



# Spanish America After Independence, 1825-1900

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## Introduction

The independence of Spanish America was the unexpected outcome of the monarchy's rupture following the 1808 Napoleonic invasion. It resulted in an ensemble of motley republics that were confronted by serious difficulties throughout the 19th century. Independence had, in effect, created nations with blurred boundaries and precarious identities. Above all, the legacies of the colonial era were maintained since the new republics did not abolish old Spanish law. It remained in force nearly everywhere in the region up until the end of the 19th century. Social distinctions founded on honor, labor, race, and gender had admittedly been destroyed on a constitutional level, but they still remained rooted in society. Nearly everywhere, the construction of the nation and the modern state was a task made all the more complex by the preservation of a complicated corporate framework and the affirmation of local and regional authorities' power. Thus, the fact that the legacies of the Spanish monarchy remained very much alive in the republics until the end of the 19th century justifies the inclusion of this century within the field of Atlantic history. This bibliographical choice has selected works that illustrate the tensions particular to Spanish America throughout the republican period following the creation of the Republic of Bolivia, which marked the end of the Wars of Independence (1825). Indeed, these are divided between the desire to create a set of modern republics, founded on equal citizenship and forward progress, and the postcolonial persistence of social practices and institutions of the *ancien régime*. It is for this reason that so much emphasis has been placed on the 19th century herein, as political, cultural, and social episodes marked the relative, but progressive, erosion of colonial practices. The "modern" mutation of South America was thus regulated by important moments which appear in the chronological and thematic choice of the works cited: the maintenance and abolition of slavery, the granting of citizenship to Indians and Afro-descendants, yet the persistence of discriminations based on color and race; grand midcentury liberal reforms and the preservation of influence by privileged entities like the Church and the army, the difficult construction of the modern state, the nation, and democratic systems; the progressive deterioration of corporate social structures and of the *fueros*; and the end of the Spanish presence in Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1898 and the reinsertion of Latin America into the networks of the global economy at the end of the century and, finally, a new wave of European immigration. I have hardly sketched out the economic themes in this bibliography except for in the section International Relations: From Spanish Empire to British "Informal Empire"?. These themes are fundamental to understanding the history, Atlantic or otherwise, of South America in the 19th century. Additionally, an emphasis has been placed on those political and social works that tend to be included, more or less, in an Atlantic perspective. Books in English and Spanish, the principal scientific languages in this field of study, are favored, and translations in these languages are cited where available. However, good books exist in German, Italian, French, and Portuguese, many of which deserved, in all fairness, to be included in this selection. Translated from French by Andrew H. Bellisari.

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## General Overviews

General works on modern Spanish America do not exist in the methodological field of Atlantic history yet. Chronologically, this perspective is still associated with early modern history. Furthermore, until now, many Latin American historians have remained hostile to the Atlantic perspective, which they judge to be too marked by US academic influence. Since the 1990s, the transplantation of subaltern studies to the Hispano-American realm under the impulsion of Florencia Mallon (see Mallon 1995, cited under Class and Race Relations) has nonetheless introduced a certain number of social and racial thematics close to Atlantic history in general. Moreover, it is necessary to underline that the influence of "new political history," dear to François-Xavier Guerra (see Guerra 1992, cited under A New Political Culture), was instrumental in precipitating a remarkable renewal in the study of a 19th century heretofore snubbed by researchers. This historiographical paradigm belongs fully to Atlantic history, as it analyzes the sociopolitical effects of Atlantic revolutions in the long term at the Euro-American scale (Africa remaining, it is true, little present in this approach). General works, such as Bethell 1986, Chevalier 1999, Vázquez and Miño Grijalva 2003, and Ayala Mora and Posada Carbó 2008, are thus consecrated to

the history of Latin America in general without particular reference to Atlantic history, but they constitute an obligatory point of departure.

**Ayala Mora, Enrique, and Eduardo Posada Carbó. *Historia general de América Latina. Vol. 7, Los proyectos nacionales latinoamericanos: Sus instrumentos y articulación, 1870–1930*. Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2008.**

The work addresses the period in a thematic way, with chapters dedicated to important events such as the Mexican Revolution, and a particular insistence on political transformations.

**Bernecker, Walther L., Raymond T. Buve, John Robert Fisher, et al., eds. *Handbuch der Geschichte Lateinamerikas. Vol. 2, Lateinamerika von 1760 bis 1900*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1992.**

This survey in German adopts both a regional and a thematic outline (demography, economy, society, culture) with specialized bibliographies. A good starting point for undergraduate students.

**Bethell, Leslie, ed. *The Cambridge History of Latin America. Vols. 3–5*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1986.**

The third volume of this collection collects an ensemble of surveys organized by country that favors a political approach while emphasizing the dialectic between rupture and continuity with the colonial regime from Independence to 1870. It also brings together complete bibliographic essays that take stock of Anglo-American works in particular. The fourth volume addresses economic, demographic, social, and cultural topics with all the usual important rubrics for the period 1870–1930. Additionally, it favors serial history and provides a good statistical summary of the principal evolutions that characterize the end of the 19th century. Contains a number of useful maps and graphics. The fifth volume (1870–1930), divided up by large regions and nations, reverts to the structure of the third.

**Chevalier, François. *América Latina: De la Independencia a nuestros días*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999.**

Translated from the 1993 French edition, this work combines socioeconomic and political approaches from Independence to the present. Contains a bibliography of 1,427 works, most of which are in Spanish and French, a detailed chronology, and maps and figures. Presents the principal results of research from the postwar era up through the “political turn” of the 1990s. A good starting point for graduate students.

**Vázquez, Josefina, and Manuel Miño Grijalva, dir. *Historia general de América Latina. Vol. 6, La construcción de las naciones latinoamericanas, 1820–1870*. Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2003.**

This volume presents comprehensive and up-to-date summaries of different political, social, and cultural topics. Aimed primarily at an educated audience and undergraduates. Contains a complete general bibliography for publications in Spanish.

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## Reference Guides

There are no bibliographic guides dedicated to the Atlantic history of contemporary Hispanic America. The references cited address the history of Latin America as a whole since the colonial era, but they also cover the 19th century in detail as well. Griffin 1971 and Boudon 2005 order their bibliographies into thematic and chronological sections, while Moya 2011 offers a series of essays that summarize current scholarship on the best-studied historical themes today.

