Disentangling Chilean Exceptionalism: The interplay of civic and ethnic elements in nationalist discourse, 1842-1931.

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I, Alfred Thomas Hinrichsen Herrera, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

The thesis examines the civic and ethnocultural elements embedded in Chilean nationalist discourse over the period 1842-1931. It explains how intellectuals articulated a nationalist discourse flexible enough to adapt to the challenges arising from the arrival of European immigrants, the integration of indigenous peoples, as well as their projects for a continental union. It also explores how this nationalist discourse was advocated by a greater range of thinkers - of different national origins, political sympathies and social backgrounds - than has been previously recognised.

Chilean nationalism is usually interpreted based on a great divide between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The former as an exclusive form of State-based patriotism while the latter as a racialised and illiberal phenomenon. I question both interpretations by arguing that there are significant commonalities between the nationalist discourses of both centuries, particularly when focussing on the underlying reasonings used to buttress the notion of Chilean exceptionalism. Landscape, climate, race and culture, as well as political process and institutional stability, were all used by statesmen, intellectuals and the learned public throughout the period to foster an idea of Chilean nationhood as distinctive from other Spanish American republics. To avoid an artificial divide between both centuries, the dissertation's scope spans almost one hundred years, emphasising two crucial groups: the Generation of 1842 and the Centenary Generation of 1910.

Adopting a transnational approach, this dissertation unveils the main civic and ethnocultural tenets of Chilean nationalist discourse during this crucial period of state-formation and nation-building. It sheds light on the malleability of nationalism, as well as discussing its influence in shaping various state policies, such as educational reform, colonisation, immigration, indigenous legislation and projects of regional integration. It contributes both to a rethinking of Chilean history and to debates in the comparative history of nationalism.

Impact Statement

This dissertation offers a revised interpretation of nationalism in Chile by analysing its exceptionalism narrative in the years 1840s-1930s. In particular, this research examines how ethnocultural and civic elements were intertwined in the articulation of a nationalist discourse throughout the span of almost one hundred years, which constitutes a novelty to the specialised scholarship on this phenomenon that has been traditionally based on the stark divide between a state-based nationalism of the nineteenth century and an emerging racialised version of it during the twentieth century. By focussing on the commonalities shared by the intellectuals of the 1842 and Centenary generations, this dissertation argues that there is a nationalist tradition in the country based on the double conviction that Chile was an institutional role model due to its stable republican system and a nation constituted by a homogeneous race.

A second contribution to the scholarship is based on the transnational element present in this research. Alongside the aforementioned generations, this study integrates the Argentine intellectual émigrés and other foreign-born *pensadores* who actively contributed to the development of this narrative of Chilean exceptionalism, particularly during the mid-nineteenth century. This sheds light on how nationalism was tied to the transnational intellectual networks, challenging its usual interpretation as an exclusively inward-looking phenomenon. Furthermore, this thesis explains how these intellectuals used this nationalist narrative to respond to the challenge coming from the arrival of European immigrants, the integration of indigenous peoples and different projects of a continental union. This contributes to the understanding of nationalism as a contentious and malleable discourse in which the contours of the nationhood are frequently being re-imagined and negotiated by several members of the political and cultured elites to fit different geopolitical projects and ideological agendas.

A revised theoretical framework of nationalism is proposed founded on the crucial role of the intellectuals and their ambivalent relationship with tradition and modernity based on Partha Chatterjee's "colonial dilemma", which could contribute to avoiding falling into the common trap of eurocentrism in most nationalist theories. Furthermore, this research could provide useful insights into the intellectual and political history of Latin America, particularly in its understanding of nationalism in

other countries of the region since they were the product of similar transnational processes and faced analogous challenges in this period. Amongst them, the comparison with Argentina seems to be promising due to the wide range of institutional and intellectual connections that have been overlooked by the scholarship, particularly during the early twentieth century. Finally, this study contributes to understanding the foundations of one of the most pervasive narratives in Chilean republican history, namely its self-image as an exceptional country in Latin America. The enduring clout of this discourse has shaped the political, intellectual and cultural elites until this day, regardless of ideological sympathies and social backgrounds. This notion of exceptionalism has also influenced the current changes Chile is experiencing since October 2019 and the ongoing constitutional process. An analysis of its roots, main ethnocultural and civic tenets, as well as its inconsistencies and weaknesses, could greatly contribute to the current public debate by promoting some of its beneficial aspects while challenging and exposing some of its most harmful implications.

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Introduction

> "I come from Chile, a small country but one where today any citizen is free to express himself as he so desires. A country of unlimited cultural, religious and ideological tolerance and where there is no room for racial discrimination […] where universal and secret suffrage is the vehicle of determination of a multiparty regime, with a Parliament that has constantly been operating since it was created 160 years ago; where the Courts of Justice are independent of the Executive and where the Constitution has only been changed once since 1833 and has almost always been in effect. […]. In my country, history, land and man are united in a great national feeling."
>
> Salvador Allende

Those are the opening remarks of Salvador Allende's speech at General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1972. He spoke ten months before being overthrown by a coup d'état, inaugurating, in turn, a military regime that would last 17 years, during which those very democratic institutions that he praised were destroyed, while the social unity he celebrated was defiled by political divisions, persecution and systematic human rights violations. It is impossible not to wonder how Allende, on the brink of such tragic circumstances, persevered with this image of Chile as an exceptional case, which in itself constitutes a testament of how enduring and influential this narrative has been in shaping Chile's self-image throughout its history as an independent country. Although Allende's government is beyond this dissertation's scope, these opening remarks testify to the enduring relevance of the historical problem to be analysed in this thesis. Furthermore, Allende's words show how the notion of exceptionality has consistently been understood in an institutional and political light. An emphasis on the strength of the Republican system, the uncontested legitimacy of the Parliament, the respect for the separation of powers, and the broader recognition of a constitutional regime with ample civil rights have all been elements usually associated with State-driven civic nationalism. Yet, Allende, in a telling final claim, also addressed Chile's history, people and landscape to explain its patriotism and cohesiveness, using ethnocultural elements to buttress his idea of exceptionalism. This dissertation aims to trace the historical emergence and evolution of Chilean nationalism, drawing attention to how the sense of exceptionality relied not only on civic elements but also on ethnocultural claims. Moreover, the intertwining of both civic and ethnocultural elements was aimed not only at stating Chile's distinctiveness in the region, but also at claiming its superiority.

This compelling discourse has been fostered by the historiography, which usually portrays the Chilean case as a successful example of state formation and nation-building in the region. Frank Safford took Chile as a countervailing model of a "strong and effective state" that "enjoyed exceptional political order" in the chaos of post-independence Spanish America,[1] while Simon Collier argued that it represented a case in which "order and major political liberties were reconciled",[2] avoiding the recurrent constitutional crisis and civil wars that characterised neighbouring countries. This trend is also evident in Chilean historiography until this day. Cristián Gazmuri, for instance, identifies as one of the permanent traits of Chilean "mentality" and "collective attitude" the "homogeneity of Chilean values and customs", which he explains as a result of the centralisation of the State after 1833.[3] Similarly, Rafael Sagredo addresses how a salient and enduring trait of the Chilean ruling elite from the 1830s onwards has been the "notion about Chile's exceptional trajectory in Spanish America".[4] This thesis starts from the premise that the narrative of exceptionalism can only be sustained by a highly selective interpretation of Chilean history. Nevertheless, what remains clear is that this narrative achieved strong prominence in the country's self-image and in the scholarship, hence, the need to study further how this image was built over time.

There is a consensus in the scholarship about the intellectual origins of this exceptionality, namely that it was an inward-looking phenomenon built in a top-down manner. For instance, as Sagredo suggests, state officials and public institutions were mostly responsible for articulating this narrative. However, this seems to be a rather limited interpretation since it could diminish the role played by other relevant agents, particularly intellectuals opposed to the incumbent conservative government, as is explored in this dissertation with several members of the 1842 Generation. The same could be said about non-Chilean actors who actively contributed to articulating and disseminating this image of exceptionality in the region, as examined in this research

[1] Frank Safford, 'The Construction of Nation States in Latin America, 1820-1890', in *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain.* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 26–27.
[2] Simon Collier, *La Construcción de una República 1830-1865. Política e Ideas.* (Santiago, Chile.: Ediciones Universidad Católica, 2008), 23.
[3] Cristián Gazmuri, *Historia de Chile 1891-1994. Política, Economía, Sociedad, Cultura, Vida Privada, Episodios.* (Santiago, Chile.: RIL Editores, 2012), 31.
[4] Rafael Sagredo, *Historia Mínima de Chile* (Mexico D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2014), 13.

with the Argentine intellectual diaspora exiled in the country from the late 1830s until the mid-1850s.

Chilean exceptionalism has been commonly understood on political grounds setting aside ethnocultural factors. Conversely, the latter trend overlooks the constant allusions to the racial, natural, historical and cultural elements that the Chilean nationalist discourse used to reinforce an idea of uniqueness in Spanish America. The lack of black population in Chile's social composition, the overall mild and temperate climate, the extent of *mestizaje* between conquistadors and the indigenous people, the geographical isolation and popular resilience to natural disasters amongst other non-state or politically related elements have usually been stressed by essayists, thinkers and politicians as components that heavily influenced Chile's sense of identity.[5] Intellectuals sought to assess those elements and transform them into a nationalist discourse. Nevertheless, this was not a monolithic discourse and the interpretation made by different intellectuals, such as the 1842 and Centenary generations, varied in some regards, while in others presented striking commonalities. It follows that the aim of this dissertation is twofold; on the one hand, to show how both civic and ethnocultural elements were consistently embedded in the Chilean nationalist discourse throughout this period, while on the other hand, that the significance and content of these civic and ethnocultural elements changed over time. In this sense, the analysis of almost a century between 1842-1931 illuminates the continuous process of contestation and re-imagination Chilean nationalism experienced.

[5] Some of the most influential authors who stressed the non-political elements of the Chilean nationality are Jaime Eyzaguirre (1908-1968) and Benjamín Subercaseaux (1902-1973). Eyzaguirre emphasised the sociocultural elements,arguing that the arrival of the Spanish gave birth to the Chilean national consciousness since they were responsible for giving “unity” to the numerous competing racial groups that settled this territory, although always stressing the prevalence of Western and Hispanic elements in this fusion. Subercaseaux focussed on nature and landscape, arguing that “there is something eternal and unalterable in Chile, its geography”. In consequence, race, culture, and politics should adapt to the nature that welcomes them, particularly considering how unique Chilean geography is. Regardless, Eyzaguirre’s essay due to its conservatism and traditionalism is telling of his mindset but should be challenged from a historiographical perspective. At the same time, Subercaseaux, as a writer, addressed the issue of geography and the national identity from a literary perspective. See: Jaime Eyzaguirre, *Historia de Chile. Génesis de la Nacionalidad.* (Santiago, Chile.: Zig-Zag, 1965), 33; Benjamín Subercaseaux, *Chile o una loca geografía*, 1st Edition in 1940 (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 2010), 28.

Considering that nationalisms are constructed vis-à-vis other collectives or national communities, it is paramount to understand how the Chilean nationalist discourse used by public intellectuals engaged with the challenges arising from the arrival of European immigrants, the integration of indigenous people, and projects for continental union. These three groups were the focus of a continuous negotiation process by these intellectuals, shifting their stands greatly from promoting their incorporation into the Chilean nationhood to rejecting their contribution at different times. The dissertation questions the enduring misconception of interpreting Chilean nationalism and its idea of exceptionality as a monolithic discourse based solely on political elements by proposing that both resulted from the interplay of civic and ethnocultural considerations. It also challenges the common notion that the nation's contours were set in stone as if the understanding of who was part of the nationhood remained unchanged throughout this period. On the contrary, I propose that this was a contentious issue open to different interpretations, which led to various competing projects for the novel nation-state.

The historiography of nationalism in Chile.

A thematic rather than chronological approach provides a better understanding of the historiography relating to this dissertation's two major research topics, namely, the emergence of nationalist discourse and the role played by intellectuals in its articulation. However, they share three underlying trends that have hindered a thorough understanding of this phenomenon. These are: an emphasis on individuals and top-down political processes; fragmentation of the study of nationalism, which relies on short term monographic studies instead of long to a medium-term analysis of this phenomenon; and an artificial chronological divide that stresses the difference between the civic nationalism of the nineteenth century from the emerging ethnocultural variants of the twentieth century.

Nationalism and nationalist discourse in Chile

The lack of long-term comprehensive studies as well as the tendency to study nationalism as a by-product of bigger political, economic or sociocultural processes has led to interpretations portraying nationalism as something exotic, sporadic, secondary and overall with a diminished relevance in Chilean history. The fragmentation and subordination of its studies are partially responsible for this misconception. In this sense, even attempts to break this trend falls into this

fragmentation trap, as the series *Nación y Nacionalismo en Chile* shows. This constitutes a remarkable effort to broaden the discussion of nationalism into a wider range of topics than hitherto studied, including international conflicts, religion, music, cinema, education, amongst many, albeit these studies do not necessarily share a conceptual understanding of nationalism.[6] To avoid such a problem of undefinition, a preliminary workable way of conceiving nationalism is as "the discourse that creates and preserves the nation as an autonomous value", meaning not subordinated politically, economically or culturally to any other community.[7] This discourse seeks to buttress the autonomy, unity and identity of a community that constitutes an existing or projected nation,[8] as well as it attempts to foster a sense of shared destiny and a common aspiration as a political project that extends into their future.[9] It follows that ethnocultural and civic elements are embedded into this discourse. Furthermore, it starts from the premise that intellectuals have a key role to play (although not exclusive) in articulating this discourse. How intellectuals assessed ethnocultural and civic elements to give a distinctive content to the Chilean nationhood, as well as how they weighted tradition and modernity when attempting to disseminate this discourse into the wider public or when attempting to influence in the policy-making process, are elements that are explored in both the 1842 and Centenary Generations.

The most salient trend of the scholarship regarding nationalism is its subordination towards Chile's state-building process. From Mario Góngora onwards, the consensus has been to interpret the emergence of the former as a consequence of the latter, since "the State is the matrix of the nationhood: the nation would not exist without the State, which has shaped it throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."[10] Most of the studies of nationalism are studies of institutional attempts to

[6] See: Gabriel Cid and Alejandro San Francisco, eds., *Nación y Nacionalismo en Chile. Siglo XIX*, 2 vols (Santiago, Chile.: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2009); Gabriel Cid and Alejandro San Francisco, eds., *Nacionalismos e Identidad Nacional en Chile. Siglo XX.*, 2 vols (Santiago, Chile.: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2010).
[7] Caspar Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism. An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 47.
[8] John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, eds., *Nationalism.* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 4; Anthony Smith, *Nacionalismo* (Alianza Editorial, 2004), 23.
[9] Azar Gat and Alexander Yakobson, *Naciones. Una nueva historia del nacionalismo.* (Barcelona, Spain: Crítica, 2014), 37.
[10] Mario Góngora, *Ensayo Histórico Sobre La Noción de Estado En Chile En Los Siglos XIX y XX*, 9th ed. (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 2010), 59.

buttress nationhood through state-driven means like public education,[11] or via official iconography, music and holidays.[12] Such an approach runs the risk of becoming a tautological interpretation where the nation is understood solely in relation to the State, as a by-product of it, since both are equated as one and the same phenomenon. Falling into this misleading interpretation is easier when analysing nationhood only in its civic and political strands. Thus, the need to stress the ethnocultural elements embedded in the idea of nationhood, such as the role played in it by the indigenous communities.

Recent historiography has centred its attention on the problem of race, particularly on how the different nation-building processes addressed the "Indian Problem" in each Spanish American country. Rebecca Earle has been one of the most influential in unveiling how creole intellectuals and public officials used the figure of the indigenous people as an ethnocultural element in their nationalist discourses in the region.[13] She argues that most countries have used an "*indianesque"* narrative of celebrating the Pre-Columbian roots of the emerging nations after independence while rejecting the contribution made by contemporary indigenous people by usually depicting them as embodiments of barbarism. Framed by this interpretation, studies about the indigenous contribution to an idea of nationhood in Chile have focussed on their marginalisation in a symbolic, juridical and material sense, which peaked with the violent seizure of Araucanía during the 1860s to the 1880s.[14] Although these works

[11] Sol Serrano, *Universidad y Nación. Chile en el siglo XIX* (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 1994); Sol Serrano, Macarena Ponce de León, and Francisca Rengifo, eds., *Historia de La Educación En Chile (1810-2010)*, vol. I: Aprender a leer y escribir (1810-1880) (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Taurus, 2012); Sol Serrano, Macarena Ponce de León, and Francisca Rengifo, eds., *Historia de La Educación En Chile (1810-2010)*, vol. II: La Educación Nacional (1880-1930) (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Taurus, 2012); Sol Serrano, 'Enseñanza de La Historia e Identidad Nacional: Un Vínculo a Exteriorizar Desde La Experiencia Chilena. 1850-1930', *Encounters/Encuentros/Rencontres on Education* 15 (2014): 209–22; Ricardo Iglesias, *¿Cómo construimos una nación? El proyecto educativo común y la tarea de intelectuales, políticos, profesoras y profesores en el Chile del siglo XIX.* (Valparaíso, Chile: Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, 2019).

[12] Bárbara Silva, *Identidad y Nación entre dos siglos. Patria Vieja, Centenario y Bicentenario.* (Santiago, Chile.: LOM, 2008); Rafael Pedemonte, *Los Acordes de La Patria : Música y Nación En El Siglo XIX Chileno.* (Santiago, Chile.: Globo, 2008).

[13] Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native. Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930.* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 10.

[14] José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche: siglo XIX y XX* (Santiago, Chile.: Ediciones Sur, 1985); Florencia E. Mallon, 'Decoding the Parchments of the Latin American Nation-States: Peru, Mexico and Chile in Comparative Perspective.', in *Studies in the Formation of the Nation State in Latin America.* (School of Advanced Study, University of London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002); Florencia E. Mallon, *Courage Tastes of Blood: The Mapuche Community of Nicolás Ailío and the Chilean State, 1906-2001* (Durham, North Carolina, United States: Duke University Press, 2005); Julio Pinto, *La Formación del Estado y la Nación y el Pueblo Mapuche. De la inclusión a la exclusión.* (Santiago, Chile.:

have contributed by adding some caveats to the overwhelmingly state-based interpretation of nationalism in the region, all of them can be described by sharing two characteristics; first by depicting a downward spiral of marginalisation of the indigenous from the independence onwards, and secondly, by explaining the indigenous assimilation to the Chilean nation either gradually or by economic and political coercion. In this sense, the contribution of this dissertation is twofold. On the one hand, it seeks to highlight the crucial role the figure of the Mapuche played in the articulation of a nationalist narrative amongst the public intellectuals in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On the other hand, it is necessary to establish some nuances to this overall narrative of uninterrupted downward spiral or marginalisation. Particularly during the early twentieth century, there were attempts to protect the indigenous peoples with specific legislation and institutions while symbolically locating them at the centre of the nationhood, although admittedly presented through the prism of a project of cultural assimilation.

The contribution made by immigrant *pensadores*, particularly the Argentine intellectual diaspora of the mid-nineteenth century, to Chilean nationalism has been widely overlooked. Studies about them prefer to focus on either their institutional or political partisanship, limiting their cultural contribution to the development of a politically engaged public opinion and an emerging public education system, which in turn contributed to illustrate the allegedly exceptional political stability that allowed to create such public and private institutions in the first place.[15] Edward Blumenthal is the only historian to address this topic in depth by arguing that a culture of exile was established in both countries, in which these "cosmopolitan attitudes forged in a migratory context played a role in the development of national cultures and the construction of state sovereignties [in Chile and Argentina]".[16] However, Blumenthal focusses on how the exiled communities contributed to their countries of origin,

DIBAM, 2003); Joanna Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History.* (Gainesville, United States: University Press of Florida., 2013).

[15] See: Armando Donoso, *Sarmiento en el destierro.* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: M. Gleizer, 1927); Alamiro Ávila, *Sarmiento En La Universidad de Chile* (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universidad de Chile, 1988); Iván Jaksic, 'Sarmiento y La Prensa Chilena En El Siglo XIX', *Historia* 26 (1992 1991): 117–44; Carolina Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: VERLAP, 1997); Sergio Vergara, ed., *Manuel Montt y Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: Epistolario 1833-1888* (Santiago, Chile.: DIBAM, 1999); Ana María Stuven, 'El exilio de la intelectualidad argentina: polémica y construcción de la esfera pública chilena (1840-1850)', in *Historia de los intelectuales en América Latina.*, vol. I La ciudad letrada, de la conquista al modernismo. (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Katz, 2008), 412–40.

[16] Edward Blumenthal, *Exile and Nation-State Formation in Argentina and Chile, 1810-1862*, Transnational History Series (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 23–24.

circumscribing their action in Chile to fostering an exceptionality narrative based on civic considerations. Besides, in clear contrast with the scholarship on countries such as Brazil and Argentina,[17] there are few studies about the adverse effects the emergence of nationalism had for the European immigrants in Chile. For Instance, Carl Solberg focused on the advocacy of economic nationalism while suggesting that the welcoming attitude towards foreigners remained unquestioned during this period.[18] One aim of this thesis is to provide a better understanding of the role played by both foreign intellectuals and immigrant communities in the development of Chilean nationalism, particularly from an ethnocultural perspective, and also to challenge the exceptional narrative of Chile as a place free of xenophobic discourses and anti-immigration policies.

To sum up, the main obstacle for a comprehensive understanding of Chilean exceptionalism and its nationalist discourse is the well-established consensus of dividing the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into opposites. Some differences were striking, particularly in terms of the influences each group of intellectuals received from their historical contexts and their personal political affinities, but usually these are artificially overstated at the expense of the continuities between the two centuries. This dissertation aims to unveil how both periods are connected by their understanding of nationhood and Chile's exceptional position in the region, which relied on interwoven civic and ethnocultural reasonings in a similar degree. This sheds light on the importance nationalism had in this period since scholarship usually minimises it to a subordinate position in Chilean intellectual and political tradition. The significance of nationalism was not constrained to political discourse but also shaped many different immigration policies, indigenous legislation and geopolitical initiatives, all guided by nationalist thought.

Intellectual History

The history of Chilean nationalism has often been read through the lens of famous intellectual figures. In this sense, intellectual history has embraced a common

[17] Lilia A. Bertoni, *Patriotas, cosmopolitas y nacionalistas: la construcción de la nacionalidad argentina a fines del siglo XIX* (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001); Stefan Rinke, 'The Reconstruction of National Identity: German Minorities in Latin America during the First World War.', in *Immigration and National Identities in Latin America.* (United States: University Press of Florida., 2014).
[18] Carl Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism. Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914.* (Austin and London: The University of Texas Press, 1970).

practice of focussing on specific individuals or canonical texts. The inversion of the focus from the customary analysis of abstract ideas taken without contextualisation or in its 'pure form' to privilege the study of discourses and individuals responds to a significant shift in the methodology and understanding of how to interpret intellectual history.[19] More awareness on how the political and social-economic context influences the development of a thinker's mindset, and hence, their set of political and stylistic preferences, is a welcome innovation in the field, as is the recent focus on the role played by networks where movements of ideas and people enrich the national and regional intellectual milieu. However, an overemphasis on studying well-known figures has led to interpret their ideas as representative of an entire period or as intellectual archetypes used as a framework to study other 'minor' intellectual figures. The Chilean nineteenth century constitutes an excellent example of the latter since the overwhelming focus has been on studying the contribution made by renowned intellectuals and scientists such as Claude Gay or Andrés Bello.[20] An illustrative case of this overemphasis on individuals over processes is how Bernardo Subercaseaux studied José Victorino Lastarria. In his ambitious survey of Chilean intellectual history, he attempts to capture the "spirit of the times" and summarise the entire nineteenth century through Lastarria's works by arguing that in him one finds the embodiment of the liberal and republican elite that founded the country's intellectual tradition.[21] As the previous cases suggest, at times there is a confusion between biography and the analysis of an intellectual process, which usually leads towards an overemphasis on these household names, leaving in relative obscurity the role played by other agents during the same period, as it happens with provincial intellectual elites located in Valparaiso or Copiapó. Consequently, the political and cultural influence of individual

[19] See: Elías José Palti, 'The Theoretical Revolution in Intellectual History: From the History of Political Ideas to the History of Political Languages.', *History and Theory*, no. 53 (October 2014): 387–405; "Pinedo, Javier 'Identidad y Método: aproximaciones a la historica de las ideas en América Latina' en: Hugo Cancino, Susanne Klengel, and Nanci Leonzo, eds., *Nuevas perspectivas teóricas y metodológicas de la Historia intelectual de América Latina.* (Madrid, Spain: Ediciones de Iberoamericana, 1999), 15–30.

