

# Ideas for the historiography of politics and the State in Argentina and Chile, 1840-1930\*

Ernesto Bohoslavsky y Milton Godoy Orellana\*\*

**Abstract:** The article analyzes the sociologic and historic considerations in the context of building up the national state in Argentina and Chile. It intends to distinguish among the -at least- three dimensions superimposed in the collisions produced during the process of construction and imposition of state order in Latin America. Thus, this article makes a methodological and theoretical choice which is the comparative envisage, understanding that this helps to better understand the nature of the respective historic experiences, their common characteristics as well as the original ones. Two nearby experiences, two different experiences. Chilean and Argentine's have looked at ourselves and distrusted, but have studied each other scarcely. Prejudices dominate clearly over other alternatives of perception and knowledge. Though the respective national historiographies have been for long encapsulated, in these last years the fertility -and even more, the need- of international academic exchanges has been demonstrated.

**Key words:** historiography, Chile, Argentina, comparative envisage

## Ideas para la historiografía de la política y el Estado en Argentina y Chile, 1840-1930

**Resumen:** El artículo analiza las reflexiones históricas y sociológicas producidas en el contexto de las la construcción del estado nacional en Argentina y Chile. Se pretende distinguir entre las -al menos- tres dimensiones superpuestas en los choques producidos durante el proceso de construcción e imposición del orden estatal en América Latina. Así, este artículo viene a asentarse en una apuesta teórica y metodológica por el enfoque comparativo, entendiendo que éste ayuda a comprender mejor la naturaleza de las respectivas experiencias históricas, sus rasgos compartidos así como los originales. Dos experiencias cercanas, dos experiencias distintas. Chilenos y argentinos nos hemos mirado y recelado, pero nos hemos estudiado poco unos a otros. Los prejuicios predominan claramente sobre otras alternativas de percepción y conocimiento. Largamente encapsuladas las respectivas historiografías nacionales, en estos últimos años se ha venido a demostrar la fertilidad -y aun más, la necesidad- de los intercambios académicos internacionales.

**Palabras clave:** historiografía, Chile, Argentina, enfoque comparativo

Received 12.03.08

Accepted 04.04.08

\* \* \*

The contemporary approaches to the process of the national Estate constitution in Latin America in the second half of the 19th Century had a renowned legitimation effect. The thinkers of the process dedicated above all to recreate what they thought was the triumph of modernization over tradition and backwardness (represented by the Hispanic past) of the national over local, of white over native Indians/blacks, of rail over rake and sometimes of positivism over Catholicism. The historiography built "on the making" over this process absorbed itself on this nationalistic and triumphalism speech and contributed to naturalize and strengthen the particular lines of the period. It's enough to reread the approach of Diego Barros Arana to the theme in his *Chile's General History* (Historia General de Chile) volumes to appreciate which is the logic that guides his interpretation. Supported by the denominated narrative system, which by the 19th century historian was targeted to the greatest amount of readers, "let us know the more or less prominent individualities of past times" (Barros Arana 1999:6), the most outstanding Chilean historian of the 19th century wrote exclusively about whom he considered the real protagonists of the national story: males coming from the elite, morally probes and disinterested of all -except supporting their mother country-. The rest that appear are supporting actors that are assumed to irrationally intervene because lack of knowledge of social laws or to defend their particular interests.

This was a historiography of creation of heroes that implemented the past with a foundational criteria as was the building of a national future for he did not skimp on words at the time to praise the founding Fathers. For the case, we should recall the figure of O'Higgins built by Vicuña Mackenna (1882); in the biography dedicated to the national hero he was given mythical traits that linked him to the landscape and the destinies of his homeland (Colmenares 2006). Probably, another peak is reached with the epic description that Bartolomé Mitre (1887) made of San Martín, where the liberator becomes a

hieratic image whose cranial morphology explains to this author some of his high qualities. Thus, the historian's pen converged with the chisel when sacrificial was shaped in granite and bronze seeking to represent the sublimation of the hero as an example to the national crowds, creating civic statuary that invaded the public spaces of the new republic. The Republican Peru that Jorge Basadre (1947; 1968) narrated at mid-twentieth century was still a "creole" autobiography, with a teaching vision focused on highlighting the independent State as a task-problem-destiny-and possibility (Thurner 2006).

It is difficult today to return to that nineteenth Century literature without recognizing its open ideological bias and disdain for the political practices and the non elite, subaltern, feminine, peripheral cultures: the process of creation and enforcement of the national State is perceived from a viewpoint in which the protagonists and its columnists do not differ in their moral and political weight. It had to await the process of history making as a scientific discipline and that this would increase their levels of autonomy with respect to political power -after the Second World War- to develop diverse perspectives regarding the process of construction of the national order in mid-nineteenth century Latin America. In the 1960s and 1970s, the social and economic historiography showed the imposition of increasingly and aggressive national state (or at least central) over the regions that ended subjugated, following the same path of their populations, corporations and identities that they inhabited. This structural approach thought to guess at the imposition of the national state as the result of a larger scale phenomenon, which gave an account of capitalist modernization in Latin America already incipient in the mid-nineteenth century, when it began its insertion as a primary-exporting region (Lynch 1981; Peña 1968, 1969; Rodríguez Molas 1982; Slatta 1983) in the global economic system, as part of the periphery world-economy (Wallerstein 1999). But it was this same interaction that exposed national economies to tensions and vicissitudes of the international economy, making them travel "on their path to capitalism", as Ortega has pointed out in the case of Chile, in a process of modernization and change marked by contractions and expansions linked to the changes of the markets and the conditions imposed by the "City" of London (Ortega 2005). The current economic historiography has also explored the paths of the archaism historical matrix in the mining exploitation, the lack of capital and entrepreneurs willing to modernize, among many other reasons to explain the disabilities of the sector (Ortega 2008).

