As Director of the American Geographical Society, Bowman had a pronounced interest in Latin America. This interest stemmed at least in part from his close association with Jefferson, both as a student and as an assistant in the years 1901-1904. While studying at Harvard, and teaching at Yale, Bowman maintained an interest in South America and a close relationship with his former teacher. On each of his three trips to South America, 1907, 1911 and 1913, Bowman continued to correspond with Jefferson, asking questions, observing, describing hitherto little known facts. In 1907 on the occasion of Bowman’s first visit to South America Jefferson taught in his place on the faculty of Yale University for the summer session.

In 1915 Bowman was elected Director of the American Geographical Society. He hoped the Society would specialize in Latin American researches and received encouragement when, in 1916, the Society published his book, *The Andes of Southern Peru*. It was the Inquiry, however, which provided Bowman with the opportunity to informally commence such researches. By April 1918, a master plan containing nineteen research categories in the Latin American area had been established. The sixth category was entitled, “European Colonies and Settlement.” Prior knowledge of this Inquiry research may have been responsible for a letter Bowman wrote to Jefferson in October 1917:
In considering the problem suppose we look at a few chapter titles in the proposed book, everything to be regarded as absolutely tentative so that I need nowhere add question marks:

The Colonies of Temperate South America

1. The People and the Land (Jefferson)

2. The historical background of South American Colonization (McBride)

3. Contrasts between the later and earlier colonists (Jefferson et al)
   a. In Mode of life
   b. In state of civilization
   c. In political and social customs
   d. In racial mixture

4. The colony in the ultimate development of South American government policy. Here we talk of scattering the foreigner. There they hold up colonial provincialism as an attraction to the social and physiographic organization of the two sections?

5. Modern colonies (racial study chiefly)
   Italian
   German
   Russian, etc., etc.
   Descriptive treatment with extreme care in literary style marked by brilliancy and broadness of thought so that the result will be the most-quoted and best work of its kind in any language.

6. The modern colony in the economic organization of the South American state

7. Colonist and native in their political relations

8. Cultural relationships

   I set these down just as they came to mind. My oral sketch that got the funds was meager and dealt with the peaks only.

   By peaks I mean this. No study of this sort has been made in South America. Now, and still more after the war, the South American colonist will be a big factor in the fresh advances of the merchant. The colonist will be appealed to by political parties who seek to adjust the development schemes, that bring revenue, to the extremely hard conditions that will then confront the nations. Will new settlers come? A man on the ground will get incalculable benefit from a study of the spirit of the colonist there now. Is he disgruntled? Was he before the war? Has he plans? Has he ideas?

   A final chapter might well be prognostical and deal with our national, political, economic, and social relations with the temperate zone peoples of South America. The very spirit of modern geography should permeate the plan and the book. Map representation and especially the
technique of it should show the highest skill. Every photograph should mean something. We now get no photographs at all to show the colonist and the characteristics of his life.

Finally, we speak of Argentina and Brazil as definite political and social entities. They are really a group of unlike sections and to the unlikeness and nature and race (as between Indian and Spaniard or Portuguese, from section to section) there is added the unlikeness of the relatively pure-blooded and provincial colonist set down into an inferior culture that certainly encourages him not to imitate the new, but to conserve and follow the old. What is his way out? When will the Italian cease going to Italy in droves each year? Will it be when Buenos Aires becomes as cultured as New York? The low-born foreigner who comes here sees an industrial organization superior to his own, and is in the way to acquire at least some of our so-called American characteristics. He begins to live up to the new people.

Here is a great field for much geographical philosophy based on accurate statistics and maps.

Can we get the Argentine government to cooperate? Will they make some local up-to-date censuses for our particular benefit? Will they loan assistants at their expense to an even more comprehensive plan? They have unpublished statistics bearing on the problem. Can we get them? Bailey Willis can steer us.

At the time of the Christmas meeting in Chicago we must get together for several days and work out details. You appeal to me as just the man for the work because your thinking begins where mine leaves off. This is no job for an untried man. You will develop it into a fine big thing. While some publishable results will be looked for by 1919 and a book by 1920, the last of the results of the study may occupy you back home for a much longer period.

A few weeks later Bowman wrote a confidential note to Jefferson, suggesting that he take an assistant and study colonization in Argentine, Brazil, and Chile, the venture to be financed to the extent of $6,000 and to be known as the American Geographical Society ABC Expedition. The essentials of the contract were agreed upon at the Christmas meeting of the Association of American Geographers in Chicago, 1917. A “Memorandum of an Understanding and Agreement between the American Geographical Society and Mark Jefferson . . . in respect to European Colonies in Temperate South America” for a sum of $6,000 was concluded on March 14, 1918.5

Chile had remained neutral throughout the war despite the violation of her neutrality by German and British warships, even prospering as a result of the large amount of nitrate she sold to the Allied powers.
Argentine, under the premiership of Hipolito Irigoyen, refused to give up neutrality during the war although German submarines sank Argentine ships. Of the three "ABC" powers only Brazil declared war on Germany. Brazil had severed relations with Germany on April 11, 1917, and declared war on October 26, 1917. A tardy Brazilian entry into the war and neutrality from Argentine and Chile were perhaps factors contributing to a desire to analyze the strength of German feeling and power in Argentine, Brazil, and Chile.

Charles Colby insists that the ABC Expedition was a part of the war effort and of the Inquiry program. It is significant at least that the following statement by Colby in a book review published in the *Journal of Geography* went unchallenged:

> In the spring of 1918, the American Geographical Society sent Professor Jefferson to the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Chile to study recent European colonization in those countries. At that time much concern was expressed over the German and other European influence in those Southern American republics and apparently this expedition was dispatched to ascertain the facts in the case.