[20] See: Luis Mizón, *Claudio Gay y la formación de la identidad cultural chilena.* (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 2001); Rafael Sagredo, ed., *Ciencia y Mundo. Orden Republicano, Arte y Nación En América.* (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 2010); Patience A. Shell, *The Sociable Sciences. Darwin and His Contemporaries in Chile* (Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Iván Jaksic, *Andrés Bello. Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America.* (Cambridge University Press, 2001); Iván Jaksic, ed., *Andrés Bello. Repertorio Americano* (Santiago, Chile.: Penguin Random House, 2019).

[21] Bernardo Subercaseaux, *Historia de Las Ideas y La Cultura En Chile*, vol. I: 1810-1900. Sociedad y cultura liberal en el siglo XIX. José Victorino Lastarria. (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 2011), 25–26.

figures is usually overestimated while the contribution of other intellectual collective efforts such as journals and newspapers are generally diminished.

Furthermore, there is a fragmentation in the historiography due to the predominance of monographic studies centred on a specific phenomenon in a relatively short timeframe. There is an emphasis on cultural movements such as Romanticism or on distinct generations of intellectuals and their contribution, usually highlighting its political dimension.[22] This has led some scholars to use restrictive labels to describe different *pensadores* in a particular fashion as if being "liberal", "romantic", "classicist" or "socialist" were mutually exclusive in a context where the division of these concepts was blurred and when usually these intellectuals identified with many political and cultural trends by the common practice of combining several influences in their works. The essayistic and experimental nature of both the 1842 and Centenary generation's intellectuals frequently led toward eclectic works, which in turn hinders any contemporary attempt to interpret them in a compartmentalised manner. For the nineteenth century in particular, the hegemonic influence of liberalism also contributed to the ill-definition of these labels since, "liberalism was a broad church that embraced diverging congregations" that could be conservative, moderate, and radical in ideological terms.[23] Consequently, in Chile it was common for intellectuals to take part in various cultural movements, merging different stylistic and political principles from a myriad of influences, as in the case of José Victorino Lastarria, who has been portrayed as liberal, romantic and positivist.[24] The same applies to any intellectual with a long-lasting and prolific body of work. It follows that labels are always

[22] In Chile, Romanticism has been mainly interpreted subordinated to political history. Particularly, the studies have focussed on how it contributed to instilling a revolutionary "pathos" and a subversive type of "active poetry" in the oligarchic intellectuality, fostering uprisings against Montt's regime during the 1850s. See: Cristián Gazmuri, *El '48' Chileno. Igualitarios, Reformistas Radicales, Masones y Bomberos.* (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 1999), 120; Ana Figueroa, *Ensayistas del Movimiento Literario de 1842* (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universidad de Santiago, 2004), 42.

[23] Collier, *La Construcción de una República 1830-1865. Política e Ideas.*, 172. Ivan Jaksic warns that labels during this period usually lead to confusion and that Latin America has "many different ways of understanding liberalism" in which one could find conservatives, radicals, monarchists, *caudillos*, amongst others. He proposed a semantic revision of the concept in which "one pays more attention to content than to labels". See: Eduardo Posada-Carbo and Iván Jaksic, 'Shipwrecks and Survivals: Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Latin America.', *Intellectual History Review* 23, no. 4 (2013): 486–87.

[24] According to Subercaseaux, Lastarria is a "liberal by conviction and temperament" describing him as an intransigent and inflexible liberal, to Leopoldo Zea is one of the most important elements of Romanticism in Chile, while to Hentscke, Lastarria merged liberalism, romanticism and positivism in their "highly relevant syncretistic writings". See: Subercaseaux, *Historia de Las Ideas y La Cultura En Chile*, I: 1810-1900. Sociedad y cultura liberal en el siglo XIX. José Victorino Lastarria.:50–51; Jens Hentscke, 'José Victorino Lastarria's Libertarian Krauso-Positivism and the Discourse on State and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Chile.', *Intellectual History Review* 22, no. 2 (June 2012): 258.

a complicated affair since the overlapping and fusion of different cultural and ideological backgrounds into their works were commonplace.

The final historiographical trend is the predominance of chronologically driven studies based on the divide between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Besides the caveat of the professionalisation debate, which explores the political involvement of the intellectual elites and asks how the intellectual mission of the new academic institutions of the late nineteenth century could co-exist with the political affiliation of intellectuals,[25] it seems that all other aspects of the Chilean intellectual life are interpreted on the assumption of a clear-cut divide between the two centuries. This divide attempts to make a stark contrast between the aims, motivations, principles, stylistic approaches and overall spirit that guided the intellectuals in both centuries. The acuteness of this division seeks to set as counterparts, particularly the Chilean 1842 Generation with the Centenary Generation of 1910. Politically, if the former is usually interpreted in a more liberal, Enlightened, cosmopolitan and republican light, the latter is deemed as its natural antagonist due to its sympathies towards authoritarianism, conservatism, Hispanism and nativism.[26] Socially, nineteenth-

[25] In Latin America, Miller sees a gradual professionalisation of the intellectual activity, which granted some leeway and room for dissent, particularly from the twentieth century onwards. Regardless, due to the relatively weak educational systems, their dependency towards state-sponsored jobs and the constant threat of authoritarian regimes, in both centuries the intellectuals experienced restraints to their free-expression, never achieving full autonomy from political power. For Chile, Woll argues that the liberal agenda and the engagements with the government tainted the entire historiographic activity of the nineteenth century. In contrast, Jaksic stresses the professionalisation of academic activity in the country. For him, one of the secrets of the University of Chile's success, as well as of the stability of Chile's state-bureaucracy, was its tendency to privilege the formation of a "community of experts" over personal loyalties and political affinities. See: Nicola Miller, *In the Shadow of the State. Intellectuals and the Quest for National Identity in the Twentieth-Century Spanish America* (London, United Kingdom: Verso, 1999); Allen Woll, *A Functional Past. The Uses of History in the Nineteenth-Century Chile.* (United States: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); Joseph Dager Alva, 'El debate en torno al método historiográfico en el Chile del siglo XIX', *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 28 (2002): 97–138; Iván Jaksic, *Academic Rebels in Chile. The Role of Philosophy in Higher Education and Politics.* (New York, United States: State University of New York, 1989); Iván Jaksic, 'Ideological Pragmatism and Nonpartisan Expertise in Nineteenth-Century Chile. Andrés Bello's Contribution to State and Nation Building.', in *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 183–202.

[26] According to Corvalán and Pinedo, a racist nationalism was inaugurated with the Centenary Generation, which added a strong anti-communism and anti-liberalism strands (understood as against immigration and Parliamentary Democracy) to the traditional right, ultimately leading to the 1973 coup d'état. With more positive undertones, Morandé and Góngora acknowledged in this generation an opposition to the Enlightened, universalistic modernisation project of the nineteenth-century liberals, while recovering the political Portalian and Hispanic tradition of a centralised and strong state. See: Luis Corvalán, *Nacionalismo y Autoritarismo durante el siglo XX en Chile* (Santiago, Chile.: Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez, 2009); F. Javier Pinedo, 'Apuntes para un mapa intelectual de Chile: 1900-1925', *América sin nombre*, no. 16 (2011): 29–40; Mario Góngora, *Ensayo Histórico Sobre La Noción de Estado En Chile En Los Siglos XIX y XX*, 9th ed. (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 2010);

century *pensadores* are usually depicted as members of the elite directly involved in the policymaking process, whereas those of the following century are deemed as of middle-class origins and, if involved in politics at all, occupying mid to minor posts in State's bureaucracy, from which followed their commitment to a reformist agenda.[27] Finally, in terms of intellectual discourse, scholars have usually emphasised nineteenth-century nationalism's civic and political stance in direct contrast to the more racialised approach of the centenary generation.

Simon Collier summarises the latter position by arguing that: "there was no attempt during the early Republic to define Chilean nationhood in ethnic terms, the first works in this regard emerging just before the twentieth century. Neither were there 'sociological' descriptions, like those done by Sarmiento for Argentina".[28] This was a bold claim considering the various attempts to describe Chile and its people's distinctive traits published during this period by authors such as Francisco Bilbao, Lastarria and José Joaquín Vallejo [*Jotabeche*] amongst many others. The heated debate that some of these descriptions provoked, particularly in terms of understanding the Chilean language and the role that the Spanish legacy should play in the nation's future,[29] demonstrates that Collier's interpretation needs to be reviewed by including an ethnocultural analysis. From which it follows that, although during the early twentieth century there was indeed an emergence of a racialised nationalist discourse as archetypes of the new nationhood embodied in the figures of the *huaso* [cowboy] and the *roto* [urban proletarian],[30] it would be wrong to suggest that the assessment of *mestizaje* was not a contentious issue during the nineteenth century.

Pedro Morandé, *Cultura y Modernización en América Latina.* Colección Vanguardia (Santiago, Chile.: Instituto de Estudios de la Sociedad, 2017).

[27] The centenary generation is usually portrayed as a politically diverse group seeking a reformist agenda through the denouncement of the social divide and inequalities in the country. This interpretation links this group to the Radical Party, advocating for more labour protection, growth in scholarship, and major state involvement in social, political, economic and cultural affairs. See: Cristián Gazmuri, *Testimonio de Una Crisis. Chile: 1900-1925* (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 1980); Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile. Cultural Politics, Nationalism and the Rise of the Middle Class* (United States: University of North Carolina, 2001); Stefan Rinke, *Cultura de Masas: Reforma y Nacionalismo 1910-1931* (Santiago, Chile.: DIBAM, 2002); Alejandro San Francisco, 'La crítica social nacionalista en la época del centenario (Chile, 1900-1920)', in *Nacionalismo e Identidad Nacional en Chile. Siglo XX.*, vol. I, II vols (Santiago, Chile.: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2010).

[28] Collier, *La Construcción de una República 1830-1865. Política e Ideas.*, 199–200.

[29] See: Norberto Pinilla, ed., *La controversia filológica de 1842* (Santiago, Chile.: Prensa de la Universidad de Chile, 1945); Norberto Pinilla, *La Polémica del Romanticismo en 1842.* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Americalee, 1943).

[30] There is a consensus in highlighting the emergence of a racialised discourse as the quintessential contribution made by Centenary Generation, particularly due to the influence of Nicolás Palacios and

As a consequence of this trend of analysing both centuries separately or in direct opposition, few works explore them together aiming to find not only their differences but their commonalities. My contribution revolves around this endeavour: by unveiling some usually overlooked continuities in both sets of discourses, one can appreciate how Chilean exceptionality was based on civic and ethnocultural elements in both periods. Furthermore, these commonalities also translated into the policymaking, demonstrating in turn that, in terms of indigenous legislation, immigration and geopolitics, both centuries were not entirely as dissonant as the scholarship seems to suggest.

The challenge of defining the nation in Latin America.

The main theories regarding the birth and development of nations come from the western world. To a great degree, they respond to the European and Industrialised context in which the modern Nation-States emerged during the long nineteenth century. In this sense, the attempt to use these theories and definitions analytically in such a particular context as Latin America constitutes a significant challenge. The following section critically reviews how scholarship has engaged with theories of nationalism to gauge the extent to which they are applicable to Latin America. After this assessment, I explore how to adapt these concepts to the Chilean context, which in turn, demonstrates that nationalism should be understood by the scholarship as a combination of civic/political with ethnocultural elements.

The classic divide between perennialism and modernism with their respective understanding of the nation solely as a community of origin rooted in history and ethnicity on the one hand, or a political community sustained on Enlightened principles and contractual bonds on the other, should be surpassed. It is very unhelpful to approach these two theories in a normative manner as if they were mutually exclusive, as suggested by Hans Kohn.[31] This is a rather artificial and politically driven divide

Francisco Encina. The use of the *huaso* and *roto* as the archetype of the nationhood has been studied by Barr-Melej and B. Subercaseaux respectively: Patrick Barr-Melej, 'Imaginando el campo: Nacionalismo Cultural, Política y la búsqueda de la chilenidad, 1891-1941.', in *Nacionalismo e Identidad Nacional en Chile. Siglo XX.*, vol. I, II vols (Santiago, Chile.: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2010); Bernardo Subercaseaux, 'Raza y Nación: Ideas operantes y políticas públicas en Chile, 1900-1940.', in *Nacionalismo e Identidad Nacional en Chile. Siglo XX.*, vol. I, II vols (Santiago, Chile.: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2010); 'Chapter III: Raza y Nación' in: Bernardo Subercaseaux, *Historia de las Ideas y la Cultura en Chile*, vol. II: 1900-1930. Nacionalismo y Cultura (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 2011).

[31] Kohn equates perennialism with Eastern and modernism with Western forms of nationalism. The former is depicted as irrational, organic and authoritarian, hence totalitarian. In contrast, the latter is

since stark distinctions between both are a matter of pure speculation when considering that most forms of nationalism appeal to both, its political project and its historical origins to buttress an idea of nationhood.

The modernist approach has been the most influential interpretation of the nation since the 1980s onwards guided by the works of Hobsbawm, Gellner and Anderson. The three main tenets of this theory could be summed up as the novelty of the nation, its construction in a top-down manner and the relevance of shared memories, practices of commemoration and consensus when defining nationhood. The nation-States that emerged during the dual liberal-democratic and industrial revolution buttressed their legitimacy through the actions made by public institutions in a process defined as "State-based patriotism".[32] By controlling the State, the ruling elite shaped a new national and cohesive market,[33] and a regime based on political and civil rights, which in turn, gave birth to the modern nations. Furthermore, in order to spur the loyalty of the political community to this new Nation-States, Hobsbawm argued that intellectuals played a key role in inventing the traditions, symbology and other cultural practices, and disseminating them through public institutions, particularly the education system. As Hobsbawm points out, ideally, these invented traditions could be based on pre-existing ethnocultural elements, although this was not necessary since,[34] ultimately, this was a process of "social engineering" aimed at homogenising the inhabitants of a national community.[35]

Conversely, perennialism disputes this notion of the nation's novelty and artificiality since it suggests the complete passivity of the people and an overstatement of the elite's capacities. Anthony Smith and Azar Gat locate the origins of the nation in the formation of different ethnic groups, understood as a community with shared ancestry, territory, myths and culture, all of which are summarised as "ethno-symbolisms".[36] These ethnic groups are the backbones of the emerging states since identities cannot be made from scratch by governments nor intellectuals; hence, states

deemed as rational, egalitarian and cosmopolitan, hence democratic. See: Geoff Eley and Ronald G. Suny, eds., *Becoming National. A Reader.* (New York, United States: Oxford University Press, 1996), 4.

[32] Eric Hobsbawm, *Naciones y Nacionalismo desde 1780.* (Barcelona, Spain: Crítica, 1992), 99.

[33] Ernest Gellner, *Naciones y Nacionalismo.* (Madrid, Spain: Alianza Editorial, 2008), 160.

[34] Hobsbawm, *Naciones y Nacionalismo desde 1780.*, 87.

[35] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *La Invención de la Tradición* (Barcelona, Spain: Crítica, 2002), 20.

[36] Hutchinson and Smith, *Nationalism.*, 151.

rely on prior ethnocultural elements to legitimise their institutions. Furthermore, Gat argues that there is a symbiotic relationship between ethnic groups and state-institutions experiencing a mutual reinforcement in their legitimations.[37] Therefore, the idea of a Republic relying exclusively on ideological or civic elements as foundations of nationhood is an abstraction that excludes the context in which it is established when conversely, as Craig Calhoun argues, both are intertwined.[38] Without this interplay, it is difficult to understand the feelings of solidarity, inclusiveness, participation and equality that nationalism promotes between the members of its community.

Even modernists have criticised the pretension of building nations by design based purely on civic stands. Anderson, in his highly influential definition of nations as an "imagined community [..] as both inherently limited and sovereign",[39] stressed the importance of historical memory and the role played by intellectuals in highlighting a set of stories to provide an idea of past shared sacrifices as means to foster national solidarity. Nevertheless, imagination does not necessarily mean artificiality and remembering past events to unite, while forgetting those that divide is not in itself falseness, albeit admittedly different groups might choose their own set of shared memories from which to cement their project of nationhood. The latter constitutes an assessment of how to buttress national cohesiveness by using prior historical events or ethnocultural elements. Smith shared this idea, arguing that intellectuals have the role of rediscovering, authenticating and reinterpreting the ethno-symbolic elements present in the community, aimed at instilling those elements afterwards as a coherent narrative into the nation.[40]

Complementing the latter, Bhabha stresses intellectuals' role in "narrating the nation", in which the notion of alterity is paramount. If nations are limited, they must be narrated vis-à-vis a stranger. Nations need an otherness to explain themselves, and intellectuals articulate a discourse that defines the set of traits deemed inherently national while depicting those considered as irremediably foreign. It follows that

[37] Gat and Yakobson, *Naciones. Una nueva historia del nacionalismo.*, 12.
[38] Craig Calhoun, *Nations Matter. Culture, History and the Cosmopolitan Dream.* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 145.
[39] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* (London and New York: Verso, 2016), 6.
[40] Smith, *Nacionalismo*, 33.

nationalist discourses always constitute an act of adherence, displacement, exclusion and cultural impugnation since, depending on the set of traits labelled as inherently national, inevitably some groups would be left outside of those chosen criteria.[41] In short, intellectuals' ingenuity when assessing presumed ethnocultural and civic features results in flexible national contours, and explains the differences in terms of which elements would be at the core of the discourse and which at its margins.

One of the most salient problems of modernist interpretation is its sociological determinism. Modernists claim that without liberalism and industrialisation, there cannot be nationalism; a notion that has been rejected by non-Western scholars. Partha Chatterjee argued that nationalist intellectuals have an additional challenge in pre-industrial and non-European contexts due to their ambiguous relationship with the traditional ethno-symbolic elements and the modernisation pursued for their national projects. This "colonial dilemma" translates into the challenging task intellectuals must face when selecting and updating prior cultural traits that best fit contemporary values while impugning those that could hinder political and economic modernisation.[42] One illustrative example of Chatterjee's dilemma and Bhabha's theory is the divergence in the assessment of Hispanism within the 1842 Generation and the Centenary Generation of 1910. The former labelled it as backwards and an obstacle for progress; the latter exalted it as the defining feature of Chilean character.

The similarities in some of the most salient ethnocultural elements between Latin American countries contributes to a blurred definition of the nation's contours. Commonalities in terms of colonial history, language, religion, customs and even *mestizaje*,[43] linked all the region's countries, thus leaving as a challenging task the use of an "other" from which to define the nation by contrast.[44] In this sense, Latin American nationalisms have an inner tension between embracing forms of continentalism or pan-nationalism and exclusive forms of particularism, between the

[41] Homi Bhabha, *Nación y Narración. Entre la ilusión de una identidad y las diferencias culturales.* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editores siglo veintiuno, 2010), 16.
[42] Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, 6th ed. (Minneapolis, United States: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 18.
[43] Peter Wade, 'Racial Identity and Nationalism: A Theoretical View from Latin America.', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24, no. 5 (2001): 849.
[44] Nicola Miller, 'Latin American State-Building and Nationalism', Higher Education, Oxford Handbooks Online, May 2013, 16, http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199209194.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199209194-e-19.

Patria grande or the *Patria chica*, which results in a "cultural hybridization" that makes distinctive this phenomenon from others in the world.[45] This dissertation explores how this hybridisation and the ambiguous relation with the other happened within Latin American countries and when public intellectuals assessed the influence made by indigenous people and European immigrants in the definition of Chilean nationhood. Similarly, this hybridisation also happened on an international level with foreign powers such as the United States and Spain. Nicola Miller describes this constant re-imagining of the nation's contours by arguing that "Latin American experiences were neither models nor imitations, […] its national identities have always been multifold, created and re-created in a continuous process of negotiation and renegotiation with both the others without and the others within."[46] The Chilean case represents an excellent case study to analyse this re-definition of the nation and its limits,[47] particularly when contrasting this constant re-imagining with the exceptionality discourse which, despite claiming the unwavering nature of some Chilean traits, was the subject of constant shifts to fit the idealised image of these public intellectuals.

Hobsbawm's ascendancy remains strong in Latin American scholarship. It is common to depict the region as "largely immune to modern ethnic-cultural nationalism",[48] and thus present definitions of the nation in almost exclusively civic terms.[49] The artificial divide between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is still the basic premise to understand the incorporation of some ethnocultural elements into these nationalist discourses once they adopted populist forms.[50] I question both mainstream interpretations by analysing almost one hundred years of nationalist discourse between 1842-1931. By focussing on the Chilean case, one can

[45] Michael Goebel, 'Globalization and Nationalism in Latin America, c. 1750-1950', *New Global Studies* 3, no. 3 (2009): 24.
[46] Nicola Miller, 'Historiography of Nationalism and National Identity in Latin America.', *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 2 (2006): 217.
[47] Even from a modernist perspective focussed strictly on civic elements this malleability has been neglected by the historiography. As Itzigsohn argues, the scholarship "…remains rather silent on explaining how national discourses are contested and how national inclusion – the question of who is a member and who can claim rights – evolves over time". See: José Itzigsohn and Matthias vom Hau, 'Unfinished Imagined Communities: States, Social Movements, and Nationalism in Latin America.', *Theory and Society* 35, no. 2 (2006): 193.
[48] quoted in: Goebel, 'Globalization and Nationalism in Latin America, c. 1750-1950', 6.
[49] James F. Siekmeier, *Latin American Nationalism. Identity in a Globalizing World.* (London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 5.
[50] See: Samuel L. Baily, ed., *Nationalism in Latin America* (New York, United States: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 14; Sara Castro-Klarén and John Charles Chasteen, eds., *Beyond Imagined Communities. Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), xviii.

demonstrate how civic and ethnocultural elements constituted a nationalist discourse and underpinned the notion of the country's exceptional development in the region. The intertwining of both elements was not limited to public discourse but was also the cornerstone of a myriad of policies regarding immigration, indigenous legislation and geopolitical stances pursued in this time.

Latin American *pensadores* under the lens.

Intellectuals have a privileged position in most interpretations and theory of nationalism due to their role in disseminating, updating, selecting, assessing, and articulating ethnocultural and civic elements into a modern discourse. Their relevance makes it unavoidable to define them analytically as a preliminary step before exploring how these concepts fit into the Latin American context. In this sense, three traditions have been the most influential: Weberian, Marxist/Gramscian and the French School.

Max Weber argues that an intellectual's defining trait is their relationship with knowledge and their "commitment to the pursuit of truth".[51] As a full-time pledge, this should not be jeopardised by any political partisanship, personal belief, social prejudice or even by broader implications that its unveiling might trigger. It follows that truth, as the highest value, in itself, should subordinate any other consideration. As if it were an Aristotelian virtue, this attitude could be attained only by exercising the habit of "professional self-restraint" aimed at achieving an "intellectual integrity" and become gatekeepers of knowledge.[52] They aspire to create a "value-free social science",[53] which can only be attained by freeing themselves from institutional constraints of the State or any other corporate interest; hence, Alfred Weber and Karl Manheim proposed to group independent thinkers as one *intelligentsia*. This should function as a "socially un-attached" and a "relatively classless stratum".[54] To summarize, a life dedicated to the pursuit of higher knowledge, integrity, objectivity, autonomy over political conflicts and independence from the pressures of society are the key elements to identify this ideal intellectual.

[51] Miller, *In the Shadow of the State. Intellectuals and the Quest for National Identity in the Twentieth-Century Spanish America*, 13.
[52] Richard Wellen, 'The Politics of Intellectual Integrity.', *Max Weber Studies* 2, no. 1 (November 2001): 84.
[53] Wellen, 85.
[54] Stefan Collini, *Absent Minds. Intellectuals in Britain.* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 62.

Conversely, Marxism focusses on the sociological and political dimension of an intellectual. Although Marx did not dedicate much attention to its conceptualisation, he designated intellectuals as part of the superstructure of domination by its condition as a non-manual worker. Marx added the caveat that an intellectual was not part of the bourgeoisie since they did not own the means of productions. However, as part of the middle stratum, their role was to mediate between both classes, aiming to legitimise the regime while maintaining the status quo.[55] Gramsci developed further this concept, adding to the "traditional intellectual" identified by Marx, the possibility of an "organic intellectual". The latter is described as the producers of ideas and knowledge "who are directly connected to classes in society and actively organise interests, seek power and gain control" particularly of the State.[56] For Gramsci, as rational beings, every human was potentially an intellectual. Thus, knowledge did not define an intellectual but their role and affiliation in the division of labour and class struggle. Coming from the working classes, the organic intellectual takes part in the ideological battle for the "cultural hegemony" attempting to become the vanguard guiding the proletariat into its liberation. If Weber subordinated every other interest to knowledge and truth, Gramsci, conversely, subrogated everything to the wider political struggle and revolutionary commitment.

