “false” scouts, and thus suggests that, for a visible number of youngsters, elements of the Scout style had become popular fashion references, rather than signs of group membership. It is conceivable that, in what Dick Hebdige terms “a struggle for possession of the sign,” some young Chileans preferred to wear the expressive qualities of khaki and related accessories or motifs while resisting enrollment in a specific program or institution, just as many contemporary North American cultures, both urban and rural, use camouflage as a

⁹⁴ This issue seems to be the magazine’s June 1933 issue, erroneously identified as the April No. 3 issue.

fashion motif which does not necessarily or strictly signify institutional military belonging (Hebdige 17).

While the article above merely expresses dismay over the “improper” use of the Scout uniform, the same issue of the magazine contains another feature that expresses the matter more gravely. Page 2 reproduces a memorandum initially published in the carabineros’ (the police force’s) bulletin⁹⁵. In the document, the General and Director of the carabineros states that the police force had received many denouncements of unauthorized use of the Boy Scout uniform (Arriagada Valdivieso 2). The Scout organization’s access to a police document speaks to the perceived and enacted proximity between the two national entities. The numerous accusations of unauthorized uses of the Scout uniform reveal the popularity of that style, as well as the Scout organization’s determination to secure its exclusive possession of its image.

Based solely on the previous two texts, the researcher, like the attentive target reader of the *Boletín Scoutivo*, would have only a vague sense of the identity of those who misappropriate the Scout uniform. The president and general secretary of La Asociación de los Boy Scouts de Chile pen an article in the magazine’s December 1933 issue, in which they further clarify the identity of (at least some of) the counterfeiters. These are the Exploradores de Chile, the entirety of whose “organización (principios, ley, lema, promesa, estatutos, etc.) están fundados en los principios de Baden Powell” ‘organization (principles, law, motto, promise, statutes, ect.) are founded upon Baden-Powell’s principles’ (de la Barra Lastarria and Vergara M. 2). The only differences, pertaining to style and content, that the authors cite, are the Exploradores’ use of berets instead of wide-brimmed hats, and their connection to a French Catholic Scout movement (2). The authors appear more troubled by the matter of style than the matters of international and

⁹⁵ “[I]n Chile the police, or *Carabineros*, are regarded as a military service.” Calvert and Calvert 175.

religious ties.⁹⁶ They would be hard-pressed to find fault with the content of the Exploradores' teachings, methods, goals, etc., as these, like those of the "valid" Chilean Scout organization, had derived purely from Baden-Powell.

The bureaucratic muscle of "Decreto Ley 520," the persuasion of the top Scout leadership, and the policing action of the carabineros appear to have been ineffective in curbing the phenomenon of extra-official use of the Boy Scout style. In December of 1935, *Boletín Scoutivo* reproduced yet another memorandum originally circulated among the nation's carabineros. This document calls upon the carabineros to dissolve any public assembly of persons using "more or less militarized" uniforms. Members of La Asociación de los Boy Scouts de Chile, however, enjoy immunity from this prohibition. All others must be suspected of subversion and processed by the justice system (Cabrera Alessandri 1).⁹⁷ The most unique contribution that this text makes to my present argument is that the official and legally exclusive Chilean Boy Scout uniform was understood by the police force to appear readable as militarist. It also demonstrates that even the spectacle of State-approved boy scouts appeared difficult to distinguish from the counterfeits in the cultural moment's semiotic field.

⁹⁶ There is precedent for antipathy between the Catholic Church and Scouting in Chile. In 1914, the Chilean Scouter who called himself *Eclaireur* (the French word for "scout") had published two articles in "*El Scout*" *Siempre Listo*, "Respondemos," and "Advertencia oportuna," in which he warned against the already underway formation of Catholic Scout groups in Chile. His primary concern was that the Church presented an obstacle to Scouting's fostering of the predominance of the democratic State above all other institutions in the nation, "Respondemos" 3-4. See Rojas Flores for details on how Scouting in Chile competed with the Catholic Church for educational and cultural influence over young Chileans. For further historical study of the Church's struggle to retain hegemony over education and culture in the Independence era, see Poblete Melis.

⁹⁷ According to the cited issue of *Boletín Scoutivo*, the original document appeared in *Boletín Oficial de Carabineros de Chile* as "Decreto N° 4625" on 6 November 1935. The Chilean government's wariness of all other groups uniformed in militarized fashion was widespread. A 1935 New York Times article reports, "President Arturo Alessandri signed a decree . . . forbidding the formation and public appearance of organizations wearing distinctive insignia and having a military or semi-military character. The Boy Scouts are excused, but must obtain permits for public demonstrations. It is explained that the government has learned of the formation of several groups, both of adults and of children, with revolutionary objectives, disguised as student associations or political clubs. . . . Fascist groups, said to be growing daily in every Chilean city, also come within the prohibitions, as do semi-political associations, principally of extreme Left Wingers." See "Civilian 'Armies'."

In October of 1942 the Scout periodical would reproduce at least one more carabinero memorandum, which again calls upon the carabineros to enforce “Decreto Ley 520” (Reeves Leivas 4).⁹⁸ And *Boletín Scoutivo*’s October 1942 issue published a bill proposing to amend “Decreto Ley 520.” The alteration of the law would authorize and require carabineros to confiscate all uniforms and insignias unlawfully used in public, and to carry out arrests if necessary. Repeat offenders would incur a fine of fifty pesos (“Proyecto de ley” 17).

The above essays and articles in *Boletín Scoutivo* reveal that Scout style had become fashionable. Even non-scouts or un-official Scout groups appropriated it and wore it in public. It also suggests that military style was a popular motif for multiple organizations of varying political stances. That carabineros were tasked to police the unauthorized use and impose discipline upon violators reveals not only the legality or criminality of the matter, but also the perceived and increasing enacted connectivity between the armed forces (the military and carabineros) and the State-authorized Scout institution.

From its outset, *Scoutismo*’s campfire quickly broadened to national proportions, and its magazines served as a literary form of that gathering. Within *scoutismo*’s essays and articles we find permissible a sprawling miscellany of ideas concerning literature, nation, masculinity, and even militarism. However, the later periodicals under my study (magazines of the 1930s and 40s) reveal that a strict dress code came to be required for a seat beside the flame. One may hold and express this or that theory of any or all the main themes guiding my study—literature, masculinity, nation, and militarism—but one must belong to the proper club in order to be a valid member of the project. The decades-long discussion of the uniform reveals the attraction and

⁹⁸ According to the cited issue of *Boletín Scoutivo*, the original document, signed by Oscar Reeves Leivas, appeared as “Sobre prohibición de que el uniforme de esta Asociación sea usado por personas o entidades extrañas a ella” on page 15675 of *Boletín Oficial de Carabineros de Chile* 7 September 1939.

repulsion of militarism, and I see a general increase in tendency toward militarism and policing as regards the uniform. Meanwhile, in the written word of *scoutismo*, the themes of masculinity and nationality outweigh discussions of militarism. They also remain less strictly regulated.

***Scoutista* Short Stories and Other Brief Narratives: The Leaping Bo(d)y**

As we have seen, the Chilean Boy Scouts institution aspired to publish Chilean literature in its official magazines. The editors of the early issues of “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo* deplored the lack of national texts in the pages of their periodical, and called upon their readers to remedy that deficiency. While several essays and articles written by Chilean authors—many of these being scouters—soon after appeared in *scoutismo*’s magazines, the rise of the Chilean Scout short story genre suffered a delay, as well as a persistent shortage. In the numbers of “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo* in my possession (numbers 1-8 and 10-16 of 1913 and 1914), several short stories appear. Many of these are Scout stories, but none are verifiably of Chilean origin. Most feature scout protagonists with names such as Roberto and Ricardo (names easily modified from English to Spanish), and several of the narratives’ plots occur in British settings. Where there is ambiguity of these short stories’ national origins or national settings, it is owed to the magazine editors’ frequent failure to credit authors and translators. Within the first sixteen issues of the first official *scoutista* magazine, only one Scout short story, “El triunfo de Alberto,” might be of Chilean authorship. While autochthonous Scout short stories were absent from “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo*’s first sixteen issues, the magazine included, perhaps as a compensation, selections of already-existing Chilean narrative prose. These include war accounts in the form of written storytelling. (By “written storytelling,” I refer to a process in which a witness of an experience

orally recreates that event for a listener. That listener then becomes a narrator who further imposes *written* structures and devices upon the story.)

The primary texts of this present section include short stories and other brief narrative texts. Not all of these are of Chilean origin, and not all of them are Scout stories (not all of these narratives reference Scouting). While prominent *scoutista* magazine editors (such as Maximiano Flores, Joaquín Cabezas, and Juan Gacitúa L.) expressed a yearning for, and to a degree eventually acquired, a quantity of Chilean Scout literature, they also eagerly appropriated Chilean non-Scout writings, as well as British and European texts (Scout-related and otherwise) as literary foundations and supplements. *Scoutismo*, then, is the sum of literature that suits and constitutes Chilean Scouting, regardless of that literature's attention or indifference to Chile or Scouting. When overt concerns for Chilean nationality and/or Boy Scouting are absent from a text, anxieties surrounding masculinity and/or militarism are sufficient justifications for a text's inclusion in *scoutismo*.

