

**GERLACHE'S *BELGIQUE* IN THE SOCIAL IMAGINARY OF PUNTA ARENAS, 1897-1899**EI *BÉLGICA* DE GERLACHE EN EL IMAGINARIO SOCIAL DE PUNTA ARENAS, 1897-1899**Mg. Mauricio Jara Fernández***

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ABSTRACT: This article analyzes, based on the information in the newspaper *El Magallanes* of Punta Arenas and other publications, the perception that was created among the population of this southern Chilean city by the Antarctic expedition of between 1897 and 1899 and the activities carried out by the scientists and crew of the *Belgique* commanded by Lieutenant Adrien de Gerlache. Due to the fact that this expedition was made up of people from various nations and that it was aimed at reaching the South Pole provoked unusual interest and awoke an attractive interest for scientific topics and southern and antarctic policies.

KEY WORDS: Chile and Gerlache; Antarctica; Punta Arenas; Chilean Antarctic History

RESUMEN: El artículo analiza en base a informaciones del periódico *El Magallanes* de Punta Arenas y otras publicaciones, la percepción que se generó en la población de esta austral ciudad chilena por la expedición a la Antártica entre 1897 y 1899 y las actividades realizadas por los científicos y tripulantes del *Bélgica* comandado por el teniente Adrien de Gerlache. Por el hecho de ser una expedición integrada por personas de varias naciones y en busca del polo sur, su arribo y permanencia en la rada de Punta Arenas provocó un inusitado interés y despertó una atractiva afición por los temas científicos y políticos australes y antárticos.

PALABRAS CLAVES: Chile y Gerlache; Antártica; Punta Arenas; Historia Antártica Chilena

Towards the end of the XIX Century there was a great deal of concern and interest in European scientific circles in understanding the shape and nature of the seas and territories of the Antarctic Continent; an immense and rich part of the world that still had not been completely explored.

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In London, in 1895, the 5th International Geographic Congress took place and “in one of its most important agreements it was stated that there was an urgent need to explore the Antarctic regions given the great scientific importance that knowledge of them represented”.¹

It was from this moment on that two expeditions began to be organised with the aim of making history and clearing up the enigmas between fiction and reality that surrounded the South Pole and the Antarctic Continent: that of Gerlache (1897-1899) and that of Borchgrevink (1898-1900).

Four years later, during the 7th International Geographic Congress in Berlin in 1899, it was again requested “that the most progressive and best prepared countries for these enterprises should in close cooperation undertake the definite exploration of the Antarctic”.² From these calls there surged the so-called renaissance of Antarctic exploration of which Gerlache’s expedition was to be the first.

But, between the known world of that time and that which still remained to be discovered in the Antarctic was located Punta Arenas. This Chilean and Southern American regional city was like none other the best prepared to support scientific polar research in this new world stage.

Punta Arenas, from July of 1896 onwards, was awaiting the arrival of the Belgian expedition; around that date, *El Magallanes* reported that “a young lieutenant of the Belgian navy, M. De Gerlache, has conceived the project of creating and directing an expedition to Antarctic waters, whose study has barely been undertaken as of today”.³ And in October of the same year it reported again that “the Belgian expedition to the South Pole that was to leave at the end of this year in the steamship ‘*Belgique*’ has postponed its departure until next year”.⁴

What was interesting about this information was that the source of this news had been obtained from “a person resident in Punta Arenas who had received news of this delay, as the *Belgique* had to come to this port in order to resupply itself”.⁵

1. THE BELGIQUE IN PUNTA ARENAS

When Gerlache arrived in Punta Arenas, the city was about to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. We know that by this time it was not the most southerly Chilean settlement, as that was now Puerto Toro, on the eastern coast of Navarino island, founded in 1892 by the Governor Manuel Señoret, nevertheless, Punta Arenas was the most active city in the Straits of Magellan and well known in Europe and America; equally it was always willing to cooperate with anyone who originated in the Old World. During those years it possessed “a significant spontaneous flow of European emigrants that was always increasing”⁶ that naturally permitted the rapid creation of economic, political and cultural relations with this most southerly part of the territory of Chile.