The 'French school' is the first of these three traditions and the conceptualisation which most closely aligns with the role played by Chilean nineteenth-century *pensadores* and twentieth-century intellectuals. It was inaugurated by the infamous Dreyfus affair of 1898 when Emilie Zola denounced the injustices perpetrated against a Jewish army captain condemned for treason without strong evidence. Zola received the public support of the scientific, artistic and cultural community, being labelled from then onwards collectively as intellectuals. This group emerged as a new historical subject with an agency different from the one granted to the State or the Church. Intellectuals saw themselves as "cultural magistrates" in defence of the higher values of "truth, reason and justice" against the interests of the elite, the prejudices of the political power and the ignorance of the masses.[57] When

[55] See: David Bates, ed., *Marxism, Intellectuals, and Politics.* (New York, United States: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[56] Ronald H. Chilcote, *Intellectuals and the Search for National Identity in Twentieth-Century Brazil.* (New York, United States: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1.
[57] Carlos Altamirano, 'Intelectuales: Nacimiento y peripecia de un nombre.', *Nueva Sociedad*, no. 245 (June 2013): 42.

elites, government or the mob undermine these higher values, intellectuals ought to act as overseers and actively engage in contentious debates for their preservation. Intellectuals aspire to become the embodiment of the Enlightened ideal that reason should be societies' directive criteria replacing the old role of the clergy in the modern world.[58] The promise was that any political community could attain higher levels of progress and civilisation through intellectual guidance and oversight. This public commitment put intellectuals in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, intellectuals rely on the authority granted by their specialised knowledge. On the other, having a more vocal public role forces them to engage with a wider audience on issues outside their area of expertise.[59] Nevertheless, the intellectual role is to defend higher universal values that might be underlying in specific conflicts or contentious events. Therefore, their authority ultimately relies on a public role more than the knowledge they possess, diverging from the Weberian definition.

The traditions mentioned above have their merits and, to some extent, could be applied to the Latin American context. However, in its pure form, the Weberian tradition remains an idealised notion difficult to use in this region. Even in the most sophisticated State, with an advanced educational system, it is difficult to imagine an *intelligentsia* utterly free from social and political pressures in their pursuit of knowledge. This possibility is even more remote in a context of structural low literacy levels, few and fragile institutions of higher education and common authoritarian regimes, as was the case of Latin America. Gramsci's theory remains a favourite in Latin America due to its archetypical figure of the *intelectual comprometido.*[60] Nevertheless, it has some evident problems regarding its partisanship. Since the political commitment is what defines an intellectual, anyone who does not pursue a revolutionary agenda does not fit the definition. Neither does someone coming from a non-working-class extraction. The latter is particularly problematic for Latin America with its intellectual heterogeneity in terms of political backgrounds and social origins, particularly during the twentieth century.

[58] Mabel Moraña and Bret Gustafson, *Rethinking Intellectuals in Latin America.* (Norwalk, USA: Iberoamericana Vervuert Publishing Corp., 2010), 14; Cancino, Klengel, and Leonzo, *Nuevas perspectivas teóricas y metodológicas de la Historia intelectual de América Latina.*, 3–5.
[59] See: "Part One: The terms of the Question" in: Collini, *Absent Minds. Intellectuals in Britain.*, 15–65.
[60] Chilcote, *Intellectuals and the Search for National Identity in Twentieth-Century Brazil.*, 8.

Nevertheless, the major problem these three definitions share is the notion that intellectuals must be fundamentally independent of political power. Weber talks about de-attachment to focus on knowledge, Gramsci addresses the intellectual's paramount political role in the struggle for cultural hegemony but fundamentally from outside state-institutions. At the same time, Zola inaugurated a tradition where the intellectuals become the watchdog responsible for overseeing public affairs, but, once again, from a position of independence external of the political power. The contrast with the Latin American and Chilean context is striking, particularly during the nineteenth century when the *pensadores* – those men of thought and action – were directly involved in the policymaking process, whether via holding posts in the government or as state-officials. Even during the twentieth century, with higher literacy rates, an expanding middle-class, and increased professionalisation levels, the intellectual activity never achieved complete autonomy from the political power due to the high levels of control the State had over education, journalism, and culture.

Transnational agents and focal points.

In terms of methods, two approaches are incorporated into the analysis to solve two considerable challenges in this study, namely, the extent of its timeframe and the inclusion of non-Chilean agents. Commencing with the latter, the adoption of a transnational lens is useful in both a thematical and methodological sense. According to Bayly, nationalism was one of the first properly transnational phenomena in history,[61] spreading across the globe almost simultaneously and without a unique centre around which this movement revolved. In this sense, nationalism was not created in the West and expanded into the New World, conversely, as Anderson has rightly pointed it out, the Americas were at the vanguard of this process merging European influences with local considerations. An adaptation made by local *pensadores* and statesmen that had as an outcome the several Republican systems and novel nation-states emerged in the nineteenth century. Consequently, nationalism constitutes a prime example of the "hybridization of knowledge",[62] which happens when movements aspiring to spread universal principles get in tension with ideas and necessities emerging from local contexts, thus, starting a creative process of

[61] Cristopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914* (Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 199.
[62] See: Eduardo Zimmerman, 'Intellectual elites' in: Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds., *Transnational History. From the Mid-19th Century to the Present Day.*, The Palgrave Dictionary (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 547.

adaptation of both. Nicola Miller studies this further by exploring how transnational intellectual networks contributed to the creation of nation-states, which emerged based on the promise of spreading knowledge to the new national communities. She proposes a new understanding of nations as "communities of shared knowledge" since, in Spanish America, "the connection between knowledge and the nation was embedded at the outset and echoed down the generations".[63] In short, thematically speaking, nationalism is one of the most fruitful topics of transnational history, particularly in non-Western contexts.

Besides, adopting a transnational approach helps to avoid falling into a "methodological nationalism" understood as the common practice of fitting the research into the frames of contemporary nation-states as if they were the "fundamental unit of investigation".[64] Transnationalism, with its emphasis in cross-border cultural movements, intellectual networks and the exchange of ideas between regions, is not constrained to current political divisions.[65] In this sense, if the agents who contributed to the process studied moved freely between borders, the researcher must follow suit. This is particularly suitable to explore "expert communities" understood as a group of individuals gathered around a common scientific understanding, interests, or sense of shared identity, but who do not share necessarily a national origin.[66]

During this period, Chile and Argentina constitute a perfect example of a "history of entanglements" since both countries were intertwined and deeply influenced each other's state formation and nation-building. These bonds were facilitated by an intense exchange of people leading to the articulation of intellectual networks which, ultimately, shaped how nationalism was conceived in each country. To summarise, in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the Chilean nationalist discourse, the research must focus on non-Chilean agents who played a relevant role in its development. This involvement was direct, particularly with the

[63] Nicola Miller, *Republics of Knowledge. Nations of the Future in Latin America.* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2020), 6.
[64] Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), 3.
[65] Bernhard Struck, Kate Ferris, and Jaques Revel, 'Introduction: Space and Scale in Transnational History', *The International History Review* 33, no. 4 (2011): 575, https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2011.620735.
[66] Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism.', *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005): 427, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777305002705.

exiled intellectuals during the nineteenth century, or indirect, via constituting an example from which the Chilean intellectuals could justify a myriad of policies or use as a counterpoint to buttress a national distinctiveness.

Studying almost one hundred years of nationalist development constitutes a methodological challenge. Covering such long timeframe is unavoidable if one aspires to have a clear understanding of the malleability of the discourse and the ascendancy this narrative had in different policies. Instead of attempting the near-impossible task of doing a systematic review, two focal points are established around the years 1842-1868 and 1891-1931 based on the relevant intellectuals found in each period and the similar historical processes experienced in both. In this sense, this dissertation aims to be suggestive rather than comprehensive in its approach.

From an intellectual perspective, the focus is predominantly on the members of the Generation of 1842 and the Centenary Generation of 1910, although this is not a full-scale comparison but rather an assessment of the changes and continuities between them. The aim is to challenge the historiographical consensus of portraying both as opposites while also reinforcing their nature as generations. The use of generations as an analytical concept has been employed since the early nineteenth century in politics, literature, and arts to identify particularly influential groups of individuals while also stressing their ability to instil cultural and political changes.[67] However, the contentious nature of generations in terms of defining their limits and whether it is feasible to correspond biological life cycles to historical processes has been extensively debated as well.[68]

One of the most suitable definitions of generation comes from Mannheim's notion of "social location". In this sense, similarly to a class identification, belonging to the same generation or age group endows these individuals with a limit or specific

[67] See: Stefan Willer, 'A Concept of Transfer – Transfers of a Concept. Generation in Physiology, Pedagogy, and Politics around 1800.', *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 6, no. 2 (Winter 2011): 69-84

[68] There is no consensus regarding how many years constitute a generation; most definitions suggest around 15-30 years. More importantly, since the publication of Karl Mannheim's influential essay *The Problems of Generations* (1927), most authors dismissed the notion that historical processes could correspond with individual life cycles because there are no intervals between different generations but a constant overlapping of births and deaths. See: Hans Jaeger, 'Generations in History: Reflections on a Controversial Concept.', *History and Theory* 24, no. 3 (October 1985): 273-92

range of shared experiences, predisposing them to a certain mode of thought.[69] Furthermore, Mannheim stressed the importance of the formative years in shaping the values and worldview of a particular generation since "early impressions tend to coalesce into a *natural view* of the world. All later experiences then tend to receive their meaning from this original set, whether they appear as that set's verification and fulfilment or as its negation and antithesis".[70] In the case of the 1842 Generation, one such formative and uniting experience was the education that most of these intellectuals received at the *Instituto Nacional* and *Universidad de Chile*. Moreover, this shared worldview strengthens when facing common and particularly challenging historical processes such as wars or crises. A great example of how bonding and influential could be to experience what was perceived as a "momentous" event was the Centenary celebrations of 1910, which shaped the "generation consciousness" of the intellectual milieu in the country by granting them a shared element to which respond and criticise.[71]

In addition to the "social location" or generational imprint described by Mannheim, another crucial element of an intellectual generation is the attitude of becoming "founding fathers" of a new type of polity, cultural unity and national consciousness. In this sense, a generation acts by "having symbolically killed their fathers".[72] Thus, in order to thoroughly study one generation, one must research their predecessors to whom they responded. In this case, the 1842 Generation responded particularly to Andrés Bello, whereas the Centenary Generation of 1910 engaged directly with the liberal thinkers of 1842 and the Argentine intellectual diaspora of the mid-nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that this generation consciousness shaped by their social location and the shared historical processes they experienced does not necessarily lead to homogeneity in their attitudes, thoughts and interests. Contrarywise, as Jaeger explains, "one might say that there exists a uniform generational context in the sense of a shared problem community, but not a generational unity whose members could offer uniform solutions

[69] Karl Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations', in *Karl Mannheim Essays,* 1st Edition 1927 (United Kingdom: Routledge, 1972), 291.
[70] Mannheim, 298.
[71] Roy F. Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland 1890-1923* (London, United Kingdom: Penguin Books, 2014), 6–7.
[72] Foster, 25.

to these problems."[73] This explains their common diagnosis but varying proposed solutions when dealing with historical problems such as the colonisation of the Araucania region or the challenges coming from an increasing immigration wave. As a final caveat, the goal is not to limit the research to these two generations but to use them as focal points and, from there, to expand the scope to the *pensadores* with whom they interacted personally or whose ideas they challenged.

Finally, the periods 1842-1868 and 1891-1931 are used as focal points, analysing the same analytical problems in each to look into the dynamics, continuities and changes experienced by their respective generations in their understanding of Chilean exceptionalism with the ethnocultural and civic elements embedded in it. Furthermore, both periods faced similar challenges regarding immigration, how to address the indigenous question and geopolitical threats, which enables us to assess how their respective intellectuals engaged with these topics, analysing policies as well as their public discourses. This, in turn, will highlight the malleability as well as continuities during almost a century of Chilean nationalist development.

Context and periodisation, a double focal point approach.

Based on the above-mentioned methodology of establishing two focal points of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century, the following section sketches how both experienced similar historical processes and challenges. This periodisation focuses on the years 1842-1868 and 1891-1931, particularly on the main events regarding the arrival of European immigrants, the indigenous question and the regional affairs with the rest of Latin America.

The first period is framed by several cultural and political events that correspond to the emergence and culmination of the heyday of the 1842 Generation. The death of Andrés Bello in 1865 and the appearance of the 1867 Generation marked the twilight of this intellectual group. Politically, this is the period of the *decenios* (ten-year presidential tenures) of Manuel Bulnes (1841-51), Manuel Montt (1851-61) and José Joaquín Pérez (1861-71), the first two being conservatives while the latter was liberal.

[73] Jaeger, 'Generations in History: Reflections on a Controversial Concept.' 288-89.

These tenures saw the consolidation of the "Portalian Regime" and laid the economic and political foundations of the presumed Chilean exceptionalism.[74]

Regarding immigration, these years experienced a welcoming attitude towards the arrival of urban immigrants to cities such as Valparaíso. More importantly, the state actively promoted an endeavour of territorial expansion southwards via the attraction of European settlers fostered by the 1845 *Ley de Colonización*. This started an upward trend in immigration that did not diminish until the early twentieth century, although with limited success in absolute terms. By 1865, only 23,220 immigrants reside in Chile out of a population of roughly 1,819,000, a number that grew to 134,524 foreign-born residents out of a population of 3,249,279 by 1907. This crucial time is also determined by *La cuestión indígena*, a contentious debate involving intellectuals, scientists, government officials, and Parliamentarians, revolving around different approaches towards the conduction of indigenous affairs. Some leaned for finding long-lasting agreements via a gradual integration through education and redistribution of land by state acquisitions,[75] whereas others, favoured a decisive military occupation. The government timidly adopted the latter in 1862 with the frontier's advancement towards the Malleco river, embracing it completely from 1868 onwards by seizing Mapuche land in Araucanía's hinterland with a dramatic heightening in the violence used.

A constant challenge to the consolidation of Latin American independence was its widespread domestic conflicts, which undermined the political stability of these novel Nation-States. The situation in Argentina was particularly impactful in the Chilean political and cultural milieu, particularly due to the rule of Juan Manuel de Rosas, which provoked the exile of dissidents until the end of his regime in 1852. In a broader regional perspective, Latin America faced a new wave of imperialist threats coming from Europe, led by France and Spain, but mainly from the rising power of the United States.[76] This menace encouraged increased levels of cooperation and

[74] With the enactment of the 1833 Constitution, Chile inaugurated a political system based on four *resortes de la maquina* [Machine's springs] as Diego Portales called it, namely, the support of a National Guard to control the Army's dissidents, the support of the Aristocracy, the establishment of a strong, civilian and centralised Executive, and the state control over the Church [*Derecho Patronato*]. The economic growth was guided by the exportation of wheat and precious minerals (silver, copper) and the importance of Valparaiso as a commercial hub in the Pacific Ocean.

[75] Some examples are Antonio Varas' report of 1849 to the Deputy Chamber about the strategies of implementing indigenous reductions and the following 1866 Law of Foundations of Settlements in Indigenous territory.

[76] American interventionism in the region became gradually an unambiguous sign of expansionism; particularly threatening were the Mexican-American war (1846-48) and the support to William Walker's

solidarity in the region, which translated into the organisation of a series of Spanish American Congresses,[77] and the creation of the *Sociedad de Unión Americana* in 1862 gathering some of the most influential Chilean intellectuals at the time to advocate for a regional union. This process peaked with the war against Spain (1864-66) in support of Perú after the takeover of the Chincha Islands.

The second focal point is framed by two major political events, the Civil War of 1891 and the end of the authoritarian regime of Carlos Ibáñez (1927-1931), which also coincides with the rise of the Parliamentary Regime until its ultimate collapse. These years were of significant economic development granted mainly by the nitrate exportation,[78] but at the expense of deepening impoverishment, growing inequality and heightened concern about the so-called "social question".[79] Political stability was challenged continuously by Cabinet crises,[80] which gradually extended into the election of reformist governments during the 1920s and the establishment of a new Constitution in 1925, inaugurating, in turn, an era of higher state involvement in social issues and a return to a Presidential regime. The Centenary Generation took an active role in denouncing this exclusionary political system as well as the emerging social problems, being supporters of a series of reforms that were later implemented during the 1920s onwards.

This *Belle Epoque* is usually portrayed as the most cosmopolitan and Europhile period in Chilean history. Immigrants achieved considerable influence in politics, culture and economics particularly in cities such as Valparaíso, despite the relatively small proportion of foreigners living in Chile, reaching 4,1% of the population by 1907.

filibusters in Nicaragua during the 1850s. Besides, European imperialism manifested with the Spanish seizure of Dominican Republic (1861-65) and by the French intervention in Mexico (1861-67).

[77] Three Congresses were held in this period. Two in Lima, Peru (1847-48 and 1864-65), and the remaining in Santiago, Chile (1856-57).

[78] The nitrate cycle (1880-1930) experienced an average exportation growth of more than 6% annually. In total, nitrate represented 30% of the GDP and more than 60% of State's revenues in a single year during the first two decades of the twentieth century. See 'El ciclo del salitre' in: Patricio Meller, *Un siglo de economía política chilena (1890 - 1990)* (Santiago, Chile.: Andrés Bello, 1996).

[79] Some figures to illustrate this point: the average child mortality in this period was around 30%, until 1914, about 10,000 died of smallpox annually, and by 1907 out of the 332,000 in Santiago, around 75,000 people lived in slums [*conventillos*] See: Gazmuri, *Historia de Chile 1891-1994. Política, Economía, Sociedad, Cultura, Vida Privada, Episodios.*, 82–83; Simon Collier and William Sater, *Historia de Chile 1808-1994* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 160–63.

[80] An example is the unstable political alliances between parties, expressed in numerous motions of censorship against Cabinet Ministers. Only in three governments – Federico Errázuriz, Germán Riesco and Juan Luis Sanfuentes - there were 46 motions approved. See: Collier and Sater, *Historia de Chile 1808-1994*, 178–82.

This was a gradual deepening of the open and welcoming attitude towards Europeans, favouring their integration by easing the criteria to obtain allotments of land granted by the state or an expansion of the benefits giving to them the right to settle as colonists. Nevertheless, this trend began to dwindle by the end of the First World War when the legislation of 1918 implemented the first restrictions on entry, culminating with a 1931 law which decisively sought to reverse the previous colonisation strategy by favouring nationals over foreigners. Indigenous legislation followed a similar pattern. The dual-strategy of eliminating resistance via military occupation while protecting the remaining communal lands via the "indigenous reductions" with the 1866 law maintained the status quo in the region until the second half of the 1920s. After decades of intellectuals' raising awareness about the injustices committed against the Mapuche people, Ibáñez revamped the state's approach towards them by creating specific institutions such as the Indigenous Tribunal in 1927. The government additionally targeted indigenous communities as beneficiaries of a series of initiatives framed in the 1931 law, which favoured land allocations, infrastructure developments and access to education.

Finally, the early twentieth century was the age when American hegemony replaced the old European competition system in Latin America, particularly after the First World War. American expansionism used in tandem "Gunboat Diplomacy" and a series of Pan-American Conferences to secure its influence.[81] This generation ambiguously interpreted the latter. Some highlighted the threat coming from the US due to the economic and political implications this subordination could have, while others perceived the United States' influence as benign and democratic. Regardless, the sudden rise of the US as an industrialised power motivated – through fear or inspiration – attempts to pursue a similar process in the region, an approach that was advocated through different educational reforms, projects of an economic union, and the development of a cultural narrative based on the division between Anglo and Latin America.

[81] American path towards hegemony commenced with the war against Spain in 1898 and the annexation of Puerto Rico. Besides, as a method to enforce the payment of owed capitals, the US military intervened in Panama (1903) and Mexico (1914), as well as long-lasting military occupations such as Nicaragua (1912-33), Haiti (1915-34), Dominican Republic (1916-24) amongst other interventions in the Caribbean. On the other hand, 6 Pan-American Conferences were organised between 1889-1928, held respectively in the United States (1889-90), Mexico (1901-02), Brazil (1906), Argentina (1910), Chile (1923) and Cuba (1928).

As this brief contextualisation shows, both focal points have several commonalities which enable this mirroring methodology to be implemented. The two sets of years, namely 1842-1868 and 1891-1931, are deemed as periods of economic growth and overall political stability which finished in a rather traumatic manner, representing the dawn and dusk of the 1833 Constitution. In both, their respective intellectual generations were greatly involved in the policymaking process, either as critics or state-officials. Their attitude towards immigrants has been interpreted as welcoming in these periods. However, in the nineteenth century, a state-driven policy of attracting colonists was implemented whereas during the twentieth, this policy finished by favouring nationals. The indigenous question represents a continuum, since the laws and debates of the nineteenth century heavily influenced the re-awakening of this topic in the 1920s, after decades where the triumph of the aggressive stance followed by a status quo was undisputed since Araucanía's seizure in 1868-83. On an international level, the imperialist threat connects both periods, triggering a myriad of responses aimed at buttressing cooperation, or even union, between Latin American countries against their Anglo-American and European counterparts. To conclude, having both focal points constitutes a way to understand the underlying influences that affected the near full century between 1842 and 1931, an endeavour that sheds light on the evolution of Chilean exceptionalism and the articulation of its nationalist discourse.

War and nationalism, a methodological approach.

A salient element needs to be addressed before finishing this methodological section, which is the limited attention paid to the influence of wars as focal points in this study. Traditionally, the history of nationalism is intertwined with the history of wars because these types of events tend to confront rival political entities, helping, in turn, to create a clear divide and narrative of *us-them*. Frequently, the dramatic actions experienced during these life-or-death scenarios are the quintessential motives for creating festivities, symbols, myths and many other commemorations used afterwards to underpin an idea of nationhood. A notion that soon becomes ritualised and continuously repeated to transform itself into part of the everyday life of a national community. After all, “wars in premodern and modern eras contributed to the

formations of nations as sacred communities of sacrifices,"[82] and constitute a testament of the legitimacy of the nation as something "more valuable than life itself".[83]

The Chilean case is no exception to this trend since there is abundant literature in which nationalism is interpreted as a product of international conflicts. Mario Góngora, in particular, famously stated that "Chile is a land of war" since colonial times,[84] arguing that every generation experienced a major armed conflict until the late nineteenth century.[85] Although Góngora acknowledged State's role and its various means used to instil a sense of nationhood, ultimately, "the defensive and offensive wars have been, in my understanding, the main engine [in creating a national consciousness and an idea of Chileaness]."[86] These notions have been very influential in Chilean historiography, being echoed and used as a starting point for many researchers working on the problem of Chilean national identity.[87] For instance, Fermandois stated that wars acted as the "foundations [*cemento*] of Chilean society" since this shared experience has kept the nation cohesive.[88] Furthermore, the Pacific War, in particular, was "Chile's final founding act as a nation".[89] Similarly, the crucial sway of wars in Chilean national identity has led to interpret the role of the Army and Navy as builders of nationhood. Jorge Larraín explains that this "military variant" of Chilean identity was exploited to the limit during Pinochet's regime, during which it became commonplace to interpret them as the bulwark and embodiment of the nation. A depiction officialised by the Army and by Jaime Guzmán, who established the Armed Forces as the "holders and guardians of the nation's permanent values."[90]

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[82] John Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 3.
[83] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*. (London: SAGE Publications, 1995), 1.
[84] Góngora, *Ensayos Sobre la Noción de Estado En Chile En los Siglos XIX y XX*, 63.
[85] In addition to the Arauco War, Góngora identified as such: the Independence war [1810-1818]; the "*Guerra a Muerte"* [1818-32]; the maritime expedition to liberate Peru [1820-24]; the war against the Peru-Bolivian Confederation [1836-39]; the war against Spain [1864-66]; War of the Pacific [1879-83]; the "*pequeña guerra"* against the Araucanians ["little war", which ended in 1883] and the Civil War of 1891.
[86] Góngora, *Ensayo Histórico Sobre La Noción de Estado En Chile En Los Siglos XIX y XX*, 72.
[87] Amongst these, Gabriel Cid stand out for his recent and relevant publications on the matter. See: Gabriel Cid, 'Un ícono fundacional: la invención del roto como símbolo nacional. 1870-1888', in *Nación y Nacionalismo en Chile. Siglo XIX.*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Santiago, Chile.: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2009); Gabriel Cid, *La Guerra contra la Confederación Perú-Boliviana. Imaginario nacionalista y memoria colectiva en el siglo XIX chileno.* (Santiago, Chile.: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, 2011); Gabriel Cid, 'De héroes y mártires. Guerra, modelos heróicos y socialización nacionalista en Chile (1836-1923)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 46, no. 2 (2016): 57–78.
[88] Joaquín Fermandois, *Mundo y Fin de Mundo. Chile en la Política Mundial* (Santiago, Chile.: Universidad Católica de Chile, 2005), 30.
[89] Fermandois, 37.
[90] Jorge Larraín, *Identidad chilena*. (Santiago, Chile.: LOM, 2001), 147.