Certainly it would seem unlikely that the Society would involve itself in theory rather than policy oriented research in South America at such a time and when Bowman could write to Jefferson, "I am engaged in some extra war work and so extremely busy that it is hard to find time for any but the briefest letters." Preparations for the expedition were time-consuming at the American Geographical Society headquarters and Jefferson did not leave for South America until April of 1918, by which time the Inquiry work was proceeding swiftly. Strangely, Jefferson did not learn of the Inquiry or its work until his return from the ABC Expedition in September of 1918. Never, seemingly, did he recognize or contemplate his 1918 South American researches as a part of the Inquiry or war work.

Numerous letters from Jefferson to his wife and also to his daughter, Phoebe, posted while on the expedition, support the thesis that Jefferson had no idea his researches might be used to influence national policy. In any event, Bowman did not expect manuscripts for publication from Jefferson until 1920; that, too, was part of the ABC understanding. Yet when Jefferson returned from South America and reported to the American Geographical Society headquarters in New York, Bowman immediately expressed a desire to see Jefferson's notes. Bowman knew that Jefferson would have extensive notes of his work, as that was part of the ABC expedition agreement.

While in the field in 1918 Jefferson made many notes which were later welded together to form publications in the American Geographi-
cal Society Research Series. Among these notes may be found the following explanation of his understanding of the reason for the project:\(^9\)

*South America may be said to have been discovered three times, once by the Conquistadores, who got an amazing amount of it in their hands by 1550; again by the people of the United States along the beginning of the present century, efficiently helped by visits of Roosevelt and Root, at which time the ABC countries were perceived to have a certain prominence, hitherto unsuspected among us but well known in the Old World. A third discovery was that by German, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian families from the middle of the last century to the present time, families of Germans unhappy at the abuse of government in Germany about 1848 and south Europeans at a later date in economic distress at home—temperate South America offered them a sure refuge from their troubles.*

*It was the object of the Mission of the American Geographical Society of 1918 to ascertain the present condition of these new colonists of America, their relation to the older inhabitants and the parts they are now playing and are destined yet to play in the national life of the countries where they had made their homes.*

*The fact that the leader of the party had lived six years (1883-1889) among typical old time people of the Argentine Republic, where this new colonization has had most development, led naturally to emphasis on that country. The fact that he is a teacher limited the time available for the visit to the (northern) spring and summer of 1918.*

*It is very probable that the American Geographical Society wished to preserve anonymity in the matter of war work. Bowman was anxious not to associate the name of the Society publicly with war work. He wished the Society to remain objective, scientific, committed to furthering the cause of geographic science. But peace negotiations were being carried out under the appellation, “Inquiry,” at the American Geographical Society to maintain secrecy. Bowman also recognized that the ABC Expedition, in attempting to define the attitude and measure the distribution of German-speaking peoples living in Argentine, Brazil, and Chile would serve the cause of geography well: he realized that the Expedition and resultant publications could be acknowledged as the beginning of the Latin American Research Program which he desired.*

*Lawrence Gelfand has suggested that Bowman used Inquiry funds to further his Society’s researches in Latin America.\(^10\) Bowman offers a different explanation in a letter to Jefferson dated October 8, 1917: 11*

*Let me now relate details so that the whole plan will be before you.*

*This Society should have several men in the field all the time. This policy would contribute a steady stream of big constructive articles and*
It requires the income of a quarter of a million capital. I did not get the quarter million but only the income on it for 1918, i.e. $12,500.

This I propose to use on four plans of which three relate to South America. The first South American plan is yours, the second is more specific and physiographic in nature and also less expensive, the third is almost negligible as to expense.

Your problem would be the critical one. I want to justify the expense and so encourage the continuance of the plan during 1919 and for that matter indefinitely.

Jefferson did not start out on the Expedition until April 2, 1918. His preparations, which were rapid and comprehensive, comprised the hiring of an assistant, correspondence with men familiar with travel in the ABC countries, the acquisition of much literature—especially concerning South American trade, numerous photostated maps, the overhaul of his trusty typewriter which serviced him for nearly half a century, the borrowing of a set of cameras, including a stereo camera, enough Kodak film for a thousand pictures, a developing tank, the purchase of a lightweight panama suit, and his typical straw hat. Three days at the American Geographical Society discussing the Expedition with Bowman and reading in the library were followed by one day in Washington. Jefferson was given letters of introduction to numerous officials in South America which later proved useful.

Jefferson's first choice of assistant was Clifton Johnson of “Highways and Byways” fame. He felt Johnson was a skilled observer, artistic with a camera, accurate and deft with a pen. But Johnson was busily at work on two more travel books and could not accept. Jefferson then invited Wellington Jones of Chicago to accompany him on the Expedition, but the latter had already planned a trip to Asia after June of 1918 when the Jones' anticipated an addition to their family. Tower was Jefferson's third choice, but he was involved in war work. On the suggestion of W. M. Davis, Arthur Colton was considered for the position of assistant, and although he, too, did not find it possible to make the journey, the correspondence between them produced an interesting letter—especially interesting since it was written on March 2, 1918, less than a month before the date of departure, at which time Jefferson's intended plan of field work was well established:

The opportunity to see the best regions of Latin-America will be a fine one, I estimate the necessary cost of $1200 up, which in itself amounts to $200 a month. While I shall not linger at all in Valparaiso, Santiago, Buenos Aires, or Rio de Janeiro, we shall have to see most of those capitals, which are really of some great interest, Rio for instance,
being one of the scenic wonders of the earth. Our problem too is extremely interesting. For the last 50 or 60 years colonies of Germans have existed in southern Chile and southern Brazil and odd Italians in southern Brazil and along the Parana in the Argentine Republic which with other less important ones make count in the Argentine case as much as a quarter of all the people of the country. These Italians of the Argentine have created the great wheat production of that country. There is something quite analogous in their possibilities to the phenomena of our own population in the United States, in contrast to the mixed Indian blood of the older nationals of South America. Mitre wrote that pure Spanish descent in the Argentine meant descent from a Spaniard and an Indian woman, as Spanish women did not come over in the early days.