The first Scout short stories (those narratives that comply with the short story genre and include scout characters) in early *scoutista* magazines follow a fairly regular set of patterns.⁹⁹ In a typical plot, a lone boy scout, who is usually poor or economically precarious, encounters hostility from an anti-scout (my term), usually an intellectual or a landowner. The frequency of anti-scout characters (who are not villains) reveals British Scout authors' awareness or assumption that not all of society, and certainly not all oligarchs, recognized the boy scouts as

⁹⁹ In "*El Scout*" *Siempre Listo*, see "El pique de eco," pages 8-12 of the 2 November 1913 issue; "Del odio al cariño," initially published in the Swedish *Vikingen* and translated by Girl Guide, on pages 15-16 of the 2 November 1913 issue; "El ídolo de Ranjipore," translated by J. G. L. and serialized beginning in the 16 November 1913 issue, pages 16-18, and ending in the 15 December 1913 issue, pages 14-16; W. A. B. Clementson's "Los incendiarios" in the 1 January 1914 issue, pages 12-16; "Error de un sabio," translated by J. G. L., in the 15 March 1914 issue, pages 6-10; "El honor de la decuria" in the 5 April 1914 issue, pages 13-15; "El juguete de un scout" in the 7 June 1914 issue, pages 7-10. All examples listed in this footnote lack acknowledgement of original authors and translators, unless otherwise noted here.

defenders of the cultural, political and economic status quo. For these characters, scouts represented hooliganism and even savagery. One of the most revealing citations comes from “Error de un sabio,” in which a uniformed boy scout accidentally trips a professor of botany with his hiking staff. As the scientist collects himself and his scattered belongings, he snarls, “Con seguridad eres uno de esos rufianes que se llaman boy-scouts, de esos que medio desnudos i armados de palos cruzan el país en todas direcciones. ¡Boy-scouts! Apaches, diría yo: la ruina de la nación. . . . A todos debían darles una paliza con sus mismos garrotes” ‘Certainly you must be one of those ruffians that are called boy scouts, who run around the whole country half naked and armed with sticks. Boy scouts! Apaches is more like it: the ruin of the nation. . . . Someone ought to give each one of you a beating with his own stave’ (7). Here, the British scout, the very exemplar of the Imperial agent, becomes the “native” who menaces the civilized and thus deserves violent repression. In “El honor de la decuria,” a patrol camps in an orchard with the owner’s permission, on the condition that the scouts not use his apple trees as firewood, as he supposes they would be inclined to do. They fulfill their promise, but a villain breaks some premium boughs from an apple tree and stealthily places them on top of the scouts’ pile of logs. The villain is a disgruntled former employ, whom the owner has recently fired for his mistreatment of a horse. The camping scouts unknowingly provide the villain with the opportunity to frame believable culprits. When the proprietor discovers his prize fruit branches amid the scouts’ kindling, he reassumes his notions of scouts as troublemakers. Calling them vagabonds, he threatens to sue, and remains incredulous to the boys’ assertion of their innocence: “Quieren hacerme creer ustedes que anoche no han quebrado las ramas de mis mejores manzanos para leña?” ‘You expect to make me believe that it wasn’t you who broke the branches off of my best apple trees last night for firewood?’ (13).

These anti-scouts' predispositions against boy scouts suggest that members of the more prominent echelons of society did not celebrate this youth movement; it appears that the image of boy scouts did not automatically signify "model citizen," much less the redemption of society. While these stories cannot allow us to fully gauge actual views that British society held about the scouts in their first years, they plainly reveal authors' persistent need to depict scouts defying negative stereotypes about themselves. Scouting's and *scoutismo*'s struggles to depict the scouts as ideal citizens indicates that the programs suffered from the stigma of a subculture.¹⁰⁰ The low social class of the majority of boy scout characters further complicates that struggle.

Another common feature of the first Boy Scout stories in Chilean *scoutismo* involves the anti-scout suddenly finding himself, his property, or a loved one in danger. This danger is usually the result of villains' plotting.¹⁰¹ Fortunately, good scouts tend to be in the right (hiding) places at the right moments to overhear these would-be criminals discussing their sinister plans. Scout characters, then, often carry out detective and police work. When the scout discovers the threat, he dutifully rushes to his denigrator's rescue, by which he wins the favor of the now-former antagonist.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ I use Dick Hebdige's notion of a subculture (1989), which is not simply a subset of a mainstream culture, but an underprivileged and marginalized group of young people who deliberately fashion a "spectacular" (Hebdige's term) and shared image that signals their variance with dominant society. Hebdige applied the notion of subculture to post-war Britain, and I extend his application to the decades before and during the World Wars. Though I interpret early Boy Scout short stories as indications that some saw the boy scouts as (what we would now deem) a subculture, I do not identify Scouting as such. The most important reason is that Scouting is primarily an adult creation institutionally extended to children and adolescents, rather than a creation of the youth.

¹⁰¹ Occasionally, the anti-scout's own carelessness places him in danger. For example, in "Error de un sabio," the botanist (an example of *scoutismo*'s stereotypical "miope intelectual" or "near-sighted intellectual") is so absorbed in his task of collecting plant specimens that he nearly falls off of a cliff, and must be rescued by the scout who had initially tripped him with his hiking stick. The scout hero now extends that life-saving rod to the dangling victim.

¹⁰² Secondary results of the scouts' heroism and the antagonists' newfound favorable view of scouts often take the form of an unjustly dismissed employee being re-hired. Or a guilty employee may be discovered and punished with unemployment. In other cases, characters initially at risk of homelessness (a scout and his mother, in "El pique del eco,") are allowed to remain in their home as a result of the antagonist's change of heart.

Adult Scout leaders seldom appear in these stories, and when they are present, they do not participate in heroic actions. In most cases, the young scout character single-handedly comes to the rescue, where he removes a victim from harm's way, or fends off a murderous attacker. I find significant the dramatic manners in which the hero arrives to the scene: a daring and agile entry into a tight space, or even more frequently, a leap over an obstacle. The latter maneuver occurs so frequently in Scout narratives and images, that I have named it "the leaping bo(d)y motif." In a brief how-to magazine article titled "Cosas que todo scout debe saber," the instructive voice observes: "No hai cosa que disguste más al verdadero jinasta que ver a un individuo trepando con manos i pies a una puerta. . . . Es poco estético i está reñido con sus ideas sobre la elegancia de los movimientos" "There is nothing that upsets the true gymnast more than the sight of an individual climbing with hands and feet over a gate. . . . It is unaesthetic and contrary to his ideas about the elegance of movement" (19). The article continues to provide detailed instructions in performing the move, and includes a drawing of a uniformed scout (not an athlete in gymnast attire) gracefully soaring over a gate, aided by his hiking staff. What stands out in this brief text is the concern for aesthetics as well as utility. It is at least as important to cross a barrier stylishly as it is to overcome an obstacle for practicality's sake. It is at least as important to embody beauty as it is to carry out a concrete task. A scout is a bo(d)y that can nimbly and forgivably transgress boundaries. He can penetrate into private spaces (including the bedrooms of others), and yet the public city street is also within his jurisdiction. He comes and goes between childhood and adulthood.¹⁰³ He effortlessly crosses and re-crosses the divides

¹⁰³ According to the anonymously authored essay "Para ser hombre," analyzed earlier in this chapter, there is nothing interesting about the way men move, while the motions of boys make a spectacle worthy of serious observation.

between “savagery” and civilization, the tribe and the nation, civility and militarism, masculinity and femininity.

In my readings of Baden-Powell (*Scouting for Boys* and *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas*), I find a privileging of bodily masculinity characterized by slenderness and agility rather than burliness and strength. Scouting’s texts mobilize the image of the prepubescent male body, which can easily be inscribed or read as androgynous. While Scouting exalts masculinity, its pluralistic constructions of genders seldom approach (and do not *sustain*) models characterized by the masculine subject’s social subjugation of all females and “less masculine” males, or what R. W. Connell terms “hegemonic masculinity” (*Masculinities* 114). Put another way, Scouting’s many permissible versions of masculinity often share ground with supposedly feminine characteristics.¹⁰⁴

In some cases, a scout’s poorly executed maneuver, or his failure to cross a barrier, sets the story’s problem into motion. For instance, in “Los incendiarios,” while attempting to climb a fence in order to pick flowers beyond his grasp, a scout character falls and severely sprains his ankle. As a result of the injury, he cannot reach his distant campsite, and must recuperate at a nearby farm (Clemenston 12). Connell reminds us of the multiple forms of masculinities, spanning ages, sexualities, and even physical abilities (“Desarrollo” 186). While this scout is temporarily incapacitated, and thus feminized according to Scouting’s and *scoutismo*’s gender theory, he nevertheless masculinizes his disability by converting his crutch (a repurposed rake) into a weapon with which he fends off the story’s titular arsonists who attempt to destroy the farm, and who will not hesitate to burn the scouts alive in the process (Clemenston 15).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Taking into account prevailing contributions of feminism and gender and masculinities studies, Scouting is not unique in its gender fluidity.

¹⁰⁵ For more on bodily ability and disability and masculinity, see Gerschick.

Indeed, the multiplicity of uses of the rake (a tool of labor), the crutch (a compensation of a bodily deficiency), and the weapon (an implement of defense or attack) is harmonious with the multiplicity of masculinities that a singular boy scout character can perform.

Though the disabled boy momentarily enacts hegemonic masculinity—through heroism and violence—it remains open to interpretation whether that scout’s temporary disability is a case of Scoutly poetic justice. Is his injury a narrative punishment for his attempting the too-feminine task of picking flowers? Does he get what he deserves for failing to cross his barrier in a beautiful way (should he have leapt over the fence rather than unaesthetically climbing over it)?

Having described and interpreted some of the prevalent characteristics of the earliest *scoutista* short stories, I will now examine two cases that vary significantly from the patterns discussed above. Though the following two stories overcome some of the predictable tropes of heroism through spectacular (and often unbelievable) bodily maneuvers, they are representative of the subgenre, in that one of them involves a variation on the “leaping bo(d)y motif, and both of them depict scouts as poor.

“Del odio al cariño” is not only distinct due to its Swedish origin. The Scandinavian Scout short story also stands out because the scout triumphs by disarming charm rather than by courageous (or armed) heroism. A poet, once celebrated for his uplifting literature, has lost his faith in humanity and retired to the solitude of a cabin deep in the forest. There he drafts his final book, which will accuse mankind of all its evils. As the embittered intellectual toils over his manuscript, he hears whistling and the crackling of branches. A twelve-year-old boy appears before him, just outside his open window. Confused by the boy’s odd appearance, he demands to know the creature’s identity. The child responds by identifying himself as a scout, a term which the old man then mutters to himself—he has never heard of such a being. At this point, “Ligero

como un gamo se lanzó sobre el poste de la ventana, segundos después estaba en la gran habitación de nuestro aislado poeta” ‘Light as a deer he leapt upon the post of the window, seconds later he was in the great bedroom of our isolated poet’ (15). Having placed himself, uninvited, in the stranger’s chamber, the scout proceeds to inform the man about his kind: “Scoutismo es algo precioso . . . i sólo niños i niñas pueden serlo [*sic*]; andamos por los bosques i los campos; edificamos nuestras casas i nosotros mismos cocinamos la comida. . . . Pero hai muchas cosas que no podemos hacer. . . . No podemos ser malos con los animales, ni fumar ni tomar . . . ni insultar a nadie [ni mentir ni desobedecer a los mayores]” ‘Scouting is something precious . . . and only boys and girls can be it [*sic*]; we roam the forests and the fields; we build our houses and we make our own food. . . . But there are many things we cannot do. . . . We can neither be bad to animals, nor smoke, nor drink . . . nor insult anybody, [nor tell a lie, nor disobey our elders]’ (15). This dialogue tends toward the fairytale genre. As the child describes himself and his fellow scouts, it is as if he were a fairy or some other fantastical being revealing himself to a mortal. Here, scouts are not only defined by what they do, but what they are, as the awkward grammar reveals, “only boys and girls can *be it*.” Still, performance outweighs ontology. Not only do scouts abide by marvelous laws (or perhaps supernatural instincts), they also inhabit their own world, seemingly without dependence upon parents or other adults.