As previously stated, mainstream interpretations tend to focus on the history of war, particularly on the influence of the War of the Pacific in the development of Chilean nationalism, which explains the alternative focus adopted in this study. On the one hand, the contribution made to the articulation of a nationalist discourse through other relevant debates such as the issues of European immigrants, the indigenous question and the projects of a continental union are widely overlooked by mainstream historiography, which enables this study to complement significantly to the current literature. On the other hand, unfortunately, the studies of nationalism have been somewhat tainted by the dictatorship's official discourse of linking the Chilean national identity with the history of wars and the role played by the armed forces in them. In this sense, focussing on this topic might overshadow my main objective of explaining the interplay of civic and ethnocultural elements embedded in Chilean exceptionalism between 1842-1931. Furthermore, it could undermine the intention of shedding light on the less known and equally important contributions made to this phenomenon by the debates of the 1842 and 1910 Centenary Generations regarding the European immigrants, indigenous question and projects of a continental union. Finally, in applying this two focal points approach, I am borrowing Stefan Rinke's methodology used in *Encuentros con el Yanqui* in which he focussed on two periods, namely 1900-1930 and 1970-1990.[91] This approach enabled Rinke to compare the start and the consolidation of this process of "Americanisation" of Chilean culture. In addition, the German scholar justified the selection of these timeframes by focussing on the social changes, modifications of cultural patterns and forms of socialization, which have all been elements overlooked when studying the influence of the United States in the country.[92] In part, this has happened due to the importance of the role played by the US in Chile's political and economic development in the years before and during Salvador Allende's government, which has captured much of the public attention and scholarly debate. In short, Rinke's approach faced similar challenges to those experienced in this study, hence why his work has provided inspiration for the methodology used in this research.

[91] Stefan Rinke, *Encuentros con el Yanqui: Norteamericanización y cambio sociocultural en Chile 1898-1990* (Santiago, Chile.: DIBAM, 2013), 27.
[92] Rinke, 39.

Sources

The study of the nationalist discourse of Chilean exceptionalism is drawn mainly from printed sources, including literary works, books, political manifestos, essays, newspapers and journals, complemented by minutes of Parliamentary debates and legislative documents. The bulk of the research constitutes the prolific published materials of the intellectuals studied throughout this period, which were collected in Chile, Argentina and the United Kingdom. I selectively reviewed the most significant newspapers, such as *El Comercio de Valparaíso*, *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, *El Ferrocarril* and *El Mercurio*, covering the most contentious events throughout the period 1842-1931. Regarding journals, for the nineteenth century, the study centred around those with the active participation of intellectuals associated with the Argentine intellectual diaspora and the 1842 Generation, namely, *El Crepúsculo* (1843-44), *Revista de Valparaíso* (1842) and *Revista de Santiago* (1848-51). For the following century, the exploration focussed on educational journals, particularly those associated with the Centenary Generation such as the *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* (1905-09) and the *Revista de Educación Nacional* (1913-26). Using as guidelines the legislation promulgated regarding immigration, colonisation and indigenous affairs, followed by their respective Parliamentary debates, on both the Deputy and Senator chambers, has been researched. Consulting the Parliamentary debates was particularly relevant for studying nineteenth-century *pensadores* since some were illustrious backbenchers. This wide array of sources allows a thorough understanding not only of the discourses articulated by the intellectuals studied but also how they engaged with other members of the learned community such as journalists and academics. It also helps paint a clearer image of the effects and consequences of what they promoted, expressed in policy, legislation and private initiatives, and how their ideas were perceived, spread, and disseminated to the general public.

Structure and Outline of Chapters.

The dissertation is organised into four chapters ordered in a chronological and thematical manner. Based on a mirroring divide, the first two deal with the period 1842-1868 while the remaining chapters with the years 1891-1931, aiming to cover the same topics in both periods. The first chapter “Ethnocultural nationalism in Chile's model Republic” focusses on how the narrative of exceptionalism was founded in the country

by Chilean and Argentine intellectuals, based on the interplay of civic and ethnic considerations. To the usual traits of political order and stability, a notion of national uniqueness was founded on Chile's climate, landscape and racial elements, all aimed at promoting a homogeneous and European-style image of the country. Chapter 2 “Cosmopolitanism and its limits”, complementing the latter and adopting the same transnational approach, addresses how these *pensadores* engaged with the challenges arising from the arrival of European colonists, the indigenous question and the imperialist threat to assess the discourse's malleability when defining the contours of the nation. The chapter also highlights how Chilean exceptionalism influenced the political milieu by considering its sway on the political debates it triggered in newspapers and the Parliament. Particularly, it answers how the learned community used exceptionalism as an underpinning of different legislations and geopolitical stands, as well as contentious state-driven initiatives such as the expansion southwards into Mapuche territory.

The remaining chapters deal with the second focal point covering 1891-1931, particularly the Centenary Generation. Chapter 3 “The Centenary Generation Nationalist Project”, mirroring the previous chapters, explores the creation of a racialised discourse based on the *roto*. This racialised idea of nationhood reinforced the civic and ethnocultural traits argued by the nineteenth-century intellectuals as foundations of the country's distinctiveness. This chapter challenges the usual interpretation based on the stark divide between both centuries, establishing commonalities in their nationalisms as well as its main differences expressed in the emphasis put on the new racial archetype. Similarly to previous chapters, the aim is to analyse how this discourse was propagated in the press and motivated political discussions leading towards the revamping of the indigenous legislation, the immigration policies and the formulation of new projects of a regional union. Finally, chapter 4 “Nation-Building through schooling”, analyses how influential this exceptionalism, particularly in its racialised version, was in the public education system. Focussing on the *Asociación de Educación Nacional,* explores how this nationalist narrative was inculcated in education programmes, syllabus and textbooks, with the ultimate goal of promoting social integration of the most vulnerable classes and betterment of their health and sanitary conditions. The result was the enactment of the Law of Mandatory Primary Education in 1920.

In these chapters, the intertwining of ethnocultural and civic elements demonstrates the dual nature of the Chilean nationalist discourse, elements of which were used in a somewhat similar degree throughout this period. This challenges the artificial divide between nineteenth- and twentieth-century forms of nationalism, which portrays the former as an exclusive by-product of state formation. While the latter as a racialised discourse without civic components, arguing that both worked in tandem. Besides, this dissertation debunks another misconception that defines nationalism as a monolithic discourse by exploring how different thinkers engaged with the rising challenges coming from immigrants, the indigenous question, and projects of a continental union. In contrast, the malleability of the contours of the nation comes to light. By analysing the political debates held in the Parliament and the press, the influence achieved by the notion of exceptionalism in the legislation and public opinion is unveiled. The study of the contribution made by the Argentine intellectual diaspora provides a transnational element in the understanding of this phenomenon. In short, this dissertation aspires to give a comprehensive understanding of Chilean nationalism during a century of its development, encompassing all its complexities and the challenges it faced in the period 1842-1931. In doing so, it invites all historians of Chile and nationalism to question how this exceptionalism narrative came out to be. By disentangling its main threads and exposing its evolution, researchers can weigh and challenge some of its main premises. This constitutes a particularly useful exercise when evidencing how pervasive this discourse has been, influencing the self-image of the intellectual, cultural and political elite to this day.

Chapter 1: Ethnocultural nationalism in Chile's "model Republic", 1842 – 1868

During the nineteenth century, Chile was praised by contemporary statesmen and intellectuals for its institutional stability that distinguished the country from the rest of Spanish America. The scholarship has usually interpreted this as a product of the "Portalian Regime" that resulted in the formation of a government based on a constitutional framework that combined a strong and authoritarian Executive power with higher levels of political freedoms, particularly towards the opposition and the press. The interplay of these two elements helped the successive governments avoid major constitutional crises and civil wars, which, in contrast, recurred in most of the other republics. Current scholarship has reached a consensus that Chilean exceptionalism relied on a combination of factors: the above-mentioned institutional stability, rapid economic development and a victorious international conflict against the Peru-Bolivian Confederation (1836-1839) were the keys to explain the Chilean self-image of success during this period.[93] Hence, the discourse of exceptionalism emerged at this time and was built by their protagonists to be reinforced by the successive historiography. As Ana María Stuven argues, "The 1842 Generation – both secular and clerical – conceptualised their projects of nation revolving around [the notions of] progress and civilisation, assigning a [crucial] sway to the concept of order",[94] as means to instil national cohesion and avoid major political and social upheavals. As seen with the previous example, scholars have stressed mainly the political and institutional elements embedded in this idea of exceptionalism, describing this discourse as one prime example of civic nationalism in which the concepts of nation, *patria* and state were seen as equivalents,[95] portraying nation-building and state-formation as one and the same phenomenon.

[93] Gabriel Cid, *La Guerra contra la Confederación Perú-Boliviana. Imaginario nacionalista y memoria colectiva en el siglo XIX chileno.* (Santiago, Chile.: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, 2011); See Chapter IV: 'La Guerra contra la Confederación...' and Chapter V 'El Himno de Yungay' in: Rafael Pedemonte, *Los Acordes de La Patria : Música y Nación En El Siglo XIX Chileno.* (Santiago, Chile.: Globo, 2008).

[94] Ana María Stuven, *La República en sus Laberintos. Ensayos sobre política, cultura y mujeres en el siglo XIX chileno*. (Santiago, Chile.: Legatum editores, 2017), 266.

[95] Gabriel Cid and Isabel Torres, 'Conceptualizar la identidad: Patria y Nación en el Vocabulario chileno del siglo XIX', in *Nación y Nacionalismo en Chile. Siglo XIX*, vol. I (Santiago, Chile.: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2009), 37.

Conversely, this chapter argues that during this crucial period between 1842-68, nationalist discourses were articulated based on the intertwining of civic and ethnocultural elements. It follows that Chilean intellectuals sought to support the claim of Chilean exceptionalism from an economic, political and international perspective but also alluding to geography, race and culture. Efforts were focussed on things such as unveiling the influence of the natural environment in shaping the Chilean nationhood, or how its social composition granted a peculiar character to its population, and in general, how the Chilean customs and practices – understood as the culture integrating its distinctive forms of language and traditions – were used to foster a sense of exceptionality. Consequently, the Chilean nationalist discourse was far more wide-ranging than allowed by the mainstream historiographical interpretation of it as a by-product of state development.

This discourse was not the outcome of a state-driven attempt to build a nation in a classic top-down manner, but the product of intellectuals who decisively sought to extend the meaning of nationhood by exploring every aspect of its political, social, cultural and economic activity. They wanted to discover what it meant to be Chilean in order to give cultural content to what was purely considered a political community represented by the Republic of Chile. In this quest, some intellectuals associated with the 1842 Generation such as José Victorino Lastarria,[96] Francisco Bilbao,[97] José Joaquín Vallejo (also known as *Jotabeche*) and Salvador Sanfuentes were key figures in unravelling the meaning of "Chileanness",[98] publishing articles, novels, poems, historiographical works, essays and manifestos for this purpose. Also, the frequent

[96] José Victorino Lastarria (1817-1888). Lawyer, prolific liberal writer, intellectual, academic and statesman. Member of the Faculty of Humanity at the *Universidad de Chile* since 1843 and appointed as Dean of the same Faculty in 1860. Liberal political activist, he joined the *Sociedad de la Igualdad* in 1848. He was exiled due to his attempts to topple the conservative governments of Manuel Bulnes and Manuel Montt in 1850 and 1851. He was a cabinet minister in José Joaquín Pérez (1861-1871) government and diplomat in Perú. Elected as Deputy seven times between 1843-1873.

[97] Francisco Bilbao (1823-1865). Lawyer, writer, polemicist and liberal political activist. After the upheaval produced by his publication *Sociabilidad Chilena* (1844), he went to France. Returning to Chile in 1848, he founded the *Sociedad de la Igualdad* to oppose the conservative government. Due to his harsh critiques against the Catholic Church, he was excommunicated in 1850. After his involvement in the uprising of 1851, he went to exile in Perú and then Europe. In 1857 established in Buenos Aires, Argentina, where he lived until his death.

[98] José Joaquín Vallejo (1811-1858). Journalist, writer and politician. Founder of the newspaper *El Copiapino* in 1845 and Deputy for two successive periods between 1849-1855. Salvador Sanfuentes (1817-1860). Lawyer and writer. Deputy in two periods (1843-1846 and 1849-1852). Appointed Governor of Valparaiso in 1845 and Minister of Justice, Education and Religion twice (1847-1849 and 1857). Academic of the Faculty of Humanity at the *Universidad de Chile* since its foundation, he was appointed Dean of the same Faculty in 1856.

debates between them meant that this interpretation was contentious since the very essence of the national character was being defined.

An important caveat to bear in mind is that many foreign-born intellectuals actively participated in the articulation and dissemination of this discourse, contrary to the usual claim that nationalism was essentially a phenomenon created by endogenous agents. Due to the constitutional stability and relative respect for political and civil rights, exiles persecuted in their own countries came to Chile during this period, many of whom became staunch promoters of the idea of the country's exceptionality. Andrés Bello, a Venezuelan by birth who arrived in Valparaíso coming from the United Kingdom in 1829, was one of the most influential due to his prolific academic and political career.[99] The Argentine intellectual diaspora of the 1830-40s played even a greater part promoting Chile's self-image as a role model in the region. From their posts as journalists, lawyers, educators and state-officials, renowned figures such as Domingo Faustino Sarmiento,[100] Juan Bautista Alberdi,[101] Vicente Fidel López, Juan María Gutiérrez, Félix Frias and Bartolomé Mitre,[102] amongst others, actively participated in the development of Chilean domestic and international policy. Furthermore, they contributed to creating this nationalist discourse by providing a fresh and allegedly unbiased perspective about Chile's inner qualities and features. As a result, contrary to the prior convention of the construction of nationalist discourses by exclusively national agents, this discourse of exceptionality emerged from a

[99] Andrés Bello (1781-1865). Intellectual and Statesman. Founder of the *Universidad de Chile* in 1842, he was its first Rector until he died in 1865. Senator for three successive periods between 1837-1864. Appointed as the main editor of the government newspaper *El Araucano* since 1830. Author of the Civil Code enacted in 1857.

[100] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888). Journalist, writer and politician. Twice exiled in Chile, first in 1831 and between 1840-1852. During his time in Chile, he founded the newspaper *El Progreso* and was a journalist of *El Mercurio*, amongst others. Founder of the *Escuela Normal* and founding member of the Faculty of Humanity at *Universidad de Chile* in 1842. Between 1845-1848 he went on commission to study the education system of some European countries and the United States. After his return to Argentina, he eventually became President of Argentina (1868-1874).

[101] Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810-1884). Lawyer, intellectual and statesman. Exiled in Chile between 1843-1852. Founder of *El Comercio* newspaper. He published *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina* while in Chile (1852).

[102] All of which were members of the Argentine 1837 Generation. To explore further about this generation, their revolutionary cultural and political impact in Argentine history, see: Fabio Wasserman, 'La Generación de 1837 y el proceso de construcción de la identidad nacional argentina.', *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana 'Dr. Emilio Ravignasi'*, no. 15 (1997): 7–34; Batticuore, Gallo, and Myers, *Resonancias románticas. Ensayos sobre historia de la cultura argentina (1820-1890)*; 'La Herencia de la Generación de 1837' in: Halperin Donghi, *Proyecto y Construcción de Una Nación (1846-1880)*, 21–31.

transnational intellectual milieu in which Chilean and foreign-born intellectuals enjoyed similar status and made more or less equal contribution.

The current historiography has overlooked the influence that the Argentine intellectuals had in this process since it has preferred to focus on their political and educational sway instead. Similarly, despite several studies regarding the development of the intellectual milieu of this period, the articulation of a nationalist discourse combining civic with ethnocultural elements has been usually overlooked by scholars who have focused on the many divides and polemics that intellectuals had at the time. In short, instead of focussing on what united the intellectual milieu of the 1840s-1860s, the studies have analysed in depth the different debates in which they participated, fracturing it into several groups. They can be classified into the following four types: the political divide between conservatives and liberals; the literary or stylistic divide between romantics and classicists; the historiographical divide between Bello's and Lastarria's followers; and finally, the divide in terms of origins between Chilean and foreign intellectuals.

Regarding the first divide, most studies focus on how this group of intellectuals engaged politically, particularly the members of the 1842 Generation, as well as the following 1850 *Sociedad de la Igualdad* [Society for Equality] and their influence in the 1851 and 1859 revolutions against the conservative government of Manuel Montt.[103] Regardless of the prior and unsatisfactory attempts to topple the conservative government, this divide seems to fade amongst the intellectuals since even those associated more intimately with the government were liberals in their political thinking. Staunch supporters of Montt such as Andrés Bello could hardly be labelled as pure conservatives since in many matters they could better be defined as moderate liberals

[103] According to C. Gazmuri there was a combination of factors that explains the partisanship and revolutionary attitude of the intellectual milieu of this period. First, the influence of the 1848 European revolutions; secondly, the perception of an increasing authoritarian attitude of Manuel Montt's government; thirdly, the heightened conflict with the Catholic Church after the judgment and condemn against Francisco Bilbao in 1844 due to his publication of *Sociabilidad Chilena*; finally the influence of utopic socialism in their activities which was combined with their radical liberalism, pursuit of the broadening of political liberties as well as an incorporation of the artisans as part of the political franchise, an increase in labour protection and popular education. To the prior reasons, Simon Collier adds the great influence that the arrival of the Argentine intellectuals had in mobilising the Chilean intellectual milieu politically and granting them a "vocation for power". See: Gazmuri, *El '48' Chileno. Igualitarios, Reformistas Radicales, Masones y Bomberos.*; Collier, *La Construcción de una República 1830-1865. Política e Ideas.*

or pragmatics.[104] At the same time, Sarmiento is not easily identifiable in the ideological divide since he combined progressive social and cultural thought with conservative political ideas.[105] In short, the ideological divide presents itself as ill-defined, as many of these thinkers professed both conservative and liberal beliefs. Political ideas also changed depending on the context, as happened with some Argentine *pensadores* during their exile in Chile.[106] Nevertheless, their overall adherence to Republicanism and Enlightenment principles allows me to define this entire period as part of a liberal consensus.

The second divide was literary or stylistic, occurring between the followers of romanticism and their opponents usually identified as "anti-romantic" or "classicist" by the historiography, which gathered an eclectic group that is difficult to label. This division was based on the 1842 debate between Vicente F. López and Domingo F. Sarmiento on the former's side,[107] against Salvador Sanfuentes and José J. Vallejo as leaders of the latter stance.[108] Although there are clear political undertones in this debate – which is addressed in the section about language – current scholarship has

[104] Jaksic qualifies Andrés Bello as a "gradualist", or the equivalent of a liberal "whig" in UK politics. According to him, the only way to achieve a legitimate and orderly new Republican system was through a transition which, embracing some elements of its colonial heritage, incorporated more enlightened ideas pursuing to become a more progressive and civilised society. Similarly, James Dunkerley debunked the common mistake of depicting Bello as a "reactionary figure to attack" since "his political conservatism was underpinned by personal liberalism and undying attachment to the rule of law", Dunkerley ends up defining Bello as "An empirical pragmatist". Finally, Joaquín Trujillo has defined Bello as a '*gramócrata*', coining a new concept in an attempt to stress Bello's originality by combining liberal, conservative and romantic influences when addressing individual rights, the rule of law and his stylistic preferences, respectively. Thus, Bello articulated an eclectic discourse orientated towards finding a "properly [Spanish] American normative spirit". See: Jaksic, *Andrés Bello. Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America.*, 229; Jaksic, *Andrés Bello. Repertorio Americano*, 42. James Dunkerley, 'Andres Bello and the Challenges of Spanish American Liberalism' (Royal Historical Society Lecture, Gustave Tuck Lecture Theatre, UCL, London, 8 February 2013), 3,7. Joaquín Trujillo, *Andrés Bello. Libertad, Imperio y Estilo*, (Santiago de Chile.:Roneo & Centro de Estudios Públicos, 2021), 38-39.

[105] Jaksic, 'Sarmiento y La Prensa Chilena En El Siglo XIX', 133. As Sarmiento stated in 1841 "without complete freedom of the press there can be neither liberty nor progress, [but lamenting that] with it one can barely maintain public order." Iván Jaksic, ed., *The Political Power of the Word. Press and Oratory in Nineteenth-Century Latin America.* (London, United Kingdom: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2002), 1.

[106] From young utopian socialist in Argentina they adopted more conservative political leanings once they contributed to the Conservative governments in Chile. See: Political exile in the nineteenth-century Chile and the Río de la Plata, in: Edward Blumenthal, Exile and Nation-State Formation in Argentina and Chile, 1810-1862, Transnational History Series (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 7–14.

[107] Vicente Fidel López (1815-1903). Journalist, Lawyer and politician, he was exiled in Chile between 1840-1852. Founder of *Revista de Valparaíso* in 1842 and active contributor of the newspaper *El Progreso*. Founder and director of the private school *El Liceo* alongside Francisco Bilbao and D. Faustino Sarmiento. Teacher at the *Instituto Nacional.*

[108] See Pinilla, *La Polémica del Romanticismo en 1842.*

stressed the “liberal consciousness” these intellectuals shared, which makes it difficult to classify either group as romantics or classicists based mostly on stylistic preferences. This common outlook is defined by their aspiration to shape society under liberal principles seeking popular education’s expansion in addition to broader political and individual liberties.[109]

The third fracture was the result of the “historiographical debate” between those who championed the use of “philosophical history” as the methodology for their historical research, particularly Lastarria and the lawyer and theologian Jacinto Chacón (1820-1893), against those who refused such a methodology, proposing a narrative approach, or as Bello named it, *ad narrandum*, although this was a proxy for a more profound political conflict. Lastarria and Chacón were supporters of researching colonial and recent republican history in the light of liberal principles, judging their processes and deeds from ideological and political perspectives, whereas Bello proposed to analyse and discover those events and processes in the most neutral fashion possible. Bello’s *ad narrandum* gave no further space to explicit political interpretations and stressed the intellectuals’ public duty to narrate History from an analysis of the primary sources to bring it into the light of public knowledge. Although Bello’s claim to political neutrality has been challenged by recent historiography, which points out that his method was also used as political means to portray Chilean history in a conservative light,[110] it has become a consensus that Bello’s methodology was in the end adopted by the Chilean academy. This led to creating a historiographical tradition continued by Bello’s disciples, such as Barros Arana and Miguel Luis Amunátegui, even regardless of their liberal preferences. Once again, this fracture ended up being more apparent than real within the intellectual spheres.