Now I am to try to ascertain the present facts of these colonies, how they are prospering, comparing always with their country of origin and the creole population of their adopted country. I want to make many photographs, gather all sorts of concrete cases, individual histories, lists of public officers, wholesale and retail merchants, lawyers, doctors, school teachers in type localities, to learn what social activities, and what commercial and political activities these colonists enter on in the old established prosperous settlements. I want to learn what we can about criminal offenders. We shall have generalizations to establish, but I want to gather a vast amount of particular illustration.

It will mean incessant interviewing. I mean to employ local people, sons of colonists as "drivers" when we need a rig and find talkative men, as guides or "secretaries" on occasion to give us what information that they have and point out those who have more and put us in touch with them. I shall have to pay them, but there is no costly transportation in their case, and if we pick them well they should be of very great help.

My assistant should work with me just long enough to get the idea, and then by himself. If he develops special aptitude for some part of the work it will be assigned more and more to him. I plan to take a folding typewriter along and write up results almost incessantly while the details are fresh and full in mind. Although other experiences will modify much so written it is important to expand to the greatest fulness right at the moment of gathering observations. Later recollections are bound to be somewhat confused by the number and variety of impressions. Commercial information too must be gathered, what they buy of their home country, in how far they have changed their needs in their new environment, and not least, what market they may afford for American hardware, tools, and machinery. Methods of land
purchase, and transfer, and record, and prices with actual cases as often as may be are also in the scheme. A general view of the wider facts and a very particular study of what appears to be type localities are the keynote to my plan.

The Society expects a volume of results from me in 1919. I have no contract or even statement about it but in general I know that they publish and allow the writer a generous royalty. They will gladly publish interesting fragments from our work in their Review when they pay $10. per thousand words. If you can do acceptable work they will certainly be glad to do the same for you. No pay or support during writing up is contemplated, but I shall endeavor to reserve funds for dictation work from my general allowance. If you can take upon yourself some part, some chapters or sections of the results I shall be only too glad to assign you your share in clerical provision and in royalty. Though I have not personally thought of that at all. We can promise you opportunity, all you can take, and meanwhile we are able to spend substantial sums in giving you a superb view of Latin America. I can hardly imagine a finer chance.

I believe from your letter and from what Professor Davis writes that you could give me assistance enough to make it worthwhile and even advantageous to take you if you care to go. I should expect much hard work and all of your time, the same zeal in short, that I expect to show myself. I expect to sail from New York, April 1 for Valparaiso, via Panama, spend two weeks in southern Chile, cross the Andes, Santiago to Mendoza by train, to Buenos Aires, most of May, June, July among the Italians of Argentine, and August in southern Brazil, coming home direct from Rio. I must be here October 1. Should you conclude to come a more comfortable steamer berth will be obtained by early action. I, of course, attend to that.

Jefferson eventually arranged to take an assistant named Alfred Coester, who spoke excellent Spanish, typed well and had an alert mind. Prior to sailing Jefferson had not been feeling well, "I am feeling very wretched. Strongly tempted to write Bowman I shall have to give up the trip, but I suppose the sea voyage may set me up." The Expedition fascinated Jefferson. Consequently the two sailed from New York on April 2, on board the S.S. Santa Ana, United States and Pacific Line. The journey south served as a period during which time Jefferson and Coester became better acquainted.

The little vessel reached Valparaiso, Chile, on April 21, after several ports of call and passage through the Panama Canal. The bracing salt air and the ease of social life aboard the boat prepared and strengthened both men for the strenuous weeks of work ahead. Already at this
time in his life Jefferson was beginning to show signs of increasing deafness but in later years claimed that the sea dispelled the ailment. On April 5, as the Santa Ana approached the tropics, Jefferson wrote:  

Such a balmy air, such an even sea, now beginning to take that indescribable deep liquid transparent blue of the tropic ocean . . . . We work a good many hours a day. Have the Argentine, Chile, Brazil trade items typewritten neatly for the years 1912-1917, accounts all up to date and Coester has typewritten about a third of my Temperature paper which I revise a few pages in advance of him. We have a folding table in the stateroom, which is large and airy. Ship is new, good, sweet smelling, as ships go. Smooth seas all the way from New York, amazing. Steadily warmer. This morning I have negligee shirt and Palm Beach suit. Bath in salt water at six—coffee and hot water for shaving at 6:30 . . . . We have wireless but only messages from navy allowed so we have no idea how the battle of Picardy is going. I hope we learn at Colon of growing Allied successes.

Jefferson and Coester became acquainted with several of the fifty passengers on board the ship and took the opportunity to learn as much as possible of contemporary life and settlement in Chile. The pair, whose native tongue was English, spoke Spanish with ease, carried cameras, made frequent notes in diaries, typed in the stateroom, and asked many questions. They were soon met with suspicion by the passengers. Indeed, the ship’s doctor became uneasy of Coester:  

The ship’s doctor, a very curious sort of person who declines to give him (Coester) the typhoid treatment, asks authorization by Dr. Harris at Colon. I understand that Dr. Harris is the Health Officer of the Canal Zone. He regards me, the ship doctor does, as a suspicious person. Asked Coester if I was a German! He vaccinated Coester after a good deal of urging, but thinks the whole business queer. We are going to the healthiest place in the world, he says, what are we afraid of? I think I shall have to take the matter up with the captain before we get into Colon.