**Boudon, Lawrence. *Handbook of Latin American Studies: Humanities*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.**

In print since 1936, this work provides a complete and annotated bibliography on Latin America organized by country and period with five thousand titles chosen each year for inclusion. Accessible online as well as in CD-ROM format.

**Griffin, Charles, ed. *Latin America: A Guide to the Historical Literature*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971.**

A work that is already outdated but still useful for its thematic bibliography of 7,087 references. An important tool for tracking down sources and specialized monographs.

**Moya, Jose. *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.**

This work covers the history of Latin America from the colonial era to the present with sixteen historiographical essays organized chronologically and thematically and includes numerous bibliographical references. Favors postcolonial, gender, race, and economic history themes.

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## Data Sources

The 19th century was the great period of journalists, lawyers, and writers. It witnessed the emergence of a public sphere of intense debates on the future of Spanish America. The Biblioteca Ayacucho has published some of the most important publicists, but the digitization of newspapers and books is more advanced today, allowing easier and more direct access to the sources themselves (Dipper 2005–2009; Latin American Newspapers, 1805–1922; Latin American Pamphlet Digital Collection; Portal de Archivos Españoles).

**Biblioteca Ayacucho. Caracas, Venezuela.**

Collection of fundamental historical and literary sources in Spanish (243 books in all), many of which concern the 19th century, including the works of political writers and journalists (Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Francisco Bilbao, Enrique Rodó), works of history, and document compilations (on positivism, for example). All these works include a detailed introduction, bibliography, and chronology.

**Dipper, Horst, ed. *Constitutions of the World from the Late 18th Century to the Middle of the 19th Century: Sources on the Rise of Modern Constitutionalism*. 24 vols. Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag, 2005–2009.**

An almost exhaustive collection of facsimiles of the world's first constitutions, a significant portion of which were promulgated in Hispanic America in the 19th century.

**Latin American Newspapers, Series 2: 1822–1922.. Readex.**

Collection of digitized newspapers concerning most Ibero-American countries. Paid subscription website, accessible through libraries belonging to the Center for Research Libraries.

**Latin American Pamphlet Digital Collection. Harvard University Library Virtual Collection, 2009.**

Collection of five thousand often-inaccessible titles from Harvard's Widener Library, many of which concern the 19th century.

**Portal de Archivos Españoles. Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte.**

Website for the Spanish public archives and, notably, the Archivo des Indias, with a considerable number of digitized documents. Concerns mainly the colonial and independence eras; in addition to downloadable documentation for all of the Hispano-American countries, the site provides numerous digital archives on 19th-century Cuba and Puerto Rico.

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## The Political Construction of Republics and Nations

The 1980s and 1990s saw the rebirth of historiographical interest in political history, associated with cultural themes then in vogue. The crisis of long-term socioeconomic perspectives connected with the Annales School similarly saw the assertion of a field of study that concerned itself with the politics of Hispanic America. Notwithstanding their diversity, all of these works are interested in the complex inclusion of South America into the paradigm of “political modernity.” They question the generally accepted idea of a brutal and antipolitical 19th century and underline the strength of new political practices: the opening of a public space, the force of modern associationism, the construction of the nation (in the manner first opened up by Benedict Anderson), without underestimating the weight of Hispanic legacies and new forms of political and social violence (i.e., caudillo-style dictatorships and civil wars). These studies can be placed into the framework of Atlantic history in that they show that the history of democratic regimes cannot be geographically limited to the North Atlantic but must take into account the rich republican experience of Hispanic America. Many recent works have illuminated the intense public participation that occurred in constructing the new regimes. These new perspectives, marked by the seminal work Guerra 1992 (cited under A New Political Culture), contributed to changing the negative image that historians have had of 19th-century Spanish American political culture: caudillos, the proliferation of coups d’état and civil wars, and the supposed apathy of subalterns as being responsible for the unquestionable domination of white oligarchies have received a more nuanced treatment than in the past.

### FORGING NATIONS AND REPUBLICS

Following the perspectives opened by Benedict Anderson and François Furet—the former concerned with national construction, the latter with the structuring place of politics—works centering on the construction of republican regimes after independence have flourished since the 1980s. These books revise the great patriotic narratives forged by 19th-century liberal historiography, questioning their assumed teleologies and the idea of progress in history (Annino, et al. 2003). They underline both the rupture that presumed independence and the adoption of democratic principles as well as the persistence of practices and mindsets from the former colonial regime (Halperin Donghi 1985, Guerra 1988, Brading 1993). Some emphasize the role of Spanish contributions, such as the Cádiz constitution (Morelli 2004), while others stress framing Ibero-American political modernity within an Atlantic context (Calderón and Thibaud 2006).

**Annino, Antonio, François-Xavier Guerra, and Luis Castro Leiva, eds. *Inventando la nación: Iberoamérica siglo XIX*. 1st ed. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003.**

A compilation of essays on the primary political and cultural evolutions that the adoption of democratic principles precipitated in Spanish America. Concerns the entirety of Latin America and presents new political history to researchers, graduate students, and postgraduates. Revision of the first edition published in Spain in 1994.

**Brading, David. *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1866*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.**

An analysis of the long-term transformations particular to the 19th century. It is interested in religious, political, and intellectual changes at the Latin American level, focusing on Mexican history, while adopting what was for its time an innovative Atlantic perspective.

**Calderón, M. T., and C. Thibaud, eds. *Las revoluciones en el mundo atlántico*. Bogota, Colombia: Taurus Historia, 2006.**

Collective work comparing the experiences of political modernity in Latin America, the United States, and France from the end of the

18th century until the end of the 19th century, based on a critical reading of R. R. Palmer's *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959–1964).

**Guerra, François-Xavier. *México: Del Antiguo Régimen a la Revolución*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988.**

Study of the Porfirio Díaz regime based, according to the author, on the tension between *ancien régime* social practices and political and cultural imagination with reference to North Atlantic modernity. Translation of the 1985 French edition.

**Halperín Donghi, Tulio. *Historia de América Latina. Vol. 3, Reforma y disolución de los imperios ibéricos: 1750–1850*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985.**

Links the independence crisis to the impossibility of reform within the Spanish Empire and places the evolution toward modernity within a long-term perspective. Emphasizes the Euro-American dimension of the process of constructing Hispano-American nations. A demanding work, better suited for researchers and postgraduate students.