The dramatic otherness, along with the astounding capabilities of the scout, serve to neutralize any anxiety (for the reader or the characters) that may otherwise result from a scene of a boy in a remote bedroom with a strange man; though profoundly innocent, the scout can handle himself socially, and physically if necessary. From his first appearance, the scout has captured the man’s intrigue; the recluse seems out of character when, instead of shooing him from his presence, he inquires of the boy’s identity. After listening to his visitor, the aged man’s desires

not (only) the boy's person, but all that Scouting promises to a fallen world (as we will soon see, the man also desires to acquire the boy). The scout's description of his *people* restores the poet's faith in humanity. (In Sweden as in Chile, it appears that the youth movement viewed itself as messianic.) In expression of his renewed hope in mankind, the poet throws the manuscript of his rancorous book into his blazing fireplace. Pressing this image, I read it as a case in which the Boy Scout campfire (here displaced only slightly) destroys modern existentialist literature and restores pre-modern epic assurance of meaningfulness and the ultimate triumph of good.

The Swedish scout character may or may not have been aware of the social mission he was to carry out. The purpose of his unannounced visit to the remote house was to request lodging for the night for himself and his fellow scouts and scoutmaster, who were waiting in the forest. The poet gladly welcomes the large group into his home. His conversation with the adult leader reveals that the protagonist's parents are extremely poor. The poet proposes to adopt the boy in order to provide him with a better education. The story implies that, though the boy is not an orphan, and though he affirms his ability to build his own house and cook his own food, he becomes the adoptive son of the poet. This aspect of the story represents a tendency in Scout literature to depict poor scout characters as objects of strangers' parental desires, notwithstanding such young protagonists' knack for survival and their confirmed residence with at least one parent.

"El triunfo de Alberto," by F. H. D., depicts its titular character as a poor boy at risk of becoming an orphan. He lives with his ailing father, a laborer. The father's doctor urges a week's rest by the sea, otherwise the man's illness could quickly become fatal. Alberto and his father live in a humble room in an impoverished neighborhood. Their abode, nevertheless, "mostraba el más perfecto aseo. El niño atendía a los quehaceres domésticos i se sentía orgulloso del perfecto

orden que, gracias a sus cuidados, reinaba en el pequeño hogar” ‘showed the most perfect tidiness. The boy attended to the domestic chores and he felt proud of the perfect order that, thanks to his attention, reigned in the small home’ (11). In addition to the pleasure that Alberto takes in his domesticity, he also treasures a small collection of books, and he devotes his precious spare time to reading them. His preference for home life and literature, and his role as his father’s caregiver, condition his masculinity.

Upon learning of the deterioration of his father’s health, the boy takes on work as a messenger—in addition to his job of caring for horses—in order to alleviate the man’s financial burden and to save enough money to allow him to heed the medic’s order. As Alberto walks to the stables, he finds a copy of the magazine *El Scout* littering the street. (Though the Chilean Scout magazine’s full name appears on its covers as “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo*, its editors referred to it as *El Scout*.) The magazine’s title is the first indication that this may be a Chilean Scout story. The British Boy Scout organization of the day also published a magazine called *The Scout*, and I acknowledge that this story may be a translation from the British periodical. Access to the British Scout archives or private collections would be necessary to determine this fact. My intent is not to prove that “El triunfo de Alberto” is the first Chilean Scout short story. If such could be proven, it would be significant because the first Chilean Boy Scout story would be protagonized by a character whose masculinity departs notably from that of his contemporaries in British Scout short stories. But I assert that this significant gender distinction is pertinent to Chilean *scoutismo* regardless of the story’s national origin. If it is a translation (if the protagonist was Albert before becoming Alberto), the decision to render the title of the discarded magazine as *El Scout* shows an effort to Chileanize the story, which (consciously or otherwise) amounts to an effort to claim the uniquely masculine protagonist as Chilean.

While a stereotypical boy scout would regard the copy of *El Scout* as missing property and take pains to restore it to its owner, Alberto keeps the periodical as his own. Though the narrator has described him as a lover of books (without leveling the epithet “bookworm” at him), Alberto’s procedure through the magazine follows the scattered and unfocused reading behavior described by Ossandón B. and Santa Cruz A., whom I have cited at the beginning of my present chapter. The boy “comenzó a hojear [la revista], fijándose primero en los grabados i en los títulos después” ‘[He] began to skim [the magazine], focusing first on the images, and on the titles last’ (12). The only portion of the periodical that he verifiably reads is the announcement of a contest, the prize of which is \$50 (fifty pesos), enough money to permit his father a week’s leave from work and a trip to the seaside.¹⁰⁶ The contest is not described in the story, but most of such contests in the 1913 and 1914 issues of the actual magazine were word puzzles or challenges to find hidden objects within a drawing. Alberto, then, has no need to enact dangerous physical heroism. He is suited for the challenge, which, as the title suggests, he wins.

“El triunfo de Alberto” departs from typical Scout short stories in still other ways. While Scouting and *scoutismo* endlessly insist that physical exertion results in bodily health, this story prescribes a prolonged rest as the remedy for a nearly catastrophic condition. This condition is not named. Instead, the story suggests that the culprit is exhaustion from physical labor (a circumstance common to exploited manual workers). The story does not quite assert the laborer’s *civil right* to rest and leisure, or *freedom* from overwork. But it points to his *biological need* for

¹⁰⁶ “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo* contained a regular feature titled “Concurso,” in which El Mago presented a challenge, usually a word puzzle or an image with hidden objects to be identified. While prizes were awarded to the winners of these contests, they were not cash prizes, but free subscriptions to the magazine, Scout letterhead, and other similar objects. Again, I acknowledge that the British magazine *The Scout* may have been the original source of this story, and that periodical may have featured a regular contest announced by someone identified as The Magician. *The Scout* may have offered cash prizes, but if so, these would have been in British pounds (£) rather than Chilean pesos (\$). If “El triunfo de Alberto” is a translation of a British story, the use of the peso sign represents another attempt to claim the uniquely masculine Alberto as a Chilean. Whether originally British or Chilean, the story’s promise of a cash prize from the Chilean magazine fictitiously departs from the historical reality of that periodical.

rest and leisure. Through the magazine that Alberto has found, *scoutismo* enters the story as the solution to this problem. *Scoutismo* does not make a political statement in favor of workers' rights, but it does present itself as a benevolent program that provides "earned" relief from life-threatening excessive toil. As a result of the seaside vacation, the father recovers his health. He also becomes a manager at a factory, thereby placing his body outside of its former physical strains. Receiving a favorable letter of recommendation from his father's doctor, Alberto also leaves his manual labor and takes a clerical job. As a result of the boy's triumph, Alberto and his father undergo modernizing changes in their masculinities, moving from the assembly line, or the stable and the streets, to office spaces.

A final distinction of "El triunfo de Alberto" is the question of whether the protagonist is in fact a boy scout. Although Boy Scouting, or more specifically, *scoutismo* as a literary institution, plays a vital role in the story, there is no reference to his pertinence to the organization. The fact that he becomes aware of the magazine *El Scout* by finding it on the street demonstrates that he is not a subscriber, and suggests that he is probably not an enrolled member of the institution. (His modest household budget would have prohibited both his subscription to the magazine and his payment of Boy Scout membership dues.) The only content of the magazine that interests him is a contest that must be completed with pen and paper—the story gives no further details of the "scoutly" nature of the task.

The narrator describes Alberto's bodily movements harmoniously with other Scout stories: he moves through the city at a "paso de scout" or 'scout's pace,' but Alberto himself does not necessarily know that term. Baden-Powell defined the "scout's pace" as an alternation between running and walking, say, twenty steps run followed by twenty steps walked. He embodies a dualistic form of movement through the public space, alternating between a childish

and a “grown-up” propulsion (it is difficult to imagine an adult running through the city streets unless s/he is either a training athlete, which seems unlikely in the 1910s, or a person in an urgent situation). Though this story does not employ the “leaping bo(d)y motif,” Alberto’s agile crossing between the public space of the streets and the domestic space of his home bears characteristic of that theme: after delivering his completed contest submission to the appropriate address, “se volvió [a casa] tan *ligero* como había venido” ‘he returned [home] as *lightly* as he had come’ (12, my emphasis). Alberto’s physical movements, though not directly heroic, still embody scoutly hybridity. Thus, in addition to *scoutismo*’s complex merging of identities, Alberto’s status as a scout or non-scout is yet another space of fluidity.

Though I have insisted on the significance of *scoutismo*’s Chileanization of “El triunfo de Alberto,” (Alberto is either Chilean or claimed as Chilean), I cannot assert that any of the short stories in the first sixteen issues of “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo* were Chilean. Rather, it appears surer to accede that none of them were Chilean. To positively identify a Chilean narrative within that set of magazine numbers, we must look to a selection pulled from the (then) recent book *Raza chilena* (1904), by Nicolás Palacios.

“Épico,” reproduced (almost completely) in the *scoutista* magazine, is the fourth section of the second chapter of Palacios’ philosophical tome on national race. Before examining the narrative content of “Épico,” I wish to contextualize it briefly within *Raza chilena* (see the first three chapters of Palacios’ book).¹⁰⁷ Palacios argues that “true” Chileans are the offspring of the mixture of the indigenous Araucans, or Mapuches, and a particular breed of Spaniards: those of Gothic or Germanic descent. For Palacios, not all Native Americans are equal, nor are all Europeans. The author celebrates the virility and ferocity of the Mapuches and the Nordic-

¹⁰⁷ All direct quotations of Palacios in my study are from the extract of his “Épico,” in “*El Scout*” *Siempre Listo*.

Spanish conquerors. In the Andes and Patagonia, the Araucans resisted the Incas' regime, and in the Iberian Peninsula, the Germanic Goths harassed the Latin Roman Empire. Palacios' Chileans are a stock of warriors.¹⁰⁸ A common meaning of the verb *militarize* suggests the organization of a civil society in a way that fits it for war. I propose that the same verb can be used in another important way. Contemporary scholars use the verb *gender* to describe a discursive process by which persons are rendered, or represented as, masculine or feminine through language. By reducing the core activities of the Mapuches, the Nordic-Spanish conquistadors and colonizers, and the two peoples' descendants, to conquest and defense, Palacios discursively militarizes the whole of Chilean society.

Octavio Paz's considerably more recent essay "The Sons of La Malinche" (1950) proposes a story of the formation of the Mexican race, in which the original parents are Hernán Cortés and Malintzín (doña Marina, or "la Malinche"). In Paz's text, Mexicans were conceived through the male conqueror's seizure of the female body of "la Malinche" herself, as well as the pillage that the male conquerors committed against other native female bodies. While Paz's essay narrates a conception resulting from male-to-female aggression, Palacios' book frames the conception of the Chilean race as the violent contact between strictly male actors.¹⁰⁹ Expanding upon Paz and Palacios, I propose that, while Mexico's symbolic father and mother are Cortés and Malintzín, Palacios participates in a literary tradition that imagines a motherless Chilean origin story. Chileans hail from two symbolic fathers: the Spanish conquistador Pedro de Valdivia, and the leader of the Mapuche resistance, Caupolicán. Caupolicán, according to Alonso

¹⁰⁸ See also Nunn 76.