In occupying a table next to the Captain in the dining room, Jefferson soon made a friendship that was to prove rewarding. Jefferson and Captain Crossley exchanged information concerning the oceans, rainfall, salinity, storm paths, shipping routes, fueling stations, dangers to shipping in the War, views obtainable from the boat’s rail, the wonder of the Panama Canal. The Captain, gruff in manner and exterior, made it known on board that Jefferson and his companion were to be treated well, and, as if to emphasize the point, the Captain took Jefferson ashore in his personal launch at all points of call and gave him glimpses of his charts and data from the log book. Jefferson was also given
access to the Chief Engineer, who gave him water temperatures and boat speed every fourth hour throughout the journey.

At Lima Jefferson and Coester went ashore, again with the Captain, Jefferson to post his paper to Bowman, "The Real Temperatures Throughout North and South America," to look for wind effects in the trees, "I found them, and the winds are from the south," and to visit the meteorological office for data. Of the paper Jefferson had previously written to daughter Phoebe:

... I have a splendid new paper for Mr. Bowman nearly written. It has been going on really for 14 years, but he doesn't know it and it is new stuff. It is the greatest fun I know, to get out a new paper!

One day ashore and the Santa Ana continued south to Antofogasta where another day was passed on shore.

Called on U. S. Vice-Consul McGurk. Told him plans. He said perfectly safe to travel in south, but that if we travelled round asking questions the Germans would become suspicious. He wanted me to drop him a line if I learned anything of interest. There has been no disorder among the Germans of South Chile. Government is strong and no evidence exists that they desire disorders. I found an admirable little book on the southern part of Chile, Touring in Llanquihue, across the Argentine and Chilian Switzerland. A lot of material that I wanted. I saw it at a little picture store where we bought some photographs this morning. I asked the price, Coester and I had been talking in English—the young German who kept the store answered five pesos. I handed him a ten peso bill, and he stared at me as if he didn't want to wait on me. I didn't realize that he was German at first. He did not want to sell it to me, but it was exposed for sale, and I had simply helped myself so he could do nothing about it.

While in Antofogasta Jefferson made inquiries concerning a Professor Espinoza of Santiago, author of Nueva Geografia de Chile. He wanted to employ Espinoza temporarily in his inquiries, but could not find him. The coast was not unfamiliar to a Jefferson who had made the journey from Cordoba to Lima in 1886, but he was delighted to revisit the area and share its beauty in a letter to his wife:

We have had some tantalizing sights of land, beautiful forested mountains in Ecuador, bare desolate slopes in Peru and quantities of huge pelicans, several hundreds passed us today, once a flock of 150 all together. Then there have been a lot of seals playing in the water and porpoises, sometimes a hundred in school.

The work of the Expedition began earnestly soon after the boat landed in Valparaiso, on April 21. Coester and Jefferson gleaned all the literature available concerning Chile, its inhabitants, trade, history, po-
tential. Then the pair travelled the interior valley from Santiago to Puerto Montt, either singly or together, gathering maps, literature, climatological data, questioning the inhabitants, photographing settlements, parsing attitudes, assaying the German-ness of southern Chile, always observing and taking notes. Jefferson took letters of introduction from Santiago to a Mr. and Mrs. Glass in Temuco. The couple were missionaries from London who knew parts of Chile intimately. They showed Jefferson a most unusual collection of Mapuche Indian artifacts and were otherwise very useful, "they helped me more than anyone in Chile." The rainy Mediterranean winter of southern Chile hindered Jefferson more than he had anticipated. It left him cold and damp, obliged him to travel much by carriage whereas he preferred to walk, and forced him to take photographs from the carriage instead of from the field. The photographs taken on the Expedition, however, did not seem to suffer in consequence. 21

At the end of each day Jefferson would enter the expenses of the pair into a book so that he would be able to account the expenditure of American Geographical Society money. Then the pair would rewrite and type their field notes. Information-packed paragraphs were composed around sketches or paragraphs made during the day. A manuscript of sorts began to emerge from Jefferson's notes which were arranged under the headings: Landscape; Streets and Houses; Fauna, Flora and Products; Weather and Climate; People, Class, Dress; Transportation and Railway. Occasionally additional information was contained in the letters Jefferson sent to his wife, Clara. Usually however these letters were fundamentally rough drafts of his more carefully composed and typed field notes. The letters continued until early in May, at which time the correspondence ceased or has subsequently been lost. The letters contain occasional references to his concern for South American German attitude towards his work:

He [Coester] is beginning to be scared of what the Germans in southern Chile will do to us and what they will suspect. But I do not see any reason to anticipate more than in Brazil, and I propose to have good advice about reasonably safe ways of going about it. He says he is told on board that the common people of Chile side strongly with the Germans in the present political troubles . . . I shall certainly be glad when this job is over. 22

Just had supper in this "Palace Hotel" and really there was nothing to eat. Usually I fare pretty well, had an excellent breakfast on the train, but I came here to avoid the Germans, who keep the best hotel, to this, which is kept by a Spaniard and it was the limit . . . The other day at Temuco, some four hours north of here by train, I sent Coester
back to Santiago and went on down to Puerto Montt alone. I can't think things out very well with him along, and there were a number of things he could be doing in Santiago, and it would be pleasanter there—the rain here is so depressing and he will talk English, which attracts attention of the Germans.  