**López-Alves, Fernando. *State Formation and Democracy in Latin America, 1810–1900*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000.**

Inspired by political science, this work offers a comparative perspective on the process of national construction on a continental level, which contests its exceptionality by investigating five case studies: Argentina, Colombia, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Focusing on social, political, and economic aspects with a particular interest in military questions, this work provides a useful synthesis for undergraduate and postgraduate students.

**Morelli, Federica. “Un XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle politique.” *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 59.4 (July–August 2004): 759–781.**

Historiographical article presenting the contributions of new political history to Hispanic America.

## **A NEW POLITICAL CULTURE**

The arrival of republican governments was accompanied by a brutal transformation of representations and political culture. Guerra 1992 emphasized the rapid dissemination of values and practices of political modernity in the context of the imperial collapse after the French invasion of Spain in 1808. A number of books, starting with a critical reading of the works of Jürgen Habermas and Roger Chartier (Guerra and Lempérière 1998, Roniger and Herzog 2000), explore the multiple dimensions of ideas and representations that structure new societies and focus particularly on the creation of a new public sphere of debate in which the press constituted a fundamental element. Hale 1968 and Palti 2007 are interested in the history of ideas and political languages, while Sabato 1999, Jacobsen and Aljovín de Losada 2005, and Palacios 2007 address the question of citizenship and, more broadly, relations between society and political representation.

**Guerra, François-Xavier. *Modernidad e independencias: Ensayos sobre las revoluciones hispánicas*. Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992.**

A book dedicated to the history of South American independence that emphasizes its Atlantic dimension. The final two chapters provide pathways for understanding the entire 19th century in South America. Re-edited by Fondo de Cultura Económica in 1993.

**Guerra, François-Xavier, and Annick Lempérière, eds. *Los espacios públicos en Iberoamérica: Ambigüedades y problemas, siglos XVIII–XIX*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1998.**

A collective book based on a critical reading of Habermas's *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989). Shows the specifics of the Hispanic public space while signaling the hybridizations that occurred between older practices and the construction of the public that appeared following revolutionary independence movements. It concerns itself principally with the first part of the 19th century.

**Hale, Charles. *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821–1853*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968.**

Taking us beyond evident differences, this work illustrates the convergences between conservatives and liberals, as well as the acclimation of Atlantic liberalism to Mexican realities by one of the greatest republican intellectuals: José Luis Mora.

**Jacobsen, Nils, and Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, eds. *Political Cultures in the Andes, 1750–1950*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.**

Collection of essays that embraces a large chronological horizon with a particular focus on the end of the 19th century. Interested primarily in the question of popular participation in national politics, minorities, and the opening of public space. Offers a presentation of historiographical problems for each section.

**Palacios, Guillermo, coord. *Ensayos sobre la nueva historia política de América Latina, siglo XIX*. Papers presented at an international symposium held at El Colegio de México in November 2003. Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Históricos, Colegio de México, 2007.**

Collection of historiographical essays, with case studies, that synthesizes the contributions of new political history around such main themes as the construction of the state, the nation, religion, and secularization. The Mexican case is particularly well developed.

**Palti, Elías. *El tiempo de la política: El siglo XIX reconsiderado*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Siglo XXI Editores, 2007.**

Founded on a critical reading of Guerra 1992, this essay studies the rise of politics as an autonomous category beginning with the field of intellectual history.

**Roniger, Luis, and Tamar Herzog, eds. *The Collective and the Public in Latin America: Cultural Identities and Political Order*. Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic, 2000.**

This collective work embraces an 18th- to 20th-century chronology with particular focus on Argentina. Provides a reflection on the definition and redefinition of collectives with the emergence of the public sphere in Hispanic America. A combination of monographs and overview articles.

**Sábato, Hilda, ed. *Ciudadanía política y formación de las naciones: Perspectivas históricas de América Latina*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Fideicomiso Historia de las Américas, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999.**

A compendium devoted to detailing the sociopolitical changes brought about by the emergence of citizenship and democratic principles in the 19th century. A combination of monographs and explanatory essays that will be useful to advanced students.

## **THE HISTORY OF LANGUAGES AND CONCEPTS**

In the vein of Reinhart Koselleck, John Greville Agard Pocock, and Quentin Skinner, the study of the evolution of political languages throughout the first part of the 19th century has known an exceptional dynamism. It has placed itself naturally within the Atlantic

perspective since conceptual changes concerning the meanings of words are dealt with not at the national or regional level but rather in the context of a culture shared by both sides of the Atlantic (Fernandez Sebastián 2009). This perspective has particularly attached itself to the question of the emergence of republicanism (Myers 1995, Botana 1997, Aguilar Rivera and Rojas 2002, Entin 2011) and has focused especially on the Argentinean (Wasserman 2008) and Mexican (Palti 2005) experiences.

**Aguilar Rivera, José Antonio, and Rafael Rojas, eds. *El republicanismo en Hispanoamérica: Ensayos de historia intelectual y política*. Mexico City: Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, 2002.**

Collection of essays that take up the debate over the Atlantic republicanism favored by J. G. A. Pocock. Concerns the entirety of Spanish America but delves particularly into Mexico and Argentina while focusing primarily on the years 1820–1860.

**Botana, Natalio R. *La tradición republicana: Alberdi, Sarmiento y las ideas políticas de su tiempo*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Sudamericana, 1997.**

In describing the history of two mid-19th-century Argentinean intellectuals and their ideas, the author illustrates the confrontation between state and society.

**Entin, Gabriel. “La république en Amérique hispanique: Langages politiques et construction de la communauté au Rio de la Plata, entre monarchie catholique et révolution d’indépendance.” PhD diss., École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2011.**

A doctoral thesis published in French in 2013 by the Presses Universitaires de Rennes. Underscores the long-term importance of Hispanic tradition in the creation of the idea of republic.

**Fernández Sebastián, Javier, ed. *Diccionario político y social del mundo iberoamericano*. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009.**

A primary dictionary of political concepts done in the methodological lineage of Reinhart Koselleck, it describes the semantic transformations of ten key concepts such as republic, federalism, and fatherland for nine countries between 1750 and 1850 (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Spain, Mexico, Peru, Portugal, Venezuela). Offers a detailed bibliography of sources and secondary works, organized for each subject and for comprehensiveness.