That is why the arrival of a ship commanded by a Belgian en route to the South Pole was not surprising, what is more it had been expected for several months; also an additional attraction is that it “contained a cosmopolitan crew, consisting in two Polish scientists, a Russian one, a North American doctor, a Norwegian pilot, Roald Amundsen –at the start of his celebrated career- and a

crew evenly divided between Belgians and Norwegians”.⁷ But just as it contained the future discoverer of the South Pole, there was also Frederick Cook, doctor and anthropologist, who had joined the expedition after he had failed to organise a North American expedition to the Antarctic”.⁸ It was the best opportunity for Cook to once more insist on what had been his previous interest in reaching this “unknown Antarctic region”.⁹

Of all the members of Gerlache’s expedition, the last to join it but the first to reach Punta Arenas, was “naturalist Emile Rakovitza”.¹⁰ On November, 1897 *El Magallanes* reported of the arrival on the steamer *Oravia* of this illustrious visitor and that while awaiting the arrival of the *Belgique* “he would undertake certain scientific expeditions in the interior of the territory”.¹¹ Providing biographical information about the distinguished visitor, the morning paper said that he was of Rumanian nationality, and after having served in the army, he “had studied in Paris and had worked for six years in the maritime studies stations of Benlys-sur-Mer in the Department of the Eastern Pyrenees, in Roscoff, Department of Finisterre, and in Villafranca, near Nice. He had also belonged to the exploration commission of the Gulf of Lyon, being almost always busy with zoological studies.¹² It concluded affirming that he was a studious and experienced man who would be of great assistance to Gerlache not only because of his scientific abilities but also because of his wise advice during the enterprise that was about to take place.

Punta Arenas, when Adrien de Gerlache finally arrived, on December 1, 1897, was a well-known and busy port that acted as a link between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; it was also the point of departure for schooners navigating towards the islands of the Beagle Channel and Cape Horn. Even one year before the arrival of the Belgian expedition, the city had been visited by the Swedish geologist Nordenskjöld¹³, who from this port prepared his expedition in a steamer towards the interior of the territory of Magallanes in pursuit of studies in his speciality. The same man of science who years later in command of an expedition to the Antarctic had to undergo almost epic experiences of extreme survival on the Snow Hill island together with the survivors of the Antarctic and put on the front pages of the world press those who arrived to save them in 1903: the Argentine corvette *Uruguay*. Forming part of the crew of this ship it is worth remembering was the Chilean naval officer Alberto Chandler.

In 1897 the city of Punta Arenas contained “4,500 inhabitants... the town was divided into streets that were 20 meters wide and... it was the Republic’s only free port, with an exemption for customs duties on imports and exports”.¹⁴ One year before and because of the requirements of the Chilean Navy and the need to protect the Territory of Magallanes, the government had ordered the construction of a naval base in Punta Arenas. For which, the Governor of Magallanes, Captain Manuel Señoret, assumed command of the base and all the ships of the Chilean Navy that were stationed there were subordinated to the command of that base.¹⁵

That Gerlache had decided to make Punta Arenas the point of departure for and arrival from the South Pole was a question of not small importance for that time. As well as its privileged position in the Straits of Magellan, contacts with certain residents and services that Punta Arenas could offer, the most important factors were that it possessed a national and international post office, doctors and a sanitary and prophylactic station; there was a meteorological observatory with monthly records under the charge of the Order of Salesian Fathers; deposits of English coal belonging to

Lampert & Holt and Magellanic coal from the *Loreto* mine; the circulation of a local newspaper *El Magallanes* in which there were historic records and information about the expedition to the South Pole and; the accreditation of a French consul who would attend to matters involving the *Belgique*-Juan Blanchard.¹⁶ In sum, Punta Arenas fulfilled all the requirements needed for a port in these southern waters, and, also, it had the advantage of belonging to a country that was a friend of Belgium at that time. For these reasons *El Magallanes* put great effort into rising to the occasion and it was determined to deliver all the information possible on this fantastic South Pole enterprise and assumed the representation of all the country's press.¹⁷ It was to be the first time that a Chilean newspaper would have the opportunity to cover a news story of these characteristics.

