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The Rural Woman Enters the Frame: A Visual History of Gender, Nation, and the Goodbye Mate in the Postcolonial Río de la Plata

Abstract

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the image of a rural woman handing a gaucho on horseback a drink before he trotted away began to circulate with increasing frequency in the Río de la Plata region. The drink the woman passed the man was the local infusion yerba mate*, and, in earlier illustrations, it had been served by another man. This gendered shift occurred alongside a dramatic expansion of common peoples' access to images via photographs and postcards. Tracing the social and visual history of the goodbye mate ritual from the early nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth reveals the quotidian manner in which locals in this region constructed, consumed, and circulated overlapping visions of their nations. As the gaucho become a popular and contested national symbol in Argentina and Uruguay alike, the rural woman (then referred to as* la china*, but now largely unnamed) became a local one whose faithfulness to the gaucho and, by extension, the nation, was coveted by men across the sociopolitical divide. This article is, on the one hand, a microhistory of the goodbye mate ritual and, on the other, an argument about how centering visual sources and marginal figures, like the china, allows us to better understand the historical and hierarchical construction of national identities and icons.*

El mate del estribo, del registro entrerriano, no es otra cosa que el mate de la despedida. . . . Su significado: Cortesía, deferencia o amor, según el caso.

The Stirrup Mate, a saying from the Province of Entre Ríos, is no different from the goodbye mate. . . . Its meaning: courtesy, deference, or love, depending on the case.

—Amaro Villanueva, El arte de cebar y su lenguaje (1938)

In the mid-1890s, Dr. Francisco Ayerza took a series of photographs that he hoped to publish in a deluxe Parisian edition of the popular Argentine epic poem *Martín Fierro* by José Hernández.[1] Ayerza, a leader in the establishment of Argentine amateur photography, was deeply committed to getting his romantic

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interpretation of this text, which bemoaned the plight of the rural man, into European hands.[2] It was not to be. Instead, Ayerza's photographs would circulate in a more ephemeral and popular manner—appearing first in magazines and calendars and then on postcards, before returning to the artist's canvas, a medium that had originally inspired many of his (and other early photographers') compositions.

Most of Ayerza's photographs featured hardworking rural men laboring or enjoying moments of leisure together. When women did appear, they were most often pictured as romantic partners for these same men. Likely inspired by previous paintings and lithographs, Ayerza's female subjects rode sidesaddle behind the gaucho or flirted, talked, or danced with him in front of a rancho (small hut), a water well, or a pulpería (country store).[3] He surrounded "his" principal characters—above all, the gaucho and his horse, but also his woman—with a variety of props, which ranged from ox carts and cattle to guitars and the local infusion *yerba mate*. Beloved by locals and artists alike, this infusion was made by placing the ground-up leaves of an indigenous holly tree (first harvested by the precolonial Guaraní, but subsequently mislabeled *yerba* or herbs by the Spanish) in a *mate* (or cup), filling it with water, and then slurping the bitter and stimulating green liquid through a straw with a filter on the end. Since the colonial era, this ritualized drink has marked the pauses to refuel and connect in the region.

Whereas during the late colonial and early national periods many artists associated *yerba mate* drinking with elite urban women, by the late nineteenth century, artists and photographers (like Ayerza) depicted it as a predominantly male and rural popular tradition. At the same time, urban elites, who had previously consumed mate enthusiastically, shifted to more cosmopolitan alternatives like coffee and tea. The changing image of mate consumption also reflected the desire to look away from such Eurocentric elites in Argentina and toward the poor and the provinces for authentic local practices around which to construct a unique national identity.[4] Ayerza took about a dozen photographs featuring mate during his mid-1890s photo shoot. In all but one (in which a woman seated at a dance drank a mate) men were pictured as the mate drinkers—highlighting nostalgic associations of self-sufficiency and male friendship on the "open plains." When present, rural women were featured as the mate servers—a dramatic shift from earlier compositions that frequently showed black and brown mate servers attending white women.[5]

One little-known photograph by Ayerza (discussed later) presented two men standing by a horse sharing their last mate. Another, which would become significantly more popular, featured a rural woman handing a mate up to the gaucho about to take his last sip before putting his foot in the stirrup and galloping away. In contrast to its homosocial counterpart, this romantic, heterosexual version went, as we might say today, "viral" (Figure 1). Both Argentina's National Archive and Uruguay's National Library, for example, possess Ayerza's photograph and numerous derivatives on postcards and other photographic compositions.[6] So too, postcard vendors in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, as well as online digital sources and art books, yield multiple versions of this particular composition and help to contextualize its place within the broader visual culture of the time.[7]

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Figure 1. Francisco de Ayerza, photograph, Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter AGN), 1894, Colección 1699, s. 2, inventory number 16445.

I focus our attention on goodbye mate imagery in this article not because it was the most common visual representation of the gaucho or of mate but rather because the history of this imagery reveals a dramatic shift in the gender of and the power differential between the participants. As we shall see, earlier nineteenth-century representations of the goodbye mate featured men and highlighted the courtesy and deference that Villanueva describes in the epigraph; however, when a woman entered the scene, so too did romance, domesticity, and a more consistent hierarchy.

The gaucho's female counterpart was previously referred to as *la china*, but this term would tellingly fade from view. *La china* was not, as previous scholars have suggested, symbolically insignificant in masculine visions of the nation. Rather, I argue here that elite nativist compositions (like Ayerza's) sought to invent a kind of heterosexual domesticity that was anchored by the china's faithfulness to the orderly gaucho and their iconic *rancho* or small hut. More popular criollista accounts celebrated righteously unruly gauchos,[8] but they nevertheless pined for a faithful (rather than rebellious or autonomous) china who stayed home—even as their very pining indicated that, at times, she did not. Across the sociopolitical divide, visual and literary sources depicted the china as an object of male desire and a key mediator who might be faithful or unfaithful to the gaucho and, by extension, the nation. In both elite and popular versions, the gaucho symbolically trotted off to become a national symbol, while the china—a figure associated with indigenous roots and female servitude—was stuck in an underappreciated no-(wo)man's-land.[9] The goodbye mate she served the gaucho fetishized his mobility and political agency, as well as the supposed lack of her

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own. It also signaled that her domesticity allowed him to get into the saddle in the first place.

In this article, I apply an intersectional approach to trace the shifting dynamics of gender and power in the visual history of the mate del estribo ritual. The opening section considers the relative place of our main protagonists: the gaucho, the china, and the mate between them. I then follow these subjects' travels through nineteenth-century artwork and lithographs to late nineteenth-century photographs and early twentieth-century postcards. Toward the end of this piece, a few mid-twentieth-century paintings are examined. When we approach visual sources such as these not as complementary (or "window dressing") to textual sources, but as central to our investigation, we gain new insight into how people constructed and consumed depictions of local culture over place and time. A social-historical approach to the circulation of visual materials—especially those with which common people frequently interacted, like postcards—provides a useful vantage point from which to write new kinds of histories. This article is, on the one hand, a microhistory of the impressive travels of one specific composition and, on the other, an argument about how centering visual sources, and marginal figures, like the china, allows us new insight into the historical and hierarchal construction of national identities and icons.

Gauchos, Chinas, and Mate

At a symbolic level, the image of the hypermasculine, horseback-riding, free-roaming gaucho has dominated both popular culture and scholarly inquiry since the nineteenth century. Historians and cultural studies scholars have turned to the figure and the diverse source base in which he regularly appears—especially, print culture, literature, payadas (or folk songs), tangos, and theatrical plays, including creole circuses—to explain the dynamics of rural life, labor, and identity construction in Argentina, Uruguay, and southern Brazil.[10] Until quite recently, the rich visual culture surrounding this figure has drawn more interest from folkloric enthusiasts than scholars.[11]

The gaucho's earliest (and perhaps best studied) appearance was in popular literature. As William Acree has explained, from the 1830s through the 1860s, gauchesque verse and prose, which focused on political support for and opposition against the towering figure of Governor Juan Manuel de Rosas, "appeal[ed] to country folk and urban populations" alike.[12] In the coming decades, these symbolic gauchos' popularity grew alongside the decline of the actual number of men living such lives due to the liberal intensification of private property and wage labor.[13] The 1865 Rural Code literally outlawed the gaucho way of life by making it illegal not to have a fixed residence or an evident means of subsistence.[14] Paired with the expansion of fencing, the Rural Code facilitated the state's forcible conscription of poor rural men who were sent to the "frontier" to fight against Paraguay in the War of the Triple Alliance (1864–70) and (as in the case of the eponymous hero of *Martín Fierro*) against indigenous groups who occupied the land to the south.

The end of a semi-nomadic way of life in rural areas along with the massive waves of immigrants arriving in Argentina and Uruguay around the turn of the twentieth century also inspired greater interest in the gaucho. For elites and

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xenophobic nationalists, the celebration of this figure served as an antidote to the growing number of immigrants who crossed the Atlantic to reach the Río de la Plata region (especially from Italy and Spain) and made labor demands for better working conditions.[15] At the same time, as Ezequiel Adamovksy has recently argued, for the rural and urban poor (including some immigrants), the embrace of the justifiably violent and unruly gaucho allowed them to articulate a politics of resistance against the ruling class, a critique that challenged sociocultural and ethno-racial hierarchies relegating them to the bottom.[16]

Nevertheless, if we shift our attention away from poor men to their female contemporaries, the popular idolization of the gaucho, in particular, and popular criollismo, in general, take on a different valence. Casting a hypermasculine figure as the popular symbol of the Argentine nation rendered poor rural (and, to a lesser extent, urban) women and their struggles—which were not only about hierarchies of class, ethnicity, race, and region but also about gender—unimportant. In this way, popular criollismo promoted the myth of a society in which rural women's crucial roles in social and biological reproduction were insignificant not only to the popular classes but also, by extension, to the ethnogenesis of the nation.