Thus, the development of capitalism would have required a contemporary process of legitimization, task that was addressed by the establishment of state institutions who were able to universalize the narrow interests of landowners and mining oligarchies. "Cepalinas" theories, modernizing or dependent insisted on considering that those state agencies, parallel, should develop tasks to support the production of primary goods that these bourgeoisies, in conjunction with metropolitan capital, were responsible for export. In this perspective, there was something that remained largely inert with respect to the one developed decades ago. The protagonists of the story kept being the elites who had assumed the oligarchic project following the double logic of state expansion and domination of capital: in this view, State and bourgeoisie were the only ones that had a defined project as well as the social and political instruments to carry it out (Carmagnani 1984; Pizarro 1971, 1986; Ramírez Necochea 2007). It is clear that there is a moral and political assessment completely inverted with respect to which the illustrious men of the nineteenth century formulated regarding the process, but did not change the belief that the historiography tale should give account in first place of dominant "figures", individually or collectively and the sense of top-down process.

Made the equivalent between progress of peripheral capitalism and national state victory, the popular sectors, in this view, did not enter in the historic story but as victims of the process. Peasants, artisans, labourers, muleteers, workers, all those who were grouped as part of the "urban rabble" and "low class people", when portrayed, generally, they do so in a secondary or passive role, either from a view that considers the whole process as an inevitable outcome of modernization (exclusive) or as the result of political domination of one class over the rest of society. Be it because they lacked the mental tools to think of an alternative project, because they had no capabilities to establish broader and sustainable alliances or because the laws of the historical stages demanded so, their destiny seemed to be sealed.

The historical and sociological analysis produced in the context of the latest dictatorships and the return of democracy in the Southern part of the hemisphere in the 1980s, were neglecting that structural approach and some tools of orthodox Marxism. The experience of the absolute arbitrariness offered by direct governments of the Armed Forces in the continent returned a sudden centrality to the political history, which would have melted in the social and economical context of past decades. Hence, inviting a reassessment of the political sphere and assuming that it had certain autonomy regarding the more global economic events. Political parties, electoral practices, identity formation and circulation of political news

are among the issues that have emerged over the past fifteen years at the time to study Latin America (Annino 1995; Annino *et al.* 1994; Annino y Guerra 2003; Carmagnani 1993; Devoto y Ferrari 1994; Goldman 1992; Goldman y Salvatore 1998; González-Bernaldo 2001; Guerra y Lempérière 1998; Malamud 1995, 1997, 2000; Posada-Carbó 1996; Sábato 1999; Sábato y Lettieri 2003). This historiography tour has allowed thinking politics (their ideas, practices and rules) in a less deterministic manner and has returned greater protagonism to its own dynamic and their institutions. Historiography has shown that equality enshrined in the constitutional texts imagined equality among people (at least between men), but lived with a reality in which ethnic ranking of gender and class was the rule: the way it was resolved that dilemma between the promise of Universalist national-democratic and an excluding and hierarchic practice, is where some authors have found the engine of the long Latin American nineteenth century (Mallon 2004a; Prado Arellano 2004).

In turn, this approach has allowed recognizing the specifically political dimension in the national state building process and the weight that the subordinate sectors had in it, not only as resistant. That has permitted to take in consideration a number of alternative projects or protesters that were left on the edge of history, defeated in front of an order that has often being characterized as inflexible, unbeatable and coherent (Salazar Vergara 2005). The provinces also has ceased to be seen as obstacles to the inevitable arrival of the national time and their political centrality in the first decades of the nineteenth century have been recognized, earlier defeated in Chile and later in La Plata River (Chiaramonte 1989b, 1989a, 1993). The imposition of the national state over the provinces, in this perspective, is not simply the institutional-territorial dimension of the victory of a self-conscious bourgeoisie over other competing groups (from elite as well as subordinates). Is that the provincial sovereignty, the result of a hurried dissolution of the colonial order, was not destined to give way and submit to national sovereignty for being more “modern” as has been believed (Botana 1998:11). Recently Jeremy Adelman (2006) has recommended to stop thinking about the independent processes as if an historical law “claimed” the replacement of empires by nations and members of medieval resonances ossified corporations and ethnic-racial classifications by individual citizens.

That renewal of the historiographical approach feeds some of the intentions of this book. One of them is to try distinguishing between –at least- three overlapping dimensions in clashes produced during the construction and imposition in the state order process in Latin America. All these dimensions were superimposed on the more structural perception that supposed –explicitly or not- that history had a series of goals or stages.