Naturally no one could imagine that among the crew of this ship was the person who would finally be the first to reach the South Pole. As regards this, Carlos Aramayo Alzérreca on referring to the Belgian expedition wrote that in this country "also there was seen a preoccupation for the mysteries of the Antarctic and in the *Belgique* there sailed the Count Adrien de Gerlache, who arrived at Punta Arenas on December 1, 1897. On board the ship was the Norwegian Roald Amundsen, who was making his first trip to the South and who fourteen years later would conquer the South Pole".¹⁸

Of the group of explorers on board the *Belgique*, the Argentinean historian Adolfo Quevedo Paiva, for his part, stated that "they were exclusively scientists, corresponding to them therefore a first in the southern polar region. On August 16, 1897, the *Belgique* sailed from the port of Antwerp, anchoring December 1 in Punta Arenas in order to resupply, where for unknown reasons some sailors deserted, remaining only 19 crew members, when it sailed on the 14th".¹⁹

About this curious –and until now unknown- fact about the desertion of the sailors in Punta Arenas provided by Quevedo Paiva, there is no mention in the local newspaper *El Magallanes* or in any other Chilean newspaper of the period. Therefore if this desertion actually took place it had no effect on Gerlache's project and that is why it must have not been noted. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that among those who abandoned the expedition was Max van Rysselberghe, who settled in the City of Concepcion and founded a family, and whose descendents still live in this area of the south of Chile.

But even before the arrival of Gerlache and the *Belgique* in Punta Arenas, this expedition to the South Pole had already generated enormous publicity and journalistic attention in Brazil. It is enough to remember that the stop in Rio de Janeiro on October 27, 1897: "the expedition of the Belgian Captain Mr. Gerlache, and which is directed towards the South Pole"²⁰ was to be able to synchronise and prepare the ships instruments and to take advantage that the "head of the Observatory was Belgian"²¹ The happiness of the Belgian colony resident in Brazil was such that there were many demonstrations for the arrival of the *Belgique*; they celebrated the daring scientific expedition and were certain that they could reach their objective of conquering the South Pole.

Gerlache and his ship the *Belgique* had such an unexpected effect on the illustrated society of Rio de Janeiro that the Historical Institute of that city, on October 28th, celebrated a special session "with the object of receiving the explorers. At this event Lieutenant Gerlache and the Belgian Minister were made honorary members of this corporation".²² Gerlache, when thanking them for this unjustified honour, stated that "he was so happy for the demonstrations of sympathy that he had

received here, that if the expedition obtained the intended success, he would hoist the Brazilian flag beside that of Belgium at the South Pole".²³

On leaving Brazil on October 30, 1897, Gerlache planned to be in Punta Arenas in not more than thirty days. In this city "the expedition's agent, Mr. Lorenzo D-Braey, who was to deal with the correspondence and other matters of support for the expedition"²⁴ awaited him. The mission of this agent was to handle everything involving the supply of "provisions, which were calculated to last for three years and the coal which would be completed when they reached Punta Arenas, Straits of Magellan".²⁵ It was necessary to work with care and restraint as the polar expedition had an estimated cost of approximately 1,200,000 francs.²⁶ An amount that for most of the population of Punta Arenas at that time was considered to be a sum that was both suspicious and admirable, and all just to discover the Antarctic and the South Pole! That is why it was necessary to consider the importance of the Belgian expedition.

In the local newspaper, *El Magallanes*, it was reported on November 7, 1897 that "A voyage to the North or South Pole, in a balloon, like Andrée, or by sea, like Nansen in the '*Fram*' or Gerlache in the '*Belgique*', is not a thing that one does every day".²⁷ That is why it was considered to be an honour for Chile and Punta Arenas that the Belgian explorer had selected this city as the starting point for this daring polar voyage. In recognition of this the editorial staff could not do less than assume the role of correspondent for the Gerlache expedition.

Awaiting the arrival of the *Belgique*, *El Magallanes* reported on November 25th that "According to the Buenos Aires newspapers, the '*Belgique*' has sailed from Montevideo for Punta Arenas on the afternoon of the 13th of this month and before sailing the explorers have been extensively entertained".²⁸ These celebrations were equivalent to those they had received in Rio de Janeiro.