The pair then journeyed north again from Puerto Montt, through Santiago and the Cumbre Pass to Cordoba, Rosario, Buenos Aires, then north through Uruguay to southern Brazil and Porto Alegre, São Paulo, and Rio before returning to New York. They stopped at numerous colonies en route, Polish, Jewish, Italian, Confederate, but their main concern was German settlement—its limits, type, contribution, growth, and German-ness. Additionally Jefferson visited numerous meteorological stations and gathered quantities of climatological statistics and information especially from his old friend, W. G. Davis, meteorologist from the Cordoban Observatory, from Frank Wiggin of the Meteorological Office, Buenos Aires, and from a correspondent, Henrique Morize of the Observatory at Rio. In the Argentine Jefferson renewed his acquaintance with some of the families he had known from his 1883-1889 residence; one of these families provided an escort, Justini­ano Allende Posse—an engineer, author, and one-time President of the Argentine National Highway Commission—who guided Jefferson and Coester through parts of the Argentine and introduced them especially to areas of German settlement. Jefferson's work in the Argentine and southern Brazil was undoubtedly made less pleasant by the unusually cold winter of 1918; Mendoza had its first snow since 1886. This proved a hindrance to Jefferson who felt the cold bitterly. A further annoyance to the pair lay in timing their departure. Only one boat left Rio in the summer of 1918 for the U.S.A.; its date of departure was kept secret. Jefferson and Coester were obliged to spend two weeks waiting in Rio for a possible departure when they might have been studying Brazilian colonization.

Throughout the Expedition Jefferson maintained an objective attitude towards German immigrants and colonies. He had not forgotten the willingness of Germans to teach him their language in the Foreigners Club at Cordoba, 1883-1886, or the encouragement he had received from Argentine Germans to attend Heidelberg University. Furthermore, he had a preconceived notion of the German peasant as a diligent, hard-working, thrifty human, seeking an honest livelihood from the soil. Jefferson admired honest work and honest initiative beyond all else, and this is largely what he saw in German colonization in South America in 1918. Jefferson did not blame German peasantry in South America for calculated German governmental aggression. He was swift to recognize
and emphasize in several of his writings that the United States was an extension of Europe and that it was the European who came to North America bringing with him his European culture that had made the U.S.A. He recognized that many of these Europeans were of German nationality, and they had helped settle and develop prosperous communities as Cincinnati and Milwaukee. These hard workers were repeating a pioneering process which they had successfully demonstrated in previous years over the face of East Europe. Jefferson's notes included the following quotation on the worth of the German migrant farmer in East Europe:\(^{24}\)

_The Germans colonized all the Slavic countries to the east of the Reich, made settlements among the Slavs as civilizers of the region, exactly as New Englanders and New York people settled among the Indians of the Midwest. The Slavs were and are now much below the German standards in the common arts of civilized life. In every branch of industry the Germans "were incontestably superior, excelling in agriculture as well as in manufacturing and mining, in commerce as well as in seamanship. The Slavonic rulers saw with pleasure great tracts of worthless virgin forest turned into productive land around German towns, while little towns with free German institutions arose among them as centers of trade and communication. They felt their own power increased by the addition of actively producing and taxable subjects, and were anxious to lead German settlers into those parts of their countries which were still but imperfectly opened up," wrote Professor Joseph Partsch of Breslau, conservative and painstaking geographer, in 1903. He was a patriotic German but there can be no doubt of the soundness of his estimate of the culture of the German colonies._

Jefferson's mind was not biased. He opened his eyes, travelled much and noted his observations. It was with this perspective that he diligently worked in South America. It seems probably that Jefferson envisaged a single volume book concerning the peopling of South America as a result of the ABC Expedition. To this end he typed a delightful but unfinished forty-page study of Creole Chile under the title: "Chapter I. South America Re-Colonized: Chile, Argentine Republic, Brazil." This piece of work was advantaged over the others that resulted from the ABC Expedition, since he was able to assemble and compose much of it on the boat journey home and in Ypsilanti with South America fresh in his mind, prior to his ten-month involvement with the Inquiry in New York and the American Commission to Negotiate Peace in Paris. Perhaps Bowman's anxiety and persuasion to have something briefer and sooner, which might be shown to the American Geographical Society
Council as "results," encouraged Jefferson to publish the findings of the Expedition in numerous separates: 25 *Recent Colonization in Chile*, 26 *The Rainfall of Chile*, 27 "Pictures from Southern Brazil," 28 and *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*. 29 Briefer publications resulting from ABC field work, include: "New Rainfall Maps of Brazil," 30 "A New Map of World Rainfall," 31 "Actual Temperatures of South America," 32 and "An American Colony in Brazil." 33 These publications were noted as a very welcome addition to the geographical literature of South America. Reviews of the three books were extremely favorably in newspapers and geographical magazines on both sides of the Atlantic: more than 1,300 copies of each of the Chilean studies were sold, and approximately 2,000 copies of *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*. 34

*Recent Colonization in Chile*, a pioneer study, was published by the American Geographical Society in its newly created Research Series. In 21,000 words the study revealed Jefferson at his best, relating what he had seen and learned of colonization in Chile. The study sketched the history and social condition of Chile, the feudalism of Creole Society, Governmental attempts to attract skilled European labor, and resultant colonization. Continued attention to the German-ness of the German immigrant and his colonization characterized the publication. In the literature to that date it had been supposed that southern Chile was strongly Germanic. Indeed, Jefferson noted 35 that in the February 1920 issue of the *Journal of Geography* E. Walther had written, "The temperate portions of southern Brazil and Chile are dotted with German villages, in which the majority of the people are Germans and the German language is spoken." 36 This notion Jefferson attempted to dispel. In the southern provinces of Cautín, Valdivia, and Llanquihue, Jefferson and Coester had visited several German colonies and found singularly little evidence of the supposed Germanization. Under a subheading, "The Germanization of Southern Chile a Myth," he wrote: 37