The legacy of gendering the popular class as predominantly male has cast a long shadow that has obscured the symbolic importance of rural women not only in popular culture but also in academic inquiry. In reference to the late colonial period, historian Susan Socolow explained nearly two decades ago, "The general vision of rural society is so male-centered that one is at a loss to explain how the population of the region was able to reproduce itself."[17] Despite Socolow's research, which pointed to women's presence and importance in sustaining rural households, as well as her call to research rural women's lives and contributions more deeply, this field remains underdeveloped, especially in comparison to studies of rural men.[18]

That is, while rural women clearly existed and mattered in the past, their absence, in what Mary Louise Pratt refers to as "masculine ideologies of nation,"[19] as well as in the subsequent historiography about the construction of such ideologies, has rendered them seemingly inconsequential. Those women who have been centered have tended to be overwhelmingly urban.[20] Compounding, and even helping to explain this trend, the symbolic representation of the Argentine nation in its literary canon (like that of the mate drinker on the canvas) shifted from the elite white female urban protagonist of *Amalia* to the rural male hero of *Martín Fierro* by the early twentieth century.[21]

While the historian has to seek her out, the rural woman was always there. For example, while *Martín Fierro* bemoaned the gaucho's loss of freedom on the "open plains," it also mourned the loss of the domestic tranquility anchored by his female counterpart, the unnamed *china* who oversaw his home and children. The protagonist waxed nostalgic, "I have known this land / when the workingman lived in it/and had his little cabin / and his children and his wife ... / it was a delight to see. The way he spent his days."[22] Intriguingly, Hernández wrote that the gaucho would start these days early with a mate that *he* would prepare. Before the break of dawn, "A gaucho would make his way / to the kitchen ... it was a joy. // And sitting beside the fire / waiting for the day to come, / he'd suck at the bitter mate / till he was glowing warm / while his *china* was sleeping / tucked up in his poncho."[23] In this nostalgic scene, set before

corrupt government officials forced the gaucho to the frontier to fight for land, mate did not need to be served by a woman in a romantic fashion that publicly signaled her commitment to him. Her place in the home (beneath his protective poncho) was more than enough.

The rural man became synonymous with the gaucho, while the rural woman was referred to most commonly as "*la china*," a term in Spanish that can mean Chinese, but that in this South American context primarily draws from the precolonial *Quechua* word *c'ina*.[24] During the colonial era, the Spanish extended this indigenous term for a female animal to the supposedly "uncivilized," non-Christian indigenous woman.[25] As historian Diana Marre explains, this decidedly female label of "china" acquired new meanings but stuck to rural women (especially those from the Pampas or other frontier regions) in a largely pejorative way.[26] In the first in-depth etymological study of this term—as opposed to the hundreds on the gaucho—Marre concludes that over the course of the last four centuries, *la china* has come to refer to "an indigenous or mixed-race (*mestiza*) woman, or a woman of similar appearance, considered ordinary, from the lower classes," who is often defined by her condition of servitude and a supposedly "dubious sexual morality."[27] Building upon Marre's unique focus on the china, this article offers the first in-depth English-language analysis of this figure. It reveals that when the rural woman appeared in popular discourse, her actual centrality and productivity in rural zones tended to be overshadowed by a stereotyped vision of her as a sexual being, the gaucho's woman, and/or a domestic worker.

In 1913, Spanish traveler and poet, Roman Cerillo, explained, "*China* is the name used to designate a female Indian in [the Province of] Buenos Aires. Chinas supply servants to the *estancias* [ranches] and are the morganatic companion of the gaucho."[28] In other words, in Cerillo's view, poor rural women who had relationships with gauchos had no purchase on either their loyalty or their property.[29] In contrast, in *Martín Fierro* (which became even more widely celebrated around this time), the opposite fear seemed more pressing, as the protagonist (and many of his peers) suffered great sorrows upon returning to find their homes abandoned. While marriage was unusual among the rural poor and sexist attitudes toward women prevailed, there was nevertheless a degree of what Richard Slatta refers to as "egalitarianism" between the sexes encouraged by the relative lack of women and difficulty of life on the frontier.[30]

When rural women, like their urban female counterparts, were denied access to "universal manhood suffrage" in 1912, the female population suffered yet another legal death. While romanticized male gauchos galloped across the national landscape democratically and even poor men gained the vote, rural women remained obscured in place while their urban female counterparts gained greater visibility—but not citizenship either. Building upon Benedict Anderson's conception of the "imagined community," Mary Louise Pratt points out that female "inhabitants of nations were neither imagined as nor invited to imagine themselves as part of horizontal brotherhood."[31]

While this trend surely applies to urban woman, it seems particularly dramatic for their rural counterparts. With some notable exceptions, the place of the rural woman in Argentina's nation-building has yet to be taken seriously in Argentine historiography.[32] Ezequiel Adamovsky has recently made a compelling argument that *la morocha*—a feisty brown-haired or brown-skinned girl

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associated with urban culture—became the unofficial emblem of the twentieth-century Argentine nation, especially in tango lyrics.[33] On occasion, she even served the gaucho a mate, as in the popular 1905 tango called "La Morocha," which claims her—and not the china—as the "kind companion of the noble *gaucho porteño* [or gaucho from the city of Buenos Aires]," and further, as "the most famous woman" around.[34] In contrast, Adamovksy describes the china as relatively unimportant; "Actual gauchos did have a female partner the china, but she remained a voiceless character never endowed with any relevant symbolism."[35] In turn, Julia Ariza points out that in contrast to Mexico where the *china poblana* and pretty Indian served as symbolic of national values, in Argentina, where elites sought to present their nation as white, *la china* was "marginal in national discourses."[36]

I argue here that it is not that *la china* was marginal, in the sense of unimportant, but rather marginal in reference to the subservient position she was pictured in. Authors who included her in their gauchesque productions, like Hernández in *Martín Fierro*, left her nameless and voiceless.[37] That has made it even more difficult and, therefore, even more important, to analyze how the rural woman—who was associated much more clearly with indigenous origins than the more urbanized and assertive figure of *la morocha*—figured in popular and visual culture. My research proposes that she was depicted not as a protagonist with sociopolitical desires of her own but rather as a figure there to serve men's wants and needs in the countryside.

This mattered. Cerillo followed his 1913 definition of the china with a frequent saying amongst the elite in Buenos Aires: "*mate amargo y china pampa, solo por la necesidad*" [a bitter mate and a china from the pampas, only when necessary]. In this saying (and others), *la china* played a weighty symbolic role—one that rendered rural women as sexually available to and inferior to their men (whether urban or rural). However, while elite porteños may have considered unsweetened mate and rural indigenous or mixed-raced women only when they "had to," for common rural men, a relationship with a rural woman helped secure their well-being and even happiness (and an unsweetened mate was a delight). More in keeping with this popular vantage point, the eponymous protagonist of *Martín Fierro* suggested that "his" china was faithful to him until his forced departure at the hands of the state prompted the "*la pobre mi mujer*" [my poor wife] to leave and find another man to survive. In contrast, the reaction of his literary partner in crime Cruz, upon finding his home abandoned, was to rail against women—signaling, but also decrying, rural women's independence. Nevertheless, both Fierro and Cruz imagined their uprooted female partners, not on their own, and certainly not with each other, but rather with another more powerful and wealthier man. Further, toward the end of the poem, both men dreamed of joining an Indian camp where they hoped "maybe there'll be a china / who'll come and be kind to us." [38] Here, they longed for the faithful service of a fully indigenous china who would put their needs before her own.

Over the course of the early twentieth century, chinas were primarily identified by their status in relation to men and, sometimes, their social class. *La china* became a synonym for "la mujer del gaucho" [the woman or wife of the gaucho] or more autonomously and less frequently, as a name for the *criolla* [creole] "proletariat rural woman."[39] Despite sometimes being understood as

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independent, more often than not the china was imagined as important precisely because she served as one of the gaucho's defining features—like his horse, lasso, and poncho.[40]

It was not only the china and the horseback riding accessories but also the mate itself that became a defining feature of the gaucho's visual (and literary) identity. Like the china, this infusion possessed local, indigenous roots. Still, even as these roots have been conflated in popular culture, they belong to distinctly different indigenous heritages. Whereas the china was associated with the Pampas region and peoples of central Argentina,[41] *yerba mate* and the precolonial Guaraní who discovered it hailed from the subtropical region where Paraguay, Southern Brazil, and Northeastern Argentina would eventually meet. The linking of gauchos, chinas, and mate suggests that image makers incorporated elements of indigeneity into their portrayals of national culture but also failed to distinguish distinct indigenous contributions.

Folklorists and public historians have written popular histories that trace the historical dynamics of this local ritualized drink, but academics have tended to focus more on the history of the production of *yerba mate* and the exploitation of those who pick it.[42] Analyzing the visual history of mate gives us another way to think about its social and symbolic past. In this case, it allows us to appreciate how the portrayals of the gender dynamics of the goodbye mate ritual, like the better-known example of tango, have shifted over time to incorporate women but maintain them in a submissive role. This (re)gendering reflects what other scholars have found about how twentieth-century nationalist discourses made heterosexual traditions like the tango by erasing the possibility of men sharing something as intimate as a dance or, in this case, a goodbye mate.[43]

The Masculine Origins of the "Mate del Estribo"

Little memory remains of the nineteenth-century, homosocial, masculine roots of the goodbye mate. Nevertheless, as Argentine folklorist and mate specialist Amaro Villanueva explained in 1938, there are bibliographic references of this ritual from at least the early nineteenth century, often in reference to the soldiers who fought in the Wars of Independence in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata.[44] For such soldiers, as well as the travelers and artists who depicted their traditions, the symbolism of the mate provided a visible way of distinguishing locals fighting for their homeland against the Spanish forces.

Villanueva explained that while the British Robertson brothers, who witnessed the Wars of Independence in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, were unfamiliar with the local phrase "el mate del estribo," their description clearly suggested that the protagonists were partaking in this local tradition. The Robertsons wrote:

> Observe the Capataz,—the Commander-in-chief—mounted on a strong, handsome, and well-fed horse, as he sips his last màté [*sic*] at the door of the estanciero's abode, from which he is about to take his departure, chatting the while with the good man of the house and his family, quite at his ease, yet watching, with eagle eye, all the movements of his men, as they busily prepare for a start.[45]

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Figure 2. Emeric E. Vidal, "Miliciens de la Bande Orientale," *ca.* 1820, courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Uruguay.

Here, the Robertsons clearly placed the Commander on horseback taking his "last màté" before he departed. (Their misspelling speaks to the pervasiveness of outsiders' misunderstandings about the mate ritual, as well as its spelling, which is tricky given that this word does not possess an accent in Spanish, but is another word for partner in English.) The Commander sat above the "good man" of the house (there was no mention of the "good woman"). As other traveler's reports affirm, rural homes across the social scale possessed a mate, and it was routinely offered to visitors as a sign of hospitality.[46]

Early nineteenth-century illustrative representations of the sharing of a mate upon departure or arrival likewise tended to depict it as a militaristic and homosocial interaction. In one of the earliest images, which, like the aforementioned anecdote, stems from Emeric E. Vidal's 1820 account, two soldiers stood and shared a mate on the Eastern bank of the Río de la Plata (Figure 2). In the accompanying text, Vidal explained that these soldiers were in the doorway of a pulpería.[47] It is likely that they were getting ready to say goodbye, as one of them remained mounted on his horse. In contrast to later images with a woman, the man standing was the one drinking the mate rather than the one on horseback.