Intelligently, *El Magallanes*, while it awaited the arrival of the expedition, took the opportunity to 'bring up to date' the inhabitants of Punta Arenas about the situation of polar explorations and especially Antarctic ones. But behind this information lay the real purpose of this which was to wake up and raise interest in the population of Punta Arenas –in the closest proximity- which would be the presence in the city of a group of European scientists for a number of weeks on their way to the South Pole and the later return of the *Belgique*. The editors of the *El Magallanes* were well aware that never before had members of an expedition to the South Pole had been in such close proximity to the inhabitants of Magallanes and that for this reason it was important to know how to deal with them and to draw lessons for the future.

On December 2, 1897 *El Magallanes* stated that "there still exists towards both the North Pole as to the South pole, enormous territories unknown to the geographic sciences".²⁹ But that it was necessary to take into account "that explorations in the South are more difficult than those in the North".³⁰ The greatest merit of the voyage that Lieutenant Gerlache was to soon undertake to the South Pole from the Bay of Punta Arenas was that "Now, for the first time, the Belgian expedition was to overwinter in the Antarctic regions and, from its bases, it would organise during the winter excursions on sleighs and runners".³¹ Both this program and the other planned manoeuvres had never been previously carried out in the Antarctic; here was the true novelty of the 'Belgian expedition'.

As regards the technical characteristics of the ship, *El Magallanes* said that "The ship was formerly a Norwegian whaling ship and classified as being in first class shape. It is of 400 tons registry, built so as to resist the pressure of the ice, especially the bows which were protected by hooks and plates of steel, and which was supplied with all of the most modern nautical instruments, to which were added those for magnetic, meteorological observations and others adequate for undersea discoveries at great depths".³²

But the most interesting items were the *Belgique*'s cargo: "It also carries several small houses with double walls, with the space between filled with moss, and which would serve as housing for the explorers. These houses, easy to put together and to take apart were provided with tables, benches, and fur-covered beds, etc., and which could communicate with each other using a telephone. For the excursions from the winter camp the sleds were provided with food, arms, reserve skates, etc. The excursionists were provided with the skins of white bears and good blankets which enabled them to support extreme cold. A new type of runner enabled them to cover great distances in a short time over fields of ice and snow".³³

Gerlache's plan consisted in sailing from Punta Arenas, where they would load their final supply of coal, and to sail towards the coast of Graham Land. In this land it was possible to follow the latitude reached by Weddell in 1823, sailing east towards Victoria Land. There, Gerlache planned to spend "the winter of 1898 that begins in March, in company with Danko, Rakovitza and Arctowsky, while the *Belgique* sailed to Australia, from where it would return seven or eight months later to pick up the explorers. While Arctowsky made observations near the winter camp; de Gerlache, Dance and Rakovitza would do whatever possible to reach the Pole. In 1899 the expedition would return (to Punta Arenas), travelling by way of Australia, the Indian Ocean and the Suez Canal"³⁴

Following its editorial policy of providing information about the importance of the Gerlache expedition, *El Magallanes* stated that "the extreme southern part of our globe has been virtually ignored until now".³⁵ That it was now time to reach 90° South Latitude, making use of even "methods analogous to those employed by him (Gerlache) with the assistance of the captive balloon that he carried on his ship"³⁶, because it was now possible to identify three epochs or periods in the previous searches that began in the 16th Century and which ended with the expedition of James Ross in 1841.

Faced with this new period of Antarctic explorations, *El Magallanes* attempted to raise the enthusiasm of its readers when it wrote: "Let us pray that the Belgian expedition will manage to surpass the maximum latitude of 78° 11' that had been reached by Ross, and that helped by his balloon Lieutenant Gerlache will at least be able to, at least, have a look at those regions closest to the unknown pole".³⁷ Equally, it warned that the importance of this European scientific mission, suggested that the inhabitants of Punta Arenas should raise the national flag over their residences as soon as the *Belgique*, that had chosen our port as its station on its way to the South Pole, was sighted".³⁸ It was the civilised way to welcome the members of the expedition and to involve the residents of Punta Arenas and Chile in a Polar enterprise of this nature. It was also the best moment to begin a national debate as to why Chile could not do the same as it was located in an unbeatable geographic position and very close to Antarctica. Similar comments were made a year and a half later when the *Belgique* returned.