*Puerto Montt* was said to speak German and read German newspapers. I was even told I should find people there who were born in the country but could speak no Spanish. All this is exaggeration of the grossest sort. Of certain places, like the German Hotel Hein, such a statement may be true; but apart from that I heard Spanish everywhere. Two newspapers in Spanish, *La Alianza Liberal* and *El Llanquihue*, were offered for sale everywhere, but I could not get any German paper. The directory of the telephone company, *Sociedad Progreso de Llanquihue*, lists as newspapers (diarios), the two mentioned above and no others, I found two persons who spoke no Spanish, but both were German-born. No street in the city has a German name, nor is German used on signs. Even German business houses
give their names in the Spanish form—Casa Carsten, Hermanos Schmidt.

One hears much of the Germans at Temuco, capital of province Cautín. I was even told it was a German town. It is not at all.

The Chilean Germans are always surrounded by an overwhelming majority of Chileans.

He was particularly impressed with German peasant achievement in the southern part of the country, the frontera, rendered relatively inaccessible by heavy rains and humid forests. German influence in southern Chile meant agriculture and prosperous handicrafts to an hitherto marginal section of that country. Jefferson contended that the Chilean government program for colonization was not in the best interests of that country. He insisted that German and other foreign settlements were created only by the eviction of peon squatters who had perilously settled the land. German settlement, he perceived, was encouraged by land speculators who recognized that the value of the land marginal to the settlements would be enhanced. He emphasized the previously known but little appreciated fact that only eight per cent of Chile was productive and that the productive area of Chile had a density of population of 160 people per square mile for the entire country. Jefferson then made the case that it was folly to introduce additional laborers into such a country. The colonization study was read by Chilean statesmen and theorists and exerted considerable influence upon government policy and especially towards immigration policy.

His findings concerning the distribution of population in Chile were offered to the Association of American Geographers at Chicago in 1920 in the form of a paper entitled, “Chile: A Land Where Immigrants Need not Apply.” The abstract was published in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers.*

Much of Chile’s 290,000 square miles is little available for homes for men. The arid deserts of the north, the rain-soaked forests of the south, and the rough Andine slopes which fill the eastern half of the country for the whole three thousand miles of its length subtract so much from the total area of the country that its 13 people per square mile becomes 156 people to the square mile of usable territory. That is why Chilean agriculture is intensive, with yields per acre greater than elsewhere in America; why the peasant is ill paid, ill fed, landless and wretched; why immigrants are placed on the land only by ejecting the people of the country, and why fifty years of government-fostered immigration have not brought fifty thousand people to Chile.

Of the paper the *Geographical Review* commented:

Professor Mark Jefferson’s paper, “Chile: A Land Where Immigrants
"Need not Apply", was undoubtedly the most brilliant paper of the session. With keen insight into the human conditions and reactions, and with rare judgment in the handling of the facts, Professor Jefferson traced in a masterly way the geographical conditions of German settlement in Chile. In preparation for his main point he emphasized particularly the high density of population and high productivity per unit of area of cereals, potatoes, etc., as compared with the Argentine, the United States, and France of that part of Chile where most of the people actually live, which is a very tiny section lying principally between Concepcion and Valparaiso.

In 1921 the work constituted the most recent source on Chilean colonization, and presented itself as an important contribution to the geographic literature on Chile available in the English language. C. Colby observed the geographic qualities of the study:

The survey is written in a pleasingly virile, pungent style and throughout reflects the hand of a skilled geographer. In fact, Professor Jefferson presents this social problem with such skill that, in effect, he introduces his reader to the geography of Chile.

Thirty-seven years later, Colby wrote:

I consider his (Jefferson's) monograph on German Settlement in Chile to be one of his finest publications. In fact, the early pages of that report constitute one of the best bits of writing in the geographic publications of the first half of the century.

In similar vein, Bowman wrote to Jefferson:

Your manuscript on Chile has just arrived, together with the maps. Mr. Archer Huntington was in to see me directly after the manuscript came, and turning to the introduction read the first paragraph. His comment was, "That man can write. Look at the way in which he has woven statistics into a strong English sentence in the last few lines of that paragraph." Then he turned to later pages and from time to time exclaimed. "This is bully!—this is great stuff!—fine!—We must print this in the monograph series!"

I know from experience that you are not susceptible to flattery, and I am not telling you this for any such purpose; but at the same time you are human and cannot fail to appreciate the comments of our mutual friend, who doesn't make such comments unless he means them.

The reviewers of the publication were swift to note Jefferson's denial of the Germanization of the ABC countries. Charles Colby, reviewing the book in the Journal of Geography, wrote:

In his bulletin on "Recent Colonization in Chile," Professor Jefferson states that the German element does not predominate in any part of
Chile. He found that, even in the southern part of the country, there are from ten to twenty times more Chileans than Germans and concludes that the "Germanization of Southern Chile is simply a myth."

A review in the official organ of the Royal Geographical Society, the Geographical Journal, by an unidentified author, states:

As is well known, much of the modern colonization has been done by Germans, and it is a common idea that a large part of southern Chile has already become Germanized. This Professor Jefferson shows, is simply a myth, for even where Germans are most in evidence they form but a small fraction of the total population, and are surrounded by an overwhelming majority of Chileans.

An unknown reviewer writes in the Geographical Teacher:

... The monograph gives very valuable facts about immigration into Chile in the nineteenth century, and shows that the supposed Germanization of southern Chile is a myth.