As in this case, we are well served to pay particular attention to the visible choreography of power by noting both who served and was served mate, as well as who occupied the tallest or most central part of the composition. In contrast to the goodbye mate in which a man sat high above a woman on horseback,

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Figure 3. Carlos Morel, "Peones troperos," *ca.* 1845, from Museo de Bellas Artes, https://www.bellasartes.gob.ar/coleccion/obra/8062/. See back center. There are also two more mates being drunk and a kettle to heat the water.

men depicted as participating in this ritual (as in the case of Vidal's illustration) were much more likely to be portrayed on more equal footing. Still, this was not always the case, especially when the men held different positions in the military hierarchy.

In 1845, Argentine artist Carlos Morel depicted a scene in which a mounted general was clearly being served a mate by one of the common soldiers who was standing and handing it to him (Figure 3). While this figure portrayed some of the deference that Villanueva associated with the ritual of the mate del estribo (in the epigraph of this paper), it is not clear if the general was arriving or departing, as the men seated in front seemed to be preparing an *asado* (spit-beef barbeque) that the general would wish to enjoy as well.[48] Indeed, mates were offered at least as frequently, if not more so, upon arrival rather than departure.[49] Regardless of the occasion, this was an early visual source that linked men, asado, and mate—a triad that would intensify in the late nineteenth century with the glorification of the gaucho, as it emphasized men's self-sufficiency and access to plenty out on the "plains."

The deference demonstrated by the server to the mate drinker is even clearer in Juan Manuel Besnes y Irigoyen's illustration entitled "Mi General, un Mate" [My General, a Mate] from 1838 (Figure 4). A Basque immigrant, Besnes y Irigoyen served as the primary chronicler of the emerging early nineteenth-century Republic Oriental de Uruguay.[50] In his composition, a humble man hands the first president of Uruguay (and former general in the Independence struggles) a mate, as the men on horseback signal their desire to trot away. Despite the woman also present in this image, it is the man who serves the mate

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Figure 4. Juan Manuel Besnes e Irigoyen, "Mi General, un mate. . .. Muy bien, mi Amigo el excelentísimo Fructoso Rivera," 1838, from Museo Histórico de Uruguay, http://www.museohistorico.gub.uy/innovaportal/file/91829/1/mates_coleccion_bouton.pdf.

here. Stooped but still standing, this humble man offers the much taller General a mate while his wife implores the General from her place on the ground and their child tugs his leg. While the man of the home is clearly pictured as inferior to the Independence hero, his seated wife is made more so.

The gendered choreography of serving and being served began to shift in step with the changing symbolism of the gaucho. Following the 1852 ouster of Governor Rosas and the rapid changes in agricultural practices, rural men ceased to function primarily as political agents in party disputes, and writing about gauchos turned nostalgically to their social lives.[51] The same trend was visible on the canvas. In the early 1860s, prolific French artist Jean León Pallière, who lived in and often depicted local customs and romantic love across the Río de la Plata region, painted a rural woman handing a drink to a man on horseback wearing typical gaucho fare in an unspecified location (Figure 5). Given the bottle at her side, what she passed to him appeared to be liquor rather than mate. Her falling blouse, the men's and the dog's focus on her, and the posture of the gaucho's horse (which curled toward the woman's backside) suggested Pallière's sexualization of this female protagonist. As with Cerillo's later definition of the "china," an earlier generation of male artists who represented her tended to focus on the china's supposedly unabashed sexuality.

In the latter part of the 1860s, what appears to be the first representation of a goodbye mate between a man and a woman appeared on the cover of *The Atlas of the Argentine Confederation*, a document that had been commissioned by

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Figure 5. Jean León Pallière, Exterior de un rancho, *ca.* 1860s.

the President of the Argentine Confederation, General Urquiza (Figure 6). Drawn by French artist Charles Sauvageot, this composition was decidedly less sexual than Pallière's but also depicted a goodbye ritual with other people present. Here a woman with long braids down her back, bare feet, and a peasant blouse handed a gaucho a mate. To her left, a more "primitive" indigenous person stood with a spear, while a woman of unclear origin (of likely African or mixed descent) cradled a young child. In this way, Sauvageot linked but also distinguished the more modern china who provided the mate to the gaucho from the nation's indigenous and nonwhite past. In a similar way, the gaucho on horseback was depicted as having evolved from the racially ambiguous man who sat playing the guitar. Whiter and more industrious, perhaps he would trot off toward the symbolic cattle of the plains and llama of the highlands in the background. Importantly, these figures—the gaucho, the china, and the goodbye mate she handed him—were selected in the 1860s to represent the Argentine confederation and its inhabitants and customs on an official document.

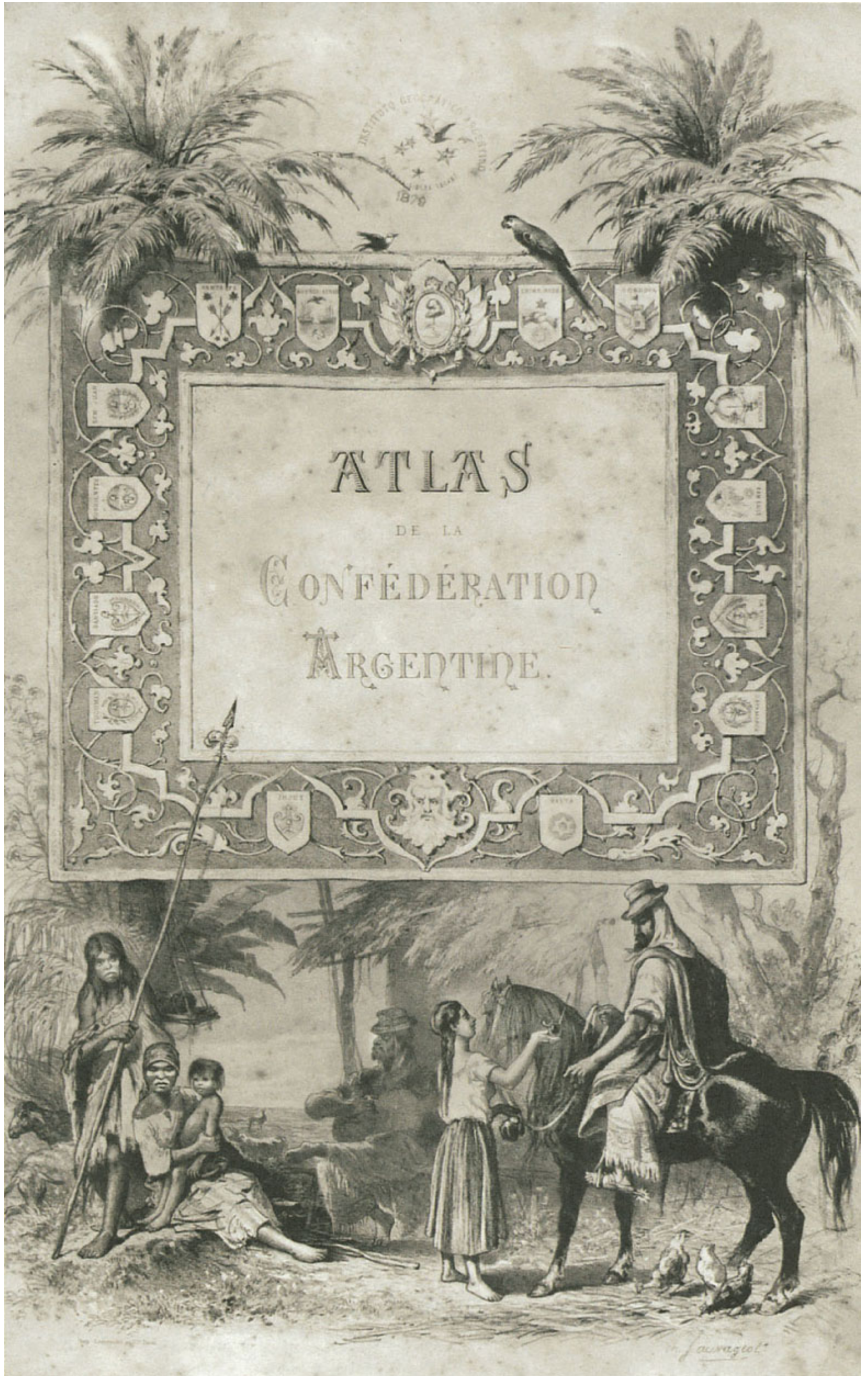

Figure 6. Charles Sauvageot, Interior cover illustration of *Atlas de la Confédération Argentine*, edited by Jean Antoine Victor Martin de Moussy, París: Firmin Didot Frères, 1860–69.

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As part of a similar current, in 1869, official bank notes of the Province of Buenos Aires began to regularly feature not only mythical figures and political elites but also the figure of the gaucho. In this year alone, he appeared rustling cattle, shearing sheep, playing the guitar and, in a couple of cases, serving and drinking a mate by himself. On the fifty-peso bank note, a common woman (as opposed to earlier mythical or elite female figures) also entered the scene. Behind a wagon overflowing with wheat, she sat on the ground at the edge of a group of four men who were engaged with one another conversing around an open-air asado, the seated man on the right lifting a mate to his lips. Kettle in hand, the woman appeared to be ready to infuse another mate for this group of men. While the men's faces were only partially shown and did not reveal a clear racialized identity, the woman's face was notably white and her hair was covered but not braided. In contrast, the much less valuable ten-cent bill from this same year featured an indigenous woman alone with braids falling down her back.[52]

Sauvageot's considerably more romantic vision of a china with braids serving a goodbye mate to a gaucho on horseback was thus a relatively unique depiction for its time, one that would have more purchase in the future. Nevertheless, even as Marre argues that it was only after the pampas were whitened by the influx of European immigrants that a more domesticated china could sometimes be permitted to accompany the gaucho onto the national stage, we can see in the cover of *The Altas of the Argentine Confederation* an early and less fully domesticated example of her presence.[53]

Making the "Mate del Estribo" Ritual Romantic and Iconic

Within the context of other mid-nineteenth-century representations of both the mate ritual and of male-female interactions, the Atlas cover and Pallière's image stand out for their compositional resonance with Ayerza's romantic mate del estribo. [Refer to Figure 1] However, in contrast to these earlier and well-populated iterations, Ayerza's later image would highlight a discrete, romantic intimacy between one heterosexual couple. As in other photographs of the time, the slow shutter speeds required to capture a trace of light on a camera plate meant that Ayerza needed to carefully pose his subjects and that these subjects had to patiently hold their positions.[54]

Entranced by the possibilities afforded by this new technology, in 1889 Ayerza joined with other elite men in Buenos Aires—who, like him, did not need to take photographs for compensation—to form the Sociedad Fotográfica Argentina de Aficionados (SFAA).[55] According to Verónica Tell, this Argentine association of amateur photographers was tightly linked with the Argentine state and served as "a kind of graphic design agency," deciding who and what was photographed and, by extension, what image of Argentina would be projected both locally and to outsiders.[56] The SFAA mostly photographed the newer and more polished parts of the city of Buenos Aires, publishing its work in illustrated magazines, calendars, and postcards, as well as showing it in parlors and exhibitions.[57] As the leading founding member, Ayerza was unique not only in signing his photographs with his own name but also in concerning himself with rural subjects.[58] He took many of his photographs (including the romantic goodbye mate) on the Estancia San Juan, which was owned by another member of the SFAA.[59]

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Figure 7. Arturo Boote y Cía, "Paisano y mujer," ca. 1890, Colección César Gotta, courtesy of José X Martini and Luis Príamo, *Argentina a fines del siglo XIX*: Fotografías de Samuel y Arturo Boote: 1880–1900, Buenos Aires, Ediciones de Antorcha, 2012.