**Myers, Jorge. *Orden y virtud: El discurso republicano en el régimen rosista*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 1995.**

Focusing primarily on the history of languages and ideas during the Rosas era (1829–1852), this work shows the complexity and importance of republican ideas during a regime that has traditionally been considered to be a reign marked by force and the patronage system.

**Palti, Elías. *La invención de una legitimidad: Razón y retórica en el pensamiento mexicano del siglo XIX (un estudio sobre las formas del discurso político)*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005.**

A study concerning Mexico that explores political rhetoric from independence up until the Porfirio Díaz regime. Provides a conceptual framework for the analysis of discourse that will be useful to researchers and advanced students.

**Wasserman, Fabio. *Entre Clio y la polis: Conocimiento histórico y representaciones del pasado en el Río de la Plata (1830–***

**1860). Buenos Aires, Argentina: Teseo, 2008.**

Monograph dedicated to the emergence of a new way of writing and conceiving history. Inspired by Romanticism, it uses a large selection of documentation and shows the link between historic discourse and literature. Is interesting for the cultural history of national construction in demonstrating how Argentinean culture can be placed within a Euro-American perspective.

#### **CONSTITUTIONAL AND IMPERIAL TRANSFORMATIONS AND PERSISTENCE**

The historiographical debate has structured itself around either an implicit or an explicit evaluation of the range of sociopolitical ruptures following independence. The works presented in this section are particularly interested in the slow transformations of legislation (Adelman 1999a, Adelman 1999b), juridical practices, and justice as well as their impact on society (Rodríguez 2007, Garriga 2010). They equally insist on the importance of spatial frameworks and on the centrality of municipalities, regions, and provinces in the formation of nations (Chiaramonte 1997; Morelli, et al. 2009; Calderón and Thibaud 2010).

**Adelman, Jeremy. *Republic of Capital: Buenos Aires and the Legal Transformation of the Atlantic World*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999a.**

Focuses on the transformation of legislative framework concerning economic activities and discussions on free trade in the first half of the 19th century.

**Adelman, Jeremy, ed. *Colonial Legacies: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History*. New York: Routledge, 1999b.**

Collection of essays which critically questions the problem of the postcolonial persistence of the *ancien régime* from an Atlantic perspective (Latin America, Africa, and Europe) while refusing any form of Latin American essentialism.

**Calderón, María Teresa, and Clément Thibaud. *La majestad de los pueblos en la Nueva Granada y Venezuela 1780–1832*. Bogota, Colombia: Taurus Historia, 2010.**

A work on the history of ideas and political practices that stresses the dynamic redefinition of the corporate Hispanic “tradition” by republicanism during the first half of the 19th century in Venezuela and New Granada.

**Chiaramonte, José Carlos. *Ciudades, provincias, estados, orígenes de la nación argentina (1800–1846)*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ariel, 1997.**

This work underlines the importance of cities in the construction of a nation still nonexistent at the moment of independence and the problems raised by such a process.

**Garriga, Carlos, ed. *Historia y constitución: Trayectos del constitucionalismo hispano*. Mexico City: Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica, 2010.**

An Atlantic perspective on Hispano-American constitutionalism that emphasizes Spanish contributions to jurisdictional tradition that remained prominent throughout the 19th century. Provided by the members of HICOES (Cultural and Institutional History of Constitutionalism in Spain and America) of the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

**Morelli, Federica, Clément Thibaud, and Geneviève Verdo, eds. *Les empires atlantiques: Des lumières au libéralisme, 1763–1865*. Rennes, France: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Centre de Recherches en Histoire Internationale et Atlantique, 2009.**



Collection of essays in French, English, and Spanish, written by historians of Europe, Latin America, and the United States, that brings together contributions at the Latin American level and explores, in an Atlantic perspective, the first part of the 19th century as a moment which had its own constitutional and political logic incapable of being assimilated with the process of national construction or classical liberalism, rather than as a phase of transition.

**Rodríguez, Jaime E., ed. *The Divine Charter: Constitutionalism and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Mexico*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.**

Collective work concerning the constitutional, legal, and regulatory changes in Mexico. Covers all of the 19th century.

## **NEW POLITICAL PRACTICES**

The accession of national sovereignty saw the emergence of politics as an autonomous category associated with the representative practices of parliamentary democracy that became prominent throughout Spanish America. The history of new political practices and their impact on society and culture has been the object of an impressive number of publications since the 1990s and the return of Latin America to democracy. These works address the classic questions of suffrage (Annino 1995, Ternavasio 2002), democratic associationism (Forment 2003, González Bernaldo 2006, Loaiza Cano 2011), citizenship (Irurozqui 2000, Demélas 2003), and secularization (Serrano 2008).

**Annino, Antonio, ed. *Historia de las elecciones en Iberoamérica, siglo XIX*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995.**

A compendium covering the whole of Latin America with a focus on Argentina, Mexico, and Brazil (but not Peru or Columbia). A scholarly synthesis that challenges the Black Legend of antipolitical sentiment during the 19th century by emphasizing the modalities of suffrage, the large popular support it had, and the central role it played in national politics.

**Demélas, Marie-Danielle. *La invención política: Bolivia, Ecuador, Perú en el siglo XIX*. Lima, Peru: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2003.**

A Tocquevillian perspective describing the modalities of political transformation in three Andean nations throughout the 19th century. A useful work for researchers and advanced students. The author's 1994 doctoral dissertation, originally published in French.

**Forment, Carlos. *Democracy in Latin America, 1760–1900*. Vol. 1, *Civic Selfhood and Public Life in Mexico and Peru*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.**

A comparative study inspired by the work of Tocqueville that is centered on forms of civil association in Mexico and Peru and which shows that, contrary to the Black Legend, civil societies in these countries were powerful, diversified, and active throughout the entirety of the 19th century.

**González Bernaldo, Pilar. *Civility and Politics in the Origins of the Argentine Nation: Sociabilities in Buenos Aires, 1829–1862*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, 2006.**

A translation of the 1999 French edition that addresses, via the concept of sociability favored by Maurice Agulhon, the question of post-independence political and social transformations by studying forms of associationism in the city of Buenos Aires.