¹⁰⁹ The question of whether *rape* is the correct term is a matter of history that may be unrecoverable, and must take into account Malintzín's agency—limited as it must have been—in the transaction that placed her in Cortés' possession. Regardless, it is safe to assert that Cortés' union with Malintzín was characterized by a coercive power differential that vastly favored the Spanish conqueror and severely limited or harmed the Maya woman's physical, psychological, and social subjectivity.

de Ercilla's sixteenth century chronicle poem "La araucana," died bravely by anal impaling at the hands of the Spanish. Thus, when read with attention to sexualities, *Raza chilena*, building upon the canonical precedent of "La araucana," renders a combative homosexual conception of the Chilean people.

Ilan Stavans, attending to the sexual aspects of the formation of Latin America broadly, observes that a "violent eroticism was . . . fundamental . . . in the colonization of the Hispanic world" (49). Though eroticism may characterize the conquest generally, it takes multiple forms: "The phallus remains an all-consuming image for Hispanic Society, whether as the absent, animating presence in the *repressive* culture of machismo or the furtive purpose of the *repressed* culture of homosexuality. It is the representation of masculine desire, a fantastic projection of guilt, shame, and power" (68). Paz's essay explores the tensions of the heterogeneity arising from the Spanish and the Indigenous elements of Mexican culture; Paz's theory of *mestizaje* (race-mixing) is attentive to the initial instance and pervasive consequences of a foundational trauma. Palacios' book, however, argues that the Gothic Spanish conquerors are European counterparts of the South American Araucans. Palacios seems to interpret (or rewrite) the long warfare between the American natives and the European invaders as an opportunity for the two parties to enjoy together their favorite pastime, battle, rather than as an indication of a fundamental conflict of interests. Palacios' theory of *mestizaje* lacks attention to original trauma and its after effects. Certainly, Caupolicán was defeated, and his death was a violent sexualized act designed to feminize him. But his bravery in battle and his supposedly serene acceptance of his hyper-phallic execution earn for him a masculine designation. Malinztín is popularly and derisively referred to as "la Malinche" when she is (mis)remembered as a traitor to her people, and she is also known as "la chingada" 'the fucked one' (Paz 76-87). But Caupolicán is not

remembered as “el chingado,” and this father enjoys a more honorable position in Chilean memory than does the mother of Mexico in that nation’s memory.

“Épico” recounts an episode of independent Chile, in which the nation’s army waged a late campaign against a group of defiant Mapuches. The form of the story’s transmission is significant. In a passed-down manner, Palacios recalls: “En las noches de vivac de la guerra del Pacífico *tuve la dicha de oír[esta historia]* de los labios de[un] comandante quien . . . templó su alma i su espada en las *postrimerías de aquella epopeya viva*” ‘Bivouacked by night during the War of the Pacific, *I had the pleasure of hearing this story* from the lips of [a] commandant who . . . tempered his soul and his sword in the *closing scenes of that real-life epic poem*’ (Palacios, “Épico” 14, my emphasis). Palacios situates himself as the hearer, bearer, and artful modifier of an epic poem. He does not lay claim to a personal experience of the event contained in the story, but he traces his relationship to the event to the “singing” of it to him by one who witnessed it. Further, the actual event, or referent, was a *postrimería*, a concluding act of a drama. The war itself; its initial retelling to Palacios in “song,” as he recalls; and Palacios’ storyteller-like re-representation in his book (and in the *scoutista* magazine) constitute a multi-layered form.¹¹⁰ Relating the event in this way, Palacios does not approach his task as a philosopher, a historian, or a journalist, nor as an author of a short story, but rather as a soldier and a storyteller in a genealogy of soldiers and storytellers. The *scoutista* editors who curate his “Épico” include themselves and the reading scouts in this oral-like, and therefor campfire-compatible transmission.

¹¹⁰ I do not suppose that Palacios actually heard the story as a literal song. Rather, he aims to aestheticize the real event and every form of its retelling, including his own version.

As a Chilean infantry battalion rested on a meadow, “alguien vio aparecer un indio en la ceja de la selva [virjen]” ‘someone saw an Indian appear at the brow of the [virgin] forest.’¹¹¹ From the beginning, the story sexually charges and feminizes the natives and their landscape, which wait provocatively, like an insinuating eyebrow. As more indigenous men appear at the edge of the forest, “todos los pensamientos penetraban al fondo de la espesura” ‘all our thoughts penetrated to the depth of the density.’ The Chileans’ response to the appearance of the enemy further sexualizes the encounter, feminizing the latter and masculinizing the former. In spite of these initial gendered and sexed narrative devices, a Mapuche warrior makes the first move, masculinizing his gendered position with respect to the federal soldiers. Riding a beautiful horse at a smooth gallop, the man approaches the infantry. Unarmed and mostly naked, he displays his “formas atléticas” ‘athletic forms.’ Halting very near to the now alert and intrigued Chilean soldiers, “pasó su mirada de un extremo a otro de la tropa” ‘he cast his gaze from one extreme of the battalion to the other.’ Exhibiting his bare body, only to turn the gaze upon those he approaches, he alternates between performances of femininity and masculinity. The lone rider parades his horse in front of the soldiers, who give open expression to their admiration of the spectacle as they meld their appreciation of the man’s body with the body of his mount. ““¡Qué hermoso animal!” exclamó el comandante . . . era un animal sin tacha; nudillos enjutos, pupila centellante, oreja chica i viva, de formas acabadas, nuevo, airoso, fuerte, dócil, negro-tordo, sin mancha, cola i crines crecidos i copiosos . . . ‘Hermosísimo bruto,’ volvió a decir el jefe” ““What a beautiful animal!” exclaimed the commandant . . . it was an animal without flaw; slender joints, sparkling pupils, small and lively ears, refined forms, new, brilliant, strong, docile, thrush-black, without spot, long and abundant tale and mane . . . “Beautiful creature,” the boss repeated’ (13).

¹¹¹ *Virjen* is Palacios’ original adjective for the forest. I have merely re-situated it with brackets for brevity’s sake.

The rider then demonstrates his horsemanship, acrobatically placing his body in multiple positions, at times nearly hiding himself from view beside or behind the horse's body, thus fostering the specular fusion of man and animal. By placing the rider so intensely in the soldiers' gaze, the text again feminizes the Araucan.

Curiously, the narrator provides ample detail of the rider's maneuvers, but he avoids representing the onlookers' commentary—in this version of the story, their only uttered remarks are for the horse. But the text demonstrates equal attention to, and admiration for, the body of the rider and for the animal. I argue that the characters' expressed admiration for the horse serves (whether in reality, in the initial narrative "song," in Palacios' retelling, or in any or all instances) as an escape valve that allows expression to feelings of desire for the male human form that performs a seductive dance before the soldiers. This desire may be homoerotic, homosexual, queer (a desire to sexually experience the man), and/or a desire to embody or be (like) the man. After a detailed account of the rider's demonstration of his bodily capabilities, the narrative enters the commandant's mind: "Sin pestañear miraba el comandante el brioso corcel, que iba pidiendo riendas, cola i crines flotando al libre viento. '¡Lindísimo! Me quedo con él' 'Without blinking, the commandant stared at the lively steed, who was begging to be bridled, with its tale and main floating in the free wind. 'Lovely! He's mine'" (13-14). Beyond recognizing the cover that the animal provides for the statement of desiring (in one way or another) its rider, I also find the trope of the "savage" (man and/or beast) "begging to be bridled" squarely within the logic of hegemonic masculinity and colonialism. By asking to be controlled and domesticated, the equestrian unity is made to speak as both the feminine and the colonized, who supposedly acknowledge their need and craving to be subjugated by a patriarchal sovereign.

Precisely when the commandant believes he will obtain the object of his desire, the rider, without dismounting, yanks a young soldier from the ground by his uniform and restrains him on the back of the horse that now speeds across the plain toward the forest. The Chilean soldiers race after the captor and captive, who manage to outpace the cavalry. Desperate, the soldiers attempt to shoot the horse, but these efforts fail. The enemy reaches his companions at the edge of the forest, and they carry their captive into the foliage, where they shout wildly. While the Chilean soldiers' thoughts had "penetrated" the forest at the first appearance of the indigenous, they now fear to press into the "virgin" space, and thus abandon their comrade to a fate that they may only imagine.

But how horrifically can that fate be imagined, within Palacios' overall framing? Is this story a tragedy? The title of Palacios' narrative, "Épico," expresses the ultimately trouble-free assessment of the events it depicts. In epics, benevolent transcendent forces assure proper conclusions; nothing is truly at stake. After all, the Chilean captive is simply carried off by a tribe with which he already shares a deep cultural compatibility and a genealogical tie, according to *Raza Chilena*. Palacios expresses pleasure, not horror, upon having heard this story, which telling he initially experienced as (if it were) a song (14). "Épico" manifests a fantasy of being carried away into a wild space in which all men's genders flow between masculinity and femininity, and in which men's desires have all-male objects, which, I reiterate, perform both femininity and masculinity. Regarding nation, this temporal and spatial fantasy does not carry the captive off of the national map; the prisoner among the Araucans remains within the cultural bounds of Chileanness.

“El Scout” Siempre Listo failed to publish Chilean Scout short stories in its first sixteen issues, and perhaps beyond. In all of the Chilean Scout magazines that I have accessed (from the 1910s through the 1940s), the short story explicitly about Chilean scouts remains an object of limited and uncertain identity. Nevertheless, those magazines published numerous brief narratives deemed suitable for their readership. These include: short stories of unclear national origin, or clearly foreign derivation, that depict boy scouts; narrative selections from Chilean literature, such as “Épico” in Palacios’ *Raza Chilena*; and short stories that do not portray boy scouts, but that represent matters of gender, nationality, or militarism. I will continue this chapter section with studies of three of such narratives, published in Chilean Scout magazines that proceeded *“El Scout” Siempre Listo*.

A Boy Scout campfire experience would be incomplete without a joke. The anonymously penned “Vocación” may be read as an ultra-brief drama in dialogue form that succinctly but profoundly signals *scoutismo*’s struggle to articulate its militarism:

–Y tú, Guillermo, ¿qué quieres ser?

–Militar.

–Pero el militar se expone a que lo mate el enemigo.

–Entonces deseo ser enemigo. (9)

–How about you, Guillermo? What do you want to be?