Finally, scholars have usually analysed the Argentine diaspora in isolation from the rest of the Chilean intellectual milieu, or, as mentioned before, mostly in relation to their role in political and educational policy.[111] This could be a legacy of Sarmiento’s

[109] Subercaseaux, *Historia de Las Ideas y La Cultura En Chile*, I: 1810-1900. Sociedad y cultura liberal en el siglo XIX. José Victorino Lastarria.:63; Figueroa, *Ensayistas del Movimiento Literario de 1842*, 19.
[110] Allen Woll, *A Functional Past. The Uses of History in Nineteenth-Century Chile.* (United States: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 190; Joseph Dager Alva, ‘El debate en torno al método historiográfico en el Chile del siglo XIX’, *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 28 (2002): 133.
[111] Ávila, *Sarmiento En La Universidad de Chile*; Jaksic, ‘Sarmiento y La Prensa Chilena En El Siglo XIX’; Sol Serrano, ‘Emigrados Argentinos En Chile (1840-1855)’, in *Nueva Mirada a La Historia*

constant complaint that he was being treated as a foreigner and not as another journalist with Chile's patriotic interest at heart,[112] but in truth, the Argentine diaspora had an intimate and close relationship with the Chilean political and intellectual elite.[113] Edward Blumenthal's recent book illustrates the extent to which the Chilean and Argentine exiled diasporas in both countries articulated a new transnational political culture. By giving agency to these exiled communities in domestic and international politics, Blumenthal stresses how they influenced the state formation of both countries, depicting a truly intertwined institutional process. Furthermore, "exile also contributed to constructing collective imaginaries, as émigrés reflect upon the reason of their exile, comparing their host country with their country of origin",[114] which, in turn, fostered Chilean exceptionalism depicted by some Argentine residents, but mainly from a civic perspective. It follows that the national divide has usually been overstated since the transnational dimension of the creation of this nationalist narrative has not been recognised until recently by the scholarship. Besides, following Ana Figueroa's argument, the dichotomy between nationals and foreigners in Chile was dissolved due to the shared liberal consciousness, preferring to use a divide based on the opposition between the city and the countryside as representatives of civilisation and barbarism respectively than focussing on national origins.[115] To sum up, in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of nationalism in Chile, one must consider the agency of the Argentine émigrés who contributed in the articulation of nationalist discourse.

The focus on these previous fractures meant that historians failed to appreciate that these intellectuals were all shaped by a common romantic spirit. This was clear in their two main shared concerns: first, the importance granted to the national context; secondly, the need to create a national literature. The latter was the aspiration to create distinctive poetry and high literature which functioned as an expression of Chilean intellectuality. The need to discover and/or make a Chilean voice that could

(Santiago, Chile.: Editorial VER, 1996); Vergara, *Manuel Montt y Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: Epistolario 1833-1888*; Stuven, 'El exilio de la intelectualidad argentina: polémica y construcción de la esfera pública chilena (1840-1850)'.

[112] Armando Donoso, *Sarmiento en el destierro.* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: M. Gleizer, 1927), 25.

[113]According to Blumenthal, a surprisingly large portion of the Argentine émigrés rather stayed in Chile before returning to Argentine. Around 20% remained, most of them because of the family and professional ties created in the country. See: Blumenthal, *Exile and Nation-State Formation in Argentina and Chile, 1810-1862*, 320.

[114] Blumenthal, 5.

[115] Figueroa, *Ensayistas del Movimiento Literario de 1842*, 36.

be recognisable in the rest of the "Literate Republic",[116] as Vicente Fidel López used to call the "Humanity's" cosmopolitan network of intellectuals, although his attention focussed mostly on the Americas and Europe, which, in his view, constituted the most influential "public opinion". It was also an attempt to determine the Chilean contribution to humanity's overall progress and civilisation.

Complementarily, the need to adapt any foreign political or cultural tradition or influence to the regional and national context was also a key concern of this intellectual group. The question was, at first, to unveil the meaning of Chile's unique particularities, an inquiry that could be partitioned into several different elements: its landscape/nature, culture/language, and race/social composition to answer how each one of these shaped the Chilean character. This attitude constitutes the essence of romanticism because it implies the predominance of the particular over the universal.[117] An important caveat is that this did not result in a complete dismissal of the rationalist and enlightened claims of universal progress because of the unquestionable clout liberalism had in Chile's intellectual circles, but instead in a perceived need to adapt those principles to the local circumstances seeking to apply them. In the Chilean intellectual milieu, the debate revolved around how to interpret the local specificities, particularly Chile's Spanish legacy and colonial history, and if it was better to uphold or dismiss them and at which pace. To sum up, the primacy of the national context over universal principles and the pursuit of cultural self-determination were romantic principles followed by these intellectuals.[118] Both constituted the main theoretical tenets of the nationalist discourse based on the intertwining of civic and ethnocultural elements to buttress an idea of Chilean exceptionality in the continent.

In order to present a thorough analysis of Chilean exceptionalism created in this period, the following sections will be divided as follows. The first section addresses the traditional account that portrayed Chile as a Republican "role model" but from a novel angle, namely, focussing on the contribution made by foreign-born intellectuals and particularly the Argentine émigrés in the articulation of an exceptionality narrative.

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[116] Vicente Fidel López, 'Clasicismo y Romanticismo', *Revista de Valparaíso* I, no. 4 (1842): 122.
[117] Isaiah Berlin, 'La Declinación de las Ideas Utópicas de Occidente.', *Estudios Públicos*, no. 53 (1994): 230; Isaiah Berlin, *Las Raíces del Romanticismo.* (Madrid, Spain: Taurus, 2000), 95–96.
[118] Isaiah Berlin, *Contra la corriente. Ensayos sobre historia de las ideas* (Ciudad de México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006), 445.

The following four sections revolve around the influence of Romanticism, and thus, in the ethnocultural elements embedded in this exceptionalism discourse. Commencing with National Literature, Language, Nature to finish with a section on Chilean character. In this fashion, the exceptionality discourse founded in this period is presented as a complex narrative that intertwined political references with romantic considerations in an ingenious manner by both national and foreign-born intellectuals that recognised, fostered and disseminated this discourse to the country's public opinion.

1. Chile as a "model Republic". Argentine intellectuals' role in the creation of a discourse of Political exceptionality.

In the 1840s, a sense of pride and an awareness of the privileged position that Chile held in the continent were the foundations of an exceptionality discourse that praised the economic, political and institutional achievements of the country. The role of the Argentine intellectual diaspora in the articulation of this discourse of exceptionalism is one key aspect that the historiography has usually understated. Their publications in several newspapers and journals contributed to fostering this sense of exceptionality, giving a foreign perspective driven by their traumatic experiences in Argentina under Rosas'. As argued by Edward Blumenthal – one of the few scholars who have addressed this issue in-depth – "Argentine émigrés imagined Chile as a model of nation-building that could be adapted to their home country after 1852 and the fall of Rosas", furthermore, "The ideas expressed in texts such as Sarmiento's *Facundo* and Alberdi's *Las Bases* were influential in the development of Chilean exceptionalism in South America, the idea that country was unique in enjoying stable institutions, that contrasted with the 'anarchy' of the Argentine civil wars".[119] This section builds on top of the findings made by Blumenthal's work. Whereas he focussed on how the Argentines continued with their political activities against Rosas in Chile and the challenges they faced to be incorporated as public officials in the country, here the focus is their domestic contribution: how the Argentine diaspora played a crucial role in instilling the idea of exceptionalism in Chile and transformed into some of the strongest advocates of this idea in the country.

[119] Blumenthal, *Exile and Nation-State Formation in Argentina and Chile, 1810-1862*, 219–20.

The intellectual foreign community that was settled in Chile identified as the foundations of the Chilean political success their constitutional system, and the capacity that Chilean authorities had to create a code of law based on the particularities of the country. The common challenge in post-independence Spanish America was how to build state-institutions and laws based on liberal principles that were elaborated and applied previously in regions so different from their own, such as France and the United States. Andrés Bello, from his early years in Chile argued that the latter led to a series of failed experiments throughout the region that ranged from despotic rule of *caudillos* under a façade of republican legitimation to maximalist attempts to create a truly democratic system with the most extended civil and political rights possible, which, with almost no exceptions soon failed, triggering civil wars instead.[120] Chile was considered the exception to this rule on the continent. The Venezuelan intellectual was one of the first praising Chile for finding "autochthonous solutions" [*remedios caseros]* to the challenges of implementing a functioning republic in Spanish America.[121] According to Bello, when writing a constitution, the excess of abstract political theory should be resisted by adapting the liberty principle to "localities, customs and national characters" to attain stability and longevity as Chile did successfully.[122]

The former could be interpreted as a "romantic attitude" at its core, since it was based on the superiority of the local conditions over universalistic principles and rules. This was not a dismissal of Republican institutions and liberal principles but a methodology of how to implement those in order to be successful. The members of the Argentine intellectual diaspora constantly argued the same by citing Chile as an example. Juan B. Alberdi shared the opinion that copying foreign constitutions has been one of the reasons for the permanent political unrest of the continent arguing that "the study of things, men, character, means and capacities of our peoples" should be the backbones of any constitution in Spanish America. Alberdi added that Chile represented "a beautiful starting point for the study of democracy in Spanish

[120] 'Disturbios de América. Extracto de un folleto publicado últimamente en Londres', El Araucano, 1831 Andrés Bello, *Miscelánea*, vol. XV, Obras Completas de Don Andrés Bello. (Santiago, Chile.: Imprenta Cervantes, 1893), 74.
[121] 'Las Repúblicas Hispanoamericanas', 1836, quoted in: José Santos Herceg and María José López Merino, eds., *Escritos Republicanos. Selección de escritos políticos del siglo XIX*, Serie Republicana (Santiago, Chile.: LOM, 2012), 66.
[122] 'Las Repúblicas Hispanoamericanas: autonomía cultural', El Araucano, Number 307, July 22nd 1836 in: Santos Herceg and López Merino, 80.

America".[123] Chile, not France or the United States, should be the model for each country in the region because it constituted a closer example of how to create political laws considering the character of its local population, in this case, the "Chilean-Spanish race".[124] Moreover, the Argentine intellectual diaspora praised the pragmatic attitude of the Chilean state officials for their efforts to adapt liberal ideas in their own context, as privately Domingo F. Sarmiento declared to Manuel Montt.[125]

The Argentine intellectual diaspora usually contrasted the Chilean political situation with that of their native country, always establishing a favourable and flattering comparison in benefit of Chile. First, the Chilean authorities and officials were usually depicted as men of law and temperance in direct opposition to Rosas' government and his followers who were depicted as arbitrary despots and "men of blade".[126] The amount of civil rights and freedoms were also usually praised, in particular the press' freedom and how tolerant it was with the opposition, conditions that fostered the privileged position that Chilean press achieved as a professional hub and safe haven for free journalism in the Pacific.[127] But the element that was celebrated and admired the most was Chile's political stability due to the strength of its constitution. Alberdi argued that the victory over the Confederation in 1839, Chilean internal political peace without uprisings and the uninterrupted handover of political power had been all achieved due to its constitutional strength.[128] According to the Argentine barrister, even when compared with the 1848 French revolution Chile remained at the top in terms of political unity, civil rights, rule of law and authorities' respect of legislation – all elements that were lacking in Argentina. Alberdi claimed that France and Chile were equals; but in terms of Constitutional strength, the Chilean

[123] 'De la Democracia en Sud America', El Comercio de Valparaíso, July 4th 1848 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 296.
[124] 'Leyes Políticas', *El Mercurio*, 12 December 1851. This article was part of the editorial line of "El Mercurio de Valparaíso", therefore, it is likely that either Félix Frías and/or Domingo F. Sarmiento were involved in their publication since they were the head editors of the daily by that time.
[125] Letter from Domingo F. Sarmiento to the Minister Sir Manuel Montt, January 18th 1843 in: Vergara, *Manuel Montt y Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: Epistolario 1833-1888*, 56.
[126] Vergara, 31.
[127] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Recuerdos de Provincia* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Universitaria, 1960), 228; Domingo F. Sarmiento, 'Volvamos todos a la moderación', El Mercurio, Valparaíso, July 31st 1842 in: Pinilla, *La Polémica del Romanticismo en 1842.*, 125.
[128] 'Chile en los últimos 18 años', El Comercio de Valparaíso, August 25th 1848, in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 346.

case allowed room for gradual peaceful reforms, labelling Chile as "the most worthy and honourable democratic model in South America".[129]

According to the Argentine intellectual diaspora, Chile's key to its constitutional success was their interpretation of political authority in a Spanish American context. These émigrés stressed that all differences between Juan Manuel de Rosas' barbaric despotism and the civilisation attained by Chile was due to their ingenuity when balancing freedom and authority. According to Félix Frías, Spanish American countries did not have "political education". When granted too much liberty, its population immediately descended into class hatred, social unrest and demagogic revolutionary leaders. Hence, a powerful sense of political authority constituted as the "saving principle", the "guarantor of order and peace" and the "supreme rule out of which every liberty should come from".[130] The Chilean case showed how to adopt constitutional rights in such a way as to not jeopardising its stability, internal peace and overall progress. For this reason, Chile was perceived as an exception, a role model and the "envy of the whole of America".[131]

Chilean political prowess and commercial progress "without rival in America" was interpreted in a geopolitical sense by the Argentine intellectual diaspora.[132] According to this group, due to its exceptional conditions Chile had a moral duty to protect and represent the rest of Spanish America in the international sphere.[133] A debate arose between three of the main newspapers of the period, *El Mercurio* against *La Gaceta del Comercio* and *El Comercio de Valparaíso,* regarding how to interpret the Chilean leading role in the international scene. For the former,[134] Chile could legitimately intervene in domestic affairs of Spanish American countries when the hemispheric security was at jeopardy or constitutional governments were in danger of being toppled by populist revolutionary forces or *caudillos*, whereas the latter argued

[129] 'Acción comparativa de la Revolución Francesa en Chile y en los Estados del Plata', El Comercio de Valparaíso, July 08th 1848 in: Barros, 303.
[130] Félix Frías, 'El triunfo del gobierno de Chile y la caída de la tiranía en la República Argentina.', in *Proyecto y Construcción de una nación (1846-1880)*, Biblioteca del pensamiento argentino, II (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Emecé, 2007), 44.
[131] '18 de setiembre de 1845', El Progreso, September 18th 1845 in: Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Chile* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Eudeba, 1973), 126.
[132] 'Progreso, Economía y Educación', El Comercio de Valparaíso, November 22nd 1847 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 113–14.
[133] Vergara, *Manuel Montt y Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: Epistolario 1833-1888*, 36.
[134] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Félix Frías, as the main editors of *El Mercurio* could be attributed, if not authorship, at least being supporters of this stance.

that Chile should have remained a "champion of American diplomacy" using its prestige,[135] for example mediating between exiled communities and their governments.[136] This debate extended throughout decades but sharing a common stance when a Spanish American country was at jeopardy by a foreign invasion by America or a European power, in such circumstances, these Argentine intellectuals manifested that Chile had the duty to "protect democracy in South America" using its moral and physical power for such purpose.[137]

The Argentine intellectual diaspora buttressed Chilean exceptionality's discourse from a civic and institutional perspective, particularly before de Rosas' regime was toppled in Argentina in 1852. The Chilean republican system was held as a role model for the region due to the ingenuity and stability of its constitutional regime. The Chilean political capacity to adapt liberal principles granting civil and political rights without undermining a strong sense of authority was deemed its main asset; it presented an example from which the rest of Spanish American republics should learn. Chilean statesmen were depicted as more lawful, measured and civilised than their regional counterparts and as holders of a pragmatism that allowed them to avoid pursuing utopic and idealistic principles, who preferred to instead create laws tailored to the educational, cultural and social context of the country. This Chilean exceptionalism based on civic and institutional considerations lasted until the country's predominant position was surpassed by other Spanish American countries, particularly Argentina. By mid-1860s Chileans and Argentine alike acknowledged the Río de la Plata provinces as the new role model, not on political grounds but because of its social progress in the areas of education, economy and immigration. As *El Mercurio* pointed out, the "intimate bonds" between both countries favoured by "the Argentine exile [that] have found in Chile a second *Patria*; and the Chilean émigré [that] have found in La Plata Provinces a home, a family" ought to "create soon, […] a

[135] 'Política Exterior', El Comercio de Valparaíso, February 12th 1848 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 192; 'El Araucano – Intervención', *Gaceta del Comercio*, 11 February 1847.
[136] 'Cuestiones arjentinas', *El Mercurio*, 15 December 1852.
[137] See: 'Política Exterior de Chile', El Comercio de Valparaíso, February 08th 1848 and 'Política Exterior. Intervención. Contestación al Mercurio. Valor de las opiniones de Lamartine', El Comercio de Valparaíso, February 11th 1848 in: Carolina Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: VERLAP, 1997), 180, 188; 'Chile en el extranjero.', *El Mercurio (originally published in El Comercio del Plata of Buenos Aires)*, 14 January 1860; Domingo F. Sarmiento, Letter to Manuel Montt, May 05th 1864 in: Sergio Vergara, ed., *Manuel Montt y Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: Epistolario 1833-1888* (Santiago, Chile.: DIBAM, 1999), 121–22.

great and one nation",[138] aspiring to become the most civilised and progressive country in the region.

2. Romanticism and the pursuit of a National Literature.

Romanticism arrived in Spanish America relatively late, as it was fading away as a vanguardist movement in Europe. It originated from the *Sturm und Drang* movement in Germany in the second half of the XVIII century and expanded afterwards to countries such as France and the United Kingdom. But it arrived in Spanish America only in 1830s being one of its first representatives the Argentine 1837 Generation. Romanticism's expansion into Chile was fostered by the arrival of the majority of these intellectuals into the country as exiles after their failed attempts to overthrow Juan M. de Rosas' government. The scholarship has usually identified the 1842 Generation as the first group heavily influenced by romantic ideals, interpreting the arrival of romanticism into the Chilean intellectual milieu in two principal ways: first, as a political influence that revolutionised the role of the intellectuals in the public sphere; and, secondly, as a stylistic influence in the emerging national high literature.

Romanticism contributed to the perception of these figures' public role during this period as men of action and thought, as *pensadores* who combined intellectual pursuits with active political partisanship. This urge for action was typical amongst romantic intellectuals who saw themselves as "unacknowledged legislators of the world",[139] as responsible for leading the way of these novel and backwards countries into progress and civilisation. As the holders of knowledge, they wanted to be identified as the only ones able to raise Spanish American societies to similar levels of culture, education, economic development and political systems as the ones of the Old World. This "messianic attitude" motivated their pursuit of political careers following institutional paths in the Congress,[140] Cabinet or holding public offices, but it also inspired revolutionary behaviour through organisation of societies, plots and uprisings,

[138] Martín Palma, 'Buenos Aires', *El Mercurio*, 2 April 1864; Martín Palma, 'La América próspera', *El Mercurio*, 15 April 1864.
[139] Batticuore, Gallo, and Myers, *Resonancias románticas. Ensayos sobre historia de la cultura argentina (1820-1890)*, 33.
[140] Subercaseaux, *Historia de Las Ideas y La Cultura En Chile*, I: 1810-1900. Sociedad y cultura liberal en el siglo XIX. José Victorino Lastarria.:63.

particularly against the Catholic Church and Conservative governments such as the 1852 revolt lead by the *Sociedad de la Igualdad* in Chile.[141]

Besides this political partisanship driven by romanticism, the second characteristic attributed by the scholarship to the romantic intellectuals is its strong liberal outlook. Authors such as Jean Delaney and Bernardo Subercaseaux argue that the romantic leanings of the 1837 and 1842 generations were always subordinated to a much stronger republican and liberal tradition,[142] concluding that, in this context, romanticism was adopted only as a stylistic or aesthetic influence. Thus, romantic motifs such as love poems and historical novels had evident enlightened underpinnings and were somewhat brusquely used as new tools to express liberal content.[143] Nevertheless, this requires further analysis, since there is an understated Romantic influence in how these groups of intellectuals thought about national literature and their pursuit to unveil or discover the Chilean particularities to which the universal Enlightened principles should be subordinated.

The easiest way of identifying this group's underlying common romantic spirit was their claim to create a National Literature. This aspiration was motivated by what Andrés Bello called the human need to know one's own home and express it in the most truthful and original way possible.[144] For Bello, this meant studying of those pieces of literature which embodied the inner spirit and most distinctive traits of each nation, namely, their national epics. Using his vast linguistic and historical knowledge, he located the origins of romance heroic poems in Medieval France, tracing Western tradition where History, poetry and fantasy were intertwined.[145] This was an intellectual effort with a twofold aim. One was to justify his claim that *La Araucana* constituted the *"*Chile's Aeneid, written in Chile, familiar to Chileans, so far unique amongst the modern nations whose foundations have been immortalised in an epic poem."[146] The

[141] Gazmuri, *El '48' Chileno. Igualitarios, Reformistas Radicales, Masones y Bomberos.*, 37, 81.
[142] Jeane DeLaney, 'Imagining La Raza Argentina.', in *Nationalism in the New World* (United States: The University of Georgia Press, 2006), 144–45; Subercaseaux, *Historia de Las Ideas y La Cultura En Chile*, I: 1810-1900. Sociedad y cultura liberal en el siglo XIX. José Victorino Lastarria.:105.
[143] Subercaseaux, *Historia de Las Ideas y La Cultura En Chile*, I: 1810-1900. Sociedad y cultura liberal en el siglo XIX. José Victorino Lastarria.:116.
[144] Quoted by Miguel Luis Amunátegui in: Bello, *Miscelánea*, XV:XV.
[145] See: Andrés Bello, 'Historia Literaria. Oríjenes del Romance o Epopeya caballeresca', *El Crepúsculo. Periódico literario y científico.*, no. 2 (1 July 1843); Andrés Bello, 'Orijen de la Epopeya Romántica', *El Crepúsculo. Periódico literario y científico.*, no. 4 (1 August 1843).
[146] 'La Araucana por Don Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga' in: Jaksic, *Andrés Bello. Repertorio Americano*, 117.

second was to link Chilean literary tradition to the roots of Western heritage.[147] Bello highlighted that *La Araucana* had a unique characteristic that stands out amongst any other European epic poem: its truthfulness as a historical source.[148] Similarly, Joaquín Blest Gana called this epic poem the "genealogic tree of the Chilean pride" claiming that it represents the first product of Chilean spirit,[149] and thus, a true inspiration for national arts and for the successive generations of heroic martyrs of freedom. The relative novelty of its publication, the fact that Ercilla was a direct witness and protagonist of the historical accounts that he narrated, his alleged unbiased discourse as well as the simplicity and candour in its written style made *La Araucana* the most representative literature ever produced by Chile, its embodiment and the founding stone from which all Chile's literary tradition could be erected.

This desire to develop National Literature was shared by José Victorino Lastarria. In his famous acceptance speech to the *Sociedad Literaria* [Literary Society] in 1842, Lastarria argued that good literature should be "society's expression" since it must reflect the intellectual and moral need of its people, as well as their ideas, passions and customs, calling for the creation of a "purely national" and "exclusively own" literature. The aim was to create a representative high literature addressing the particularities of the country's landscape, climate, political institutions, and any other trait which cemented Chilean distinctiveness.[150] The goal of creating Chilean national literature was shared by the Argentine intellectual diaspora, who were in fact the main promotors of its development. Juan Bautista Alberdi argued that in order to achieve political independence it was necessary to complement it with a cultural emancipation, thus creating National Literature that both in its history and content should reflect society as a whole: every nation has its "genius" [*jénio nacional*] and literature is where that character should be championed more than in any other field.[151]

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[147] Kathleen Davis and Nadia Altschul, eds., *Medievalism in the Postcolonial World. The Idea of 'the Middle Ages' Outside Europe.* (Baltimore, United States: The John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 228.
[148] Jaksic, *Andrés Bello. Repertorio Americano*, 115.
[149] Joaquín Blest Gana, 'Causas de la poca orijinalidad de la Literatura Chilena.', *Revista de Santiago*, no. II (September 1848): 62.
[150] José Victorino Lastarria, *Discurso de incorporación de D.J. Victorino Lastarria a una Sociedad de Literatura de Santiago* (Valparaíso, Chile: Imprenta de M. Rivadeneyra, 1842), 7–14.
[151] Juan Bautista Alberdi, 'Algunas vistas sobre la literatura Sud-Americana.', *Revista de Valparaíso* 1, no. 6 (1842): 118.

The Chilean and Argentine intellectual milieus of the time were also concerned about the lack of originality and the subordination of Spanish American high literature to the canon, style, topicality and themes of their European counterparts. Juan María Gutiérrez lamented this situation claiming that the new weapons that the European powers used to dominate the continent were "polished books" [*libros polidos*].[152] In this regard, is necessary to establish a warning since, following the "Romantic controversy" of 1842, the Argentine intellectual diaspora and Chilean romanticism in general were depicted as mere copiers of French literary styles. José Joaquín Vallejo, also known as *Jotabeche,* famously labelled these Argentine authors as "bird-excrement" [*huano*] due to their arrogance and out of touch literary styles by attempting to replicate Victor Hugo and Dumas as some sort of second-hand romantics.[153] Similarly, Salvador Sanfuentes denounced how romantics claimed they were Hugo's followers, which somehow - they thought - granted them "licence" to disrespect every literary rule.[154] Despite these harsh criticisms, the members of the Argentine diaspora such as Vicente Fidel López never supported these practices. Conversely, they advocated for the creation of a National Literature as an expression of Chilean society.[155] But the problem they wanted to address was how to create High Literature out of nothing and in isolation, lacking prior examples of domestic literary tradition and without acknowledging the advances made in Europe.