**Irurozqui, Marta. *“A bala, piedra y palo”*: *La construcción de la ciudadanía política en Bolivia, 1826–1952*. Seville, Spain:**

**Diputación de Sevilla, 2000.**

A long-term perspective on the formation of the Bolivian nation, starting with a study of elections, particularly for the period ranging between 1880 and 1925. Concerns itself notably with indigenous participation.

**Loaiza Cano, Gilberto. *Sociabilidad, religión y política en la definición de la nación: Colombia, 1820–1886*. Bogota, Colombia: Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2011.**

Addresses the question of forms of association in Colombia as it concerns (most notably) Freemason groups. Based on a doctoral thesis defended in France.

**Serrano, Sol. *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República? Política y secularización en Chile (1845–1885)*. Santiago, Chile: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008.**

Shows that the Chilean church managed to adapt itself to republican growth in order to expand its influence over society, contrary to the cliché of secularization. Studies both the religious practices of the ecclesiastical institution and the connections these had with European Catholicism and Rome.

**Ternavasio, Marcela. *La revolución del voto: Política y elecciones en Buenos Aires, 1810–1852*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Siglo XXI Editores, 2002.**

Provides a study of the debates concerning suffrage rights and electoral organization. Shows the large democratic base that existed in post-revolutionary Argentina.

**CAUDILLOS, CONFLICTS, AND VIOLENCE**

Traditional themes of Hispano-American historiography, caudillism, and civil wars were revisited in the late 20th and early 21st century by a number of studies that generally tended to relativize their importance in order to connect them to “normal” sociopolitical transformations of the Atlantic world. The works cited focus on the role of war in national construction (Halperín Donghi 2005, Centeno 2002) and the figure of the caudillo (Aljovín 2000, Scheina 2003) and his relationships with society (Thomson and LaFrance 2002), or else they question the origins and extent of Hispano-American authoritarianism (Safford 1992, Loveman 1994).

**Aljovín de Losada, Cristóbal. *Caudillos y constituciones: Perú, 1821–1845*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000.**

Studies the tension between the constitutional legitimacy and the forms of political domination of caudillism. Presents constitutional debates and analyzes republican rhetoric, forms of association, and the role of Indians, as well as offering a historiographical reflection.

**Centeno, Miguel. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.**

Overview of the phenomenon of war and its sociopolitical impact from the point of view of a political scientist. Based on Charles Tilly's suggestions in showing that the limited number of international wars in the 19th century created weak states and undefined nations. Contains a bibliography on armies, caudillism, and the military complex.

**Halperín Donghi, Tulio. *Guerra y finanzas en los orígenes del estado argentino (1791–1850)*. Colección conflictos y armonías en la historia argentina. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial de Belgrano Prometeo, 2005.**

Shows the immense impact that war and its costs had on the construction of the Argentinean state.

**Hamill, Hugh M., ed. *Caudillos: Dictators in Spanish America*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.**

Compilation of research articles on the phenomenon of caudillism; useful to undergraduate as well as postgraduate students.

**Loveman, Brian. *The Constitution of Tyranny: Regimes of Exception in Spanish America*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994.**

A work of political science that emphasizes the authoritarian tradition and the dialectic that exists between it and liberal constitutionalism in Latin America. Forms of political exception are studied in the majority of Hispano-American nations throughout the 19th century.

**Safford, Frank. "The Problem of Political Order in Early Republican Spanish America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24.2 (1992): 83–97.**

Historiographical essay and critique on the history of the Black Legend of caudillism and Hispano-American violence. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

**Scheina, Robert L. *Latin America's Wars*. Vol. 1, *The Age of the Caudillo, 1791–1899*. Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2003.**

Overview concerning the phenomenon of caudillism with a detailed account of battles fought, forms of military organization, and a reflection on the phenomenon itself.

**Thomson, Guy P. C., and David G. LaFrance, eds. *Patriotism, Politics, and Popular Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Juan Francisco Lucas and the Puebla Sierra*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.**

Monograph describing popular mobilization around liberal values and General Lucas (b. 1834–d. 1917) in the Puebla region from the Reform War to the Mexican Revolution.

#### **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: FROM SPANISH EMPIRE TO BRITISH "INFORMAL EMPIRE"?**

The wars of independence definitively marked the end of Spanish domination over its former colonies, but they provided Great Britain with commercial access to the young republics. Britain was quick to meddle indirectly in the politics of these young states in order to influence decisions in favor of its economic interests. The presence of the United States, at first minimal, unceasingly affirmed itself over the course of the century and, beginning with the war against Spain in 1898, was transformed into a policy of direct intervention in the Caribbean with the encouraged succession of Panama in 1903 and the construction of the canal, and the military occupation of Haiti (1915) and the Dominican Republic (1916), etc. The historiography of these questions has been marked by the theory of dependence, which was influential between the 1960s and 1980s (discussed in Abel and Lewis 1985). This theory was intended to demonstrate the continuity of the subordination of Latin America from the colonial to the republican era and that independence was only the passage from a political domination to one of an economic nature. Such thinking criticized the role that Great Britain and the United States played in "looting" South America with the consent of its elites, who acted as intermediaries between the dominating powers of the world economy and local societies. From the 1950s, British historiography, under the impulse of the works of John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson on one hand and Desmond Christopher Platt on the other, pointed toward the existence of a British "free-trade empire" in the 19th century, in which Latin America constituted one of the privileged areas outside of the Empire. These pioneering studies gave rise to the historiographical notion of "informal empire": that direct rule of colonial powers under the *ancien régime* was replaced by the indirect, but just as effective, influence of North Atlantic industrial states, with Great Britain, then the United States, in the lead (France remains neglected in these analyses despite its important commercial and financial role). Only general works are cited in this section, starting

with the global perspective offered by Bulmer-Thomas, et al. 2006. The references cited are dedicated to Latin American relations with Great Britain on the question of informal empire (Abel and Lewis 1985, Miller 1993, Brown 2008) and with the United States in an approach that is less economic and diplomatic in nature (Smith 2005, Brewer 2006, O'Brien 2007).