Like Ayerza, some contemporary commercial photographers, including brothers Samuel and Arturo Boote, saw great value in photographing the countryside.[60] In the 1890s, they captured a handful of distinct images of rural folks (several of whom drank mate) in less glamorous and seemingly more realistic manners than Ayerza's subjects.[61] For example, in "Paisano y mujer," *ca.* 1890, an older couple sat in front of their ranch, the man with a mate in his hand, the woman with her arms crossed, and in between the kettle from which she would presumably serve the hot water to infuse the mate for them both.[62] In contrast to Ayerza's version, the woman's posture seemed more resigned than amorous, while the man's suggested he had nowhere else to go (Figure 7). Similarly, a photograph of a family in the northern province of Tucumán taken by the Bootes five years later featured an older couple sitting outside of their modest mud hut, with a child in the doorway and an apathetic young man (presumably their son) off to the side (Figure 8). The woman tipped the large kettle in her hand toward a mate, which she would, at some point, pass to her husband. Here and elsewhere, the Bootes adopted a more documentary photographic style toward their rural subjects and notably included more women than Ayerza did. They pictured the mate ritual as a humble, daily routine rather than an act with extraordinary romantic flourish. Nevertheless, even when they (like other contemporary photographers) pictured the sexes on more level ground sharing a mate, they typically showed women serving men.

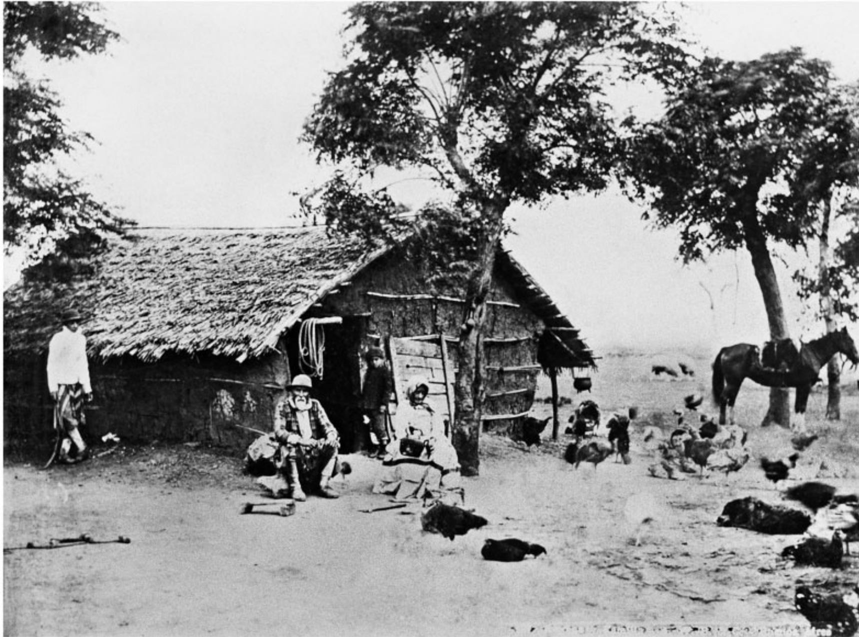

Figure 8. Arturo Boote y Cía, "Gente de campo. Familia, Tucumán," ca. 1895, Colección César Gotta, courtesy of Martini and Príamo, *Argentina a fines del siglo XIX*: Fotografías de Samuel y Arturo Boote: 1880–1900, Buenos Aires, Ediciones de Antorcha, 2012.

For his part, Ayerza posed his mostly male subjects enjoying their work or leisure with other men or sometimes a woman who was there to serve (or dance with) him. This was certainly the case in Ayerza's photograph of the romantic goodbye mate [Refer to Figure 1]. In an unusual turn of events, we not only know the identity of the photographer but also that of his subjects. Ayerza had a peon on his friend's estate play this particular gaucho (as well as the others).[63] In contrast, the woman in this photograph may have had a very different background. An interlocutor wrote on the back of the original glass-plate negative, which is now held at Argentina's National Archive, "It is possible that the woman is Sra. Ayerza, the daughter of Don Francisco."[64] That is, the female model playing the china in this scene was perhaps not a poor rural woman but an elite urban one, while the so-called "gaucho" was actually a lowly paid farm hand.

In contrast to the class-based hierarchy that would have governed this couple's actual interactions, Ayerza set up the composition in a way that privileged a pronounced gendered hierarchy but also tempered it a bit. By placing the man on top of the horse and woman below him, Ayerza suggested that the man had power over the woman, and that she owed deference to him. At the same time, perhaps because he was looking down upon the elite photographer's daughter, the man bowed down to the woman to a greater extent than the "gauchos" that followed him. For her part, the photographer's daughter became the china by

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wearing a long dress and, most importantly, looking up at the gaucho (rather than at the viewer) as she served him. Unlike her predecessor on the Argentine Almanac, she did not wear the braids associated with indigenous women (which, as we shall see, would be featured in later paintings). Perhaps Ayerza's daughter's interest in participating in this rural fantasy in which she played the *china* echoed urban men's more frequent opportunities to dress up as gauchos.[65]

As discussed earlier, the meanings associated with the figure of the gaucho varied according to class; while elites saw him as bucolic hero, their popular counterparts celebrated him as unruly rebel.[66] The same split may, in fact, help explain why Ayerza's photographs did not make it into the late nineteenth-century edition of *Martín Fierro* after all. The distance between Ayerza's elitist vision of the countryside and the more popular attitudes of Hernández and his contemporary fans is striking. In contrast to Hernandez's depiction of starving men absconding from the army and fighting one another sometimes to the death, Ayerza's photographs show well-fed gauchos with plentiful access to mate and meat. The modern technology of the photograph may also have seemed inappropriate to illustrate this nostalgic epic poem, which has been almost exclusively accompanied by hand-drawn illustrations since 1878.[67] Nevertheless, a couple decades after Ayerza's own death, a unique 1919 edition of *Martín Fierro* published in Buenos Aires did finally feature seven of his photographs. Notably, they were those that depicted an older gaucho at work or alone.[68] With the exception of one photograph in front of the pulpería, Ayerza's photographs featuring dances or leisure activities, such as card or guitar playing, or the romantic goodbye mate, did not appear.

While Ayerza did not live to see his photographs make it into *Martín Fierro*, he did see them begin to circulate in local magazines toward the end of the nineteenth century.[69] For example, in 1898, the *Almanaque Peuser* reproduced twelve photographs from this shoot. Spanish art expert José Artal introduced Ayerza's photographs, asserting that they would help *Martín Fierro* gain more visibility and, in conjunction with this literary work (still a couple decades away from reaching iconic status), "would contribute to elevating the gaucho to the dignified referent of the culture and society of the Argentine countryside." The cover image of this magazine featured Ayerza's photograph of a lone gaucho leaning on a fence and drinking from his mate.[70]

Ayerza also succeeded in getting his vision published in Europe. That same year (1898), *La Ilustración Artística*, a weekly arts magazine in Barcelona that circulated in Spain and Latin America, reprinted some of Ayerza's photographs, including—likely for the first time—the romantic goodbye mate scene.[71] D. Justo Solsona, who submitted the photographs (most of which featured gauchos with their horses and sometimes other men) to the magazine, explained that their creator possessed "the true temperament of an artist." In his textual introduction to the goodbye mate photograph, Solsona played into contemporary urban fantasies about rural romance. He explained that Ayerza had captured a goodbye between a gaucho far from home and a china with whom he spent the night. Solsona opined, "It is very likely that the handsome criollo had spent the night dancing and partying boisterously in a village far from his own, and the love-drunk china kept him entertained longer than prudent." Solsona continued with his confident interpretation of the protagonists' emotions. He explained that the china was looking up at the gaucho, "satisfied and happy with having

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been loved [by him], but melancholy and sad about his imminent absence." In turn, Solsona suggested that the way the gaucho grabbed the last mate indicated that he was "in a hurry" to get going on his long ride.[72] He was on the move, a move that Solsona (in a break from the fantasy) acknowledged was motivated by the reality of his employment as a ranch hand. In Solsona's account, the china was not even going to work as a maid, which was a common form of rural female employment;[73] instead she was staying put to pine over the gaucho.

In Solsona's hand, this romance was more illicit than domestic. As we shall see, future interlocutors would seek to domesticate this goodbye mate further—inventing a new sort of stability and rootedness for the couple and, by extension, the nation they represented. With the help of the camera, turn-of-the-century modernity would be visually constructed both in reference to figures linked with the rural past (gauchos and chinas) and by updating their connection to infuse it with contemporary notions of heterosexual love.

Circulating Postcards

The staged postcard was a prime mode to communicate such ideals, and during the first two decades of the twentieth century, postcards became ubiquitous in the Río de la Plata region—especially in the capital cities of Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Whereas paintings primarily reached the lettered elite, postcards enjoyed a broader and more massive audience. For example, the two leading postcard editors in Buenos Aires, immigrants Rosauer y Peuser and Fumagalli, published more than 6,000 distinct postcards (with hundreds to thousands of copies each) from the 1890s through the 1920s.[74] In this case, as in so many others, recent immigrants living in Buenos Aires and Montevideo took the lead in representing "typical" local customs.[75] In turn, locals and tourists voraciously sent and collected postcards that they purchased at editors' offices or at photographers' studios, bookstores, or stands in cities across the Río de la Plata region.[76] While many foreign collectors were male, locals were predominantly female.[77] Thus, messages about the china's faithful provisioning of mate to the gaucho (among others) were directed to local urban women, encouraging them to envision themselves as key interlocutors in the maintenance of local traditions that depended upon their domesticity.