First, collisions among different regions interests of a same country not always lacking of a political component that showed in intra-elite divisions. Social and political antagonisms between the livestock producing mountain area and the coastal plantations area in Ecuador seem to be one of the most relevant examples in this regard. In some cases, these controversies led to internal armed conflicts, leading to disruptions in the political system (between a centralist side and other more federal or autonomist or among different regions) that in all Latin America have been called, not without questioning, as “civil wars” (Prado Arellano 2004). Colombian history that extends from the mid-nineteenth until the end of “War of the Thousand Days” illustrates this series of clashes. Also, in this line of argument appear as good examples the Chilean civil wars of 1851 and 1859, determined the first as an inter-oligarchic military political conflict that was defined by two political fronts. Thus, in the south was created a regionalist movement leaded by the conservatives while in the north the movement was born driven by the Society of Equality and the Liberals (Godoy 2000; Schmutzer 1984). Secondly, the civil war of 1859, which also meant an inter-oligarchic break up, but was clearly the most violent expression of an incipient “local bourgeoisie” essentially developed from the eaves of the growing Norte Chico mining exploitation (Ortega y Rubio 2006; Perez 2006).

Secondly, there were disputes between the elites and other social sectors that were not sufficiently subordinated to the order that was promoted from above (an extreme case seems to be the messianic-millennarian resistances from Canudos and Contestado in the *Republica Velha*). The history of the continent is full of references to the general or particular insolences that the subordinated sectors offered to the self denominated “decent people”, without necessarily altering the bold trait of social domination. This position allows for re-politicizing from the historiography the resistances, alterations, challenges and disobediences to new state government and the capitalist order in rural and urban areas in the second half of the nineteenth century and early next. Such practices were not natural, obvious, necessary nor structurally determined but the result of decisions, reflections and assumed calculations (and not a reflection of class instinct or of its position in the class structure) which promoted the arrival of new

types of societies, the return of old relationships or even disdain for the novel social order. The resistances from down under need to be seen as part of a broader social and political process of which can no longer be said that is an exclusive struggle in the up-down sense, but it was much more complex and varied. In this sense, progress has been made to explain the transition process of the pre-industrial society to the modern and its strains with regard to study the complexity of a process that varied from the peasant resistances to the modern forms of social articulation (Goicovic 2004; Grez Toso 1998; Pinto Vallejos 1998; Salazar Vergara 1985). Often the resistances to the new republican and capitalist order was done but as a wish to retain privileges and colonial charters, and above all, to avoid civil equality with the “castes”, considered mentally immature for a non-authoritarian regime (Prado Arellano 2004:96). The density of the treated phenomenon came from, in many cases, from the fact that there were few subordinate subjects that wished to enter this new state order. It is clear that these inclusions were selective and strategic and that probably included native divergent directions (hard to tell if compatible or not) with respect to those promoted by the public authorities.

Thirdly, it is possible to find struggles between sectors and spokesmen of the social cusps, faced with much more than intellectual diatribes about the type of state and nation that was wished to solidify. The clashes between conservatives and liberals –even when they badly hide an enormous consensus about the need, feasibility and relevance of the end of century oligarchic order- should not take our sight out over the hot and aggressive of their disputes over problems such as the role of the Church and its relation with the state. A good reference are the decades of 1820 in Chile or 1850 and 1860 in the La Plata River, years in which the lack of political leadership universally recognized is reflected in the historiographical interpretations of early nineteenth century as a time of “anarchy”. Thus, resistance to the new order was not exclusive patrimony of whom, *a posteriori*, ended taking the worse part, that is, urban workers, Indian communities and peasants. Not few subjects coming from the elites participated in riots and challenges to the national state authorities. In the Chilean case, it has been emphasized the similarities between the French *frondes* and the liberal efforts to reduce executive power, expressed in the political upheaval of 1849-51 and 1857-1859 (Collier 2003). Many disputes and threats of the new state order were leaded, accompanied or tolerated by members of elite groups unhappy with aspects and relevant figures of the new direction (and not necessarily with the general sense of the process). Coming from the dominant sectors did not necessarily mean to be a better or respectful citizen of the constitution and the legitimate governments, as was fully demonstrated by Fernando Escalante Gonzalbo (1992) for the case of Mexico; generals, authorities and politicians were citizens so “imaginary” as common people. Ultimately, what shows the most recent historiography is that there is not in the period of oligarchic regimes in Latin America (and any other) an impersonal government nor free of political tensions. The State does not exist outside the alliances that establish identifiable social groups. Hence, it is not valid the idea that all “disorder” is generated by subordinate sectors neither that the elites remain out of the challenges of state order. A postcard to distil the analysis of the national State in regions of Argentina and Chile between 1840 and 1930 is that the public sector shows preferably traits of repressive capabilities more than a consensual regulation of behaviour (that makes it oligarchic). And if some authors have shown that the preponderance of coercive features over those consensuses was the result of the difficulties of the early Republican state of imposing over their competitors and alternative loyalties, the “externalization of the State” in the words of Oszlak (1997:28-29), was expressed primarily in institutions that were destined to consolidate and legitimate the central power (militias, communication channels, institutions and legal mechanisms).

### **Chileans and Argentines, nations and regions**

This text comes to settle in depth as a theoretical and methodological bet for the comparative approach understanding that it helps to better comprehend the nature of their respective historic experiences, their shared features and the originals. Now, accepted the validity of the comparative method, why apply it to Argentina and Chile and not to contrast other countries, or both with a third? Leaving aside the possibility and advantages that would generate other possible comparisons, a contrast between the historical experiences of the two countries that share the southern extreme of the continent offers a series of stimulating perspectives that come from sharing historical processes but also having marked differences in their historical differences.