–A soldier.

–But a soldier exposes himself to be killed by the enemy.

–Then I want to be an enemy. (9)

Guillermo, whom I read as a young and utterly honest scout, readily announces his intent to grow up to become a soldier. This occupational ambition is so harmonious with Scout culture

that it is his response, “Militar,” that makes the text a Scout joke—the joke is devoid of explicit references to Scouting. When his interlocutor, whom I read as a more experienced scout, replies, he expresses an understandable concern for the greenhorn’s safety—Guillermo could be killed. But the friend also perpetuates Scouting’s version of militarism—Scouting favors the ideal of being killed for one’s nation over the desire to defend one’s nation and survive the act.¹¹² Following his friend’s response, Guillermo rather easily adjusts his life plan.

On the surface, the joke’s humor resides in Guillermo’s failure to “get it.” Doubtless, if this dialogue were a serious conversation, rather than a joke, Guillermo would have affirmed his resolve to expose himself to death. But why should Guillermo “get it? Why should he prefer being killed to defending himself and his nation? Survival is a Scout principle, but when militarism is the topic at hand, survival surrenders to sacrifice. However, Guillermo resists the stricture of Boy Scout militarism—he does not correct himself by stating that he wishes to be Peruvian or Bolivian instead of Chilean (or German instead of British), nor does he believe he will be exempt from combat. On the contrary, he intends to go into battle and survive the act, regardless of which sovereignty he may serve by so doing. The joke allows *scoutismo* to transcend or bypass nationalism, and allows for a brief expression of militarism for militarism’s sake.

The tone of a Scout campfire or magazine can quickly turn from humorous to grave. In the serialized “La pequeña de los pinzones,” by Ch. de Coynart, a poor couple lives in an isolated shack. Gilberto cuts wood in the forest, and Martina raises rabbits and carries out the domestic work. “Así la vida pasaba para los dos seres en la *monotonía* de la labor cotidiana,” ‘Thus life went on for the two beings in the *monotony* of daily labor,’ until Martina becomes pregnant

¹¹² For instance, *scoutismo* repeatedly mobilizes the leitmotif of Arturo Prat’s death as the most honorable and inspiring act.

(May, 23, my emphasis). Their daughter, Estefanía, introduces some joy to the couple's routines. Estafanía explores the woods near the home, where she rescues a brood of abandoned finches (*pinzones*). She raises the chicks in the cottage, where her mother declines into poor health for several years. Estafanía, then, proves capable of looking after herself, at least to a modest degree, and to care for defenseless creatures. Meanwhile her mother becomes increasingly incapable of caring for her, and her father must remain outside the home in a desperate effort to obtain income for the struggling family.

The struggles increase with a heavy snowfall, which forces Gilberto to seek employment beyond the forest. During the next three days, Martina understands that she is close to death. Immediately after disclosing this grim truth to her daughter, who is now six year of age, she dies. Frantic, the girl abandons the shack and presses into the deepening snow, which soon overtakes her. After the storm passes, a resident of the nearest village finds her body buried in the drift and covered by flock of finches that vainly attempt to revive their departed friend. She is buried under a tombstone that identifies her, not as Estefanía, but as “la pequeña de los pinzones” (June, 23-24). The absence of a name on her tombstone suggests that she has been buried by strangers. Gilberto, it appears, has not returned, and may remain unaware of the deaths of his wife and daughter.

As with other stories that do not feature scout characters or direct references to Chile, “La pequeña de los pinzones” forces me to ask how such a narrative is a Scout text, beyond its virtue of being published in (and perhaps written for) a *scoutista* magazine. In this case, a response lies in the story's attention to genders in and out of domesticity. Though the story's tone is sympathetic to all the characters, it ultimately frees the man from household monotony and feminine company by means of narrative femicide. Gilberto does all he can to dutifully provide

for his sick wife and young daughter, including leaving them to go in search of needed employment. Unlike Scout literature that directly considers or narrates scouts' deaths as meaningful sacrifices, the deaths in this story are senseless. Or rather, they lack meaning unless we view these feminine deaths as the liberation of the man who never returns to the home or the story. Every aspect of the narrative, including its apparent forgetting of Gilberto, relieves him of his domestic ties.

"La pequeña de los pinzones" bears important resemblances to, and differences from, Horacio Quiroga's short story "El desierto," in which protagonist Subercasaux's relocation of his family to the wilderness exposes his wife and children to the dangers associated with isolation. Prior to the narrative's present, the man's wife had died in the remote home. The widower appears to easily accept his regained single status, not because it frees him to seek out other women (there are none for miles), but because it frees him to enjoy his committed parenting, both domestic and far-roaming, in the jungle. Later, he too dies in the cabin, surrounded by his children, whom he leaves utterly alone, beyond the reach of society. One of the most outstanding effects of "El desierto" is the unease it prompts in the reader, who may assume the worst for the small abandoned orphans. And yet, Quiroga's story does not necessarily support the conclusion that the children are doomed. On the contrary, "El desierto" provides many indications that the children are capable of survival. For instance, the story introduces them as if they were the protagonist's equals. After rowing his canoe through a menacing storm, bearing two passengers, "Subercasaux se dio *por primera vez* cuenta exacta, *en esa noche*, de que los dos compañeros . . . eran sus hijos" "Subercasaux realized, precisely *for the first time, on that night*, that the two companions that he had [with him] were his two children' (325, my emphasis). The father gives them nicknames of predators, such as "gato" (cat) and "víbora" (viper), suggesting that they are

suited to thrive in the wild (326). The story ends like a *scoutista* fantasy: able-bodied children inhabit a parent-free wilderness. “El desierto” would have served as an ideal *scoutista* short story. (Given the abundance of non-Chilean texts within Chilean *scoutismo*, Quiroga’s Uruguayan nationality and Argentine residency need not present an obstacle.)

The last *scoutista* short story in my study, “El príncipe de la montaña,” by Raza Chilena, is also the most recent of such texts that I have been able to locate among my current set of primary materials. It appears serialized in the August, September, and October 1941 issues of *Boletín Scoutivo*. “El príncipe de la montaña” lends itself to a momentous concluding study of Chilean Scout short narratives for several interrelated reasons. First, it is the work of an author who identifies as feminine. Second, it demonstrates a rather more complex narrative structure and, to a degree, a more nuanced thematic content, than the other *scoutista* short stories and brief narratives that precede it. Third, the story is indicative of *scoutismo*’s general view of heterosexuality. Fourth, owing to the gender of the author and the gendered qualities of the narrative structure, the story allows gender to operate visibly as a lens of literary reception, comprehension, and interpretation. Fifth, the text directly addresses Chilean boy scouts and girl guides (unlike many of the texts analyzed in this chapter section, it is a Chilean Scout story), and yet the content of the narrative does not depict scouts as characters, or *scoutismo* as an institution or a culture. Finally, “El príncipe de la montaña” stands out as the *scoutista* brief narrative that most explicitly interpellates scouts as readers of literature.

The author has chosen the pseudonym Raza Chilena, which could be used by a man or a woman. But the author deliberately and self-deprecatingly identifies herself as “la autora que ha imaginado este sencillo cuento” ‘the female author who has imagined this simple story’ (Aug., 12). As Raza Chilena is a self-given name, it is more certain, and more productive, to identify the

author as feminine than as female, though we may probably refer to her safely as female also. Raza Chilena is among few female authors in the first four decades of *scoutismo*. For that quantitative fact, I make no claim that her gender and/or sex stand as representative of *autoras* of *scoutismo*. But the appearance of her gender and/or sex may qualitatively inform our readings, and the boy scouts' and girl guides' readings, of her text. Her approach is gentle and even infantilizing: "Querida lectorcita o lectorcito, voy a referirte un cuento. . . ." 'Dear little girl or little boy reader, I'm going to tell you a story. . . .' (Aug., 12). And yet she presents her story as a matter of competition: the reader who submits the best interpretation will receive a prize of \$10 and an unspecified book of Scout games (Oct., 19). In urging her audience to read and respond competitively, she insists that her boy and girl readers not be cowardly in the face of the task, as if it were daunting: "¡No te apoques, da a conocer tus propios alcances! ¡Animo y valor!" 'Don't be timid, let your own capabilities show! Encouragement and bravery!' (Aug., 12). (According to the *scoutista* article "Para ser hombre," studied earlier in this chapter, *un apocado* is the opposite of *un hombre*.) Like other *scoutista* authors before her, Raza Chilena casts the act of reading as heroic. But she also surpasses her predecessors by adding the task of interpretation to the daring act of reading. Thus she expresses herself in traditionally feminine and masculine ways.

However, the author also manifests unease with respect to her feminine authorship, as she apologetically concludes her first installment of the narrative portion of her serialized story: "en este punto vamos a quedar, lectorcito o lectorcita, porque el Boletín Scoutivo cuenta con poco espacio para mucha materia utilísima de primera necesidad" 'we will end here, little boy or little girl reader, because *Boletín Scoutivo* has very little space for a lot of very useful material of primary necessity' (Aug., 12). The author's explanation of why her turn is over exemplifies

Gilbert and Gubar's concept of "anxiety of authorship," in which a female authors manifest feelings unease and displacement upon attempting to situate themselves within a male-dominated mode of expression (Gilbert and Gubar 48-49). However, in keeping with a central ambivalence of Scouting, Raza Chilena's "anxiety of authorship" appears half sincere and half ironic. After appearing to conclude her first installment of "El príncipe de la montaña," which occupies two columns of text, she excuses herself on her way out of the magazine, as if retreating from the light of the campfire into the darkness, only to linger to comment on the story and to introduce her contest, helping herself to another full column of text in order to do so. Thus, her ultimately drawn-out claim that she must leave the periodical with ample space for its important material, authored mostly by men, amounts to a dexterous reclaiming of feminine authorial space in the magazine. Raza Chilena has occupied a seat near the campfire, and she does not relinquish it easily.

We will now attend to the structure that "El príncipe de la montaña" takes, the story contained therein, and the manners in which it handles the themes of gender, sexuality, and national race. We have already seen that Raza Chilena presents herself as the primary storyteller addressing a young audience. This is the first and most overarching level of the narrative structure. Didactically, she tells her young readers that the story will unfold as a dialogue between a wise grandfather and his curious granddaughter, "dos extremos de la vida" 'two extremes of life' (Aug., 12). The dialogue, which occurs beside a blazing fireplace, takes the written form of a drama, in which the characters' capitalized names and long dashes, EL ABUELO— and LA NIETA—, precede their respective lines, and brief stage directions minimally express the unspoken content of the interactions between the two. The grandfather delivers the content of the story about the Prince of the Mountain, while the granddaughter's frequent

comments and questions shape the unfolding of the prince's adventure. This is the three-level structure of "El príncipe de la montaña": at the first level, Raza Chilena assumes the ultimate narrative duty of two stories (that of the conversation between the grandfather and the granddaughter, and that of the prince character). As a second or intermediary strata, the storyteller grandfather directly relates the story to his young listener. The story of the prince and the other characters he encounters constitutes the third layer. Raza Chilena does not adhere perfectly to this overall plan, however. For instance, it is she, rather than the grandfather, who closes the prince's story in the first installment. In the second installment, the prince's story recommences in Raza Chilena's voice, and falls back under the grandfather's control without clear transferal from her to him. The second installment ends in the grandfather's voice, while the third and final installment begins in Raza Chilena's voice, and later drifts, inexplicably, back under the grandfather's direction. This final *scoutista* short story, then, attempts, but often abandons, a relatively ambitious and technical narrative structure.