On both sides of the Río de la Plata, early twentieth-century postcard enthusiasts were exposed to a repertoire of repeated tropes that consolidated a new and powerful vision of Argentine and Uruguayan cultures.[78] In both nations, strikingly similar themes (the modernity of the capital city and the traditionalism of the countryside) and even exact photographs (such as the goodbye mate image) crossed the Río de la Plata. For Argentina, anthropologist Carlos Masotta convincingly explains that almost all the people featured fell into two types, specifically, "Indians" and "gauchos."[79] These were not gender-neutral categories. While both were used to "recreate the country's 'Native image,'" there were many more female "Indians" and only male "gauchos." As Pratt explains for Latin America more broadly, the "subordinated woman has stood for all the indigenous peoples conquered (feminized) and co-opted (seduced) by European expansion."[80] On Argentine postcards, indigenous subjects symbolized the feminized and primitive "local," while the hyper-masculinized and often whitened gauchos represented the "national." Despite the origins of

Figure 9. Postcard (featuring Ayerza's uncredited original photograph) "Uruguay. Escenas Campestres [Uruguay: Countryside Scenes]," C. Galli, Franco & Cía. (Montevideo), *ca.* 1901, courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Uruguay.

yerba (or, as they called it, *ka'a*) with the Guaraní, clearly marked indigenous people were not featured on either side of the Río de la Plata as mate drinkers on postcards.[81] Instead, ethnically dubious or unmarked rural types—especially gauchos—emerged as the most visible mate drinkers.[82]

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Ayerza's photograph of a rural woman serving a rural man a romantic goodbye mate appeared in black-and-white and colorized versions on both banks of the Río de la Plata. Despite the negative's original provenance in Argentina, around 1901, Uruguayan postcard editor C. Galli, Franco, and Cía featured it without attribution as part of a series of "countryside scenes" (Figure 9).[83] As in this case, some surviving postcards give us information about not only who published them but also who purchased them, what they wrote, and where they sent them. José M. Nuñez, who sent this card, referenced a seventeenth-century quote in a passage that he penned next to the photograph, "Beauty without grace is like a fishhook without bait." Perhaps he chose this quote to emphasize the importance of a beautiful woman's generosity (as embodied by her offering of a mate), after finding it in one of the phrasebooks sold with postcards.[84]

The complementary role played by the china in this tableau was the most common one for the "rural" woman to play when she appeared on postcards. There were many compositions featuring gauchos alone (with captions that pointed to their clothing, tools, or horses) or in all-male groups (rustling cattle, making an asado, playing cards, or sitting in a circle drinking mate, as in this widely circulating photograph as by Ayerza) (Figure 10). In contrast, there were very few that featured just women. Those that did tended to domesticate the rural woman by posing her in front of the iconic "rancho" (a humble home made

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Figure 10. Francisco de Ayerza, photograph, "Compañía de Buenos Aires" [Company in Buenos Aires], AGN, *ca.* 1891.

from adobe clay with a thatched straw roof) or nearby grinding corn or baking bread; sometimes women appeared further afield to gather water, presumably with which to cook and serve mate.[85] In one of the few postcards with a "china" by herself, the caption read "Waiting for the Gaucho."[86] This was the most extreme example in which the rural woman's very presence was justified only by her waiting for her man. In contrast, another contemporary but rare postcard featured two chinas side-by-side on horseback (Figure 11).[87] This was perhaps one of the more realistic depictions, since rural women actually did spend much of their time without men and rode horses as well. But unlike male friendship, rural female friendship was not a common trope in visual or literary sources.

Indeed, the allure of the companionship women provided men (or men provided each other) helped make the goodbye mate postcards (as well as those featuring men drinking mate together) so enduring. The sender of another Argentine postcard featuring a colorized version of Ayerza's original photograph wrote on the back, "For my dear Aunt, so that she can invite my uncle and godfather to some mates like the ones my mom made me for my birthday" (Figure 12).[88] As we can see here, women's responsibility for and generosity in serving mate to their men (here, in a familial rather than a romantic fashion) was an idea promoted not only by iterative postcard makers but also by some postcard senders.

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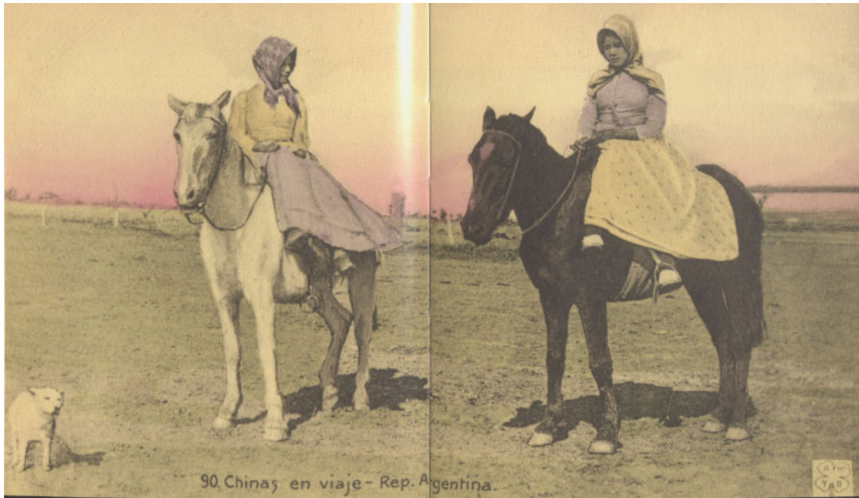

Figure 11. Postcard. "Chinas en viaje – Rep. Argentina" [Traveling Chinas, Argentine Republic], courtesy of Carlos Masotta, author of Gauchos en las primeras postales fotográficas argentinas del s. xx (Buenos Aires: La Marca, 2007).

Around the same time that Ayerza's photograph made it onto postcards, other similar compositions by different photographers did as well, appearing once more on both sides of the Río de la Plata. One sent in 1903, and edited by A. Carluccio of Montevideo, emphasized the woman's act of providing the mate with the caption, "Alcanzándole un Cimarron" [Getting Him a Bitter Mate].[89] On another version, which was part of a series of countryside scenes from Uruguay, the caption read "Un amargo p'al estribo" [A Bitter, Stirrup Mate] (Figures 13 and 14). A more tightly cropped version appeared in Argentina under the caption, "Countryside Scenes. Memento from Buenos Aires." Tellingly, the woman was not directly referenced in any of these captions—she was there to serve the gaucho his mate.

Like Ayerza's image, the postcard edited by Carluccio was decidedly romantic but presented a more hierarchal and domestic rendering. As with Ayerza's protagonists, the woman and man pictured in this new photograph gazed directly into one another's eyes, but the man now sat higher on his horse. As opposed to standing on a path in front of a nondescript scrub brush, the couple was now pictured in front of a thatched structure that was presumably their home. This was a domesticated image with chickens running underfoot.[90] After the gaucho left, the woman might have been imagined to stay to tend to the animals and the home.

Similarly, the third photograph that circulated on postcards during this time presented a more domestic scene in which a woman standing on the ground handed a mate up to a straight-backed man on horseback in front of a thatched hut (Figure 15). The photograph was credited to H. G. Olde, who originally hailed from Ohio.[91] Released in 1903 or earlier, it was originally published by postcard editor R. Rosauer with a caption once again emphasizing the

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Figure 12. (front and back): Postcard, Fumagilli, "No. 145 República Argentina. Campestre Alcanzando un Mate" [Number 145. Argentine Republic. Country Person Passes a Mate], *ca.* 1911, courtesy of Lafayette College Special Collections.

man's role rather than the woman's: "Souvenir from the Argentine Republic: Gaucho drinking mate."[92] In the photograph, a couple stood in front of two thatched buildings with one dog in the foreground (and another largely hidden behind the horse). Tellingly, both human protagonists gazed at the dog (a figure

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Figure 13. Postcard, "Alcanzándole un Cimarron" [Getting Him a Bitter Mate], 1907, edited by A. Carluccio (Montevideo), photograph courtesy of William Acree.

Figure 14. Postcard, "Un amargo p'al estribo" [A Bitter, Bootstrap Mate], Uruguay, photograph courtesy of William Acree.

often used to suggest loyalty) rather than one another.[93] The woman appeared to have some indigenous ancestry and was dressed more modestly (with simple espadrille shoes) than the other women serving mate on postcards. She was also

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Figure 15. Postcard, H.G. Olde, "Gaucho Tomando Mate" [Gaucho Drinking Mate], *ca.* 1903, courtesy of Lafayette College Special Collections.

pictured as better prepared than the lighter skinned mate servers as she held a kettle with which to infuse the mate in her other hand.

This was perhaps the most prominent of the goodbye mate postcards within Argentina. The original photograph taken in the Argentine Province of Entre Ríos was reproduced on at least four different postcards and sent to far off locales like Cuba and Italy, between 1903 and 1926.[94] As opposed to the other two

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Figure 16. Postcard, R. Rosauer, "Recuerdo de la República Argentina: Pa. . .El Estribo," [Memento from Argentina. For the Bootstrap], *ca.* 1904, courtesy of Lafayette College Special Collections.

frequently reproduced photographs, there is no evidence of it (re)appearing in Uruguay.

Like other postcards, we also have some evidence of how this particular image circulated and was interpreted by postcard senders at the time. In 1902, an Argentine man nicknamed "El mono" (or "the monkey") sent this postcard to his uncle aboard the President Sarmiento Naval Ship at sea. Below the caption, he penned the following note in neat cursive lettering: "Wishing that some *yanki acriollada* [creolized female yankie] gets you a bootstrap mate, sending you greetings from the homeland with regards from the big family."[95] Clearly, the author of this postcard understood this scene to be something that represented Argentina and its customs. These customs were infused not only with the grassy, bitter local flavor of the *yerba* but also with gender expectations about who should serve whom—expectations, it should be pointed out, that were not too dissimilar from those in the contemporary United States.[96]

While this postcard edited by R. Rosauer reinforced the appeal of the romantic goodbye mate, it was not the only version of a goodbye mate that this postcard editor produced. Right around the same time, Rosauer released another postcard that used (uncredited) another one of Ayerza's photographs; the caption read "Pa . . . El Estribo" [For the Bootstrap, the first word "para" (or for) presented in clipped Spanish meant to evoke rural speech patterns] (Figure 16). Like their mixed-sex contemporaries, two men stood in front of a rural home with a thatched roof, but neither man sat on the horse nor were any other domesticated animals present. Most importantly, both were positioned at the same height, suggesting greater parity between them than between a man and a

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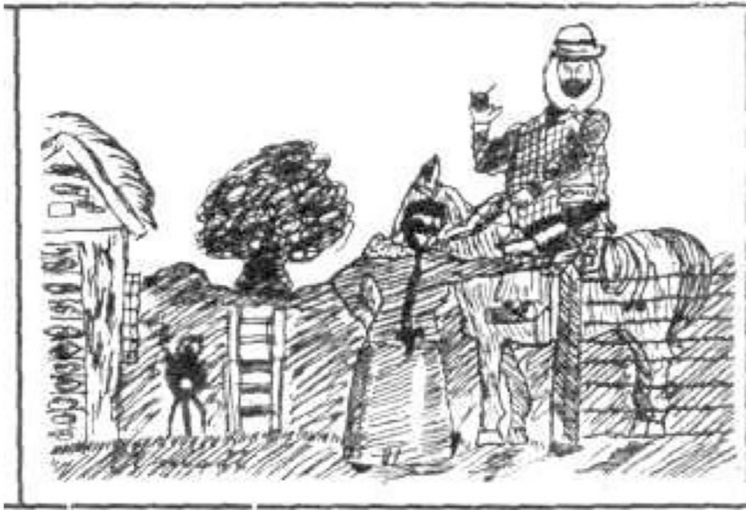

Figure 17. "El mate del estribo," Caras y Caretas no. 947 (November 25, 1916): 18, from http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/.

woman. Significantly, like the photograph of the two rural women on horseback, this goodbye mate did not circulate as widely as its explicitly heterosexual counterpart did nor as did those of multiple men riding horses together or sharing a mate (and often liquor, music or an asado) around a campfire. Despite the militarist, male origins of this ritual, by the early twentieth century, postcard producers and consumers seemed more comfortable with a woman and a man partaking in this tradition, especially given the heterosexual romance it allowed them to express.