**Abel, Christopher, and Colin M. Lewis. *Latin America, Economic Imperialism, and the State: The Political Economy of the External Connection from Independence to the Present*. London and Dover, NH: Athlone, 1985.**

Collective work that compiles eighteen contributions divided into five sections. The first section, theoretical in nature, discusses the dependentist theses, while sections 2 and 3 deal with the economic history of the 19th century through both issue-based (protectionism, railways, industrialization) and national (Colombia, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Peru, Brazil, Uruguay, and the Dominican Republic) frameworks.

**Brewer, Stewart. *Borders and Bridges: A History of U.S.–Latin American Relations*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2006.**

A general overview of relations between the United States and Latin America. The first six chapters address the period from the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century following a chronological outline. A work suited to undergraduates.

**Brown, Matthew, ed. *Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2008.**

Focuses on British economic, political, and cultural influence in Latin America with a particular interest in the Southern Cone and Argentina (five chapters out of ten).

**Bulmer-Thomas, Victor, John H. Coatsworth, and Roberto Cortés Conde. *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America. Vol. 1, The Colonial Era and the Short Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.**

Collective overview that combines economic theory with empirical data. Two chapters are dedicated to the 19th century: "Money, Taxes, and Finance" by Carlos Marichal (pp. 423–461), on fiscal matters and finances, and "The Economic Consequences of Independence in Latin America" by Leandro Prados de la Escosura (pp. 463–504), which concerns the economic impact of the end of imperial integration for independent states.

**Miller, Rory. *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. London and New York: Longman, 1993.**

A work of economic history essentially dedicated to the long 19th century (seven chapters out of ten) that synthesizes, with the aid of numerous charts and graphics, commercial and financial relations between Great Britain and Latin America. Intended for advanced students.

**O'Brien, Thomas F. *Making the Americas: The United States and Latin America from the Age of Revolutions to the Era of Globalization*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007.**

An overview of the ties between the United States and Latin America that favors diplomatic relations. The first three chapters address the period stretching from the creation of the United States to World War I. Useful for undergraduates.

**Smith, Joseph. *The United States and Latin America: A History of American Diplomacy, 1776–2000*. International Relations and History. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.**

A survey of diplomatic history. The period 1776–1928 is addressed in the first three chapters. A good point of departure.

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## The Contemporary Hispanic Atlantic from Below

Parallel to political approaches, a number of studies developed that, for the most part, were inspired by subaltern studies (Mallon 1995, cited under Class and Race Relations) and postcolonial studies (Quijano 2000 and Thurner 2003, both cited under Class and Race Relations). However, certain authors reject these assumptions (see Méndez 2005, cited under The Indian and Mestizo World), and the works cited in these subsections are resistant to any particular historiographical current. They all share, nonetheless, a social history perspective that, in the continuity of 1960s-era British social history, sees from below and favors the study of popular groups, minorities, and gendered points of view where notions of race or class orient the description of social hierarchies. Nearly all these works equally emphasize the capacity of minority groups to create their own agency and to influence the construction of nations, nuancing the image that structural approaches in the 1960s and 1970s had set of forms of social and economic domination where the actors were but passive agents in an anonymous process that left them behind.

### CLASS AND RACE RELATIONS

Approaches in terms of race and class pose the problem of transforming colonial hierarchies based on blood and color—as in those republics that treated citizens equally only by law (Graham 1990; Appelbaum, et al. 2003). The 19th century consolidated such discriminations by justifying the scientific ideal of the time (Stepan 1991) or tried to overcome them, celebrating a form of racial democracy in the process of miscegenation (von Vacano 2012). Many studies have shed light on the denial of maintaining these inequalities during the republican era as well as by actors that, in the traditional historiography, celebrated the “white” nation and its great heroes (nearly always men), while leaving in shadow the minorities: women, Afro-descendants, natives (Mallon 1995), commoners, artisans, etc. This reflection critiques European domination on both economic (Mahoney 2010) and symbolic (Quijano 2000, Thurner 2003) levels. This current is particularly strong in the Anglo-American sphere, where it has become dominant.

**Appelbaum, Nancy, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin A. Roseblatt, eds. *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.**

Collective work that brings together twelve essays dedicated to the 19th and 20th centuries. Certain works address case studies (e.g., New Grenada or Cuba), while others offer a more synthetic view on the racial question as it concerns the continent or one of its macroregions, such as the Andes. Contains a selective and very complete bibliography.

**Graham, Richard, ed. *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.**

Collection of four essays written by Thomas Skidmore, Allan Knight, and Aline Helg on Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, and Cuba; useful for beginner students as well as for researchers.

**Mahoney, James. *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.**

Chapters 4–7 address, in an Atlantic perspective, the economic history of an emancipated Spanish America by comparing it to Brazil as well as Anglophone and Francophone regions.

**Mallon, Florencia. *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.**

This work compares the political role of Mexican and Peruvian peasants, mostly indigenous, based on four case studies concerning the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. It is founded on the notion of hegemony, which traces modes of

domination both in the peasant world and in its ability to develop its own strategies in order to be prominent on the national scene without managing to redefine the rules of the political game.

**Quijano, Anibal, and Translated by Michael Ennis. "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America." *Nepantla: Views from South* 1.3 (2000): 533–580.**

An article of philosophical reflection that presents the principal arguments of postcolonial studies as applied to Latin America while contesting the evolutionism and Eurocentrism that, according to the author, has marked the study of these societies up to the present.

**Stepan, Nancy. *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.**

A study of the history of eugenics and pseudoscientific ideas concerning the betterment of race through procreation in all of Latin America from the positivist era (beginning in 1880) to the end of World War II.

**Turner, Mark, and Andrés Guerrero. *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.**

A collective work that addresses a broad chronological spectrum reaching from the 18th to the 20th century that brings together case studies favoring Andean nations while following an approach marked by postcolonial theory.

**von Vacano, Diego A. *The Color of Citizenship: Race, Modernity and Latin American/Hispanic Political Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.**

This work brings together four studies relating to the history of ideas and political theory on Las Casas, Bolívar, the Venezuelan positivist Vallenilla Lans, and the Mexican minister José Vasconcelos and their ideas on the racial transformations of their respective nations.