In addition to raising *scoutista* narrative to a new level of complexity (and haphazardness), this story's structure invites the attentive reader to ask: who exerts control over the narrative?¹¹³ The often-feminine Raza Chilena appears to dominate the overall project. She even stands as the final judge of the readers' interpretations of her story. And yet the masculine grandfather rhetorically serves as the primary storyteller; "El príncipe de la montaña" is his story to tell. He even tells his granddaughter that he is in occasional contact with the hero (Sept., 20). Finally, the feminine granddaughter frequently interrupts the tale, thereby introducing questions and observations that arguably change the direction of the narrative in unpredictable ways. "El príncipe de la montaña" defies a singular narrative authority, and achieves instead the effect of a

¹¹³ As I will show momentarily, Raza Chilena explicitly demands attentive readings of her story.

messy but participatory act of narrative building—a prince’s journey orally rendered by a drama between a grandfather and a granddaughter, which drama is related as storytelling by Raza Chilena. The reading boy scouts and girl guides responding to Raza Chilena’s contest may have added yet another plurality of dimension to this act. *Boletín Scoutivo* does not appear to announce the winner in subsequent editions, and so the victorious response may have only been known to its writer and to Raza Chilena. I also propose that, given Raza Chilena’s implied sex and socio-linguistically performed gender (most notably feminine, with masculine characteristics), responding competitors may have crafted their responses differently than they would have for a male and/or (a “more uniformly”) masculine author and judge.

In the short story embedded within this larger structure, a young, handsome, and virtuous prince lives alone in a hidden castle high in the Andes. Occasionally he roams the mountains, exploring or seeking treasure. Very infrequently and unhurriedly, he also searches for a female companion, but the grandfather insists, “No tiene apuros: de tiempo en tiempo sale del palacio en busca de ella” ‘He’s in no hurry: from time to time he leaves the palace to search for her’ (Aug., 12). The prince is not a boy scout (boy scout characters generally do not seek girlfriends).¹¹⁴ But like boy scout characters in other Scout short stories, he does possess remarkable powers of crossing spaces: he sports a pair of wings, and he also possesses a wand that creates bridges on which he crosses deep Andean gorges. While the prince explores the mountains one day, a giant approaches him and offers to introduce him to a lovely girl who lives in a distant forest. The prince reiterates the grandfather’s initial statement on the matter: “No tengo apuro” ‘I’m not in a hurry’ (Sept., 20). Thanking the giant politely, he departs on his wings and flies to his palace, where he remains for a long time, with a curtain of clouds drawn to conceal himself. Though the

¹¹⁴ The only exception I have found is Sam (played by Jared Gilman), the young male lead in Wes Anderson’s 2012 film *Moonrise Kingdom*.

prince remains safely unaware, the giant had plotted to throw the prince into an abyss in order to take possession of his palace. Both male characters desire, above all else, to reside in the solitude of the fortress.

Following a prolonged isolation, the prince feels a deep urge to roam far beyond the rocky and icy peaks of the Andes. He discovers more fertile climates populated flowers and birds (and perhaps bees), and irrigated by streams. Sitting to contemplate the new setting, he discovers a shepherd girl. With her blond braids and blue eyes, we may question how representative her appearance is of her Chilean nationality. But the author's penname may allude to Nicolás Palacios' *Raza Chilena*, discussed above, which insists that "true Chileans" are the offspring of Germanic Spanish conquistadors and Andean or Patagonian Mapuches. Taking Palacios into account, the shepherd girl may represent a "pure" element of Chilean heritage.¹¹⁵ Her beauty derives from her complexion, which the environment fails to diminish: "aunque de rostro tostado por el sol, era toda una belleza" 'even though her face was toasted by the sun, she was a beauty' (Oct., 18). The prince gives no indication that he has been seeking such a person, and appears surprised to find her. He approaches her and asks how she lives in isolation. When she explains the pastoral life she shares with her father, the prince "sintió gran curiosidad de conocer más a fondo a *esos dos seres* tan buenos y sencillos" 'he felt great curiosity to more deeply know *those two beings* who were so good and simple' (Oct., 19, my emphasis). The father is pleased to meet and welcome the prince, who becomes a frequent visitor, and who now plans to marry the shepherd girl (the story of the prince takes place in the grandfather's own time). I do not read the prince's lukewarm interest in the girl and his warm relationship with her father as necessary signs of homosexual (attr)action, but rather, as a Scoutly avoidance of attention to

¹¹⁵ The prince's *palacio* may be another allusion to Nicolás Palacios.

heterosexuality. The narrating grandfather and his granddaughter appear to appreciate the girl's physical appearance more than the prince does, and the granddaughter is the only character who expresses enthusiasm for the impending wedding (Oct., 19). The yet unrealized marriage further delays the heterosexual union. As the story has made clear on two occasions, the prince is in no hurry.

After hearing the conclusion of her grandfather's story, the granddaughter expresses her desire to be as good, simple, and humble as the shepherd girl. The grandfather, curiously, makes no reference to *scoutismo* or *guidismo* (Girl Guiding) as a course of action that she may continue or take up, in order to achieve her wish. We do not know whether she already is, or may become, a girl guide. Rather, he simply urges her to exert her will toward her goal (Oct., 19). Raza Chilena, whose voice is the only one to mention *scoutismo* and *guidismo*, misses, or declines to exploit, an opportunity to promote the Scout institution through her characters. In this respect, "El príncipe de la montaña" stands as the least propagandistic *scoutista* short story. It is a story for scouts, but it makes no effort to be about Scouting.

But this is not simply a case of art for art's sake. Raza Chilena ends her conclusive installment by clarifying the contest based on her story. She requires her readers to regard every character (the grandfather, the granddaughter, the prince, the giant, the shepherd girl and her father) as symbolic, and each major event, especially the wedding, as emblematic. Contestants must respond exhaustively and carefully to the significance of virtually every element of the story. "Cada contestación debe venir bien explicada. ¡Piensa, reflexiona por varios días; no te apresures, scout o girl-guide! . . . Quiero que observes, pienses y descubras: ésa es la tarea del explorador y de la niña guía" "Every answer must be well explained. Think, reflect for several days; don't hurry, scout or girl guide! . . . I want you to observe, think and discover: that is the

task of the boy scout and the girl guide' (Oct., 19). Like most Scout literature, Raza Chilena's contribution bears many technical, aesthetic, and conceptual weaknesses. And yet, to a far greater degree than any other *scoutista* text that I have uncovered, "El príncipe de la montaña" explicitly places the reading scout in the position of a careful interpreter of authentic Chilean literature. In so doing, this text fulfills an enduring but often hesitantly expressed desire of *scoutismo*.

***Scoutista* Poetry: The Khaki Heralds**

In my prior chapter, I use José Enrique Rodó's *Ariel* (1900) as a touchstone, as well as a counterpoint, with which to contextualize and approach *scoutismo*'s early essays. In a similar—though briefer—manner, in this chapter section I use César Vallejo's "Los heraldos negros" (1918) in order to situate some of the predominant tones and motifs in the first decades of Chilean Scout poetry. *Ariel* predated *scoutismo*'s first essays by less than a decade. I do not attempt to prove that early *scoutista* essayists had necessarily read Rodó's essay, though some of them certainly may have done so. But I do argue that they had observed with dismay certain of *Ariel*'s cultural influences. I also demonstrate that their works shared much, nevertheless, in the way of style and tone, with that text. Vallejo's poem postdates the first *scoutista* poetry by half of a decade. While the first *scoutista* poets could not have responded directly to "Los heraldos negros," (and while I make no claim that later *scoutista* poets read or responded to that poem),

some of their boldest contributions share with Vallejo's poem a dismal assessment of life.¹¹⁶

Like Vallejo, some *scoutista* poets also mobilize the motif of the herald.¹¹⁷

Let us begin with a consideration of key verses of "Los heraldos negros":¹¹⁸

Hay golpes en la vida, tan fuertes... Yo no sé.

Golpes como del odio de Dios: como si ante ellos,

la resaca de todo lo sufrido

se empozara en el alma... Yo no sé! (1-4)

[. . .]

Serán [. . .]

[. . .] los heraldos negros que nos manda la Muerte.

Son las caídas hondas de los Cristos del alma,

de alguna fe adorable que el Destino blasfema. (7-10)

[. . .]

Y el hombre... Pobre... pobre! Vuelve los ojos, como

cuando por sobre el hombro nos llama una palmada;

vuelve los ojos locos, y todo lo vivido

se empoza, como un charco de culpa, en la mirada.

Hay golpes en la vida tan fuertes... Yo no sé! (13-17)

¹¹⁶ In place of the word "life," we might consider "existence," "being," "human experience," or "reality." However, the term that Vallejo and some *scoutista* poets use, in the question at hand, is *la vida*.

¹¹⁷ In this present work, I focus my study of *scoutista* poetry upon those texts that rely on the herald trope. Chilean Boy Scout magazines, particularly *Boletín Scoutivo*, feature many poems that I do not address here. There are also *scoutista* songs, which would lend themselves to further study of the poetry genre. See Parragüez.

¹¹⁸ Though I provide English translations of the primary Spanish-language literature in this study, in the case of poetry, I opt to not translate verses and stanzas from Spanish to English. I believe such translations would necessarily constitute new works of literature, which I do not aim to create here. Instead, I organically incorporate partial translations into my interpretations of the poems.

The poem could scarcely be less epic. God remains in the cosmos, but instead of abandoning humanity, he has unleashed his divine hatred upon it (1-2). This poetic voice may be sympathetic to Christ, but he is not an omnipotent savior. Faith in him may be adorable, but Destiny is more powerful and more certain, and it mocks that faith (9-10). In the absence of atoning redemption, the mortal's guilt goes unforgiven, and his sufferings do not subside with the passage of time; rather they well back up to torment him again and again (2-4, 15-16). Death offers no promise of eventual rest or peace. She sends her heralds to haunt man with the reminder of his certain expiration. These heralds do not serve as merciful messengers, but rather they, like God's hatred, strike man as a jolt (7-8). In spite of the work of these heralds, whose task is to convey transcendent information, a barely-expressible uncertainty looms over the poem, as the refrain "Yo no sé" 'I don't know' repeats three times and concludes the rumination.