Vicente Fidel López argued constantly that a sense of chauvinistic or exclusive nationalism was a symbol of barbarism,[156] since true originality could be attained only through the mixture of local elements with foreign influences.[157] Similarly, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento lamented the lack of national literature and fine arts representing

[152] Juan María Gutiérrez, 'Ogaño y Antaño', *Revista de Valparaíso* 1, no. 4 (1842): 161.
[153] See 'Carta de Jotabeche a un amigo de Santiago', July 1842, and 'Carta de Jotabeche', December 29th 1842 in: José Joaquín Vallejo, *Colección de los artículos de Jotabeche. Publicados en El Mercurio de Valparaíso, en el Semanario i en el Copiapino, desde abril 1841 hasta septiembre 1847* (Imprenta Chilena, 1847), 96, 126.
[154] See 'Romanticismo', July 21st 1842 Pinilla, *La Polémica del Romanticismo en 1842.*, 38.
[155] López, 'Clasicismo y Romanticismo', 124; 'Consideraciones sobre el Romanticismo III', August 01st 1842 in: Pinilla, *La Polémica del Romanticismo en 1842.*, 57. In 1845 he also stated "…[in] truth poetry is nothing more than the enthusiasm of the race" in: Vicente Fidel López, 'Discurso pronunciado por V. Fidel López al incorporarse como miembro de la Facultad de Filosofía i Humanidades en la Universidad de Chile.', *El Mercurio*, 30 October 1845.
[156] Pinilla, *La Polémica del Romanticismo en 1842.*, 53; López, 'Discurso pronunciado por V. Fidel López al incorporarse como miembro de la Facultad de Filosofía i Humanidades en la Universidad de Chile.'
[157] 'Consideraciones sobre el Romanticismo II', July 30th 1842 in: Pinilla, *La Polémica del Romanticismo en 1842.*, 50.

the Chilean society,[158] while defending romanticism as "…a way of thinking and expressing sentiments in accordance to the epoch, civilisation and customs [of each nation]".[159] At the end of the decade, this debate still resonated with Joaquín Blest Gana who blamed the urge of imitation in Chilean literature as a product of an inferiority complex mentality and an ill-understood sense of liberty built on top of the "ruins of reason and judgment".[160] Blest Gana claimed that true inspiration ought to come from Chilean traditions and customs because there is poetry in Chilean "austere charm" and "simple civility";[161] those should be the foundations of Chilean literature renovation. It follows that for all these authors, the pursuit of Romanticism was based on the adaptation of foreign trends to the national particularities, without this crucial tenet the result is mere imitation with no signs of real renovation.

Contrary to mainstream scholarship, the "romantic controversy" was a debate about externalities since at its core they all pursued and rejected the same elements, promoting the creation of a high form of literature as an expression of its society and the repulsion for any copying of foreign ideas regardless of the local context. *Uno de antaño*, an anonymous writer, denounced that it was almost impossible "to find anything written about what we are" since most intellectuals were only concerned about what was happening in France;[162] a critique that could be easily attributed to *Jotabeche*, López, Sarmiento, or any author who participated in the controversy, regardless of their stance on the debate. To sum up, the debate was about style and form, not content. It was about how to show erudition and how relevant it is to cite foreign authors to support one's ideas, about language and how free is a writer of the academy's constraints. Still, its romantic core remained unspoiled since no one challenged the pre-eminence of the local context over universal principles.

Interestingly, many of these authors refused to be labelled as 'romantics' despite the evident influence that movement had on them. Because by the mid-

[158] See 'Atraso del teatro en Santiago', July 07th 1841 and 'El Teatro como elemento de cultura', June 30th 1842 in: Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Obras Selectas* (Madrid, Spain: Editorial Espasa Calpe, 2002).
[159] 'Paréntesis formado por una correspondencia imparcial', July 27th 1842 in: Pinilla, *La Polémica del Romanticismo en 1842.*, 92.
[160] Blest Gana, 'Causas de la poca orijinalidad de la Literatura Chilena.', 69.
[161] Blest Gana, 64.
[162] 'Correspondencia', June 11th 1842 Pinilla, *La Polémica del Romanticismo en 1842.*, 84–85.

nineteenth century this movement was long dead as a vanguard in Europe,[163] they preferred to be identified as eclectics, liberals,[164] progressives or even socialists rather than romantics.[165] Regardless of the label, they aimed to show that they were in touch with society. Thus, by representing the local context, they believe that literature could be useful to foster progress and originally attain civilisation. Without adapting foreign ideas and abstract principles to the national context, it would be impossible to address the needs of the local population as was the aim of these authors. Hence, a concern emerged to unveil and discover the local context and what made Chile particular to figure out how to transform these foreign influences.

This need emerged from the conviction that a people's character is shaped more by local circumstances than abstract laws. In simple terms, political principles and universal claims were subordinated to ethnocultural factors. Even staunch liberals such as Lastarria argued that environmental factors explained the character and customs of a nation, claiming that "local physical accidents undoubtedly also must have modified the leaning traits of our people, because it is evident that the latitude, geographical layout [*situación orográfica*] and natural physical aspect heavily influence not just men physical organisation but also its morals".[166] If landscape and nature were of paramount significance, so was Chile's history, as Alberdi claimed that cultural, societal or political laws should be inspired in the climate, geography and society's experience, since the "keys of our future" were "only in the deep study of our past".[167]

The importance of the past, particularly the problem of how to assess and value it as a founding stone of the projected future, was the most significant divide in the intellectual milieu of the time. The main controversy was how to evaluate the influence produced by 300 years of a colonial rule: whether that heritage was inherently harmful or if there were some positive elements to recover and stand out. Regardless of the

[163] See: Vicente F. López, 'Consideraciones sobre el Romanticismo'. July 29th 1842 and Domingo F. Sarmiento 'El Romanticismo según El Semanario', July 25th 1842 in: Pinilla, 46, 77.
[164] 'El liberal de Jotabeche', July 8th 1846 Vallejo, *Colección de los artículos de Jotabeche. Publicados en El Mercurio de Valparaíso, en el Semanario i en el Copiapino, desde abril 1841 hasta septiembre 1847*, 277.
[165] Domingo F. Sarmiento 'Continúa el análisis del artículo romanticismo', July 26th - 28th 1842 and 'Concluye el análisis del artículo romanticismo', July 29th 1842 Pinilla, *La Polémica del Romanticismo en 1842.*, 100, 107.
[166] José Victorino Lastarria, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista i del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile.* (Santiago, Chile.: Imprenta del Siglo, 1844), 116.
[167] Alberdi, 'Algunas vistas sobre la literatura Sud-Americana.', 108–9.

assessment, the following question was if the intellectuals could change those profound enrooted influences. Lastarria, Bilbao, Sarmiento and Alberdi could be gathered as the most pessimistic in their assessment of the colonial heritage. Still, even them had the conviction that through education some of the most detrimental ethnocultural elements could be lessened via establishing a formal educational system. They were particularly optimists about the changes produced by popular education,[168] and to a lesser degree, in the influence made by the press and laws. On the other hand, Bello, Vallejo and Sanfuentes were defenders of the Spanish tradition as the foundations of the Chilean character. *Jotabeche*, in his prolific work as a writer of custom articles, usually highlighted Spanish festivities that were deemed by some as pointless, anachronic or barbarous,[169] recovering those as signs of identity. He claimed for their conservation, debunking the thought that everything should be orientated towards progress or civilisation, conversely, he valued identity in equal regard.

The historiographical debate revolved around the same profound problem. The controversy about methodology was relatively quickly solved with the victory of Bello's *ad narrandum*. However, the most contentious issue remained; how to assess the colonial history and if Chile should build its own character at its expense or, on the contrary, by recovering the most important ethnocultural elements of Hispanism. In conclusion, it was a romantic controversy at its core.

3. The language controversy in a nationalistic light. The relevance of local context for National Literature.

The debate over language has been usually one of the most contentious issues in the intellectual milieu when articulating a nationalist discourse and Chile was not an exception in this regard. The dispute between those who favoured the creation of a national language and those who wanted to keep Chile as part of the Spanish speaking countries cut across members of 1842 generation and the Argentine intellectual diaspora of the time. Within the historiographical debate regarding how to

[168] See: 'La educación en la construcción del sujeto nacional' in: Ricardo Iglesias, *¿Cómo construimos una nación? El proyecto educativo común y la tarea de intelectuales, políticos, profesoras y profesores en el Chile del siglo XIX.* (Valparaíso, Chile: Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, 2019).
[169] 'El Carnaval', February 24th 1842 in: Vallejo, *Colección de los artículos de Jotabeche. Publicados en El Mercurio de Valparaíso, en el Semanario i en el Copiapino, desde abril 1841 hasta septiembre 1847*, 34.

assess the Spanish heritage, language stood out as one of the most divisive elements due to the further political implications that this involved justifying democratic or aristocratic principles.[170] The scholarship has usually presented this debate in a polarised manner with Andrés Bello on the side of tradition and conservatism and José V. Lastarria and Domingo F. Sarmiento on the side of innovation and liberalism.[171]

But these polarised stances motivated by political differences started to fade away when analysed from different perspectives such as their contribution towards education since all parties involved promoted popular education and the state's role in establishing a robust secular public education system.[172] Similarly, both sides of the argument were united in their romantic attitude when interpreting language by sharing the goal of adapting Spanish to a new context of newly independent countries with their own linguistic traditions. This was to be achieved by either creating a national language or establishing a new grammatical system to unite Spanish America with a Castilian suitable for this new political and social reality. Nevertheless, both arguments had underlying nationalist goals. The objective was to create a new linguistic code with the aspiration of transforming the vulgar/oral dialect into an educated form of language, granting, in turn, some 'dignity' to making it suitable for high cultural products. They also aspired to create a simplified orthographic and grammatic system that would make easier the alphabetisation of the general population.

Early in his academic life, Andrés Bello adopted a romantic interpretation of language, in 1823 paraphrasing Rousseau argued that “languages shaped heads” and “thoughts were dyed with the colour of languages.”[173] Moreover, he suggested the simplification of the orthographic rules excluding tradition and etymology in favour of phonetics as the sole criteria to determine the spelling, since this would make writing and reading learning processes easier, and hence also the cultivation of literature and science in Spanish America.[174] To Bello, Chilean linguistic tradition was inherently

[170] See ‘El Campo cultural’ in: Stuven, ‘El exilio de la intelectualidad argentina: polémica y construcción de la esfera pública chilena (1840-1850)’.
[171] See ‘Bello and José Victorino Lastarria’ in: Jaksic, *Andrés Bello. Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America.*
[172] Serrano, Ponce de León, and Rengifo, *Historia de La Educación En Chile (1810-2010)*, 2012, I: Aprender a leer y escribir (1810-1880):77.
[173] ‘Indicaciones sobre la conveniencia de simplificar y uniformar la ortografía en América’, La Biblioteca Americana, London, 1823 in: Iván Jaksic, ed., *Andrés Bello. Repertorio Americano* (Santiago, Chile.: Penguin Random House, 2019), 137.
[174] Jaksic, *Andrés Bello. Repertorio Americano*, 138–39.

measured, direct, not fond of embellishing the discourse and prone to avoid hyperbole as *La Araucana* showed.[175] In this sense, Chilean idiomatic simplicity had the danger to lead to errors and vulgarities which made it even more needful of a simplification of its linguistic rules. To amend this, Bello published *La Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* in 1847, where he refined his argument in favour of a simplification of the orthographic and grammatic rules to foster instruction of the general population. He stated the same romantic starting point as before: every language has its own character [*jenio*], set of features, and particularities making each one unique, therefore, the adoption of neologisms and idiomatic rules were artificial and wrong.[176]

Bello constantly stressed how damaging the adoption of foreign terms was for the linguistic unity of the Spanish American continent, arguing that following this path would eventually fragment the continent into several uncomprehensive dialects undermining the fraternal bonds that unite the region in terms of language, culture and common history.[177] As a consequence, the only solution was to create a new set of linguistic regulations which would recognise the prolific idiomatic traditions of the continent dignifying them into cultural expressions as valid as the metropolitan ones. This had an underlying nationalist motivation at its core since it meant the formalisation of what was formerly considered a vulgar oral tradition into a new educated written status.

If Andrés Bello believed that only learned intellectuals should be the responsible for overseeing the correct applications of linguistic rules since an excess of liberty in this regard meant "licence against reason",[178] for his opponents language was society's expression since custom and use where the foundations of it - society was,

[175] See 'La Araucana por Don Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga', 1841 in: Jaksic, *Andrés Bello. Repertorio Americano*.
[176] Andrés Bello, *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, vol. IV, Obras Completas de Don Andrés Bello. (Santiago, Chile.: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1883), 2.
[177] Bello, IV:9; 'Discurso pronunciado en la instalación de la Universidad de Chile', September 17th 1843, in: Santos Herceg and López Merino, *Escritos Republicanos. Selección de escritos políticos del siglo XIX*, 99; 'Ejercicios populares de lengua castellana', El Mercurio, Valparaiso, May 12th 1842 in: Pinilla, *La controversia filológica de 1842*, 26–28.
[178] 'Discurso pronunciado en la instalación de la Universidad de Chile', September 17th 1843, in: Santos Herceg and López Merino, *Escritos Republicanos. Selección de escritos políticos del siglo XIX*, 102; 'Ejercicios populares de lengua castellana', El Mercurio, Valparaiso, May 12th 1842 in: Pinilla, *La controversia filológica de 1842*, 28.

therefore, “sovereign” when dictating the linguistic regulations.[179] Domingo F. Sarmiento presented a more radical position, arguing that Spanish due to its colonial and Catholic history was a backward language and there was a need to acquire progressive terms from foreign influences.[180] Furthermore, he dismissed the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language as an authority in linguistic matters since the press and common practice were the true expression of learned and popular language respectively.[181] If Sarmiento was Bello’s more vocal critic, the rest of the Argentine intellectual diaspora followed suit. Vicente F. López stressed the romantic idea that linguistic rules were not fixed, arguing that such attitude equals stopping the human drive of constant improvement,[182] whereas Juan B. Alberdi stated that Spanish American nature and social environment would push the continent to break its linguistic chains from the metropolis creating their own national languages.[183] Finally, José V. Lastarria adopted a more nuanced and balanced approach, embracing language malleability and perfectibility and the importance to consider common practice as guidelines for its linguistic rules, but criticising at the same time the adoption of foreign terms without a clear justification based on the inexistence of an equal term in Spanish.[184]

Regardless of the adopted stances in this philological controversy, Bello, the Argentine émigrés and Lastarria shared their goal of making changes to the linguistic rules applied to the Chileans and Spanish American more broadly. The consensus was that those rules adopted by the Royal Academy of Language reflected only how metropolitan Spaniards speaks and writes. Moreover, not incorporating the New World into the Spanish linguistic tradition would mean the cultural subordination of one region to the metropole. The underlying motivation was to recognise provincialisms and the continental idiomatic richness as legitimate linguistic expressions, dignifying Spanish American tradition as a cultured form that would cement in turn the new literature each country ought to develop. In essence, it was a linguistic nationalist aim. The second

[179] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, ‘Ejercicios populares de la lengua castellana’, El Mercurio, Valparaiso, April 27th 1842 in: Norberto Pinilla, ed., *La controversia filológica de 1842* (Santiago, Chile.: Prensa de la Universidad de Chile, 1945), 2–6.
[180] ‘Contestación a un Quidam’. El Mercurio, Valparaíso, May 19th 1842 in: Pinilla, 34–35.
[181] ‘Segunda contestación a un Quidam’, El Mercurio, Valparaiso, May 22nd 1842 in: Pinilla, *La controversia filológica de 1842*.
[182] López, ‘Clasicismo y Romanticismo’, 135.
[183] Alberdi, ‘Algunas vistas sobre la literatura Sud-Americana.’, 116.
[184] Lastarria, *Discurso de incorporación de D.J. Victorino Lastarria a una Sociedad de Literatura de Santiago*, 11.

motive was to simplify and rectify the language. A new set of orthographic and grammatic rules was needed to foster alphabetisation of these almost completely illiterate countries and fix its many mistakes in using and spelling words; problems that emerged from a context of lacking formal education,[185] which triggered the whole philological controversy in the first place.

To conclude, regardless of the original stance in the philological debate, this controversy was framed by a nationalist aim since it revolved around secondary elements that did not affect its two main initial motivations. The only unresolved issue was how to assess the Spanish linguistic legacy, whether to keep it as part of each country's national culture by maintaining a continental unity through language, against those who deemed this language as irremediable backward, which would, in turn, inevitably be transformed into a distinctive dialect through the incorporation of neologisms, provincialisms and foreign terms. Furthermore, even this unresolved element of the controversy was framed under a profound nationalism since it commenced from the assumption that metropolitan Spanish should be adapted to the national context to dignify its linguistic tradition fostering, in turn, the creation of high culture expressed in the national literature. A nationalism that also pursuit a simplification of language to the spread of the Enlightenment to a broader population.

4. Nature and landscape as ethnocultural elements of Chilean exceptionality.

One of the common topics of any nationalist discourse is nature and territory. Herder explained this predisposition as the need of a community to establish its roots and origins anchored in a geographical space, thus, providing it a mindset based on the features of that space. In consequence, each territory, with its uniqueness in terms of climate, flora, fauna and landscape, would influence the mindset of the community, contributing to the distinctive character of each nation. Herder called this the "geography's poetic spirit",[186] an idea that romantic intellectuals followed suit fostering a new attitude towards the natural environment. After Herder, the space was not only

[185] By 1854 only 170,016 people were literate, out of a total of 1,439,120 which was roughly a 12% of the population. See 'Cuadro 3.1: Población alfabeta según el Censo General de 1854' in: Serrano, Ponce de León, and Rengifo, *Historia de La Educación En Chile (1810-2010)*, 2012, I: Aprender a leer y escribir (1810-1880):125.

[186] J.G. Herder, *Ideas para una Filosofía de la Historia de la Humanidad* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Losada, 1959), 228.

a place to live and extract resources from it, but also a crucial element of one's identity as part of a larger community, providing even an explanation for some of the virtues and vices that each nation had.

This new attitude towards the natural environment, its relationship with the scientific revolutions and the nation-building process has been studied in-depth by several scholars. Particularly in Chile, historiography has usually focussed on two aspects: First, as part of the scientific expeditions that arrived on the continent during the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century; second, as part of a broader state-driven effort to foster a sense of national identity through artistic and historiographical works.

Regarding the former, Patience Shell has stressed how the scientific expeditions on the continent were framed by imperial attempts to position European knowledge of natural history as a universal guideline for the rest of the world. Thus, overshadowing local and regional forms of knowledge.[187] Conversely, Shell rescued the contribution of "creole science" made by European residents in Chile such as Ignacio Domeyko, Claude Gay, Bernardo Philippi and the vibrant, although small, scientific community that they articulated on the continent. Similarly, Sagredo argued for the involvement of the state and their efforts with Gay's work not only to do a survey about the country's natural history and resources, but also to legitimise the conservative regime as one prone to modernisation and progress.[188] Minzón, framed Gay's prolific work as a state-driven cultural endeavour to instil a sense of nationhood to a broader population.[189] Finally, Vergara argues how Claude Gay's work was complemented with the artistic perspective of M. Rugendas providing the country with some of their most iconic visual representations of its customs, people, nature and nationhood, depicting the country as a "lost paradise" on Earth while de-attaching Chile from the rest of tropical Spanish America.[190] In summary, current scholarship has stressed the contribution made by European scientist and intellectuals settled in

[187] Shell, *The Sociable Sciences. Darwin and His Contemporaries in Chile*, 3.
[188] Sagredo, *Ciencia y Mundo. Orden Republicano, Arte y Nación En América.*, 166.
[189] Mizón, *Claudio Gay y la formación de la identidad cultural chilena.*, 12.
[190] Jacinta Vergara, 'Desde el bastidor al imaginario nacional: Rugendas y la representación de la identidad chilena', in *Nación y Nacionalismo en Chile, siglo XIX*, vol. I, II vols (Santiago, Chile.: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2009), 137–76; Gabriel Cid and Jacinta Vergara, 'Representando la "Copia Feliz del Edén". Rugendas: Paisaje e identidad Nacional en Chile, siglo XIX', *Revista de Historia Social y de las Mentalidades* 15, no. 2 (2011): 114.

Chile, and how the state promoted and funded their works intending to legitimise the conservative political system and to portrait Chile as an abundant and prosperous country in terms of natural resources with a stable, orderly and progressive government.

One element that the scholarship has neglected is the contribution made by the Argentine intellectual diaspora members and the 1842 generation in this above-mentioned process. They used their position as journalists and essayist to instil these ideas rather than scientific treaties. Still, both groups actively contributed to the development of a nationalist discourse rooted in notions of nature and territory to disseminate a shared sense of nationhood while explaining some of the most peculiar Chilean features based on nature. Nature was used in three different ways addressed in this section. First, as an ethnocultural element to foster a sense of identity based on the adherence and belonging to the territory, stressing its uniqueness, isolation and beauty. Second, nature was used to endorse Chilean exceptionalism discourse from an environmental perspective, depicting the country as one suitable for progress without most problems that affected the rest of Spanish America. Finally, cities - understood as the new human-made spaces of socialisation - were portrayed as examples of the modernisation process that the country was experiencing.

The Argentine intellectual diaspora and the 1842 Generation shared a sense of awe towards Chilean nature constantly manifesting the impact its beauty had on them and how different they felt Chilean environment was from the rest of the continent. If this awe motivated scientists to explore the territory to unveil its mysteries while gathering extensive collections of minerals, flora and fauna, these intellectuals preferred to praise and narrate its richness to a wider public through their journals, articles and educational books. For instance, Andrés Bello - who helped in Alexander von Humboldt’s voyages in Venezuela – frequently manifested his wish to join scientific explorations to the far south and the Magellan strait lamenting, in turn, his impossibility to go due to its professional commitments. Bello instead promoted these expeditions, advocating for the seizure of those lands by the Chilean government through a discourse rooted in its natural characteristics. Bello was astonished that the area was still without inhabitants considering its benign climate and plentiful resources

to establish a colony. Furthermore, Magellan's unmatched natural environment was the most significant motive to welcome colonisers with its beauty and magnificence.[191]

For members of the Argentine intellectual diaspora, such as Alberdi and Sarmiento, the Chilean nature was heroic. Not even the glorious deeds of the patriotic army who achieved Independence could overshadow its natural treasures such as the majesty of the Andes. The mountain range was depicted as a seductive and peril obstacle, and the most difficult task to surpass by the patriotic army.[192] The latter was a recurrent theme. The depiction of Chilean nature as a paradise on Earth, which worked as the background scenario for the most heroic deeds, was also attributed to the Southlands. José Joaquín Vallejo argued that the never-ending war against the Araucanians took place in a paradise that "no poet would have been able to imagine it more charmingly and delightfully."[193] The same applies to the Araucanians, Miguel Luis Amunátegui explains why intellectuals keep neglecting the study of those indigenous since their appeal pales compared to that of their natural surroundings.[194] In short, nature was deemed a foundation of Chilean nationhood, as an idyllic place or as the "Eden's happy copy" as mentioned in the National Anthem written in 1847 by another member of the 1842 Generation, Eusebio Lillo.

The idea of a Chilean exceptionality was also manifested in the conditions of the country's territory, which had a twofold implication; on the one hand, it allowed for the development of economic activities, particularly regarding agriculture, and on the other hand, the Chilean territory benefited some political practices. Commencing with the former, Chilean climate was usually depicted most benignly, as healthy and favourable for the cultivation of every type of crops and plantations. As early as 1823, still without setting foot in Chile, Bello already praised the country for "how fortunate

[191] See: 'Observaciones sobre geografía de la extremidad sur de América, la Tierra del Fuego i el Estrecho de Magallanes, hechas en la visita de estas cosas por los buques de S.M.B. Adventure i Beagle en 1826 i 1830 por el Capitán Philipp Parker, Comandante de la Espedición', El Araucano, 1835 in: Bello, *Miscelánea*, XV:134–50; 'Narrativa de los viajes. De los buques de Guerra de su Majestad Británica Adventure i Beagle. Por los capitanes King i Fitzroi, de la Marina Real Británica, i por Carlos Darwin, Escudero, Naturalista del Beagle, Londres 1839', El Araucano, 1840 in: Bello, XV:231.
[192] Alberdi, 'Algunas vistas sobre la literatura Sud-Americana.', 112; 'El 12 de Febrero de 1817', El Mercurio, Valparaiso, February 11th 1841 in: Sarmiento, *Chile*, 14–15.
[193] 'El último jefe español en Arauco', September 18th 1845 in: Vallejo, *Colección de los artículos de Jotabeche. Publicados en El Mercurio de Valparaíso, en el Semanario i en el Copiapino, desde abril 1841 hasta septiembre 1847*, 259.
[194] Miguel Luis Amunátegui, 'Lenguas Indíjenas de la América', *Revista de Santiago* I (May 1848): 119.