In his trip to the South Pole Gerlache and his fellow voyagers was in Punta Arenas from Wednesday the 1st until Tuesday the 14th of December of 1897; this time was used to rest, recondition the instruments and prepare the ship and carry out the resupply of dry provisions, water and coal.³⁹ The officers and scientists stayed at the *Hotel France* and, together with the crew, toured the streets, the dock and visited the central square of the city.

The high point of their first stay was the invitation that one of the residents of the city, Walter Curtsey extended to Gerlache and his officers on Sunday December 12th in a plot of land belonging to Mr. Buck. In this opportunity Curtsey and his wife accompanied by other families 'belonging to the high society' of Punta Arenas, "offered a splendid appetizers, and also pleasantly converse about their impressions and ideas and "take photographs of the place where the lunch took place and of the people who attended, with everyone finally leaving around six thirty in the afternoon".⁴⁰ This social affair was merely an anticipated goodbye to the expedition which sailed two days later.

El Magallanes published the following of December 16th: "May good luck protect the daring and intelligent explorers, these are our wishes".⁴¹

Before the *Belgique* returned to Punta Arenas on Tuesday March 28, 1899, it was not exactly known what had happened; between their departure and their return there had been numerous reports and news extras in the American and European press; the majority of them reported that the *Belgique* had come to a tragic end with the total loss of all of the crew in Antarctic waters and even somewhere on the coasts of Tierra del Fuego.⁴² It was also said that they had arrived in Australia or as was reported in *The British Weekly* "In Ostend they have received news of the total loss of the *Belgique* the ship equipped by the Belgian government. The ship was lost off Cape Horn, saving all of the members of the expedition".⁴³

After an absence of fourteen and a half months it was finally known what had happened in the Antarctic continent.

In general the most important events which affected the Gerlache expedition, was that at "Peter I Island they encountered a colossal iceberg which prevented them from proceeding further. They therefore navigated towards the south-east entering the regions where pack-ice existed up to 71° 36' where they spent the winter of 1898, completely blocked by the enormous masses of ice".⁴⁴

The greatest and the most serious problem that the *Belgique* faced were the low temperatures and "in September 1898 the thermometer reached -43° (below zero) and the time was used to make numerous observations with the sounding line and the compass. Very few fish were caught. During the excursions on land in Graham Land a number of foxes and penguins were captured which provided fresh meat".⁴⁵

Finally the ship was able to free itself: "On August 14th they began moving and directed themselves towards Peter I Island and then immediately towards Cape Horn. They reached Punta Arenas through the Cockburn Channel on the 28th".⁴⁶

With their return to Punta Arenas the mysteries that had enveloped the expedition and which had led to fears that it had suffered a total failure. The truth was that this was not true and “The *Belgique* was to remain some time in this port, before its return to Antwerp. It needed to be dry docked in order to be caulked and have its bottom cleaned because it was taking on water”.⁴⁷

As regards the achievements and scientific results obtained during the Polar captivity of the *Belgique*, *La Nación* a Buenos Aires newspaper stated that “the first reports on the discoveries made during the voyage of the *Belgique* under the command of Lieutenant Gerlache has been carefully reserved for Europe and the European newspapers. America and the American publications will have to be content, if the wishes of the intrepid navigators are respected, with second hand reports, which although they may be of interest, will have lost a great deal of its newsworthiness”.⁴⁸ This opinion of the Buenos Aires morning paper was in reality completely true, given that *El Magallanes* was never able to obtain an interview with or information from the members of the expedition, although they were in Punta Arenas for over three months. The only information that could be obtained was a very brief account of the human losses suffered during the captivity in the ice and some very short and repetitive reports that the *Belgique* was under repair and that it would soon set sail for Europe.⁴⁹

The care with which the information about the wintering of the *Belgique* in the Antarctic and the new scientific and geographic knowledge acquired was handled could be said to not have presented any problems for *El Magallanes* at that time, but as it would state in an editorial years later, this situation had given rise to the new comprehension of the value of the polar and scientific information about Antarctica and where nothing should take place in the future without being carefully protected.