Scoutismo also groaned under the impact of life's blows. Recall, for instance, the "whiplashes of shame" in the inaugural sermon (Vicencio, "Disurso" 30). Three *scoutista* poems also deploy heralds, which I will present chronologically. These are Samuel A. Lillo's "Himno de los boy-scouts" (1913), Tristan Galvez's "El Scout (1)" (1914), and Alfredo Cañas M.'s "Saludo a los scouts" (1943). Unlike "black messengers," *scoutismo*'s heralds banish existence's reign of darkness forever to the past.

The Central Directorship of the Boy Scouts of Chile commissioned renowned poet Samuel A. Lillo to compose the nation's Scout anthem, "Himno de los Boy-Scouts." The poet was the nephew of Eusebio Lillo, author of the 1847 modified (less anti-Spanish) Chilean National Anthem, and a relative of Baldomero Lillo, the father of Chilean social realism (*Memoria Chilena*, "Una épica," "Eusebio"). Given *scoutismo*'s express ideal of creating and distributing genuinely Chilean literature, it is striking that the magazine "*El Scout*" *Siempre*

Listo does not create fanfare in the debut of the anthem composed by this notable national author.

Though the magazine did not sound a trumpet at the arrival of Lillo's *himno*, the poem itself depicts the Chilean Boy Scout movement as the harbinger of a new dawn for the nation:

CORO

Mensajera de nuevas auroras,
tremolando el pendón del ideal,
se levanta esta heroica falanje
que hacer grande a la patria sabrá. (1-4)
[. . .]

Advancing in the orderly formation of a phalanx, the scouts rise up, waving the flag and announcing the ascent of the nation (1-4).

VII

Vamos risueños por la agria vida:
[. . .]
fijos en lo alto van nuestros ojos
sin que se bajen a los abrojos
ni a las malezas que aplasta el pié. (41, 44-46)

While the nation now ascends toward its imminent grandeur, life retains its essential bitterness (41). But unlike the solitary *I* of "Los heraldos negros," the collective *we* of this anthem refuses to sink into despair upon contemplating the thorns that plague human experience. They march cheerfully onward and upward, as they suppress or trample down the brambles and snares that

clutter the ground (44-46). Scouts do not *find* a route toward a higher social state. Rather, they *beat* a track into the milieu.

VIII

Mas, aunque vemos en los humanos
tan sólo amigos, tan sólo hermanos,
somos chilenos de corazón;
i, si la patria nos llama un día,
defenderemos con valentía
hasta la muerte su pabellón. (47-52)

[. . .]

Though the Chilean scouts regard humanity with feelings of friendship and brotherhood, their nationality portends to eventually marshal them against their (foreign or domestic) friends and brothers (47-52). Notwithstanding the causes for rejoicing in the glorious era, the nation remains subject to opposition. But, as the chorus suggests, and as the eighth stanza affirms, the scouts perform a double duty: they are heralds and soldiers.

While the herald of the anthem above announces the arrival of an armed guard that rescues and actualizes a besieged nation, the counterpart figure in Tristan Galvez's "El scout (1)," published soon after, proclaims an age of lasting well-being and peace to a war-weary world:

[El Escáut] es heraldo del Bien i la Paz.
Razas, lenguas, creencias i fiebre
de poder i extensión comercial
son la causa de eternas discordias

en que viven los hijos de Adán,
es la fuerza la lei de la Guerra
i el derecho, es la lei de la Paz.

Tras de siglos de luchas perpetuas
por ensanche del suelo natal,
el Escáut hoy proclama ante el orbe
que el derecho a conquistas ya no hay:
sino solo el que otorga la Historia
o el que adquiere el poder industrial!

Tras de siglos de oscuras tinieblas,
tras de luchas en tierra i en mar
por creencias i fé religiosa,
brilla al fin como luz matinal
el respeto de todos los cultos
i el Escáut es el iris de Paz!

Tras de siglos que vieron al hombre
de los hombres amigo falaz
combatirse i matarse a millares,
el Escáut se presenta neutral,
siendo en todo el amigo de todos,
sin hacer un prejuicio jamás. (4-28)

Appearing three times, the refrain “Tras de siglos” ‘Across centuries,’ emphasizes the continual and universal character of war, which this poem regards as immoral and (mostly) unjustifiable

(11, 17, 23). By referring to “eternal discords,” and by identifying as “the children of Adam” those who have suffered from war, the poem renders this evil a condition that has always afflicted all members of the human race (7-8). This makes the representation of the boy scout, as the dispensational angel who announces the era of peace, all the bolder. The boy scout occupies a privileged position in the Judeo-Christian scriptural narrative of divinity and humanity.

Lines 13 through 16 complicate the claim that Scouting brings, or promotes world peace. Lines 13 and 14 claim that there no longer exists a right to conquest. However, lines 15 and 16 concede that History (here ideologically evoked with a capital *H*) and industrial might provide an exception to this higher law. Thus, the poem allows for a justification of Chile’s aggressions against, and victory over Peru and Bolivia, in the War of the Pacific, which is too sacred for *scoutismo* to question. Were it not for the language in lines 15 and 16, I would find this poem to be radically at odds with *scoutismo*’s overwhelming celebration of that war. Nevertheless, barring lines 13 and 14, this poem amounts to an unequivocally anti-war *scoutista* text. In that regard, Galvez’s herald does not work in concert with Lillo’s herald.¹¹⁹

But war is not the only evil from which *scoutismo* delivers the world:

La vorágine loca del mundo,
engendrando con vicios el mal,
dejenera a los hombres i pueblos
i los deja en senil nulidad!
El Escáut del abismo los alza,
i otra vez savia de vida les dá! (29-34)

¹¹⁹ Operating like a theology (in the works of Lillo and Galvez here, and others featured in my previous chapter), *scoutismo* appears to consist of discordant angelic orders.

Scouting also rescues humanity from vague and generalized existential angst, symbolized by “the crazy whirlwind of the world” and “the abyss” (29, 33). The remedy is a masculine dose of *savia*, which signifies both “sap” and “vitality” (34).¹²⁰

De arreboles se pintan los cielos,
presagiando llegar nueva Edad,
la del Cielo del Bien i el Derecho
que ya viene en el mundo a reinar.
El Escáut ya lo anuncia i proclama
el Escáut es obrero i guardián. (35-40)

[. . .]

Those who know how to read the sky, whether as prophets or explorers, will discern the sign of the coming calm—the Heaven of well-being and peace will abide on the Earth (35-38). The scout, always the first to observe the horizon, bears the message.

Between the appearance of the previous *scoutista* herald and the next one that I have been able to locate, more than thirty years pass. By the 1940s, *scoutismo* appears to have shed much of its messianic view of itself. The 1942 poem “Saludo a los scouts,” by Alfredo Cañas M., displays this cooling of the earlier fervor. And yet a herald figure returns or remains, though the object of his announcement is now less clear and less urgent:

¡Salud, scouts de mi pueblo!
¡Noble juventud de mi Patria!
Sois los listos heraldos
que ennoblecéis nuestra raza.

¹²⁰ For a similar *scoutista* use of *savia*, see Alcayaga 22.

Sois como el ave canora
que divulgáis el amor al deber
y a la ciencia y, la aurora de tu vida,
la ennoblecéis con las virtudes que
hora a hora derramáis en el buen hacer.

Vuestra mirada noble y sincera,
vuestro paso firme y seguro,
nos ilumina por doquiera
que nuestra raza chilena
defendida por los Scouts, es augurio
de triunfos, por el amor a su bandera.

¡Adelante, siempre adelante!
¡Seguid tu lema sagrado,
“Siempre listo” –siempre constante,
por tu bien y, por tu Chile amado! (1-19)

The herald in “Saludo a los scouts” does not proclaim the onset of a new era. It is unclear whether this herald announces anything. Rather, he reaffirms and defends the nobility of the national race. The adjective *noble* and the verb *ennoblecere* are overly frequent in this brief poem (2, 4, 8, 10). The herald no longer convokes Chile to a new greatness. Instead, it aims to conserve and calcify that greatness. Such a herald does not live up to his calling

At the beginning of the poem, the scout is the herald (3). However, near its end, the poem itself seems to unwittingly release the scout from his heraldic duty. Through a twist of awkward grammar—which I do not attribute to poetic language—the Chilean race becomes the *augurio*, or

herald, which foretells triumph, and the scout is now the defender of that herald (13-15). What does this messenger, the Chilean race, reveal? Rather than bear tidings, it encourages its listeners to carry on in an unspecified pursuit. Cañas M.'s is a poem of vague motivational maintenance, rather than of sky-splitting revelation.

An analysis of the adverbs and adverbial phrases in Galvez's "El scout (1)" and Cañas M.'s "Saludo a los scout" suggests a decrease in urgency in *scoutismo*'s heraldic message over time. Galvez's poem of 1914 announces occurrences in terms of: "hoy" 'today,' "al fin" 'at last,' and three instances of "ya" 'now,' all of which create a sense of immediacy and attention to a dynamic cultural mo(ve)ment (13-14, 20, 38-39). Cañas M. poem of 1943 privileges terms such as: "hora a hora" 'hour to hour' and "Adelante, siempre adelante" 'Onward, ever onward,' which foster stasis (9, 16). However, his penultimate line, "'Siempre listo' –siempre constante," is at odds with itself (18). The first part suggests that conditions will change, as in the case of the advent of *scoutismo* as the coming of new cosmic order, while the second part demands an unwavering perpetuation of an established procedure.

Cañas M.'s internally discordant line, "'Always ready' –always constant," helps us to conclude our consideration of the heraldic strains in Chilean Scout poetry, and the epic tendencies in much of early *scoutismo*'s literature. It also encapsulates the broader problems of *scoutismo*'s aspirations to cultivate and define literature, masculinity, nationhood, and militarism. The motto "Siempre listo" may have the primary objective of keeping scouts ready to respond to a physical emergency, but I find that it also speaks to the often-overlooked dynamism of *scoutismo*'s views of masculinity, nationality, and militarism. On the one hand, the scout attentive to the printed messages of his institution would need to remain ever ready to encounter (and pursue or reject) new and multiple meanings of literature, masculinity, Chileanness, or

militarism. On the other hand, the same scout, reading the same texts, would also be summoned to remain “ever constant,” loyal to the institution and to the idea of Chilean masculinity. He would also be perpetually on call to defend society by infusing it with military-like vigilance.