Chile was due to its blond crops [wheat] and tender fruits."[195] Lastarria by 1846 portrayed Chile as a place with a "prodigious fertility, making [the country] able to produce with advantage and without the need of fertilizers every harvest of the Old and New World."[196] Lastarria was not subtle when trying to stress the natural benefits of Chilean territory, landscape and climate dedicating the largest section of his Geography's coursebook to that goal by stating that his aim was to spark curiosity and guide Chilean students to a better understanding of the country's richness. The press joined these cohort of intellectuals in these efforts; it constantly published articles arguing the benefits of the Chilean nature, commenting also on foreign publications and authors doing the same. A clear example of the latter was the publication of *Catecismo Hijiénico* in 1859 by the Spanish born medic Dr. Juan Miquel,[197] who argued that Chile had "all the elements to prolong human's life: a soft and benign character, a rich nature, a stunning vegetation which purify the air, a soil which allows a healthy and abundant production and a marvellous fertility…".[198] Another example is how the French journal *Revue des Deux Mondes* depicted Chile in 1860 as the "most beautiful country in South America" with a perfect template climate in winter and summer and as the best soil in the continent to cultivate any crop due to the fertility provided by Chile's many rivers, distinguishing each region for a different economic activity.[199]

In addition, Chilean landscape and nature evoked political connotations, as it was thought to help to keep the country homogenous and stable. For instance, Andrés Bello argued that due to the Andes mountains, the winds of political ruffle were halted, leaving Chile at peace as a country were moderation, liberty and virtue could flourish.[200] Similarly, but adding clear ethnic undertones to the previous argument, *El Mercurio* stated in 1861 that Chile was "racially homogeneous" thanks to the geography because the vast majority of its population inhabit the centre valleys and

[195] 'Divina Poesía' in: Andrés Bello, *La Biblioteca Americana o Miscelánea de Cultura.* (London: Imprenta G. Marchant, 1823), 5.
[196] José Victorino Lastarria, *Lecciones de la Jeografía moderna para la enseñanza de la juventud americana.*, 4th Edition. First in 1846 (Valparaíso, Chile: Imprenta El Mercurio, 1916), 107–8.
[197] Complete book's title was "Catecismo Hijiénico o el arte de preservar la salud, prolongar la vida i prevenir enfermedades, adaptado al clima, temperamento, usos i costumbres de Chile"
[198] 'Bibliografía', *El Mercurio*, 12 December 1859.
[199] 'Estudios sobre Sud-América', *El Mercurio*, 30 March 1860.
[200] Quoted in: 'Discurso pronunciado por el Decano de la Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad de Chile don Francisco Vargas Fontecillo, en el primer centenario del nacimiento de don Andrés Bello.' Andrés Bello, *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, vol. IV, Obras Completas de Don Andrés Bello. (Santiago, Chile.: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1883), XXI.

regions of the country. Living in such small and concentrated land thus not only helped to establish a better government and management of its resources but, more importantly, promote the miscegenation between the indigenous and the Spanish which would constitute the backbone of the Chilean population.[201] The Chilean political exceptionality was rooted in its territorial features, and even its racial layout depended on it, foretelling some of the ethnocultural arguments so widespread during the early twentieth century with Nicolás Palacios' book *Raza Chilena*, as analysed in chapters three and four of this dissertation.

Particularly interesting is to analyse the cities as alternative forms of territories with dual characteristics. On the one hand, they represent civilisation and order, as something opposed and different from nature achieved through political means, therefore, as a product of Chilean exceptionality. On the other hand, cities also represent new environments, novel spaces of socialisation in a country known for its lack of proper urban places during colonial times.[202] Hence, cities were places shaped by the Chilean character, therefore, full of traditions that were sometimes at odds and other supportive, with liberal and progressive ideals. Finally, these cities were also new environments deemed as some sort of man-made landscapes, which influenced its inhabitants' mindset and character in a simile way as nature does in Herder's perspective. In Chile, it is possible to identify three distinctive environmental archetypes, each one with its unique character and traits: the miner cities of the North, the commercial city of Valparaiso and the ever-expanding capital of Santiago.

Commencing with the mining districts of the North, José Joaquín Vallejo as a journalist based on Copiapó witnessed the cities' rapid development after the discovery of silver deposits. Copiapó itself experienced dramatic growth after independence, if by 1819 *Jotabeche* qualified it as a ghost town since "a cemetery has more life signs [than Copiapó]" by 1841 "the commerce, agriculture, arts and luxury wiped out the memory of those times".[203] He constantly stressed three aspects of the

[201] 'La reconquista y los defensores de la independencia americana', *El Mercurio*, 30 December 1861.
[202] Even after the urbanisation process started with the Bourbonic Reforms during the eighteenth century, Chile remained undoubtedly a rural country. By 1810 it is estimated less than 10% of its population lived in cities, being the biggest ones Santiago with around 35,000, Concepcion with 6,000 and La Serena with 5,000. See 'Un estado embrionario' in: Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, *La Independencia de Chile. Tradición, Modernización y mito.* (Santiago, Chile.: Random House, 2011).
[203] 'Copiapó', February 1st 1842 in: Vallejo, *Colección de los artículos de Jotabeche. Publicados en El Mercurio de Valparaíso, en el Semanario i en el Copiapino, desde abril 1841 hasta septiembre 1847*, 8.

life in the desert in this new prosperous mining towns. First, he expounded on how the desert with its vastness, lifeless dryness and hardships was the most hostile natural environment that one could possibly imagine, presenting a major challenge for any visitors or weak spirit searching for easy money. Northerners were hardened miners, even its women were used to dig in the worst conditions and wandering for ore deposits in the desert in extenuating journeys.[204] The second feature was how cities were portrayed as idyllic places, Copiapó is "a beautiful valley, an enchanted oasis in the desert" while Vallenar was "a beautiful Eden, planted within the arid North emptiness as a rose amongst the spines [*abrojos y zarzáles*]",[205] in this context, there was a fearsome competition between the mining towns to be the most beautiful, rich, advanced and prosperous in the region which were straining the relationships between their inhabitants. Finally, the mixture of living in the calmness of the desert, with its warm and sunny days, in addition to the charm of living in these man-made oases provided its population tranquillity and peacefulness difficult to match. Moreover, life there was considered a dull affair because of the lack of problems and modern-day dramas.[206] Jotabeche's first archetype was based on a dichotomy. On the one hand, Northerners were virile and hardened miners working in dreadful desertic conditions; on the other hand, they were prosperous yet peaceful and virtuous citizens living in charming little cities.

The second archetype was more prevalent, particularly amongst the members of the Argentine intellectual diaspora. Valparaíso was depicted as a buzzing and cosmopolitan commercial city, and, therefore, as the seat of the most progressive people of the country. Both Juan B. Alberdi and Domingo F. Sarmiento, in several articles, described the port city as the most important and developed commercial hub on Western Hemisphere's Pacific coast.[207] Both claimed that its trade success supported Chile's unparalleled levels of political peace. Its material progress was shown by major infrastructure endeavours such as the railroads connecting the port with the capital, a project qualified as one with the "hardest natural difficulties to

[204] See: 'Copiapó', February 1st 1842, and 'El derrotero de la veta de los Tres Portezuelos', Februrary 22nd 1842 in: Vallejo, *Colección de los artículos de Jotabeche. Publicados en El Mercurio de Valparaíso, en el Semanario i en el Copiapino, desde abril 1841 hasta septiembre 1847*.
[205] 'Copiapó', February 1st 1842, and 'Vallenar y Copiapó', April 03rd 1842 in: Vallejo, 9, 52.
[206] 'Vallenar y Copiapó', April 3rd 1842 in: Vallejo, 53.
[207] 'Política Comercial', El Comercio de Valparaíso, May 18th 1848 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 241.

overcome in the world" because of the hilly landscape separating both cities.[208] The press and Chilean intellectuals also shared this view, depicting the city as the best example of the progress made in the country and the prosperous future that lied ahead, adding to the man-made elements before mentioned, its natural advantages due to its "Italian climate" which allows perfect conditions for agriculture and trade throughout the year.[209] This setting - vibrant, active and full of initiative - was considered as the example of the masculine traits of Valparaiso's inhabitants.[210] It was perceived as masculine also because, albeit hectic and buzzing, as Andrés Bello noticed, it was a city in order and discipline without major felonies or major signs of disruption.[211] In parallel, the city's spirit shaped a more progressive mindset on their inhabitants. According to Alberdi one of the most important developments of the city was its ever-expanding press, qualifying it in the same manner as its population, "serious, busy, commercial, prone to progress, freedom, wealth" with an acute practical sense.[212] Liberal mindset, pragmatic spirit and masculine character made the port a "mature" city, a full grown-up, as such, it demanded a special political treatment guaranteeing more liberties and autonomy than the rest of the country who had not overcome childhood yet.[213]

Nevertheless, Valparaiso as a place halfway there from modernity and tradition was also a metaphor for the state of the country. A place transitioning from its humble colonial stage to civilisation thanks to the benefits granted by material progress. This city constituted the best example of what the Chilean character could achieve, considering that Valparaíso - the most advanced, liberal, cosmopolitan and prosperous European-style city in the Pacific – had been a bit more than a fishermen's bay before Chile won its independence. As Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna famously pointed out, the port-city was the "child of the Republic" since, during colonial times

[208] 'La Doctrina Monroe. Discurso de recepción en la Sociedad Histórica de Rhode Island', October 27th 1865, III, in: Sarmiento, *Obras Selectas*, 296.
[209] Lastarria, *Lecciones de la Jeografía moderna para la enseñanza de la juventud americana.*, 122–23; 'Chile: un presente y un porvenir (i)', *El Comercio de Valparaíso*, 4 February 1848.
[210] In opposition to the feminine features of Quillota, a small city located in the hinterland with its calmed agrarian and religious way of life. See 'Quillota y sus cosas', El Comercio de Valparaíso, March 24th 1848 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 206.
[211] 'Narrativa de la Expedición Exploradora de los Estados Unidos de América durante los años de 1838 hasta 1842 por Carlos Wilkes de la Marina de los Estados Unidos', El Araucano, 1846 Bello, *Miscelánea*, XV:366.
[212] 'La prensa y la Sociead', El Comercio de Valparaíso, August 14th 1848 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 332.
[213] 'Intendente de Valparaíso', *El Mercurio*, 4 December 1851.

"Valparaíso was not a city, but a town of friars and cannons".[214] The most illustrative example of this interpretation was Domingo F. Sarmiento's series of articles about Valparaíso published between September 02nd and 07th of 1841 in *El Mercurio*. In these wonderful and eloquent depictions, he described the city as full of contradictions, as "the image of European civilisation and the ignorant rudeness of Spanish America", as an "anomaly in Spanish America" since, in it, one can bear witness of "the struggle between the new and the old customs; [and] the slow but relentless invasion of civilisation […] Valparaiso is a monstrosity and a beauty, a garden without fruits, a populated beach, a wharf more than a port; Chile's entrance and its great commercial hub."[215] Regardless of these inconsistencies and still developing features, the intellectual milieu was eager to recognise Valparaíso's inhabitants as a liberal, pragmatic, active and overall masculine character that distinguished the *porteño* from the rest of Chilean population.

Lastly, Santiago experienced a major transformation during those years by becoming a modern capital that gradually abandoned the traditional agrarian style inherited from its colonial past.[216] Santiago's modernisation was like Valparaíso's experience, maybe less dramatic since Santiago was by far the largest city during the Spanish rule. Besides, Santiago had a conservative hue because of its demographic composition, gathering the traditional Spanish-descend elite. Nevertheless, the capital shared with the port city its place as being in-between two opposites spirits, namely, a modern rationalised and Enlightened soul, coexisting with a staunch Catholic and traditional heart. According to Sarmiento, Yungay new neighbourhood in Santiago was the best example of these parallel trends. Santiago was the "city of Palaces" due to its modern European style housings,[217] parks, gardens, public gas-lighting and urban public transportation system. Simultaneously, all the aristocracy of the country had their residencies in Santiago; the miners of the North and the landowners of the central valley alike, which granted the city a strong ascendancy towards the rest of the

[214] Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Historia de Valparaíso*, 1st Ed. 1873, vol. II, Obras Completas de Vicuña Mackenna, IV (Santiago, Chile.: Universidad de Chile, 1936), 149.
[215] See 'Un viaje por Valparaíso', El Mercurio de Valparaíso, September 2nd to 07th 1841 in: Sarmiento, *Chile*, 45–49.
[216] Santiago had around 40,000 people by the time of independence, it grew to 69,000 by 1854 and 115,000 by 1865. See 'Las ciudades y la Cultura' in: Collier and Sater, *Historia de Chile 1808-1994*.
[217] 'La Doctrina Monroe. Discurso de recepción en la Sociedad Histórica de Rhode Island', Providence October 27th 1865 in: Sarmiento, *Obras Selectas*, 275.

country, while contributing to its social unity.[218] It seems that this natural tendency of the national aristocracy to gather was one of the contributors to the political cohesion, hence becoming one of the reasons for the Chilean political exceptionality since there was no competition between rival regional elites in the country. Once more, the new urban layout helped consolidate an inner trait of the Chilean character working as a simile to the effects produced by the natural environment.

Santiago had another interesting characteristic, as the most populous centre in the country it experienced the arrival of immigrants coming from the countryside to settle in the outskirts of the city. In those peripheries, outside the reach of local authorities, there were signs of a new political attitude, the seeds of revolution to come, since a true democracy where ordinary people established the law was in place. Sarmiento and *Jotabeche* stressed this although with diverging undertones. For the Argentine, in those places "the people [was] sovereign, the people [was] king", in their fairs the proletariat and artisans were the ones dictating terms on the elite, showing true signs of organisational spirit and comradery.[219] Whereas for José Joaquín Vallejo these outskirts were "anthills of democracy" where authority and law had no place and license was out of control.[220] Besides this anarchism, the Northerner author denounced the marginalisation of these newcomers and the increasing social divide between the aristocracy and this new urban *rotos*. Vallejo also condemned the harsh treatment that both social classes had towards the people coming from the countryside, which, in turn, fostered a generalised resentment of the provinces to the capital inhabitants for their rudeness, arrogance and lack of manners towards the population of the rest of the country.

The cities were new man-made environments which had a dual effect on the development of the nationhood. On one side, they were the Chilean character product, evidence of the new vigour and ingenuity of this novel independent nation. On the other, as new environments, they were gradually complementing – if not replacing – nature as the primary landscape where life took place. In turn, this shaped three distinctive Chilean characters that added some needed diversity within the idea of

[218] 'La Villa de Yungay', El Mercurio, Valparaíso, April 03rd 1842 in: Sarmiento, *Chile*, 83.
[219] 'La venta de zapatos', El Mercurio, Valparaíso, April 21st 1841 in: Sarmiento, 27.
[220] 'El Provinciano en Santiago' in: Vallejo, *Colección de los artículos de Jotabeche. Publicados en El Mercurio de Valparaíso, en el Semanario i en el Copiapino, desde abril 1841 hasta septiembre 1847*, 210.

nationhood articulated by the intellectual milieu. Nevertheless, the North, Valparaíso and Santiago represented a country in transition, still as an imperfect project in the process of incomplete and somewhat incoherent modernisation. In tandem, the countryside – influenced by nature more than anything else – represented the profound inner spirit and stable foundations from where the Chilean character, and its idea of Chileanhood, could be erected.

5. The Chilean character as the precursor of a racialised nationhood

The Chilean character resulted from all the previous influences that affected the Chilean population, including its language and natural environment. Nevertheless, an additional variable was also present, although more subtly, the human variable in terms of its ethnic composition. Race, vaguely understood by this group of thinkers as a community with a shared origin and common physical and intellectual traits,[221] was also considered when analysing the development of Chilean customs, practices and social behaviour. History played a crucial part since, differently to the belief in European cases, Spanish America was constituted not by communities of origin but by mixtures of three main sources: natives, European conquistadors and their creole descendants, and African slaves. The role and print left by these three elements on each national community would be the determining factor when assessing the development of the character for each case. In such calculus, the role played by Hispanism or the Spanish legacy would be the paramount and more contentious aspect of the three. In this sense, Andrés Bello addressed this racial concern openly when rebuking Lastarria's essay on the influence of the Spanish colony in Chile; the Venezuelan intellectual wondered "Would be possible to explain the diversity presented by the character of men and their revolutions in the various Spanish American provinces by the diversity of their [racial] mixture?"[222] In this inquiry, Bello accepts that ethnocultural elements played a major part in the development of each country, and even their political deeds can be explained to some degree by their racial constitution. He, however, acknowledges the role played by civic education, as well as

[221] None of these intellectuals dedicated much effort to the definition of the concept race which was used as a common term in a somewhat indistinguishable way as a nation, people and other forms of referring to a community of the same origin and features. In this way, the race could be considered, such as character, as a concept gathering all the distinctive features of the community, particularly those attributed to the "spirit" or the essence of them.

[222] 'Investigaciones sobre la influencia de la conquista y del sistema colonial de los españoles, por Don José Victorino Lastarria.', II, in: Jaksic, *Andrés Bello. Repertorio Americano*, 284.

the country's laws and political institutions, while dismissing the overall Lastarria's argument that the main explanation for Chile's backwardness was the Spanish legacy's everlasting clout.

Regardless of the debate of how to assess Hispanism, important is to stress that race was deemed as one of the foundations of the Chilean character, an idea rooted, once more, in the notion of Chilean exceptionalism understood now from an ethnic perspective. This discourse was articulated based on the notion that Chile was a historical community cemented on the union of Europeans with indigenous people, although with a clear prevalence of its former component. This conviction commenced from three assumptions: the arrival of Northern Spaniards to Chile as colonisers, the lack of black descendants amongst the Chilean population and its homogeneity, leaving as a contentious matter the extension of its miscegenation process and how affected Chilean society's cohesiveness.

The first interpretation of Chile as an ethnic group was based on the premise of its direct Iberic roots, arguing its pure Spanish heritage as conquistadors transplanted into the New World. For instance, Andrés Bello dismissed any indigenous influence, stating conversely that most of the Chilean values came from its Spanish component; things such as its warrior-like spirit, austerity, piety, heroism and sense of independence were completely owed to the Spanish colonisers.[223] Alberdi, in turn, supported the latter view stressing the European element of the Chilean population, stating that the animosity cultivated during the independence process towards the Spanish needed to be halted since, in truth, the war was between the conquistadors on both sides of the Atlantic, describing both as part of the same race and origins while dismissing any indigenous component.[224] Sarmiento had a similar view, when writing about Quillota – a small agrarian city from the Aconcagua valley, and to some extent the quintessential Chilean settlement. He described its inhabitants as: "…one can find in all of its social classes the Spanish type without mixture with indigenous race; that

[223] 'Investigaciones sobre la influencia de la conquista y del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile, por Don José Victorino Lastarria', II, in: Jaksic, 282–84.
[224] 'Revolución de principios en la política de América del Sur para con la Europa, con ocasión de la conquista de México', El Comercio de Valparaíso, February 22nd 1848 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 197.

is the reason why the white colour, with pink cheeks are dominant amongst the common people, not being rare the blue eyes and blond hair in them."[225]

The depiction of the Chileans as pure European descendants, as creoles with the same racial origins as their Iberic counterparts, was also a common interpretation made in the newspapers. Until the late 1850s, this was an undisputed thought. For example, in September 1859, as a response to some anti-Spanish manifestations against immigrants and shops of the same origin, *El Mercurio* published a series of articles treating Spain as the cradle of civilisation, the Motherland and as the champion of the Latin race, of which Chileans were part: it was, therefore, heritage that should be acknowledged as the roots of Chilean national values.[226] In short, it seems clear that Chile was portrayed as a homogeneous race, cohesive and free of the burdens of dealing with the problems that arise from trying to build a nationalist discourse aimed at the integration of large portions of black and indigenous people in an idea of nationhood.

Conversely to the previous interpretation, José Victorino Lastarria could be considered the first intellectual amongst the 1842 Generation who opened a new racial interpretation of Chileans. Lastarria also included the ethnic variable in his overall anti-Spanish stance since he aimed to separate Chile from its Iberic legacy and condemn their remnants as signs of backwardness. With this goal in mind, he argued that Chileans constituted a novel race of mixed-blood origin. Lastarria shared the view of Chile as a homogeneous country, adding though that it was the product of the widespread success of a miscegenation phenomenon which resulted in the creation of a "robust" race.[227] According to his estimations, roughly 97.5% of Chile's population were *mestizos*,[228] merging the class divide with an ethnic one arguing that the remaining 2,5% of the population were pure white landowners who constituted the conservative elite of the country. Moreover, Lastarria championed the mestizo dignifying their values and origins by arguing that they were the by-product of 300 years of military occupation. In terms of values, and opposite to the aristocratic and

[225] 'Paseo a Quillota', El Mercurio, Valparaíso, March 31st - April 2nd 1842 in: Sarmiento, *Chile*, 71.
[226] See: 'La independencia', *El Mercurio*, 17 September 1859; 'La Raza Latina', *El Mercurio*, 22 September 1859.
[227] Lastarria, *Lecciones de la Jeografía moderna para la enseñanza de la juventud americana.*, 115.
[228] By the end of the colonial times there were roughly 400,000 out of which 390,000 were *mestizos* or "*castas de color"* and only 10,000 were pure Spanish descents. See Lastarria, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista i del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile.*, 94–96.

violent attitude of the Spaniard, mestizos were fairer in their treatment of the indigenous and other marginalised people since they recognised virtue based on merits and not mere linage or class.[229] In short, the Chilean common people was equalitarian and more democratic in spirit than their oppressive colonial master. It seems that Lastarria's achieved some sway on the press with his positive approach to the mestizo as part of an effort to distinguish the Chilean race from their Iberic counterpart. *El Mercurio*, by 1860s, in a context of increasing geopolitical tensions with Spain, repeatedly depicted the Chilean population as "exceptional" in Spanish America due to its "homogeneous race", which resulted from this miscegenation.[230] In turn, *El Mercurio* claimed, on the verge of the war held by both countries in 1865-1866, that Chileans were "a virile race" that "replaced the inhabitants of other times", referring to both indigenous and Spaniards alike, with a warrior-like and proud novel nation.[231]

It is striking how similar Lastarria's discourse is to the racialised nationalist discourse inaugurated during the early twentieth century, particularly to Palacio's idea of a national race. Both shared crucial features in their depiction of the Chilean race, for instance, the importance that mestizaje had as the foundation of this historical national race and the mestizo as the embodiment of true national values. Furthermore, Palacios and Lastarria identified the same main features of the common Chilean, as a warrior-like figure with overall masculine spirit and united by strong bonds of fraternity and comradery. Also, the motivations were analogous as well, since the common aim was undermining the aristocratic order by the dignification of the common people, fostering in turn, a sense of national pride by detaching from a European hegemonic culture deemed as exotic and/or unfit to contribute to the progress of the country. There are similar attitudes about work, austerity, discipline and other features. Still, it is important to not overinterpret this as the origins of the racialist discourse in Chile since there were still some elements lacking during this time that were part of the discourse in the following century. Amongst those, the absence of a proper definition/theorisation of what constitutes a race, besides the lack of a whole world-system based on that notion, is remarkable since, in the mid-nineteenth century, the race question was framed under the bigger debate of civilisation and progress. Also,

[229] See 'V Influencia del sistema colonial en la condición social de los chilenos' in: Lastarria, 72–98.
[230] 'La reconquista y los defensores de la independencia americana'; F.G., 'La reconquista y los defensores de la independencia americana.', *El Mercurio*, 9 January 1862.
[231] 'Dónde debemos hacer la guerra.', *El Mercurio*, 3 October 1865.

there were some relevant differences between both discourses in terms of its nuances and critiques. Since the nineteenth-century intellectuals had a more exploratory approach, they based their judgement on their own observations, granting more space for stating inconsistencies since those were expected as part of a progressive process towards civilisation. In contrast, the racialist discourse of the following century was more coherent, therefore, leaving less room for divergent interpretations, particularly in regard to the central role than the division between “masculine and feminine” races and features had in their theory.