On May 18, 1899 in the harbour of Punta Arenas where the *Belgique* was located “there only remained on board Lieutenant de Gerlache, his second in command Mr. Lecoimte and other secondary officers. On Sunday Dr. Cook, the ship’s doctor, left for Buenos Aires, where he took ship directly for New York. Dr. Cook even took a rapid trip to Ushuaia, returning to Punta Arenas. Doctors Arctowsky and Rakovitza had already left for Europe.⁵⁰ From reports received later from New York it was known that Dr. Cook had arrived ‘safe and sound’ in that city on June 23rd.⁵¹

When finally the *Belgique* together with Lieutenant Gerlache sailed on May 25, 1899, *El Magallanes* laconically closed its reporting saying: “We say goodbye to the valiant explorers of the Antarctic seas”.⁵²

Once the Belgian ship had left the Straits and had set its final course to Antwerp, for *El Magallanes* there remained the feeling that they had done their duty and that they had been exceptional hosts, nevertheless, the long term analysis made it quite clear how everything involving Antarctic expeditions and science should be handled.

2. CONCLUSIONS

- Gerlache took up the call of the 6th International Geographic Congress in London in order to be able increase knowledge about the South Pole and Antarctica.

- Although it failed to sail from Antwerp in 1896, the next year it was able to sail towards the South.
- The navigation route followed of the *Belgique* along the coasts of America involved stops in Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo before reaching the port from which it would sail towards the South Pole.
- The decision to use Punta Arenas as the port of departure and the port of return to the Antarctic and the South Pole had been planned for with great anticipation.
- The demonstrations of happiness and enthusiasm that the explorers received on their passage through Punta Arenas were no less than those that were given in Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo.
- At the moment that the *Belgique* sailed from Punta Arenas, its commander Adrien Gerlache had as his final objective to overwinter in the Antarctic and to get as close to the South Pole as possible, if not to reach it.
- From the middle of December of 1897 until the end of March of 1899 little or nothing was known about the fate of the *Belgique*. This was a time when there was conflicting and inauspicious information.
- The return of the *Belgique* to Punta Arenas was warmly celebrated because of the return of the intrepid explorers of the southern ice. Paradoxically, the receptivity of the officers and crew of the *Belgique* was extremely limited and they were basically silent during their second stay. The losses of Emile Danco, the Belgian magnetic observer and photographer of the expedition, who died on June 5, 1898, due to a heart complaint and the Norwegian seaman August Wincke who died on January 22, 1899 due to an accident, could have been interpreted as the reasons for the conduct previously mentioned.
- For *El Magallanes* the experience left by Gerlache and the *Belgique* in Punta Arenas is unforgettable. It allowed them to make direct contact with a group of European explorers and scientists who went to and returned from the Antarctic, to know their aspirations and fears, including the deaths of some of their companions. But it was equally balanced by the importance that for Punta Arenas and Chile in particular, the closeness of the Antarctic and the importance of Polar information.

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¹ Óscar Pinochet de la Barra, *La Antártica Chilena* (Santiago: Ed. Andrés Bello, 1976), 34.

² Armando Braun, *Pequeña Historia Antártica* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Francisco de Aguirre S. A., 1974), 41.

³ "La Expedición Belga a las Regiones Antárticas" *El Magallanes* (12 julio 1896), 3.

⁴ "El 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (25 octubre 1896), 3.

⁵ "El 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (25 octubre 1896), 3.

⁶ Editorial, "1880-1894. Lo Que Éramos y lo Que Somos. Menos Política y Más Patriotismo" *El Magallanes* (1 julio 1894), 1.

⁷ Braun (1974), 38.

⁸ Laurence P. Kirwan, *Historia de las Exploraciones Polares* (Barcelona: Luis Caralt Editor, 2001), 282.

⁹ "El Polo Antártico" *El Magallanes* (25 noviembre 1894), 1.

¹⁰ Eduardo Dargent, "Los Belgas en la Antártida: Adrien de Gerlache" *Derroteros de la Mar del Sur* Año 2 n° 2, 14.

¹¹ "El Polo Sur. El 'Bélgica'. El Doctor Rakovitz" *El Magallanes* (7 noviembre 1897), 2.

¹² "El Polo Sur. El 'Bélgica'. El Doctor Rakovitz" *El Magallanes* (7 noviembre 1897), 2.

¹³ "Exploración" *El Magallanes* (22 noviembre 1896), 3.

¹⁴ Robustiano Vera, *La Colonia de Magallanes i Tierra del Fuego (1843-1897)* (Santiago: Imprenta de la Gaceta, 1897), 376-377.