## **SLAVERY AND ABOLITION**

The Hispano-American world knew conflicting experiences concerning the preservation and abolition of slavery. In Chile, the institution was abolished at the time of independence (1823), while in Cuba it remained even more resilient than in the United States, where it took until 1880 for slaves to be definitively freed by the law. The role played by the first attempt at abolition in Saint-Domingue (1793–1794, see González Ripoll 2004) and the abolitionist process in Cuba (Ferrer 1999, Schmidt-Nowara 1999, Scott 1985) have monopolized the attention of historians, while emancipation has little interested specialists of other countries that became independent during the 19th century and where the abolition of slavery took place, in general, alongside other great mid-century liberal reforms (see Schmidt-Nowara 2011 for a global perspective on the process). Next to more general views (Lucena Salmoral 2002, Davis 2007, Klein and Vinson 2007), the works cited adopt two different perspectives: either insisting on internal economic and social fractures and underlining the role slaves played in securing their own freedom (Scott 1985), or else focusing more on external causes such as the expansion of abolitionist ideas (Schmidt-Nowara 1999); the two approaches are not necessarily exclusive to one another.

**Davis, Darién. *Beyond Slavery: The Multilayered Legacy of Africans in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.**

A collective work that treats the entirety of South America, from the Haitian Revolution until the end of the century. Combines a history of the abolition of slavery with that of freed persons of color.

**Ferrer, Ada. *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868–1898*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.**

This book emphasizes the participation of blacks during the three revolutions that led to Cuban independence: the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), the Guerra Chiquita (1879–1880), and the Spanish-American War (1895–1898).

**González Ripoll, Margarita, ed. *El rumor de Haití en Cuba: Temor, raza y rebeldía, 1789–1844*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigación Científica, 2004.**

Compendium addressing the exchanges between Saint-Domingue and Cuba concerning representation, migrations, and the economy.

**Klein, Herbert S., and Ben Vinson. *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.**

A survey of Latin American economic and social history. The first part addresses the issue of forced labor, slavery, and demography, while the second part treats cultural and political aspects by underlining the importance of freedmen. A good point of departure for students.

**Lucena Salmoral, Manuel. *La esclavitud en la América española*. Warsaw, Poland: Universidad de Varsovia, Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 2002.**

Survey that mainly treats the colonial era and addresses the question of abolition as an institution particular to the 19th century.

**Schmidt-Nowara, Christopher. *Empire and Antislavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833–1874*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999.**

This study of the Spanish Abolitionist Society and its impact on the “Second Spanish Empire” in the Antilles gives a transatlantic and political perspective of the abolitionist process that emphasizes the importance of an imperial and racial context in defining this emancipating current.

**Schmidt-Nowara, Christopher. *Slavery, Freedom, and Abolition in Latin America and the Atlantic World*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011.**

Addresses the late abolitions of slavery (Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Brazil) in a comparative perspective. Useful to beginner and advanced students.

**Scott, Rebecca. *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985.**

A study of emancipation and post-emancipation in Cuba from 1868 to 1899 that underlines the internal dynamics that led to the institution's gradual end (*patronato*, the freeing of enslaved soldiers, etc.). Useful to beginner and advanced students.

#### **AFRO-DESCENDANTS AND CITIZENSHIP**

Long disdained by historiography, the study of free persons of African descent has found itself, in the last dozen years, the center of attention among researchers who underline the complexity of racial hierarchies in a world marked by *métissage* as opposed to the case in the United States, where the principle of “a drop of black blood” prevailed. They also show the social divisions that mark groups of *pardos*, *morenos*, and *castas* while underlining their capacity for agency despite the prejudices of which they were the victims. These works have challenged the myth of racial democracy, still strong in countries like Venezuela and Colombia.

**Helg, Aline. *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770–1835*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.**

A monograph dedicated to the role of free people of color and slaves in a political and social perspective in the region of Cartagena de Indias.

**Kinsbruner, Jay. *Not of Pure Blood: The Free People of Color and Racial Prejudice in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996.**

Demographic study of free people of color, in particular focusing on the city of San Juan. Underlines the continuity of socio-racial hierarchies that emerged from the *castas* system throughout the 19th century.

**Múnera, Alfonso. *Fronteras imaginadas: La construcción de las razas y de la geografía en el siglo XIX colombiano*. Bogota, Colombia: Ed. Planeta Colombiana, 2005.**

A work that brings together six essays dedicated to the racial discourses and representations of elites in the construction of Colombian regions.

**Reid Andrews, George. *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.**

A short survey that underlines the agency of Afro-descendent populations. Useful for beginner and advanced students.

**Wright, Winthrop. *Café con leche: Race, Class, and National Image in Venezuela*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.**

A book dedicated to the discourse of elites on Afro-descendent populations—the majority in Venezuela—from independence to the middle of the 20th century. A study of representations useful to advanced students.

## **THE INDIAN AND MESTIZO WORLD**

Historiography has long considered the Indian world as a social group separate from national life, and more or less inert in relationship to institutions of popular sovereignty that came into being with independence. The studies cited show, to the contrary, the complexity of indigenous societies along with their agency—such as their capacity to imagine collective strategies and adapt themselves to new economic, social, and political orders—while contributing to the definition of national identities (Manrique 1981, Méndez 2005). Thurner 1997 and Larson 2004 emphasize the particularities of the Indian world and its forms of resistance to cultural and social assimilation. Appelbaum 2003 reminds us of the importance of the racial factor within a political context where it has been denied, whereas Earle 2007 offers a history of Indian representations. Adams and MacLeod 2000 and Salomon and Schwartz 2008 offer a global and anthropological perspective on native societies.

**Adams, Richard E. W., and Murdo J. MacLeod. *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas. Vol. 2, Part 1, Mesoamerica*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.**

An anthropological and historical perspective on the indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica that adopts an outline structured by macroregions with accompanying maps, illustrations, and bibliographies. A synthesis that constitutes a good starting point for students in general.

**Appelbaum, Nancy. *Muddied Waters: Race, Region, and Local History in Colombia, 1846–1948*. Durham, NC: Duke University**



**Press, 2003.**

A local history monograph on a municipality in the Colombian region of Antioquia (Riosucio, Caldas) that underlines the importance of mestizo groups.

**Earle, Rebecca. *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.**

A history of Indian representation through the study of written and iconographic sources from the era of independence until the beginning of indigenist doctrines.