Two nearby experiences, two different experiences. Chileans and Argentines have looked at each other with suspicion, but have studied little one another. Prejudices clearly predominate over other forms of perception and knowledge. Largely encapsulated in the respective national historiographies of Latin

America, is only in recent years that have been able to demonstrate the fertility –and even more, the need– of academic exchanges. If we look the issue of joint visions, cases of editions that seek to provide reading of similar problems with neighbours have two excellent expressions in the editions of Chilean and Peruvian historians of recent years, antecedent worthy of imitating (Cavieres Figueroa and Aljovin de Losada 2005). Another example, happy by the way, have been in recent years which there has been a strengthening of academic relations between Argentina and Chile. The climate of mutual trust and cooperation have been expressed in the formulation of joint research projects, training of specialized groups in frontier history, regular scientific meetings and publications focusing on related topics.<sup>1</sup>

This is the case of the *Journal of inter-Andes studies (Revista de estudios trasandinos)* published since 1997 in Santiago, Chile by the Chilean Argentine Association of Historic Studies and Cultural Integration, which also has been responsible for the implementation of seven versions of the Chilean Argentine Association of Historic Studies and Cultural Integration Conference, the latest of which was held in April 2007 in the city of Salta in northwest Argentina.

What aspects seem to be going in a convergent direction in the historical life of both extreme south countries for the period of 1840-1930? Equipped with small populations and clearly peripheral with respect to the colonial decision environment, both the Plata and the South Pacific as well enter independent life without those economic and demographic attributes that at the time were considered relevant to prophesize a venturesome future as independent nations. However, both countries were successful examples of economic integration in foreign trade and political centralization. The process was divergent in time and in its intensity at both sides of the Andes, but has common ground. One of them is that in the second half of the nineteenth century the national governments advanced over areas that had not been subject to colonial control, but were under possession of indigenous societies, such as the prairies “pampas”, Patagonia, Araucania and Chaco. Argentina and Chile respond to a nineteenth century territorial reality where new constructions emerged formed from post-independence status quo, which in most Latin American cases faced important territorial changes, with the exception of Brazil whose territorial continuity is greater given the particular characteristics of its emancipation process. Both, Argentina and Chile, share during the nineteenth century an aggressive territorial policy which by successful military confrontation or political pressure with neighbour countries allowed them to add larger territories than those inherited by colonial administration and set political boundaries that were mapped out with enough strength to the present period, although many inhabitants and military have insisted in the need of modifying them against the ongoing harassment of their Andean neighbour (Lacoste 2003).

The formation of a primary-exporting mining or agricultural-cattle producing pole since the mid-nineteenth century attracted large migration to the region, whether interested in participating in the saltpetre exploitation of northern Chile or the opportunities that livestock and grains in the Argentine prairie (pampas) brought. Nonexistent groups until then, linked to export activities and ancillary services, made their conflicting appearances in the national scene, dissolving or threatening the narrow limits of oligarchic political practices. On the edge of the nineteenth century various citizen-democratic and social claims were unleashed coming from the new middle classes and the urban and mining proletariat (Grez Toso 1998; Romero 1997; Suriano 2000), being left in a more relegated place the rural subordinate sectors. It would be those pressures and will to overcome the traditional political framework that was expressed in the victories of Yrigoyen in 1916 and Alessandro in 1920. The period was marked in both countries by the presence of a strong trade union and leftists that was perceived as an open threat to the social order and civilizing by the elites, specially after the assault to the tsarist Winter Palace, at the end of 1917. The reformists’ experiences in the 1920s were closed with *putschs* carried out by right wing military, supported by a nationalist-corporatist project which was said to be the best solution to stop the class struggles and political decadence. The coups directed by Ibañez del Campo and Jose Felix Uriburu would indicate the veto or the limit to the political inclusion process developed by the elites and of which they lost control early.

But the differences between both countries in the period 1840-1930 were also notorious. While the impact of immigration in the La Plata River area was overwhelming in demographic, social and cultural terms, its influence in Chile was lower and regionally focused. The process of Argentina’s rural capitalism expansion is incomprehensible without taking into account the effect by the migration of millions of arms in search of employment and access to land (Gallo 1983; Gallo y Cortes Conde 1972). Across the Andes, concentrated in the extreme south or in the Lakes region and Valdivia, Germans, French, Swiss, Croatian and other immigrants from Central Europe origin constituted a population advance displacing indigenous

groups settled there, in a process started as state policy in the mid-nineteenth century. On the other hand, the type of central economic activity in each of the countries generated differentiated social and political impacts. In the Chilean north (Norte Chico), during the 1840-1880 period, a feverish copper and silver mining activity (Pederson 1966; Vayssiere 1980) concentrated a large number of workers that encouraged internal migration and brought contingent population across the Andes (Tuozzo 2003). Parallel to this activity, the Chilean economy benefited in the mid-nineteenth century from the opening of the Australian and Californian markets, being impacted later by what Arnold Bauer (2004) called “The Great Depression” of the nineteenth century from 1873 to 1896. Meanwhile, the mining activity in the “Big North” (Norte Grande) in the period of 1880-1930 implied the concentration of thousands of Chilean, Argentine, Peruvian, Bolivian and European workers, who were forming their conscience as opposed to the narrow group of mine owners, among which, in the course of the first decades of the twentieth century, imposed those from north American origin (Fox Przeworsky 1978; Vayssiere 1973).