¹⁵ "Apostadero Naval en Punta Arenas" *El Magallanes* (23 abril 1896), 3.

¹⁶ Vera (1897), 412, 418, 419, 421 y 422.

¹⁷ "El 'Bélgica' Nuestro Saludo" *El Magallanes* (2 diciembre 1897), 3.

¹⁸ Carlos Aramayo, *Breve Historia de la Antártida* (Santiago: Ed. Zig-Zag, 1963), 51.

¹⁹ Adolfo Quevedo, *Historia de la Antártida* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Argentinidad, 2012), 105. Also see by the same author: *Medio Siglo del Ejército Argentino en Nuestra Antártida 1951-2001* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Dunken, 2001), 41 y 46.

²⁰ "Al Polo Sur el 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (4 noviembre 1897), 3.

²¹ "El Polo Sur. Más Sobre el 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (10 octubre 1897), 2.

²² "El Polo Sur. El 'Bélgica'. El Doctor Rakovitz" *El Magallanes* (7 noviembre 1897), 2.

²³ "El Polo Sur. El 'Bélgica'. El Doctor Rakovitz" *El Magallanes* (7 noviembre 1897), 2.

²⁴ "El Polo Sur. Más Sobre el 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (10 octubre 1897), 2.

²⁵ Editorial, "El Polo Sur. El 'Bélgica'. De Gerlache y sus Compañeros. Datos Biográficos" *El Magallanes* (2 diciembre 1897), 2.

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³¹ Editorial, "El Polo Sur. El 'Bélgica'. De Gerlache y sus Compañeros. Datos Biográficos" *El Magallanes* (2 diciembre 1897), 2.

³² Editorial, "El Polo Sur. El 'Bélgica'. De Gerlache y sus Compañeros. Datos Biográficos" *El Magallanes* (2 diciembre 1897), 2.

³³ Editorial, "El Polo Sur. El 'Bélgica'. De Gerlache y sus Compañeros. Datos Biográficos" *El Magallanes* (2 diciembre 1897), 2.

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- ³⁴ Editorial, "El Polo Sur. El 'Bélgica'. De Gerlache y sus Compañeros. Datos Biográficos" *El Magallanes* (2 diciembre 1897), 2.
- ³⁵ Editorial, "El Polo Antártico. Con Motivo de la Expedición Gerlache. Las Expediciones Anteriores" *El Magallanes* (5 diciembre 1897), 2.
- ³⁶ Editorial, "El Polo Antártico. Con Motivo de la Expedición Gerlache. Las Expediciones Anteriores" *El Magallanes* (5 diciembre 1897), 2.
- ³⁷ Editorial, "El Polo Antártico. Con Motivo de la Expedición Gerlache. Las Expediciones Anteriores" *El Magallanes* (5 diciembre 1897), 2.
- ³⁸ "Invitación al Vecindario de Punta Arenas" *El Magallanes* (7 noviembre 1897), 3.
- ³⁹ "El 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (16 diciembre 1897), 4.
- ⁴⁰ "Pic-Nick al 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (16 diciembre 1897), 4.
- ⁴¹ "El 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (16 diciembre 1897), 4.
- ⁴² "El 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (30 junio 1898), 2.
- ⁴³ "El 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (22 mayo 1898), 2.
- ⁴⁴ Editorial, "Llegada del 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (30 marzo 1899), 2.
- ⁴⁵ Editorial, "Llegada del 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (30 marzo 1899), 2.
- ⁴⁶ Editorial, "Llegada del 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (30 marzo 1899), 2.
- ⁴⁷ Editorial, "Llegada del 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (30 marzo 1899), 2.
- ⁴⁸ "El Viaje del 'Bélgica'. En los Mares Australes. Descubrimiento del Canal Bélgica. La Barrera de Hielo. Cautivos. Horas Interminables. Los Pingüinos" *El Magallanes* (11 mayo 1899), 3 y 4.
- ⁴⁹ "El 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (18 mayo 1899), 3.
- ⁵⁰ "El 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (18 mayo 1899), 3.
- ⁵¹ "El 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (6 julio 1899), 3.
- ⁵² "El 'Bélgica'" *El Magallanes* (25 mayo 1899), 3.

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