**Grandin, Greg. *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000.**

A history of urban Indians of the K'iche ethnic group in Quetzaltenango in the 19th and 20th centuries along with developments on the *castas* system, ethnicity, health, gender, labor, and interactions with other racial groups such as *ladinos* as well as national "regeneration" and integration.

**Larson, Brooke. *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810–1910*. Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.**

Inspired by subaltern and postcolonial theories, this survey focuses on the Indians of Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Colombia by following, as its guiding thread, the preservation or destruction of communities formed during the colonial era.

**Manrique, Nelson. *Campesinado y nación: Las guerrillas indígenas en la guerra con Chile*. Lima, Peru: Centro de Investigación y Capacitación, Editora Ital Perú, 1981.**

One of the first works to underscore the political capacity of Indians during the Pacific War by using a study of their armed resistance; shows that indigenous populations were not strangers to the construction of the Peruvian nation but shared a form of territorial nationalism.

**Méndez, Cecilia. *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820–1850*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.**

Monograph on the Huanta Indians right after independence and their intimate integration into the national political game. Challenges postcolonial approaches in showing the participation of Indians in the national game, as it concerned their collective interests. Useful for beginning and advanced students.

**Salomon, Frank, and Stuart B. Schwartz. *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas. Vol. 3, Part 1, South America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008.**

An anthropological and historical perspective on the indigenous peoples of South America (including Brazil) that adopts an outline structured by macroregions with accompanying maps, illustrations, and bibliographies. A synthesis that constitutes a good starting point for students in general.

**Turner, Mark. *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.**

Monograph on the Huaylas-Ancash province, north of Lima, that borrows a theoretical framework from postcolonial and subaltern studies and anthropology. Focusing on the long 19th century, this work shows the play of ethnicities in a republic of citizens who were equal in principle as well as the persistence of colonial legacies in the liberal nation.

#### **COMMONERS AND PLEBEIANS IN THE TOWN AND COUNTRY**

If racial and ethnic dimensions constitute an important aspect of the works cited below, then it is, above all, a social and political perspective that is put forward here to inform the emergence of plebeians and peasants in the construction of Hispano-American nations, their means of organization, and their relationships to elites. While previous historiography has tended to emphasize links of domination and dependence between the world of notables and that of commoners across networks of patronage and clientelism, these authors, insisting on an analysis of social relations, examine the degree of autonomy for forms of popular organization. Thus, peasants seem less autonomous (Guardino 1996) than the urban craftsmen of Colombia (Sowell 1986, Sanders 2004) or Argentina (Di Meglio 2006). Sábato 2001 focuses on forms of politicization and popular mobilization. Moore 2011 is the only work to adopt an Atlantic perspective in showing the impact of oceanic traffic on a small town in the interior of Mexico.

**Di Meglio, Gabriel. *Viva el bajo pueblo! La plebe urbana de Buenos Aires y la política entre la Revolución de Mayo y el Rosismo (1810–1829)*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Prometeo, 2006.**

Monograph describing the forms of organization and politicization of artisans and other popular groups in the Argentinean capital from the era of independence until 1830.

**Guardino, Peter. *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800–1857*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996.**

This work, based on the study of the Guerrero region from independence until the implementation of liberal reforms, underscores the means of peasant participation in political conflicts and national life. A good starting point for students interested in national construction from below.

**Moore, Rachel. *Forty Miles from the Sea: Xalapa, the Public Sphere, and the Atlantic World in Nineteenth-Century Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011.**

Provides a history of the city of Xalapa in the state of Veracruz during the 19th century that shows the impact the Atlantic connection made on an inland town.

**Sábato, Hilda. *The Many and the Few: Political Participation in Republican Buenos Aires*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.**

Describes forms of popular mobilization and elections from the beginnings of Argentinean democratic practices while combining a theoretical discussion with descriptive contributions. Suited for advanced students. Originally published as *La política en las calles: Entre el voto y la movilización: Buenos Aires, 1862–1880* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Sudamericana, 1998).

**Sanders, James E. *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.**

Describes Colombian political life through popular participation, notably that of artisans. Emphasizes the Cauca region in the south of the country from 1821 until the conservative constitution of 1886 using a perspective inspired by subaltern studies. Useful for advanced students.

**Sowell, David. *The Early Latin American Labor Movement: Artisans and Politics in Bogota, Colombia, 1832–1919*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.**

Founded on a political perspective, this work describes the representational and organizational evolution of artisans in the Colombian capital during the republican 19th century, from the Santander regime until the affirmation of socialism. Useful for advanced students.

## **SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER**

Gender history is still underdeveloped for Hispanic America: historiography's preference for certain themes (caudillism, violence, agrarian structures) has long placed the question of women aside. However, since the last years of the 20th century, this has ceased to be so much the case, with studies addressing the links between gender and republican policy (Chambers 1999, Díaz 2004), the role of women in the construction of national societies (Gonzalbo and Ares Queija 2004, French and Bliss 2007), and the analysis of relations between slavery and gender (Scully 2005).

**Chambers, Sarah. *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.**

A work dedicated to the social changes that resulted during the period of independence, from the end of the colonial era to the onset of liberal reforms, with ample developments on the impact that events had on the construction of gender, notably in the Indian and mestizo communities in and around the town of Arequipa.

**Díaz, Arlene J. *Female Citizens, Patriarchs, and the Law in Venezuela, 1786–1904*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.**

Monograph dedicated to the history of women in Venezuela founded on the study of judicial archives in Caracas.

**French, William E., and Katherine Elaine Bliss. *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.**

A collection of essays that present case studies covering the 19th and 20th centuries while making reference to social and gender construction and queer theory. Useful to advanced students.

**Gonzalbo, Pilar, and Berta Ares Queija. *Las mujeres en la construcción de las sociedades iberoamericanas*. Seville, Spain, and Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2004.**

Collection of essays essentially dedicated to the Andes region and Mexico with a brief treatment of Chile and Paraguay (as well as Brazil) during the colonial era and, to a lesser degree, the 19th century.

**Scully, Pamela. *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.**

Essay collection that assumes a comparative Atlantic perspective by including three continents and, for Spanish America, Cuba (Michael Zeuske, pp. 181–198) and Puerto Rico (Ileana Rodríguez-Silva, pp. 199–222). Bridges gender approaches with an analysis of the abolitionist process. Useful reading for students looking to understand how to construct a comparative framework.

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