It was not just adults who saw it this way. Children who entered drawing competitions held by the popular Argentine magazine *Caras y Caretas* in the 1910s through 1930s submitted a variety of compositions featuring different combinations of people drinking mate but were remarkably consistent in showing a woman serving a man the mate if both were present.[97] In 1916, a specific drawing of the "stirrup mate" by R. Pelletti showcased a woman in a courtyard with a long braid down her back who had handed a mate up to a gaucho on horseback high above her (Figure 17).[98] Some sixteen years later, another young artist named L. B. Urrúnaga drew a similar composition but pictured this ritual as even more idyllic and domestic. The fence was gone, and the gaucho sat high on his horse drinking his mate while the woman, surrounded by animals and flanked by a bread oven in front of the rancho, patiently waited for him to give it back (Figure 18).[99]

Alongside these drawings, a photograph on a "foto postal" [noncommercial photograph postcard] from the late 1920s provides powerful evidence of how

Figure 18. "Pa el estribo," Caras y Caretas no. 1,764 (July 23, 1932): 49, from http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/.

the romantic and domestic stirrup mate had succeeded in definitively eclipsing its militaristic and homosocial antecedents (Figure 19). Taken in the northwestern Argentine province of Salta, this high-quality photograph featured a poor rural couple performing "El mate de la despedida" [The goodbye mate] for the camera. As in the previous commercial postcards, the female protagonist handed the mate up to the man on horseback. In contrast to the photographs that had appeared on commercial postcards, the woman featured here had darker skin, appearing to be of indigenous descent. She also wore a practical and worn overcoat, rather than a fancy dress. While she looked at the camera, the man appeared to have his eyes closed, making her seem to be the more confident protagonist in front of the camera. Even so, the photograph presented what had become, by this point, a well-known choreography of domesticity, romance, and power, in which the man sat high above the woman there to serve him.

Painting the "Mate del Estribo"

In the ensuing decades of the mid-twentieth century, several local artists painted their own versions of the goodbye mate, and three of these are considered in this final section.[100] Taken together, these compositions provide further evidence of how the romantic mate del estribo image continued to circulate and be updated during the mid- and even late twentieth century. Specifically, they

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Figure 19. Postcard "El mate de la Despedida" by Foto Belgrano, *ca.* 1925–1930, courtesy of Lafayette College Special Collections.

Figure 20. Florencio Molina Campos, "El Mate y El Amor" [Mate and Love], *ca.* 1940s.

reveal that twentieth-century depictions of this ritual on the canvas did not refer back to nineteenth-century paintings of men sharing a goodbye mate. Instead, inspired by photographs and postcards, twentieth-century artists pictured this as

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Figure 21. Bourse Herrera Teodoro Alberto, "El mate del estribo," *ca.* 1950s.

a firmly heterosexual rural custom in which the china played a subservient but visible role. Despite these commonalities, depictions of this scene varied based on the artists who painted them, as well as the times in which they painted.

In the early 1940s, one of the most popular and prolific artists in Argentina, Florencio Molina Campos, released a painting entitled "El Mate y El Amor" [Mate and Love] (Figure 20).[101] As opposed to the representations of younger people on commercial postcards, Molina Campos's protagonists (like the couple from Salta) were a caricatured older couple, their hair streaked with gray. The painter made more explicit the woman's (at least partial) indigenous origin with the braids that fell down her back (as in the illustration from the 1869 Argentine Almanac). Like many of the postcards that followed Ayerza's, the iconic rancho appeared as a backdrop, in this case with the couple's daughter sitting outside, and a bread oven under a shade tree where the women would cook the family's meals. A small bird looked on approvingly at this domestic scene. They were perhaps an incarnation of the original younger couples now more settled and grown up. Notably, despite Molina Campos's less glamorous portrayal of the gaucho and his "china," the woman was still faithfully serving the man.

In the 1950s, painter, sculptor, and humorist, Bourse Herrera Teodoro Alberto painted his own updated version of this scene in a work he directly called, "El mate del estribo" (Figure 21).[102] Born in Salto, Uruguay, he nevertheless spent most of his life in the Argentine capital. In his more explicitly humorous version of the goodbye mate, the couple was considerably younger and seemed to be under the scrutiny of the female protagonist's mother who leaned out the window below the familiar thatched roof. The young woman, dressed in

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Figure 22. Juan Carlos Castagnino, "Mate del estribo," 1963.

a frilly, pink dress, appeared coquettish and the man on horseback as more goofy than gaucho. Both the horse he rode upon and the dog in the courtyard looked on approvingly while the chicken pecked and the rooster looked elsewhere. Strikingly, there was a car in the background separated from this domestic scene by barbed wire, and the driver too seemed to have stopped. Perhaps he (like the viewer) was being invited to gaze upon this "traditional" interaction, now set much closer to urban modernity (and the road he drove on) through this country scene.

In the following decade, Argentine painter and draughtsman Juan Carlos Castagnino published a very different rendering of this ritual in a 1963 painting also entitled "Mate del estribo" (Figure 22).[103] Formally trained and committed to the *indigenismo* movement, Castagnino created a version that was more sincere and intimate and decidedly less humorous than the previous two. In his painting, a woman once again handed a mate up to a man on horseback while the powerful and graceful horse curled gently toward her. In keeping with the *indigenismo* trend, both protagonists appeared to be of indigenous, or perhaps

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Figure 23. Salus Yerba Mate packaging, courtesy of Juan Carlos Romero archive.

mixed, descent. The man was not goofy or defeated but rather noble and worthy of respect. The woman was not tired or coquettish but serious and respectful. Indeed, it is notable that the man sat far higher on his horse above the woman,

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and she appeared to display even more deference to him than in the previous paintings or the photographs that inspired them.

Conclusion

Over the course of the twentieth century, the mate del estribo came to be pictured as a romantic ritual between one woman and one man that displayed deference and love far more than courtesy. Ayerza's intimate vision circulated and inspired similar iconography, subsuming earlier illustrations of the goodbye mate as a homosocial masculine ritual. It made its way from the Argentine Almanac to a series of photographs from the Province of Buenos Aires across the Río de la Plata to Uruguay and back again, all the way up to the Andean region of Argentina—and later across the Andes to Chile and up north to the South of Brazil—on its journey to represent overlapping but supposedly unique national and regional customs.[104]

As it traveled during the twentieth century, the ethnic origins of this local tradition could later be reclaimed, similar to what happened with the acknowledgment of the African origins of tango.[105] Still, it is noteworthy that even if Castagnino's painting and the postcards from Salta linked mate more explicitly with its indigenous roots, neither couple was directly associated with nor likely to be interpreted as Guaraní. The specific indigenous origins of mate, even when signaled in some fashion in visual sources, have been muddled in popular culture. This Guaraní infusion's region of origin—in what would become the 'triple frontier' region of Paraguay, Southern Brazil, and Northeastern Argentina—has likewise been peripheral in constructions of Argentine national identity.[106] In striking contrast, the gaucho, a figure from the Pampas, became a synechdoche for Argentina and Uruguay (as well as parts of Southern Brazil) and their most prominent mate drinker. The china, who also hailed from the Pampas, was there to serve him.[107]

Gauchos and chinas would become common protagonists in *yerba mate* (and other products) advertising in the 1920s and on. The Argentine yerba brand Salus even adopted a whitened china in braids as the company's logo (Figure 23). Outside of advertising, the visual culture of rural life was dominated by the gaucho, who was also sometimes accompanied by his romantic partner. This supposedly traditional iconography presented a romanticized image that downplayed but also vaguely referred to the work and place of rural women while highlighting and idealizing that of rural men.

In turn, the labor typically performed by women in the countryside to—among many other things—get and heat the water and prepare the mate was erased or, as we have seen here, only hinted at, rather than centered. The endurance of this trope into the mid-twentieth century is striking. When presented as figures worth paying attention to, rural women generally serve or wait for men. In the iconic mate del estribo, the china hands the mate up to the mobile and politicized figure of the gaucho. A meditation on the ways she has been made (in)visible reveals that she served a crucial role that deserves our close attention so that we do not miss what she has to tell us about nation-making in this region. She was there to serve—lifting the gaucho up figuratively, by standing below him, and literally, by giving him another local symbol to consume. That is, her presence and her actions make it possible for the gaucho to continue to trot

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off and symbolically represent the nation(s), while she appears as an apolitical and ahistorical figure frozen in place. Frozen, that is, unless we take the time to see her underappreciated role both as a provider and as a political actor as central to the story.

Endnotes

This paper has benefited from feedback from my colleagues at the XIII Jornadas nacionales de historia de las mujeres in Argentina, Dickinson College, and Lafayette College. I am grateful to Lafayette College archivists Diane Shaw and Elaine Stomber for supporting the acquisition of related visual materials and the Digital Humanities team, especially Charlotte Nunes, as well as Excel Scholars Daniel González and Gabrielle Tropp and my colleague Caleb Gallemore for their digital organizational work. I thank Paul Barclay for his insights on visual history and Jeremy Zallen for helping me condense. Sandra McGee Deutsch, Elizabeth Hutchison, Heidi Tinsman, and Tamara Walker generously read and responded to complete drafts. At the JSH, I thank editor Matt Karush and both peer reviewers (including Julia Sarreal and an anonymous reviewer) for their insightful interventions, which helped me to sharpen my analysis. The Fulbright Scholar Program and Lafayette College generously helped fund this research. Address correspondence to Rebekah Pite, Lafayette College, 718 Sullivan Rd., Easton, PA 18042, USA. Email: piter@lafayette.edu.

1. Francisco de Ayerza, photograph, Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter AGN), Colección 1699, s. 2, 1894, inventory number 16445. The note on the back of the photograph says: “taken to illustrate an edition of Mártin Fierro and then it did not happen.” The photography shoot was published in its entirety (and with other photographs included) in Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes, *Escenas del campo argentino 1885–1900. Fotografrías del Doctor Francisco Ayerza con una introducción de Eduardo Gonzalez Lanuza* (Buenos Aires, 1968).