CONCLUSION

Trails' End

Boy Scout culture is enthralled with tracking. Tracking is the art of following the traces of an elusive creature, to infer the dangers it perceives, and to frame its body within one's binoculars or to place it in the sights of one's firearm. Tracking is also the practice of pursuing a fugitive in the attempt to interpret his movements and motives, and to apprehend him in spite of his efforts to avoid capture. This study represents my attempt to track Scouting itself. Like wild animals or fleeing criminals, Scout texts also leave signs that challenge their pursuer, the scholar who attempts to interpret Scouting's movements and objectives. Granted, the program (probably in every national manifestation) openly intends to craft a particular version of national masculinity. Somewhat less clearly, but still recognizably, Scouting draws upon militarism in its goal of subject formation. Put another way, Scouting breaks three trails, toward three seemingly clear identitarian endpoints: nationhood, masculinity, and at least a degree of militarism. These three trails occasionally run independently of one another, while at other points they converge into a single track. Although Scouting's destinations are predetermined, its literary footprints reveal that the institution (and perhaps its intended readers, the boy scouts and their adult leaders) often forges paths characterized by productive detours, fruitless deviations, as well as sometimes-successful attempts to conquer summits. Although I began this pursuit knowing Scouting's

intended destinations, I have had to follow Scouting's meanderings, to closely read its spoor, to derive as much meaning as possible from some of its shortest missteps and some of its lengthier byways. For this reason, my mapping of Scout literature may at times present a winding course.

When I planned this research, I chose to focus upon gender, nationhood, and militarism because I suspected that they would find much substance in my primary sources. But I also chose to focus upon those themes because they carry the potential for social and personal suppression or progress (though I exclude militarism from the latter possibility); something for society and individuals is always at stake when any of these themes are mobilized in every-day life, in politics or activism, in international war or revolution, or in literature. My aim has been to read the ways in which masculinity, nationhood, and militarism inform Chilean Boy Scout literature.

While my study does demonstrate that these three themes prove foundational to Boy Scout literature broadly, and to *scoutismo* specifically, I have been surprised to find that militarism is the least frequent of the three. While the British and Chilean Scout institutions never appear to have been undecided about whether or not they promoted masculinity and national citizenship, both programs display unease about the question of their militarism. The arguments that Scout and *scoutista* authors have held with each other, and in some cases within themselves, speak to the degree to which they have considered militarism to be appropriate. I find that Baden-Powell's formation of the army scout created a freer culture than that of the military from which it grew. Thus, the military carry-over in Baden-Powell's Boy Scout movement reflects a considerably less regimented order than would be found in the actual army. When militarism surfaces in Chilean Scout literature, it tends to greater bellicosity and solemnity than Baden-Powell's half-playful winks.

I expected to find multiple conceptual possibilities of masculinities in Scout culture. I assumed that *machismo* would number among these forms. However, it is mostly absent from the many models of “appropriate” gender for Chilean boys and men in *scoutismo*. While *scoutismo* certainly privileges males over females, it does not cast the latter in the service (sexually or otherwise) of the former. Instead, it removes females (and to a degree, attempts to remove the feminine) from the world of boys and men. The boy scout’s literature depicts him as hyper self-reliant. This means that tasks and characteristics that would traditionally distinguish the feminine category often become the province of the boy scout. He hunts food and prepares it. He builds a shelter and decorates it. He defends his territory and cares for the wounded.

Scoutismo expresses Chileanness as a contest between autochthonous culture and emulation of British ways. Neither of these extremes, of course, could represent stable concepts. In its fervor to adopt Scouting as a Chilean step toward the cultural status of the British, *scoutismo* ignored the fact that the Boy Scouts arose as a response to Baden-Powell’s (and others’) dismay over the supposed decaying state of British citizenship and manliness.

In addition to focusing this literary study of Scouting upon the three guiding themes, I have also structured it upon a specific set of media and genres. I read the Scout manual as both a multi-genre medium, and a genre in its own right. Compared to the manual, the magazine is more strictly a multi-genre medium. The manual serves as a literary equivalent of Scout culture broadly, or a prolonged stay at camp. In general Scout activity, as in its handbooks, games, drills, and utilitarian tasks appear as the norm. However, stories, drama, essays or speeches, and songs or poems pop up frequently, and these literary outbursts are in fact also a core Scout pursuit. The magazine functions as a literary counterpart to an evening gathering around a campfire, where

boys and men expect to focus even more specifically on brief literary genres. The magazine allows the collective to “listen” to and “be heard” by one another.

Throughout my study, I have read Chilean Boy Scout literature along with key works by prominent Latin American authors. I have shown that *scoutismo* was deeply interwoven into the persistent struggles of competing Latin American writers to define, to experience, and to legitimize Latin American cultures vis-à-vis other modern cultures. While most of these connections are products of my present work, I have also pointed to cases in which Pablo Neruda and Gabriela Mistral engaged directly with the theme of Scouting in their country. Thus, a seemingly esoteric branch of literature has, from its inception, participated in a far broader literary world. In addition to bringing Chilean Scout texts into an academic discussion, I also hope to prompt new possibilities of reading Latin American literature of the twentieth century as a struggle to represent and discursively construct Latin American cultures.

Most of the Chilean Scout texts that I have uncovered were published approximately between 1910 and 1950. The bulk of the available *scoutista* literature, then, covers a period of about forty years. I suggest that *scoutismo* was not only a literary institution, but also a literary movement (forty years is an appropriate lifespan for a movement). Though Chilean Scout literature certainly continued to be produced after 1950, I found fewer examples of such publications. Regardless of the existence of *scoutista* texts published after the 1940s, I regard Jacobo Danke’s 1947 *“Hatusimé”*! (referred to as *Hatusimé* from this point) as the swan song of the literary movement that was *scoutismo*. Here, I use the term *movement* (in addition to *institution*) because *scoutismo* emerged amid a set of social and cultural contexts, fears, hopes, and events. It generated texts devoted to a more or less unified set of ideas, assertions, and styles. These ideas, assertions, and styles became tiresome by the end of the 1940s, when the golden age

was past and the movement had long been running on fumes from its glorious, messianic beginnings.

Further Explorations

My concentration upon the themes of masculinity, nation, and militarism in Scout literature, by way of that literature's most representative media, the manual and the magazine, has necessarily excluded many texts of that corpus from this study. I began on a hunch that those three guiding themes would appear in many cases in the primary sources. While this hunch proved reliable, and served to impose a focus on my study, it forced promising selections of *scoutista* literature to end up on the cutting room floor. Further approaches to *scoutismo* may benefit from readers' willingness to allow that institution's texts to reveal, explicitly or otherwise, the themes and media it deems most central. Again, I stand by my decision to identify my three guiding themes as themes that *scoutismo* prioritizes, but a fresh approach might well reveal concerns of the institution that I have left uncovered. Further findings may also reveal that that which I designate as *scoutismo*, the literary movement, lasted longer than I am currently able to discern. Or it may be found that Chilean Boy Scouting produced a later literary movement characterized by different social concerns and distinct aesthetic tendencies. Along with, or instead of, the concepts of militarism, gender norms, and devotion to one's nation, more recent Scout literature may also grapple with themes of the Cold War, dictatorship and post-dictatorship, environmentalism, gender equality, and globalization. For instance, del Brutto intriguingly asserts that Pinochet-era Scouting provided a relatively free and democratic cultural space within the overall political climate (38). However, literary and historical findings should be sought out in an effort to understand, and support or refute this argument. Over time, *scoutismo*'s form, not just its

content, is likely to have changed. Web-based, rather than printed writing and reading, as a fundamental, though perhaps underestimated, way of doing *scoutismo* await further critical studies.

In addition to the plausible future research topics I have suggested above, I will identify two concrete but as of yet unaddressed cases that promise to render productive studies.

In Chile, the Girl Guides, or *Guías*, occupied the margins of the Boy Scout organization from nearly the outset. The female iteration of Chilean Scouting did not immediately consist of a separate textual production. Articles for girl guides appeared occasionally in Chilean Boy Scout magazines. The Chilean *Guías* would eventually become a more separate and specialized organization (Rojas Flores 27-28, 95-98). Only later would the *Guías* have their own texts, and their own prevailing authors, such as Victoria Caviedes. Caviedes' writing envisions Girl Guiding more as a movement than as an institution. Her concept of *guidismo*, as opposed to *scoutismo*, was unencumbered by notions of duty and discipline, was theoretical rather than prescriptive, and appeared attuned to juveniles' and adolescents' emotional lives and un-anxious about their discovery of sexuality.¹²¹ A focused study of Chilean Girl Guiding, or *guidismo*, as a cultural and textual practice, would render a valuable contribution. A study that examines *scoutismo* and *guidismo* together would also be illuminating.

At earlier points in this study, I have alluded to Jacobo Danke's Chilean Boy Scout novel, *Hatusimé* (1947). However, having studied it, I ask: is a Boy Scout novel possible? One of the first British Boy Scout texts to follow Baden-Powell's founding handbook *Scouting for Boys* (1908) was L. E. Breton-Martin's *The Boys of the Otter Patrol* (1909), a narrative fiction of over 270 pages. If that text demonstrates a significant degree of modern, ironic or self-referential

¹²¹ See Caviedes 2-4.

characteristics (all of which abound in *Scouting for Boys*, and which characterize much of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout culture), then a Boy Scout novel is a possibility. I ask more specifically, then, is a Chilean *scoutista* novel possible?

Lukács has theorized that, "in contrast to the normative childlikeness of the epic" (71), "[t]he novel is the form of virile maturity: its author has lost the poet's radiant youthful faith" (85). Taking into account the epic quality that pervades much of the Chilean Boy Scout literature from the 1910s through the 1940s, including *Hatusimé*, I am hesitant to place that book in the novel genre, and am uncertain of the possibility of any such novel within that movement. But what is at stake in this question? What would it mean for *scoutismo* to have a novel in its canon? I suggest that it would signify that *scoutismo* has grown up. It must have changed social residence, from the *Gemeinschaft* to the *Gesellschaft*.¹²² It must have outgrown its pre-modern, epic worldview and resigned to the solitude and uncertainty of modernity, from campfire light, moonlight, and starlight, not into darkness, but electric light.

Before Putting out the Campfire...

In his well-known book about youth subcultures, Dick Hebdige does not idealize or disdain the cultural agents under his study. Instead, drawing on Sarte, he highlights their ability to "make something of what is made of (them)"—to embellish, decorate, parody . . ." (138-39). With my present work, I have intended to extend a similar gesture toward the target readers of Scout publications. I also hope that my reading of one institution's literature may serve as a model for

¹²² See Williams 75-76.

the resistant reading—scholarly as well as popular—of the literature of other institutions that hold stakes in the (re)formation or maintenance of particular subjectivities and forms of culture.

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