Theodore W. H. Irion, editor of The American Schoolmaster, wrote:

Other notions which one acquires through general reading which this investigation dispells have to do with the German element as a factor in Chile. Occasionally one hears of the German settlements in Chile and begins to wonder if a new Germany is growing up in Chile. Jefferson definitely points out that the stories about German settlements and towns in which German is the spoken language and in which the papers are all printed in German, in which in fact everything is German, are almost complete myths.

The German magazines shunned the publication; Petermann's Mitteilungen reviewed the study in less than thirty words. Jefferson received several requests for the study from German geographers. These requests he forwarded to Bowman, refraining from correspondence with men who, he claimed, were German geographers rather than German and geographers. The propagandistic writing by German geographers in the war had offended Jefferson. He felt that their work had become characterized by an aggressive and pronounced German nationalism. Jefferson terminated his correspondence with German geographers at this time. Later when Gladys Wrigley requested Jefferson to review Hettner's works in January 1930 on the occasion of the award of the Cullum Medal by the American Geographical Society, Jefferson wrote in a letter to Bowman, "Please tell Miss Wrigley that I cannot find time to examine the Hettner books," and to Miss Wrigley, "Sorry to balk at Hettner, but he no longer interests me."

The Rainfall of Chile, also published in 1921, was a companion study to that on colonization. This bulletin contains probably the first
accurate mean annual rainfall map of Chile. H. A. Matthews, writing in the "Scottish Geographical Magazine" for 1924, notes, "The rainfall map of Chile published with the [Jefferson] pamphlet is invaluable, as it is the only reasonable rainfall map of Chile in existence." The map, colored and on scale of 1:10,000,000 was compiled from data for the years 1900 to 1919 collected from 167 stations. It replaced Voss's rainfall map of Chile (1907), showing the earlier map to have been constructed with insufficient data, especially in interior Chile. Jefferson placed the rainfall map of Chile alongside a map showing the distribution of forests, irrigated lands, and dry farms in central Chile. The relevance of rainfall to land use rendered more meaningful the history of colonization in Chile.

Bowman arranged for Jefferson to use some of the unspent ABC Expedition money to invest parts of two summers at the American Geographical Society, in order that the South American studies might be completed more swiftly than would otherwise be possible. At the Society Jefferson would have access to a good collection of South American maps and literature. He was promised a desk and all the stenographic and typographical help he would need.

In the cool rooms of the American Geographical Society, August 1921, Jefferson worked intensively on "Unveiling of the Pampa," later published under the title, "Peopling the Argentine Pampa," which was to become one of the standard works concerning the Argentine. Simultaneously he was able to renew an old established friendship with Vilhjalmur Stefansson.

While at the Society's rooms Bowman tried hard to harness Jefferson to his Latin American Research Program, which had been formalized by the Council on April 20 of that year. The American Geographical Society had made overtures to Jefferson on several previous occasions dating from 1909 when the Society had inquired if the position of Librarian to the Society would interest him. In the 1920's Bowman again bombarded Jefferson with letters of invitation to join him at the American Geographical Society. The first of these letters was written on March 24, 1920:

"I am writing about a matter that is to be kept strictly confidential until we make some public announcement of it in the near future. We have initiated a plan for Latin America research which will extend over a period of years. One of the aspects of the plan will be the compilation of a map of Latin America on the scale of 1:1,000,000 so far as the data exist for the preparation of a map on this scale. Of course there are many other aspects of the plan, which will involve the creation of a research file and the publication of a series of "Geographical Notes..."

"Peopling the Argentine Pampa"..."
and Monographs into which, by the way, your present book will fall.

I hope that we may talk over the various aspects of the plan in some detail in the not too distant future. It was for that reason particularly that I was anxious to get the early completion of your book, if possible by having you work here during the coming summer, though up to the present moment I have not been able to write you anything about the general basis of my wish.

My present suggestion is that you consider carefully the possibility of securing leave of absence for one of the quarters next year, to include if possible the summer also, thus enabling you to give us six months out of the coming year for the completion of your book and the supervision of a portion of our map program. If it were at all possible to get you this coming summer we should like to do it. It seems to me that the plan ought to attract you in many ways. Here is the beginning of a program that will last for some years to come, we hope for many years to come. If you could get part time off at Ypsilanti, I think you would enjoy the change and it would also increase your salary. Our idea would be to pay you proportionally for your services, taking into account the extra cost of living in New York.

Won't you give this matter very careful consideration and let me know to what extent you feel you could assist in the carrying out of such a program? I suppose that you would not feel willing to give us all of your time, coming to the Geographical Society on a regular appointment for the year or for a period of years. Why don't you think over these matters and let me hear from you?

On June 19, 1920, Bowman wrote to Jefferson:

I would like to have you keep in mind the matter of giving us time for research during the summer months hereafter. Possibly you could give us even more than this by some special arrangement with the Normal College administrative officers. You would enjoy the association, especially at this time when we are building up a strong staff. Teggart of the University of California is with us and will give us half his time from his university duties "and then some." Alan Ogilvie is resigning his position at the University of Manchester to join us in October, and he and Teggart will be a sort of right and left bower. McBride will return to work on land tenure, Marbut will do soils, and I am now thinking of getting Griffith Taylor for the climate of Latin America, sending him there from Australia to gather all the existing data. There are four or five other assistants, but more of these later.

Teggart by the way, has worked out the history of the Philippine galleon, including the subsidiary galleons at the Manila end of the route and also the subsidiary galleon that ran from Acapulco to Callas.
One month later, on July 19, 1920, Bowman wrote: \(^{57}\)

... Is it within your power to say that if the salary were adequate you would be willing to agree to a five-year term of employment?