The process of political radicalization of these workers, mediated by social and democratic ideologies, constitutes a clear point of differentiation with respect to the Argentine case. There, the economic expansion did not involve the formation of a proletariat but of a wide range of rural stakeholders (tenants, laborers, farmers, owners, etc.) whose political perspective was put forward by the reformist parties rather than the revolutionaries. Furthermore, it should be noted that the Argentine federal system allowed that the political game had a strong provincial development and that the sub-national political identities retain more noticeable roots than in the Chilean case, in which the constitutional centralization secured a closer control from Santiago.

## **The construction of the National State in Chile and Argentina**

In this Project of comparative historiography, a number of historians from Argentina and Chile have proposed to reflect on the construction of post-colonial order, but throwing light on aspects that until now have remained neglected or at least poorly covered by social sciences. What it is about, then, is to review the process of building the national state in both countries not so much as a socially irrefutable and unanswered product, but as a tense arena of dispute between groups, corporations, social classes, ideas and regions. It has been ensured that authors from both countries think about this process, its ambiguities, its limits and about the agency of the subjects involved in these stories. From there that have been tried to regard the popular protagonists of this process were much more than victims of a social and political trend, arranged in the “Club de la Union” of Santiago or the Jockey Club of Buenos Aires, naïve resistants of an order naturally generated by the arrival of modernity; is about to illustrate the complex ways in which it was resisted, accepted, negotiated and/or re-meant the process of construction and imposition of the State between 1840 and 1930.

As shown more than ten years ago by Florencia Mallon, it is not about only studying the forms of popular resistance to celebrate them uncritically for its intrinsic value but of understanding it assuming that they possess a political logic. They are not only rebellions but also formation processes of (against) hegemonies, processes that reveal negotiation (between subalterns, between them and different hierarchies) and processes of learning, discussion and awareness as has been stressed by some historians, advocates of *Subaltern Studies* (Guha 1997; Salvatore 2003). It is not only spontaneity, fanaticism nor diverted conscience, but an own logic that combines horizontality and authoritarianism. To assume this way the policy allows considering the State:

“As a series of decentralized sites of struggle, through which hegemony is both questioned as reproduced. State institutions are places or spaces in which conflicts of power are constantly being resolved, reordering hierarchically” (Mallon 2004a:91).

The authors included in this book invite to perceive the existing disputes not only in the processes of establishing state institutions but in their everyday functioning. Political decisions and public policies do not always have a prior ideological content that informs and supports them. They are the result of bids and permanent and simultaneous repositioning to different bands: in those disputes take part political authorities, the Church, various groups of bureaucrats and state agencies, political groups, professional corporations, regional leaders and population on foot. The partnerships produced and the outcome of these conflicts cannot be determined *a priori* by the historian but seems to refer to the need of deepening the specifics of each case. In this respect, it has sought to set aside the more teleological approaches, which suppose that the arrival of the national State, the generalization of capitalist relations and the social

modernization are inscribed in the logic of the history, and that is only a matter of time that all of them resulted (even with the asynchrony between these trends that the theory of modernization recognized and regretted as the continents own).

By no means have we advocated that this approach is considered an innovation in itself. Ricardo Salvatore (1993/4; Salvatore 2003) has shown how it is possible to study the relationship between the State and its legal, military and ideological apparatus and the subordinate sectors. A few years ago Florencia Mallon has developed a very fruitful approach to the formation process of the Mexican State, which allowed perceiving the participation of the sectors outside the elite in the process. In her view, the construction of a public apparatus of national scope “was not only the product of struggles with and among the ruling classes and the foreign powers, but also of a process in which farmers, small owners and many more people were closely linked” (Mallon 1989:48). That idea could be particularly enlightening to appreciate the *State-building* in the southern cone of the continent as it allows to realize the fragility of the state order, of its character of commitment of forces and the absence of a self-conscious and long term project. (Mallon 2004a, 2004b). The link with the subaltern sectors turned out to be a key aspect of the politics of the early Republican decades, a fact to which the elites had to get used to the idea, but that never –in parallel- stopped regretting (Cansanello 2003). The subordinate sectors, although repeatedly submitted to a dynamic of exclusion and segregation by the State, their speeches and their agents (Pinto Rodriguez 2003), have a history of relationships with the public thing that deserves to be studied.

This text seeks to reflect the building process of the national order, but picking up some of the contributions arisen from the last two decades. Among these new contributions has a special role the regional history. And we say regional in a double meaning: the first aims to the study, so to speak, sub-national areas. Thus, it attempts to highlight some points on the map of *state-building* and the answers it generated outside the regions that have been traditionally analyzed, this is the littoral “pampa” in Argentina, the “Big North”, the “Small North” and the Central Valley in Chile. Decentralizing the historiographies of a worrying macrocephaly (especially in the River Plate region case), it is intended to accommodate historians not necessarily doomed to study metropolitan regions. It must not be read this gesture as a mere regionalist historiography *frond*. We are convinced that the story told from the margins enriches the tale of the national (as well as the international), instead of competing with it. What is about is to increase the number of nuances and complexities necessary to rethink the problem of the national construction of the political, social and economic order of late nineteenth century which had many more variations, limits and disputes than historiography has recognized to date.