2. On Ayerza and this amateur photography association, see Verónica Tell, “Gentlemen, gauchos y modernización. Una lectura del proyecto de la Sociedad Fotográfica Argentina de Aficionados,” *Revista de Historia del Arte y Cultura Visual del Centro Argentino de Investigadores de Arte* (CAIA) no. 3 (2013), 1–13.

3. In *Escenas del campo argentino 1885–1900*, women are only included in about one-tenth of the photographs.

4. On elites’ conspicuous mate consumption, see Pau Navajas, *Caá porã. El espiritu de la yerba mate. Una historia de plata* (Corrientes, 2013). On building national identity on rural tropes, see Oscar Chamosa, *The Argentine Folklore Movement: Sugar Elites, Criollo Workers, and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism*, 1900–1955 (Tucson, AZ, 2010); Matthew B. Karush, *Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina* (Durham, NC, 2012).

5. For a rural example, see Carlos E. Pellegrini, “Cielito,” *ca.* 1830 in which an indigenous man hands a mate up to a woman seated in the nook of a tree next to a white man who courts her by playing guitar. For an urban example, see August Borget, “Damas de Buenos Ayres,” lithograph, 1833, in which two white women are served mate in a parlor by a diminutive black man with folded arms.

6. For example, the AGN not only holds Ayerza’s original photograph and reproductions of it but also a glamor shot later reproduced in *Caras y Caretas* in 1936, and a photograph of a more rustic rural couple performing this ritual.

7. As Lara Putnam has argued, digital searches not only facilitate our ability to trace a particular historical topic (or in this case, image) but also pose the danger of

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overemphasizing the importance or ubiquity of very thing we are looking for. Taking this important intervention to heart, I have deliberately researched the relative presence of the goodbye mate composition vis-à-vis others found online, in archives and libraries in Argentine and Uruguay (especially the Archivo General de la Nación of Argentina and Biblioteca Nacional of Uruguay), in my searches with postcard vendors, and via books filled with artwork, photographs, and postcards consulted in the Río de la Plata region or borrowed via Interlibrary Loan. Lara Putnam, "The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast," *American Historical Review* 121, no. 2 (2016): 377–402.

8. Ezequiel Adamovksy, *El gaucho indómito: De Martín Fierro a Perón, el emblema imposible de una nación desgarrada* (Buenos Aires, 2019); and "Criollismo, experiencia popular y política: el gaucho como emblema subversivo," *Anuario del Instituto de Historia Argentina* 18, no. 1 (2018).

9. Indeed, only one study published in Spain centers her. Diana Marre, *Mujeres Argentinas: las chinas. Representación, territorio, género y nación* (Barcelona, 2003).

10. On Argentina, where historiography is most developed, see, for example, William Acree, *Staging Frontiers: The Making of Modern Popular Culture in Argentina and Uruguay* (Albuquerque, NM, forthcoming); Adamovksy, *El gaucho indómito*; Matías Emiliano Casas, *La Metamorfosis del gaucho: Circos criollos, tradicionalists y política en la provincial de Buenos Aires (1930–1960)* (Buenos Aires, 2017); Ariel De la Fuente, *Children of Facundo: Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency During the Argentine State-Formation Process* (La Rioja, 1853–70) (Durham, NC, 2000); Judith Freidenberg, *The Invention of the Jewish Gaucho: Villa Clara and the Construction of Argentine Identity* (Austin, 2009); Ariana Huberman, *Gauchos and Foreigners: Glossing Culture and Identity in the Argentine Countryside* (Lanham, MD, 2011); and Richard W. Slatta, *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier* (Lincoln, 1983). On Brazil, see, for example, Ruben Oliven, *Tradition Matters: Modern Gaúcho Identity in Brazil* (New York, 1996). For an early comparative study, see Emilio A. Coni, *El gaucho: Argentina, Brasil, Uruguay* (Buenos Aires, 1945).

11. See, for example, the recent work of Acree, Adamovsky, and Casas, some of which is cited in previous note.

12. William Garrett Acree, Jr., *Everyday Reading: Print Culture and Collective Identity in the Río de la Plata, 1780–1910* (Nashville, TN, 2011), especially ch. 2, 44.

13. Slatta, *Gauchos*, 2.

14. Codigo Rural 1870, artículo 289.

15. On xenophobia and gauchos, in addition to Slatta, see Adolfo Prieto, *El discurso criollista en la formación de la Argentina moderna* (Buenos Aires, 1988). On class conflict and gaucho, see Adamovsky, *El gaucho indómito*; Casas, *La Metamorfosis del gaucho*; Sandra McGee Deutsch, "The Visible and Invisible Liga Patriotica Argentina, 1919–28: Gender Roles and the Right Wing," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 2 (May 1984): 233–58; and Brian Bockelman, "Between the Gaucho and the Tango: Popular Songs and the Shifting Landscape of Modern Argentine Identity, 1895–1915," *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 3 (2011): 577–601.

16. Adamovksy, *El gaucho indómito* and "Criollismo, experiencia popular y política."

17. Susan Midgen Socolow, "Women of the Buenos Aires Frontier, 1740–1810 (or the Gaucho Turned Upside Down)," in *Contested Group: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire*, ed. Donna J. Guy and Thomas E. Sheridan (Tuscon, AZ, 1998), 67.

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18. Socolow, "Women of the Buenos Aires Frontier," 81. Three important recent books that *do* focus on rural women and specifically their labor are Marre, *Mujeres Argentinas*; Roberto García Lerena, *Trabajadoras rurales de la Argentina. Una crónica histórica* (Buenos Aires, 2006); and Alejandra de Arce, *Mujeres, familia y trabajo: Chacra, caña y algodón en la Argentina (1930–1960)* (Quilmes, AR, 2016).

19. Mary Louise Pratt, "Women, Literature, and National Brotherhood," *Kristische Berichte* (1997): 4–20.

20. For a historiographical review of Argentine women's and gender history, please see Rebekah E. Pite, "Engendering Argentine History: A Historiographical Review of Recent Gender-Based Histories of Women during the National Period," *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 25, no. 2 (2014): 41–62.

21. Inés Dunstan proposed this argument in our coauthored piece, Inés Dunstan and Rebekah E. Pite, "Mistress vs. Maid: Race, Class, Nation, and Boundaries Between Women in Argentine Fiction Since the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Gender & History* 30, no. 2 (2018): 406.

22. *The Gaucho Martín Fierro by José Hernández*, bilingual edition, English translation by C. E. Ward (Albany, 1967), 13.

23. *The Gaucho Martín Fierro*, 13.

24. Joan Corominas 1952 II, 53, as cited in Marre, *Mujeres argentinas*, 108.

25. Diego Abad de Santillan [pseud], *Dicionario de Argentinismos de ayer y hoy* (Buenos Aires, 1976), 143.

26. Marre, *Mujeres argentinas*, 107–19.

27. Marre, *Mujeres argentinas*, 29.

28. Ciro Bayo, *Romancerillo del Plata, contribución al estudio del Romancero Río Platense* (Madrid, 1913).

29. According to the Google dictionary, use of the term morganatic peaked in the first half of the twentieth century and means: "Of or denoting a marriage in which neither the spouse of lower rank nor any children have any claim to the possessions or title of the spouse of higher rank."

30. Slatta, *Gauchos*, 64.

31. Mary Louise Pratt, "Women," 7.

32. See citations from note 18 by Socolow, Marre, Lerena, and Arce, as well as Sandra McGee Deutsch, *Crossing Borders, Building a Nation: A History of Argentine Jewish Women* (Durham, NC, 2010), especially ch. 1.

33. Ezequiel Adamovsky, "A Strange Emblem for a (Not So) White Nation: *La Morocha Argentina* in the Latin American Racial Context," *Journal of Social History* 50, no. 2 (2016).

34. Tango "La Morocha" by Ángel Gregorio Villodo (1905). The first verse explains "Yo soy la morocha, la más agraciada, la más renombrada de esta población. Soy la que al paisano muy de la madrugada brinda un cimarrón." Interestingly, while she is the partner of the gaucho of the port city, the lyrics continue that she lives in *her* "ranchito." My thanks to the anonymous reviewer for suggesting I analyze this tango.

35. Adamovsky, "A Strange Emblem for a (Not So) White Nation," 401.

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36. Julia Ariza, “Las otras. Presencia de lo oriental, lo afroamericano y lo indígena en la representación de mujeres en la prensa periódica ilustrada argentina de las primeras décadas del siglo XX,” (Rio de Janeiro) v. X, no. 1, (2015): 15.

37. Acree, *Everyday Reading*, 52.

38. Of course, they find no such “china” or reception in *La Vuelta de Martín Fierro*. For previous, *The Gaucho Martín Fierro by José Hernandez*, ed. Ward, 128 and 172–73.

39. Santillan, *Dicionario de Argentinismos*, 143.

40. Marre, *Las mujeres*, 98–100.

41. Marre, *Mujeres argentinas. Las chinas*, 115.

42. See, for example, Juan Carlos Garavaglia, *Mercado interno y economía colonial: Tres siglos de historia de la yerba mate*, 2nd ed. (Rosario, AR, 2008); and Gotari, Javier, ed., *De la tierra sin mal al tractorazo: Hacia una economía política de la yerba mate* (Posadas, 2007).

43. Jorge Salessi, “Medics, Crooks, and Tango Queens: The National Appropriation of a Gay Tango,” in *Everynight Life: Culture and Dance in Latin/o America*, ed. Celeste Fraser Delgado (Durham, NC, 1997). My thanks to Sidney Donnell for pointing me to Salessi’s argument.

44. Amaro Villanueva, *El mate: Arte de cebar* (Buenos Aires, 1962).

45. J. P. and W. P. Robertson, *Letters on South America: Travels on the Banks of the Paraná and the Rio de la Plata*, vol. 1 (London, 1843), 184.

46. See, for example, Emeric E. Vidal, *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Aires and Montevideo* (London, 1820).

47. Vidal, *Picturesque Illustrations*, 107–10.

48. Carlos Morel, “Peones troperos,” *ca.* 1845. Held at the Museo de Buenos Aires. Note there are also two more mates being drunk and a kettle to heat the water in the picture.

49. On mate-related customs, see Villanueva, *El mate*.

50. http://www.museohistorico.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/78661/33/mecweb/juan-manuel-besnes-e-irigoyen-invento-escribio-y-dibujo?contid=42669&3colid=42671 (accessed April 4, 2018).

51. Acree, *Everyday Reading*, 76.

52. Digital versions of this currency are available at: http://museobancoprovincia.com/colecciones/monedas-y-billetes/billetes/ (accessed January 8, 2020). I thank the anonymous reader for this reference.