Again, on February 4, 1921, Bowman to Jefferson: \(^{58}\)

As part of our program of research in the field of Hispanic America we shall want to undertake work in city geography. Don't you want to be associated with us in the task? If you could give the matter a little consideration from the standpoint of your part in the job and what books and other material we could get to start the work under your direction something might come of it...

And again, March 28, 1921: \(^{59}\)

When would you be free for work here, and what salary would you require? Would it be possible for you during the three summer months to finish up your South American work for publication this year, supervising the drafting of such maps as you wish to include reading proof, etc? Could you in addition to this push forward some of the city studies perceptibly? These questions need not be answered now. You can answer them in conversation in April, unless you prefer a definite arrangement now in order to present to your people...

Bowman urgently wanted Jefferson to be associated with his Latin American Research Program but Jefferson was not to be lured away from Ypsilanti. He did, however, write to Bowman of a talented student in one of his classes—a Raye Platt. On Jefferson's word alone Bowman promised to hire Platt at the American Geographical Society if Jefferson would give him one year of geography and all the Spanish possible in that time. Jefferson encouraged Platt to concentrate his studies on geography and the Spanish language and sent him to Bowman and the American Geographical Society. \(^{60}\) When A. Ogilvie returned to the University of Edinburgh in 1923 to succeed the recently retired G. G. Chisholm, Platt was put in charge of the 1:1,000,000 map of South America.

Jefferson completed work on the Argentine manuscript in March 1924, then tussled with W. L. G. Joerg for two years on editorial matters before the book, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, was published in November 1926.

*Peopling the Argentine Pampa* was a carefully written account describing the processes through which the pastoral and agricultural peoples of the Pampa had passed. Jefferson's work traced the origin and history of neighboring provinces, singling out after careful and planned field work the original Swiss colonies of Esperanza and San Geronimo and other settlements along the San Javier River to the north of Santa Fe and the colonies of Entre Rios to the south. The historical and
geographical influences contributing to the peopling of the Pampa were traced, the necessity of the railroad to commercial agriculture emphasized, and an analysis of immigration statistics comprised a concluding chapter—immigration being the vital force behind late nineteenth-century Argentine expansion. The book, in its completed form, was much more nearly a product of Jefferson's reflections on his experiences and recollections between the years 1883-1889 and his work in 1918 than his original notes, centering heavily on everything German, would suggest. The study was leavened with much contemplation and reading and benefitted from Inquiry researches undertaken by other men in 1918. The benefit of his earlier acquaintance with Creole life in the Argentine was emphasized by Jefferson:

The background of the Argentine study is some familiarity with the Creole life of the interior acquired during a residence there before the immigrants reached Cordoba or Tucuman cities in any numbers, from January 1884, to November 1889, the first three years in Cordoba as computer, third and second astronomer in the National Observatory, and the last three as assistant manager and treasurer of the sugar ingenio La Providencia near the city of Tucuman. Whatever changes the Argentine interior had at that time experienced from the old Creole-ways had come, not from foreigners immigrant to America, but from the impressions made on Creoles in their visits to Europe.

I had a certain intimacy with two or three delightful Creole families and some familiarity with the language and customs of the country. I have spoken in the text of the contrasts of those times and the present. Whatever characterization I have been able to make of the aspects and effects of newer immigration must rest mainly on that earlier acquaintance with the country; and it is a characterization, a picture that I have tried to draw—a picture of a vigorous infant agricultural society born in the midst of an ancient cattle culture.

Peopling the Argentine Pampa has been regarded by many as the finest book Jefferson ever wrote. Resultant from ABC Expedition field work in Brazil were the Jefferson written articles: "New Rainfall Maps of Brazil," "A New Map of World Rainfall," "Actual Temperatures of South America," "Pictures from Southern Brazil," and "An American Colony in Brazil." Jefferson was impressed with the industry, the thrift, and zeal of south Brazilian German colonists. He was quite convinced that Portuguese southern Brazil had absorbed the German colonies, and rendered them Brazilian rather than German. In his article, "Pictures from Southern Brazil," Jefferson wrote strongly of German accomplishment and order, denying the presence of Pan German sentiment by Brazilian Germans when he wrote:
There have been reports in American newspapers about insurrections of Germans against the Brazilian government in Porto Alegre, but I can say with confidence that nothing of the sort ever happened.

The New York Times noticed the article in a five-hundred-word editorial, “Brazil’s Melting Pot,” which emphasized Jefferson’s belief in the Brazilianization of colonizing Germans in that country.64

The three climatological studies were largely the product of data he collected from Henrique Morize. Morize had constructed a map of Brazilian rainfall based on data from 349 stations. Jefferson had the map redrawn (using American Geographical Society cartographic staff) and compared the new product with Voss’ map of 1907, which was the product of data from only 74 stations.65 The map comparison, together with some discussion concerning reasons for aridity in northeastern Brazil, comprised the essence of “New Rainfall Maps of Brazil,” which article was noticed in the Scottish Geographical Magazine.66

Jefferson’s “An American Colony in Brazil,” constructed from the notes and observations of Coester, was a very brief study of Villa Americana—“a bit of the southern Confederacy set down in Brazil.” In the following years the article brought Jefferson correspondence from several historians who were studying post-civil war Southern attempts to recreate “Dixie” colonies in Brazil where slavery was not abolished until 1888.

The notes and studies resulting from the ABC Expedition were of value to the Inquiry, were of help in the Million map project,67 strengthened Bowman’s Latin America Program while in its infancy, provided good geographic reading in the English language for a sparsely literated Argentine, Brazil, and Chile, and via the number of readers consulting the studies—or reviews of the studies—must have been influential in reshaping the prevalent image of the dominance of Empire Germans in South America.