We intend to return to discuss the already classic topic of the building of the national order taking as a temporary limit, in the first place, the defeat of the Spanish Empire in America. It was at the time that a period of political experimentation opened and civil wars opened, and at the last third of the nineteenth century, the establishment of an oligarchic model of growth based on exports, with a high influence of English trade in the region (Cavieres Figueroa 1999). Although this period deserves some correction for the exceptionally early case of Chile, in general, is valid for the entire continent (except Cuba and Puerto Rico). The other chronological *limes* that recognizes this text has to do with the beginning of some of the political and economic experiences that brought entailed the post-war economic crisis and the later debacle *crack* of '29. Thus, the dictatorship of Carlos Ibañez del Campo (1927-31) in Chile and the coup that lifted general Jose Uriburu (1930-32) in Argentina seem to belong to a period beyond the interest that here has been expressed and which refers to other problems.

The intensity of the exchanges between historians on both sides of the Andes in recent decades has intensified the use of the regional perspective, used as a battering ram to perforate the notion that national borders are the natural destination of historiographical analysis. Commendably, the Latin American historiography has abandoned some time ago the reductionist understanding of regional history, stripped of political-administrative boundaries and of local exclusive visions to expand its sight on new horizons that allow to conceive regions with cultural, economic and social coherence. As in the rest of Latin America, numerous historiographical efforts on both sides of the Andes, with different magnitudes, look for a systematic definition, theorize and exploit this line of investigation (Caceres 2007; Ibarra 2002; Kindgard 2004; Mellafe y Salinas Meza 1988; Miño 2002).

This book shares the search for a regional history in a way that considers the Andes as they have been for centuries: areas of transfer, circulation of ideas, people and commercial products (Bandieri 2001). In that sense, there will be visions that seek to disregard the political border that separated nominally both countries in our period of interest, trying to show the operation of the integrated regions

from long data on both sides of the Mountain Chain (Cordillera). From there that we like to say that this approach tries to think and problematize a series of macro problems of Latin American history (such as the processes of social order building and its challenges), taking as case studies of micro-regions.

Perhaps one of the most interesting perspectives is the one that allows to appreciate the state capacities in this period. For a long time the historiography focused on the national framework insisted on assessing the effectiveness of punitive, regulatory and controlling interventions of the State over inhabitants and local administrations. However, several investigations allow to support some nuances with respect to this notion, for it shows the national State in Argentina and Chile as a giant with feet of clay. Powerful, intimidating and effective in metropolitan areas, this same State can be seen in the margins of national territory significantly more malnourished and inefficient than it is usually considered. Lacking of material, human and basic political resources, the state officials and authorities have to resort to a series of practices far from the norm and bureaucratic ideal, in which private and public areas seem to lose its strict closing (Bohoslavsky 2005; Bohoslavsky y Di Liscia 2005). Thus, the call to police and militia (ie, public forces) to support private interests through intimidation and the use of firearms is a recurrent topic.

## Bibliography

- Adelman, Jeremy (2006), 'The Age of Imperial Revolutions', (mimeo, Buenos Aires).
- Annino, Antonio y Guerra, François-Xavier (2003), *Inventando la nación: Iberoamérica siglo XIX*; México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica
- Annino, Antonio, Castro Leiva, Luis y Guerra, François-Xavier (1994), *De los imperios a las naciones: Iberoamérica*; Zaragoza: IberCaja Obra Cultural
- Annino, Antonio (ed.), (1995), *Historia de las elecciones en Iberoamérica, siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica)
- Bandieri, Susana (ed.), (2001), *Cruzando la cordillera... La frontera argentino-chilena como espacio social* (Neuquén: Centro de Estudios de Historia Regional, Universidad Nacional del Comahue) 486 p.
- Barros Arana, Diego (1999), [1884], *Historia general de Chile, vol. I*; Santiago: Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana
- Basadre, Jorge (1947), *Meditaciones sobre el destino histórico del Perú*; Lima: Ediciones Huascarán.
- (1968), *Historia de la República del Perú, 1822-1933*; Lima: Editorial Universitaria.
- Bauer, Arnold (2004), *Chile y algo más. Estudios de historia latinoamericana*; Santiago: DIBAM.
- Bohoslavsky, Ernesto (2005), "La incurable desidia y la ciega imprevisión argentinas. Notas sobre el Estado, 1880-1930", en Vilas, Carlos, et al. (eds.), *Estado y política en la Argentina actual* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento y Prometeo Libros). 107-129.
- Bohoslavsky, Ernesto y Di Liscia, María Silvia (2005), "Introducción. Para desatar algunos nudos (y atar otros)", en Bohoslavsky, Ernesto y María Silvia Di Liscia (eds.), *Instituciones y formas de control social en América Latina, 1840-1940. Una revisión* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, Universidad Nacional de La Pampa y Prometeo Libros).
- Botana, Natalio (1998), [1977], *El orden conservador. La política argentina entre 1880 y 1916*; Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana.
- Cáceres, Juan (2007), *Poder rural y estructura social. Colchagua, 1760-1860*; Valparaíso: Ed. Universidad Católica de Valparaíso.
- Cansanello, Oreste Carlos (2003), *De súbditos a ciudadanos. Ensayo sobre las libertades en los orígenes republicanos*. Buenos Aires, 1810-1852; Buenos Aires: Ediciones Imago Mundi.
- Carmagnani, Marcello (1984), *Estado y sociedad en América Latina*; Barcelona: Crítica.
- (ed.), (1993), *Federalismos latinoamericanos: México, Brasil, Argentina* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica).
- Cavieres Figueroa, Eduardo (1999), *Comercio chileno y comerciantes ingleses, 1820-1880*; Santiago:

Editorial Universidad de Chile.