53. Marre, *Mujeres Argentinas: las chinas*, 268.

54. Juan Gómez explains of an 1892 photograph entitled “Gauchos” that it is a “print from glass plate negative,” which also seems to be the case here. Juan Gómez, “Photography in Argentina: History and Evolution in the 19th Century,” *History of Photography* 14, no. 2 (January–April 1990): 187.

55. Tell, “Gentlemen, gauchos y modernización,” 10.

56. Tell, “Gentlemen, gauches y modernización,” 3.

57. Approximately three quarters of their photographs featured Argentina’s capital city. Tell, “Gentelmen, gauchos y modernización,” 1 and 14, no. 14.

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58. Ayerza sometimes signed with his pseudonym of Pacovich, according to Tell, "Gentlemen, gauchos y modernización."

59. Tell, "Gentlemen, gauchos y modernización."

60. While these brothers (raised in Argentina by British parents) did their own work, Abel Alexander and Luis Priamo make a compelling case to treat them together given doubts about authorship and sharing of negatives. *La Argentina a fines del siglo XIX, fotografías de Samuel y Arturo Boote 1880*–1900 (Buenos Aires, 2011), 150. Samuel Rimathé was another contemporary commercial photographer who took many pictures of the countryside.

61. Some of these showed men on estancias, in one, they drank mate in a field of cow carcasses and, in another, called "Personal de una estancia" eight men, one woman, and one barefoot child posed stone-faced in front of a brick building; notably, four of the men held a mate. Samuel Boote, "Una Estancia," *ca.* 1900, as reproduced in Levine, *Images of History*, 106 and *Argentina a fines del siglo XIX*, 93.

62. It is noteworthy that he called the man a "paisano" or countryman rather than gaucho and the woman "mujer" rather than "china." Arturo W. Boote y Cía, "Paisano y mujer" *ca.* 1890, Colección César Gotta, reproduced in *Argentina a fines del siglo XIX*, 100.

63. Masotta and Tell agree on this point. Tell, "Gentlemen, gauchos y modernización"; and Carlos Masotta, Representación e inconografía de dos tipos nacionales. El caso de las postales etnográficas en Argentina, 1900–1930," en *Arte y Antropología en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 2005), 69–114, especially 94.

64. Ayerza, photograph, inventory number 16445.

65. Masotta and Casas address the desires of men to "dress up" as gauchos. Carlos Masotta, *Gauchos en las primeras postales fotográficas argentinas del s. xx* (Buenos Aires, 2007.)

66. Adamosvksy, *El gaucho indómito*; and, on dressing up. Masotta, *Gauchos*.

67. *Catalogue of the Martín Fierro Materials in the University of Texas Library, ed.* Nettie Lee Benson. Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1973, X.

68. *Martín Fierro por José Hernandez*. Buenos Aires: Biblioteca Argentina, Publicación Mensual de los Mejores Libros Nacionales, no. 19, Librería La Facultdad de Juan Roldán, 1919.

69. These photographs appeared in *La Revista Moderna* in 1897, and the following year in *Revista Semanal Ilustrada* and *La Ilustración Sud-Americana*. Tell, "Gentlemen, gauchos y modernización."

70. José Artal, "El arte fotográfico en Buenos Aires," Almanaque Peuser, 1898. Portada y primera página, as reproduced by Tell.

71. I am extremely grateful to Hernán Cueto, who found and shared this reference with me to the *La Ilustración Artística*, no. 858 (June 6, 1898): 376. Information and a full run of this magazine, which ran from 1882–1916, are available at: http://bdh.bne.es.

72. *La Ilustración Artística*, no. 858 (June 6, 1898): 371.

73. Enrique Masés, *Estado y cuestión indígena* (Buenos Aires, 2002), 72.

74. Graciela Silvestri, "El viaje de las Señoritas," En: http://www.revistatodavia.com.ar/todavia04/notas/Silvestri/txtsilvestri.html>, 1–2.

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75. Hinnerk Onken, "Visiones y visualizaciones: la nación en tarjetas postales sudamericanas a fines del siglo xix y comienzos del siglo xx," *Iberoamericana* XIV, no. 56 (2014): 60.

76. Onken, "Visiones y visualizaciones," 51.

77. Hinnerk Onken, who has done considerable research with foreign collectors of Argentine postcards (especially in Germany) emphasizes the masculine nature of collecting, while Carlos Masotta, who has focused on Argentine postcards within Argentina, suggests this as a more feminized practice. Hinnerk Onken, "Visiones y visualizaciones: la nación en tarjetas postales sudamericanas a fines del siglo xix y comienzos del siglo xx." Masotta, "Representación e iconografía," 70–71.

78. Masotta, "Representación e Iconografía," 67.

79. Masotta, *Gauchos*, 113.

80. Pratt, "Women," 13.

81. In contrast, an 1833 lithography of the "Last Charrúas" of Uruguay by J. Bull (later turned into a sculpture in 1938 and stamp in 1999) featured four indigenous people, one of whom was a seated man holding a mate. On Guaraní name, see Asociación Etnobotánica Paraguaya, *Plantas medicinales del Jardín Botánico de Asunción* (Asunción, Paraguay, 2009), 140.

82. I found this in my review of the photograph collections at the Archivo General de La Nación, as well as in the extensive postcard collections published by Masotta. In his book on gauchos, Masotta included at least five postcards; conversely, there were none in his book on Indians. Masotta, *Gauchos*; and Carlos Masotta, *Indios en las primeras postales fotográficas argentinas del s. xx* (Buenos Aires, 2007).

83. At UCSD's digital repository, there is what appears to be an earlier postcard with the same series title featuring a romantic couple off the horse and about to kiss, which is postmarked June 28, 1901; this was available at: http://digital.sandiego.edu/pcsouthamerica/311/ (accessed March 28, 2018).

84. Carlos Masotta, "Representación e inconografía de dos tipos nacionales. El caso de las postales etnográficas en Argentina, 1900–1930," en *Arte y Antropología en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 2005), 69–114.

85. Guillermo José Silva, *Costumbres campestres de la República Argentina en las postales y fotos del siglo XIX y XX* (Buenos Aires, 2016).

86. Silva reproduces two other similar postcards, one in which a woman waits for a man and the other in which she says goodbye without him in the frame, *Costumbres*, 26–27. Masotta, "Representación y Inconografía," 78.

87. Silva, *Costumbres*, 24.

88. Ed. Fumagilli, N. 145, "República Argentina. Campestre Alcanzando un mate," *ca.* 1911.

89. Cimarrón is another word for a "wild horse."

90. As Marre points out, corralled chickens (along with newly planted crops and trees) pointed to the "civilizing" presence of European immigrants and ways in the countryside. Marre, *Mujeres*, 268.

91. Onken, "Visiones y visualizaciones," 50.

92. Postcard, H. G. Olde, "Gaucho Tomando Mate" [Gaucho Drinking Mate], *ca.* 1903, courtesy of Lafayette College Special Collections.

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93. Peter Burke, "Introduction" from *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, NY, 2001), 27.

94. I have found four distinct versions of this postcard, one of which I found two distinct copies of on www.todocolleción.com, which was sent in 1905 and the other, a colorized version in 1908, sent to Cuba.

95. Postcard, H. G. Olde, "Gaucho Tomando Mate" [Gaucho Drinking Mate], *ca.* 1903.

96. On this trend in United States, see, for example, Jessamyn Neuhaus, *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America* (Baltimore, MD, 2003).

97. Most drawing of mate in the "Concurso de dibujos infantiles" were titled simply "tomando mate." One featured a female servant serving another woman, "Irene ceba mate a su patrona," *Caras y Caretas* no. 848 (January 1, 1915).

98. "El mate del estribo," *Caras y Caretas* no. 947 (November 25, 1916), 18.

99. "Pa el estribo," Caras y Caretas no. 1,764 (July 23, 1932): 49.

100. For example, a mid-twentieth-century image produced as part of a series by Kraft and held at the Uruguayan National Library features this image. A few decades later, in 1987, Uruguayan artist Frederico Reily offered his own painting of the stirrup mate.

101. The Florencio Molina Campos foundation includes a catalog of his work, but this particular painting possesses neither year nor place of publication. A similar style painting titled "Endomingau" (1940) was published in the *Almanaque Alpargatas* in May 1943. For both images, see https://www.flickr.com/photos/molinacamposoficial/albums/72157646549416094.

102. Bourse Herrera came from an elite family in Salto, Uruguay (1914) but moved to the city of Buenos Aires (where he died in 1997). The Museo del Dibujo describes him as a "painter, sculptor and humorist" and friend and fellow intellectual, José Luis Alvarez Fermosel, provides a glimpse of his nature and trajectory. http://www.museodeldibujo.com/obras_muestras/artistas.php?ida=447&a=Bourse+Herrera%2C+Teodoro+Alberto; and http://elcaballeroespanol.blogspot.com/2014/02/historia-de-una-caricatura.html (both accessed March 26, 2018).

103. He was influenced not only by his fine arts training at the Escuela Superior de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires but also by his frequent travels to Europe, China (1952), and Mexico (1960). Nelly Perazzo, "Castagnino, Juan Carlos," Oxfordartonline. He was born in Mar del Plata in 1908 and died in Buenos Aires in 1972. http://www.oxfordartonline.com.ezproxy.lafayette.edu/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000014636?rskey=Wvv3zt&result=1 (accessed March 26, 2018).

104. A similar composition was featured on the cover of a Chilean domestic workers magazine, *Surge: Escrito por empleadas para las empleadas* (Santiago, 1959) from the Archivo de la Asociación Nacional de Empleadas de Casa Particular, 1959, courtesy of Elizabeth Hutchison. It also appeared on a late-twentieth-century postcard from Rio Grande do Sol "Gaúcho com prenda tomando chimarrão," [Gaucho in Typical Dress Drinking Mate], as part of a series called "Brasil Folclore." https://produto.mercadolivre.com.br/MLB-968204910-rs-17168-postal-rio-grande-do-sul-pampa-gaucho-_JM (accessed June 13, 2019).

105. On tango, see, for example, Matthew B. Karush, "Blackness in Argentina: Jazz, Tango and Race before Perón," *Past and Present* 216 (2012): 215–45.

106. On the place of Argentina's northeastern yerba producing province in shaping local and national identities, see Eric D. Carter, "Misiones Province, Argentina: How Borders

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Shape Political Identity," in *Borderlines and Borderlands*, ed. Alexander C. Diener and Joshua Hagen (Lanham, MD, 2010), 155–225.

107. Since the 1920s, the *yerba mate* brand Salus has featured a china as its brand logo. It, alongside, many other yerba brands, frequently features the figure of the gaucho. For more on the mid-twentieth-century gaucho in advertising and beyond, see Casas, *Las metamofasís del gaucho*, 57–60.

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