Cavieres Figueroa, Eduardo y Aljovín de Losada, Cristóbal (eds.) (2005), Chile-Perú. Perú-Chile. 1820-1920. Desarrollos políticos, económicos y culturales (Valparaíso: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Valparaíso).

Colmenares, Germán (2006), *Las convenciones en contra de la cultura*; Santiago: DIBAM.

Collier, Simon (2003), *Chile: the making of a republic, 1830-1865: politics and ideas*; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chiaromonte, José Carlos (1989a), "La cuestión regional en el proceso de gestación del Estado nacional argentino. Algunos problemas de interpretación", en Ansaldi, Waldo y José Luis Moreno (eds.), *Estado y sociedad en el pensamiento nacional* (Buenos Aires: Cántaro).

--- (1989b), "Formas de identidad en el Río de la Plata luego de 1810", *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana "Dr. Emilio Ravignani"*, 1, Buenos Aires.

--- (1993), "El mito de los orígenes en la historiografía latinoamericana", *Cuadernos del Instituto Ravignani*, 2, Buenos Aires.

Devoto, Fernando y Ferrari, Marcela (eds.) (1994), *La construcción de las democracias rioplatenses: proyectos institucionales y prácticas políticas, 1900-1930* (Buenos Aires: Biblos).

Escalante Gonzalbo, Fernando (1992), *Ciudadanos imaginarios: memorial de los afanes y desventuras de la virtud, y apología del vicio triunfante en la República Mexicana. Tratado de moral pública*; México, D.F.: Centro de Estudios Sociológicos, El Colegio de México.

Fox Przeworsky, Joanne (1978), *The decline of the copper industry in Chile and the entrance of north american capital, 1870-1916*; St. Louis: Washington University Press.

Gallo, Ezequiel (1983), *La Pampa gringa : la colonización agrícola en Santa Fe (1870-1895)*; Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana.

Gallo, Ezequiel y Cortes Conde, Roberto (1972), *Argentina: la república conservadora*; Buenos Aires: Editorial Paidós.

Godoy, Milton (2000), "Petorca y la guerra civil de 1851 a través de la correspondencia de Manuel Montt", *Valles, revista de estudios regionales*, 5-6.

Goicovic, Igor (2004), "Consideraciones teóricas sobre la violencia social en Chile", *Última Década*, 21.

Goldman, Noemí (1992), *Historia y lenguaje: los discursos de la Revolución de Mayo*; Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina.

Goldman, Noemí y Salvatore, Ricardo (eds.) (1998), *Caudillismos rioplatenses: nuevas miradas a un viejo problema* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba) 351 p.

González-Bernaldo, Pilar (2001), *Civilidad y política : en los orígenes de la nación argentina : las sociabilidades en Buenos Aires, 1829-1862*; Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Grez Toso, Sergio (1998), *De la "regeneración del pueblo" a la huelga general. Génesis y evolución histórica del movimiento popular en Chile (1810-1890)*; Santiago: DIBAM; Ediciones RIL; Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana.

Guerra, François-Xavier y Lempérière, Annick (1998), *Los espacios públicos en Iberoamérica: ambigüedades y problemas, siglos XVIII y XIX*; México: Centro Francés de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Guha, Ranajit (1997), "La prosa de la contrainsurgencia", en Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia y Rossana Barragán (eds.), *Debates post coloniales: una introducción a los estudios de la subalternidad* (La Paz: Historias-Sephis-Aruwiri).

Ibarra, Antonio (2002), "Un debate suspendido: la historia regional como estrategia finita (comentarios a una crítica fundada)", *Historia Mexicana*, LII.

Kindgard, Adriana (2004), "Historia Regional, racionalidad y cultura: sobre la incorporación de la variable cultural en la definición de las regiones", *Cuadernos de la Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad de Jujuy*.

- Lacoste, Pablo (2003), *La imagen del otro en las relaciones de la Argentina y Chile: 1534-2000*; Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica y Universidad de Santiago de Chile.
- Lynch, John (1981), *Argentine dictator: Juan Manuel De Rosas, 1829-1852*; Oxford; New York: Clarendon; Oxford University Press.
- Malamud, Carlos (1997), *Partidos políticos y elecciones en la Argentina. la Liga del Sur santafesina (1908-1916)*; Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia.
- (ed.), (1995), *Partidos políticos y elecciones en América Latina y la Península Ibérica, 1830-1930* (Madrid: Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset).
- (ed.), (2000), *Legitimidad, representación y alternancia en España y América Latina: las reformas electorales, 1880-1930* (Sección de obras de historia, México: Colegio de México Fondo de Cultura Económica) 318 p.
- Mallon, Florencia (1989), "Los campesinos y la formación del Estado mexicano del siglo XIX: Morelos 1848-1858", *Secuencia. Revista americana de ciencias sociales*, 15, México.
- (2004a), [1995], *Campeinado y nación. La construcción de México y Perú poscoloniales* México: CIESAS y Colegio San Luis Potosí.
- (2004b), *La sangre del copihue: La comunidad Mapuche de Nicolás Ailío y el estado chileno, 1906-2001*; Santiago: LOM.
- Mellafe, Rolando y Salinas Meza, René (1988), *Sociedad y población rural en la formación de Chile actual. La Ligua, 1700-1850*; Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Chile.
- Miño, Manuel (2002), "¿Existe la historia regional?" *Revista Historia de México*, 4.
- Mitre, Bartolomé (1887), *Historia de San Martín y de la emancipación Sud-Americana*; Buenos Aires: Imprenta de La Nación.
- Ortega, Luis (2005), *Chile en ruta al capitalismo. Cambio, euforia y depresión 1850-1880*; Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones; Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana.
- (2008), "Del auge a la crisis y la decadencia. La minería del cobre entre 1875 y 1925", en Ortega, Luis, Milton Godoy, y Hernán Venegas (eds.), *Sociedad y minería en el Norte Chico, 1840-1930* (Santiago: Ed. Universidad de Santiago de Chile).
- Ortega, Luis y Rubio, Pablo (2006), "La guerra civil de 1859 y los límites de la modernización en Atacama y Coquimbo", *Revista de Historia Social y de las Mentalidades*, X-2.
- Oszlak, Oscar (1997), [1982], *La formación del Estado argentino: orden, progreso y organización nacional*; Buenos Aires: Planeta.
- Pederson, Leland R. (1966), 'The mining industry of the Norte Chico, Chile', Thesis (Evanston, Northwestern University).
- Peña, Milciades (1968), *De Mitre a Roca. Consolidación de la oligarquía anglocriolla*; Buenos Aires: Ediciones Fichas.
- (1969), *El paraíso terrateniente. Federales y unitarios forjan la civilización del cuero*; Buenos Aires: Ediciones Fichas.
- Pérez, Claudio (2006), "Conflicto patricio y violencia popular en Copiapó durante la guerra civil de 1851", *Revista de Historia Social y de las Mentalidades*, X-2.
- Pinto Rodríguez, Jorge (2003), *La formación del estado y la nación, y el pueblo mapuche: de la inclusión a la exclusión*; Santiago: Dirección de Bibliotecas Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana.
- Pinto Vallejos, Julio (1998), *Trabajos y rebeldías en la pampa salitrera. El ciclo del salitre y la reconfiguración de las identidades populares (1850-1900)*; Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universidad de Santiago.
- Pizarro, Crisóstomo (1971), *La revolución de 1891: la modernización*; Valparaíso, Chile: Ediciones de la Universidad Católica de Valparaíso.

- (1986), *La huelga obrera en Chile, 1890-1970*; Santiago: Ediciones Sur.
- Posada-Carbó, Eduardo (ed.), (1996), *Elections before democracy: the history of elections in Europe and Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies Series).
- Prado Arellano, Luis Ervin (2004), "Pensar la guerra: notas preliminares para reflexionar sobre los conflictos internos armados en Colombia y Latinoamérica en el siglo XIX", *Reflexión Política*, 6-12, Bucaramanga 94-105.
- Ramírez Necochea, Hernán (2007), *Obras escogidas*; Santiago: Lom Ediciones.
- Rodríguez Molas, Ricardo E. (1982), *Historia social del gaucho*; Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina.
- Romero, Luis Alberto (1997), *¿Qué hacer con los pobres? Elite y sectores populares en Santiago de Chile, 1840-1895*; Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana.
- Sábato, Hilda y Lettieri, Alberto (2003), *La vida política en la Argentina del siglo XIX: armas, votos y voces*; Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Sábato, Hilda (ed.), (1999), *Ciudadanía política y formación de las naciones. Perspectivas históricas de América Latina* (México: El Colegio de México-Fondo de Cultura Económica).
- Salazar Vergara, Gabriel (1985), *Labradores, peones y proletarios. Formación y crisis de la sociedad popular chilena del siglo XIX*; Santiago: Ediciones Sur.
- (2005), *Construcción de Estado en Chile (1800-1837). Democracia de los 'pueblos'. Militarismo ciudadano. Golpismo oligárquico*; Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana.
- Salvatore, Ricardo (1993/4), "'El Imperio de la Ley': Delito, estado y sociedad en la era Rosista", *Delito y Sociedad*, 4-5, Buenos Aires 93-118.
- (2003), *Wandering paysanos. State order and subaltern experience in Buenos Aires during the Rosas era*; Durham: Duke University Press.
- Schmutzer, Karin (1984), 'La revolución de 1851 en Aconcagua', (Santiago, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, tesis).
- Slatta, Richard W. (1983), *Gauchos and the vanishing frontier*; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Suriano, Juan (ed.), (2000), *La cuestión social en Argentina, 1870-1943* (Buenos Aires: Editorial La Colmena).
- Thurner, Mark (2006), *Republicanos andinos*; Cusco: Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas; Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Tuozzo, Celina (2003), *Efectos sociales de las migraciones internas en Chile: una experiencia histórica. El Norte Chico a principios del siglo XX*; Buenos Aires: La Crujía: Instituto Torcuato di Tella; Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.
- Vayssière, Pierre (1973), "La division internationale du travail et la dénationalisation du cuivre chilien", *Caravelle*, 15.
- (1980), *Un siècle de capitalisme minier au Chili, 1830-1930*; Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S.
- Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín (1882), *Vida del Capitán Jeneral de Chile don Bernardo O'Higgins, Brigadier de la República Argentina i Gran Mariscal del Perú*; Santiago: Rafael Jover.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (1999), *El moderno sistema mundial, vol. III "La segunda era de gran expansión de la economía-mundo capitalista, 1730-1850"*; Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno.

## Notes