Despite the evident anti-Hispanism present in Lastarria’s interpretation of Chilean history, he recognised the colonial authorities in the Chilean Captaincy General as exceptional in Spanish America. Surprisingly, although framed in the overall negative depiction of Spanish rulers as corrupt, abusive and arbitrary, the Chilean authorities were less so since those who came to the country were more professional and responsible in their attitude and behaviour. The reason for it was the lack of easy revenues due to the scarcity of mineral wealth (silver, gold) and the challenges that other activities such as agriculture and commerce faced in a context of permanent indigenous raids coming from the southern frontier. In Lastarria’s words, Chilean authorities did not experience the “excessive demoralisation” than the rest of the colonial masters had on the continent.[232] This could relate to another common feature of the Chilean political character, its widespread and enthusiastic patriotism. If the authorities were less corrupt and more committed to the country's well-being, this would help to produce a sense of adherence and loyalty to the political institutions and the Republic as a whole, an element that was constantly praised by the intellectual circles. Bello argued that “when compared with all the other South-Americans, Chilean most predominant feature is their love for their country", based on “a vigorous sentiment of equality and independence”.[233] Sarmiento constantly praised the same thing when writing about the national holidays of September 18th, depicting it as “truly a national festivity” where all classes participated with the same enthusiasm and in comradery. Furthermore, Sarmiento stated that this comradery would be a motive of

[232] Lastarria, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista i del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile.*, 53.
[233] ‘Narrativa de la Expedición Exploradora de los Estados Unidos de América durante los años de 1838 hasta 1842, por Carlos Wilkes, de la Marina de los Estados Unidos’, El Araucano, 1846 in: Bello, *Miscelánea*, XV:361.

envy for any foreign visitor compared to the grim situation in their own countries.[234] This uneasy juxtaposition of widespread joy, loyalty, and comradery in parallel with envy and disbelief by foreigners was present during the national holidays and in other popular celebrations, such as the carnival, where spontaneous outcries of "Viva Chile" were heard constantly. [235] Once more, history, culture and nature have shaped Chile's political exceptionality defining a character maintained until the mid-nineteenth century, in turn, helping us to understand how the intellectuals explained the moderation of the authorities, political and social stability and the overall success of the political system at the time.

The working and fighting attitudes complete the nationalist and optimist depiction of the Chilean character. As it can be expected from a country that recently won its independence on the fields of battle, the Chilean character was heavily depicted as warrior-like with the usual masculine traits associated with it. This constituted a flattering and widely accepted commonplace at the time, as suggested by the fact that Andrés Bello and Domingo F. Sarmiento decided to dedicate their first writings about Chile to that purpose. Both used Chacabuco battle as background to described the Chilean soldier as "honourable champions", "heroic brave figures", "determined and calmed soldiers", and "imposing and severe [armed citizens]" who liberated Chile and Spanish America through their outstanding martial deeds surpassing the greatest odds.[236] Surprisingly, even when facing fellow countrymen in contexts of armed revolts – as it happened in 1851 – the press recognised these martial skills on both sides, praising "the national character" for their feats and honourable behaviour against the losing side.[237] A similar view was held by the intellectuals when addressing Chilean attitude to work. Bello described the Chilean miners as filled with astonishing strength, resilience and vigour.[238] The descriptions of labourers who – due to their sagacity, pragmatism and resourcefulness - were allured

[234] 'Las fiestas del 18 de setiembre en Santiago', El Mercurio, Valparaíso, September 25th 1842 in: Sarmiento, *Chile*, 89–90.
[235] 'El Carnaval', February 24th 1842 in: Vallejo, *Colección de los artículos de Jotabeche. Publicados en El Mercurio de Valparaíso, en el Semanario i en el Copiapino, desde abril 1841 hasta septiembre 1847*, 34.
[236] See: 'Divina Poesía' Bello, *La Biblioteca Americana o Miscelánea de Cultura.*, 10; 'El 12 de Febrero de 1817', El Mercurio, Valparaíso, February 11th 1841 in: Sarmiento, *Chile*, 13–15.
[237] 'Honor al carácter nacional', *El Mercurio*, 9 December 1851; 'Después de la victoria.', *El Mercurio*, 11 December 1851.
[238] 'La Mina de San Pedro Nolasco' in: Bello, *Miscelánea*, XV:31.

by American companies to settle in California to work as railroad builders or experienced prospectors, offer a similar picture.[239]

Until here, the nationalist discourse presents itself in an archetypical way, praising traditional attitudes which were overwhelmingly positive traits to have such as martial prowess, working ethic, civic commitment and good governance. Nevertheless, this nationalist discourse did not have a coherent theoretical framework besides sharing some romantic core concerns. In general, it was framed in the major discussion of civilisation and progress typical of the liberal mindset. In addition to this theoretical looseness, this nationalist discourse was articulated based on a recollection of different essays and observations, which granted leeway for many critiques, inconsistencies and nuances to all of the above-mentioned elements. For instance, Lastarria associated the warrior spirit with the conquistador backward mindset, arguing that it brought along with it an unwillingness to learn more peaceful and productive crafts. Chile was a nation who "only waked-up for battle, [its] people were only organised for war",[240] directly blaming this militarised character for the economic and educational stagnation that the country experienced during the colonial times. The same nuances can be found when in discussion of the inner working qualities of the Chileans. For example, taking the same example of the miners praised by Bello and the press, Sarmiento portrayed them with an entirely different glance. Although the Argentine thinker acknowledged some of the attributes mentioned by the Venezuelan intellectual, he stressed the miners' utter lack morality: stealing without being caught was a sign of pride for them and so was their constant drunkenness and lechery. Miners' camps were lands without God or law, and he ends up describing them as "unruly beings, corrupted by principles and habit, not knowing from society more than what is decadent and despicable [i*nnoble*] of it."[241]

In these previous cases, the Chilean character was still transitioning towards civilisation, with several aspects deemed obstacles to becoming a truly progressive society. Therefore, such features ought to be denounced and purged from the Chilean character to eliminate every sign of backwardness that came along with the Spanish

[239] See: 'Emigrados chilenos a California', *El Mercurio*, 17 December 1851; Vicente Pérez Rosales, *Diario de un viaje a California 1848-1849* (Sociedad de Bibliófilos Chilenos, 1949).
[240] Lastarria, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista i del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile.*, 31.
[241] 'Los mineros', El Nacional, April 14th 1841 in: Sarmiento, *Chile*, 23.

traditions, such as militarism and ignorance. Another example of these nuances found in the miners happened with the rural men, targeted as the embodiment of barbarism in Latin America. Particularly after the publication of *Facundo* in 1845 by Domingo F. Sarmiento, the *gaucho* or the horseback ranchers of Chile's Southlands and the Argentinian pampa was labelled barbaric, a prejudice that was extended to the *huaso* of Chilean central valleys as well.

Chile was renowned for being a 'horseback culture', since economically, militarily and socially horses occupied a key position in every national affair; furthermore, several intellectuals recognised this praising Chilean horses and riders as one of the best in the world due to their sturdiness and agility,[242] or saw the *gaucho* culture with sympathy celebrating their liberty, virtuous austerity, hospitality, skills and work capacity as Bello does.[243] Nevertheless, for others such as Francisco Bilbao, the *gaucho*/*huaso* represented all the bad features attributed to the Spanish legacy, in essence they were illiberal and anti-progressive not only because they were the bulk of the conservative armies that time and again defeated the liberals during the 1820s, but, more importantly, because they were impossible to civilise. *Huaso's* lifestyle made them "lonely and wild [*selvático*]" their constant wondering in the countryside isolated them from morality and made them impervious towards any intellectual, spiritual, political and material progress and hence hostile towards any innovation.[244] What was more important? The personal/domestic moral virtues of the *huaso* or how backward was his lifestyle and economic activity; how to assess those outstanding riding skills without considering their record of political involvement characterised as prone to *caudillismos* and conservative regimes? Those were the type of questions that open the debate when dealing with these archetypical figures.

Furthermore, there is another complicated issue when analysing the gaucho/huaso. If this figure was the embodiment of backwardness and their prevalence in Argentina was used as a factor when explaining the authoritarian and brutal regime of Juan Manuel de Rosas, and if the very same type of character was also prevalent in Chile, a country deemed as exceptional in Spanish America, how is it possible to conciliate this apparent contradiction and such different outcomes. The

[242] Lastarria, *Lecciones de la Jeografía moderna para la enseñanza de la juventud americana.*, 109.
[243] See 'Costumbres de los gauchos' in: Bello, *Miscelánea*.
[244] Francisco Bilbao, 'Sociabilidad chilena', *El Crepúsculo. Periódico literario y científico.* 2, no. 2 (1 June 1844): 79.

answer was by distinguishing both cases and integrating into it, as leverage, the influence of nature and the other aspects that influenced the character. The very same Domingo F. Sarmiento seems to have been thinking of this when he discussed the differences between both countries with Juan Mauricio Rugendas in 1846, arguing that "the Chilean is not similar to the Argentine who is more Arab than Spaniard, as the *Pampa*'s horse is distinguishable at a mile distance from the horse on the other side of the Andes."[245] It seems that Sarmiento meant with Arab just barbaric in character since it was a rhetorical figure that he usually used in several of their works including *Facundo*.[246] Sarmiento argued that one good way of moralising the *huaso* was through art, particularly by hippodromes creating a form of popular entertainment and high art that would suit the interests and skills of the national riders.[247] It follows that the *huaso* was not beyond redemption, whereas the gaucho was a lost cause. Moreover, the former could be considered a potential tool for progress and nation-building, whereas the latter could only be an obstacle for both ends. This only shows that despite some common topics and archetypes, the interpretation given to them in both countries, even by the same authors, diverged greatly because the overarching idea of Chilean exceptionalism in which the nationalist discourse was based, as it will be examined in-depth in the following chapter.

A final example of the nuances and inconsistencies of the nationalist discourse was the central presence of the Catholic Church in the Chilean society. To the liberal and progressive mindset of the intellectual milieu, this constituted the most damaging Spanish legacy and the biggest obstacle to overcome in order to become a truly civilised society. It follows that Chilean exceptionalism was undermined by Catholicism prevalence, which explains, in turn, the utterly negative first impressions the Argentine émigrés had of the country at their arrival.[248] Juan Bautista Alberdi lamenting the "horrible isolation and mental abandonment [of the country] […] here, the Spanish

[245] 'Viajes por Europa, África y América', Río de Janeiro, February 1846 in: Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Mi Vida*, ed. Julio Noé, vol. I (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Colección Estrada, 1938), 115.
[246] Isabel De Sena, 'Beduinos En La Pampa: El Espejo Oriental de Sarmiento.', in *Moros En La Costa: Orientalismo En Latinoamérica.* (Madrid, Spain: Iberoamericana, 2008); 'Chapter XI: Sarmiento and Immigration' in: Joseph T. Criscenti, ed., *Sarmiento and His Argentina* (United States: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993).
[247] 'Viajes por Europa, África y América', Paris, September 1846 in: Sarmiento, *Mi Vida*, I:138.
[248] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Vicente Fidel López, Esteban Echeverría, Tomás de Iriarte and Benjamín Villafañe deemed Chile as conservative and rustic, particularly its elites described as "backward, egotistical, without intelligence and imagination". See: Blumenthal, *Exile and Nation-State Formation in Argentina and Chile, 1810-1862*, 228.

backwardness at its height",[249] blaming for this provincialism the ignorance perpetuated by the Church. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento shared this view, when travelling between Valparaiso and Santiago for the first time, he declared that the Casablanca's inhabitants - where a famous sanctuary is located – lived in misery. Instead of being a proper village, it was depicted as a pile of shacks gathered in the mud and swamp, because – Sarmiento claimed – its population was more concerned about pleasing the Virgin Mary at the Church than improving their livelihoods.[250] Both Argentine intellectuals depicted the Chilean population at their arrival as prone to laziness and indolent about their own well-being, and in a great measure, they blamed the Catholic Church for this backward mindset.

The Chilean character with its inner positive traits was used to explain the exceptional success of their state-building process and the remarkable stability of their political system in Spanish America. Still, the Spanish legacy, particularly its Catholic roots, was interpreted as a malign influence undermining these virtues. Even staunch Hispanists as Andrés Bello saw religious celebrations and traditions as bad influences on the Chilean population's well-being. For instance, he claimed that things such as these "festivities are an offence to God, to the saints, to reason going directly against everything that could be considered holy",[251] since they are just a pretext to get drunk and have all types of licentious behaviour under the sympathetic eye of the clerk. If Bello was talking about *Corpus Christi*, Sarmiento had a striking similar opinion about Christmas going as far as to advocate for the abolition of "such parochial custom" that only promoted disorder and social vices.[252] Nevertheless, by far the harshest critic of the Catholic Church and its influence in the country was Francisco Bilbao, who in his controversial essay *Sociabilidad Chilena* – banned by the Chilean Justice for its anti-clerical message in 1844 – dedicated a whole chapter about how the Catholic Religion affected the Chilean spirit. Bilbao argues that Catholicism was an "authoritarian Religion" that pursued keeping in ignorance the population rejecting any sign of freedom of thought, expression and initiative while promoting an overall rejection of any innovation. This tight control provoked what he called "misanthropic isolation" in

[249] 'En Chile' in: Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Obras Selectas. Memorias e Impresiones de Viaje.*, vol. III (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Libreria La Facultad, 1920), 339–40.
[250] 'Un viaje por Valparaíso', El Mercurio, Valparaiso, September 02nd - 07th 1841 in: Sarmiento, *Chile*, 43.
[251] 'Fiestas Perjudiciales', El Araucano, 1836 in: Bello, *Miscelánea*, XV:320–27.
[252] 'Fiesta de la Nochebuena', El Mercurio, Valparaiso, December 26th 1841 in: Sarmiento, *Chile*.

the country while obstructing the gradual transformation of the population into citizens in order to maintain them as slaves.[253]

Surprisingly, the anti-Catholic stances were widespread amongst the 1842 Generation and the Argentine intellectual diaspora, uniting authors who were on opposite sides on other issues, as it shows with Bello and Sarmiento. Nevertheless, there was some space for nuances or inconsistencies in the nationalist discourse amongst this group.[254] For instance, *Jotabeche*, accepting the prior critiques to the religious festivities, denounced the hypocrisy of the ecclesiastic authorities and the congregation when addressing Lent. Both eagerly make public displays of sorrow and penitence as a means of gaining social prestige, whereas in private, their attitude remained as sinful as ever. However, he still recognised the social role of the Church as a driving force of progress, claiming: "more powerful is the push that they [the Church] do to civilisation in one season of scarlet fever [which usually last between 3-5 days] than an entire year of all your [referring to liberal intellectuals] dramas, dailies, poetries, leaflets, and trendy orthography [manuals]."[255] Vallejo also justified the *Chaya* carnival – which signpost the start of Lent – as an identitarian celebration since it was a custom which resonates in all social classes regardless of how un-civil and chaotic it turned up being. Lastly, José V. Lastarria – who shared some of the same radicalised anti-Hispanic stance as Bilbao's – add some caveats to these overall critique against the influence on Catholicism on the development of the Chilean character, arguing that Catholicism has "energetically contributed to the awakening and giving consistency to the hospitable and philanthropic sentiments which are so characteristic in the Chilean and in addition to the respect to law and authority, so rooted in their hearts."[256] In short, the whole assessment of the Spanish legacy, particularly the influence of Catholicism and the Church in the development of the Chilean character, was a contentious issue. In general, there is no doubt about the

[253] See 'Espíritu' in: Bilbao, 'Sociabilidad chilena', 60–68.
[254] Félix Frías (1816-1881) might be considered as the most Catholic amongst the Argentine Generation of 1837. In Chile he played an active role by denouncing anti-Catholic stance of Bilbao in his *Sociabilidad Chilena.* See: Félix Frías, *El Cristianismo Católico considerado como elemento de civilización en las Repúblicas Hispano-Americanas.* (Valparaíso, Chile: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1844); Blumenthal, *Exile and Nation-State Formation in Argentina and Chile, 1810-1862*, 234–36.
[255] 'Cuaresma', April 06th 1844 in: Vallejo, *Colección de los artículos de Jotabeche. Publicados en El Mercurio de Valparaíso, en el Semanario i en el Copiapino, desde abril 1841 hasta septiembre 1847*, 200.
[256] Lastarria, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista i del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile.*, 114.

consensus in the learned public opinion about how harmful some practices and religious traditions were to society's well-being and their pursuit for progress. However, when evaluating the role played by Religion in terms of identity and moralisation, there were more diverging voices. In any case, there is a clear use of ethnocultural arguments to buttress nationhood based on race and shared history, portraying the Chileans as a community of origin and not only as a political project as the historiography usually depicts it.

Conclusion

The 1840s-1860s marked the beginning of properly nationalist discourse in Chile. During these decades, a discourse was articulated about the idea of Chilean exceptionalism in Spanish America, predicated on political grounds in complement with ethnocultural concerns arising from romantic conceptions of history, literature, customs, character and nature. This interpretation goes beyond the mainstream scholarship which recognises the idea of exceptionalism, but rooted them almost exclusively in civic elements such as the political stability, the constitutional order, the lack of major political strife and civil wars, the establishment of public institutions like the education system and the rapid economic development. To sum up, the scholarship has usually stressed a civic-liberal discourse and the state-building process in the country when analysing the articulation of a nationalist discourse at the time. In this chapter, it has been demonstrated that those aspects did play a major role. Still, those were complemented by considerations concerning the language, race or character, landscape, climate and geography. These findings open the scope of the analysis including ethnic, cultural and idiosyncratic elements to understand the thorough influence of the exceptionalism narrative in Chilean intellectual milieu.

In this process, the Argentine intellectual diaspora played a major role in supporting, disseminating and advocating the idea of Chilean exceptionalism from which the country's self-image was erected. Furthermore, without the contribution of foreign *pensadores*, the Chilean 1842 Generation and their nationalist discourse would not have been possible. Paramount was the role played by Domingo F. Sarmiento, Vicente F. López, Juan B. Alberdi, Andrés Bello and to a lesser extent, José M. Gutiérrez and Félix Frías since they were amongst the first to depict Chile as a unique case and a role model for the rest of the continent. This provides an invaluable transnational element to the articulation of nationalist discourse, an aspect that the

historiography has often neglected since nationalism is usually interpreted as an inward-looking phenomenon with xenophobic hues. Thus, dismissing any contribution made by foreigners in the creation of a narrative regarding their own self-image, whereas here, foreigners were at its core, becoming at least co-founders of the nationalist discourse.

Another crucial aspect of this nationalist discourse is its theoretical looseness. Although the influence of liberalism and its narrative of progress and civilisation had a crucial sway on the studied intellectuals, be it expressing their support or their apprehensions, it was Romanticism that influenced them to a greater degree. Romanticism worked more as a source of inspiration than as a proper theoretical framework. More than followers or disciples of this cultural movement – one that even their stauncher admirers declared dead by 1840s - what is found in Chile was people with romantic attitudes, mindset and beliefs, which adds a layer of undefinition or eclecticism to the intellectual milieu. Surpassing the mainstream interpretation of reducing Romanticism's influence on aesthetic and style, this group of thinkers were romantic in their main tenets because they attempted to nationalise every foreign cultural influence arriving at the country, adapting those to the national context.

This is the quintessential romantic thought since behind this aim was the conviction than universal principles ought to be subordinated to the local and/or national context. The particularities in terms of time, space, people, nature, customs and social practices shaped and changed the applicability, qualities and validity of general and universal truths. Besides, to contribute to this romantic mindset, these intellectuals sought to unveil the traits, features, and characteristics of Chile and its inhabitants to eventually use this newly acquired understanding as criteria for the adaptation of any foreign cultural trend or political theory. More than anything, their efforts were driven to create a national culture in broad terms, particularly a distinctive and representative literature. This was used for two main reasons: firstly, to highlight the cultural development attained, positioning the country on equal terms with the civilised world; secondly, to foster an idea of Chileaness amongst the general population and its intellectual and political elites.

This double romantic mindset united the intellectual milieu of the 1840s-60s. On the one hand, they aimed to nationalise universal principles by subordinating them

to local contexts; on the other, they created national literature based on their understanding of what elements made Chile and their inhabitants unique and distinctive. This shared concern gathered intellectuals regardless of their many quarrels and political divisions since stylistic choices – particularly language – historiographical schools and national origins did not hinder their commonalities.

A final thought is about how long-lasting and resilient this Chilean exceptionalism has proved to be. The interweaving of ethnocultural and civic elements permeated the nationalist discourse even after the 1860s when most of the intellectuals studied were gone in one way or another. By then, most of the Argentine intellectual diaspora returned to their country after Rosas' overthrown in 1852, Andrés Bello passed away in 1865, and a new cohort of intellectuals led by Alberto Blest Gana and Zorobabel Rodríguez emerged in what later would be known as the 1867 generation. Furthermore, during this crucial time, some of the foundations of a modern racialised nationalist discourse were established, which worked as a prelude to the nationalist discourse inaugurated by the Centenary Generation during the early twentieth century. The commonalities in terms of how to depict the Chilean character, the overwhelmingly virile and warrior-like spirit of the commoner or *roto*, the positive clout made by nature to temper Chilean political passions and to shape the country's customs and social practices, even the main ideas behind the language debate amongst many other topics, were all echoed half a century later. These findings thus challenge the common notions of positioning both intellectual generations as antagonists. On the contrary, in terms of how they understood and disseminated Chilean exceptionalism, the continuities between both are striking and suggest the presence of a long-lasting nationalist tradition in the Chilean intellectual history.

Chapter 2: Cosmopolitanism and its limits: European immigrants, Araucanians and Spanish Americans, 1842-1868.

As seen in the previous chapter, a nationalist discourse began in the decades from the 1840s to the 1860s based on the intertwining of civic and ethnocultural elements to reinforce a sense of Chilean exceptionalism. Articulated by a diverse group of *pensadores* - including some of the 1842 generation as well as influential foreign intellectuals such as Andrés Bello and members of the Argentine diaspora - this nationalist discourse was constructed around a romantic core oriented towards attaining cultural autonomy by the creation of national literature and the adaptation of foreign influences to their idea of the country's character. On a political level, this adaptation processes led towards a constitutional regime that guaranteed relatively high levels of order and stability. More importantly, the newly 'discovered' characteristics of the Chilean landscape, climate and history were used extensively as foundations from which to build their claims of exceptionality based on an ethnocultural depiction of Chile as a racially homogeneous nation with non-tropical natural conditions that made the country particularly suitable for civilisation.

Complementing those findings, the present chapter aims to analyse the latent tensions between two cultural and ideological trends that coexisted amongst the intellectuals of this period, namely, their dominant 'liberal consciousness with their underlying romantic aims. The focus is to examine how these intellectuals attempted to reconcile the Enlightenment universalistic and cosmopolitan principles with the particularistic and exclusive perspective of their romantic ideals. Particularly, how Chilean nationalists dealt with the challenge of addressing three groups of people coming from outside of what was considered to be the national community's heartland (inhabitants from La Serena to Concepción):[257] namely, the Araucanian peoples who lived autonomously south of the Biobio river, the newly arriving European immigrants and other Spanish Americans. It is crucial to elucidate whether they maintained a

[257] The first cities founded in Chile during the sixteenth century were Santiago (1541), La Serena (1543) and Concepción (1550). Throughout colonial times, the three biggest cities were the aforementioned cities with roughly 30,000 people in the capital and the other two around 5,000 each. By the end of this period, and according to the 1865 census, out of the total population of 1,819,000 more than 1,548,000 lived between these provinces representing more than 85% of the total population. See: Collier and Sater, *Historia de Chile 1808-1994*, 30; *Censo Jeneral de la República de Chile levantado el 19 de abril de 1865.* (Santiago, Chile.: Imprenta Nacional, 1866), 392.

coherent discourse or, conversely, they favoured their political agenda at the expense of internal consistency.

The scholarship on the above-mentioned themes is extensive. Still, they have been treated mainly as separate fields with few interconnections between them, overlooking how each of these themes relates to the major problem of creating a sense of nationhood. The emphasis on the institutional and political dimensions of the indigenous question, European immigration and Spanish American continentalism remains prevalent over the question of how they all contributed to Chilean exceptionalism from a civic and ethnocultural perspective. For instance, regarding European immigration scholars have focussed on the legislative and political challenges the Europeans' arrival brought to the country.[258] Similarly, the scholars interested in continentalism have centred their analysis on its contentious partisan motives, the ideological undertones and the geopolitical dimensions of the various supranational projects and Congresses as a strategy to secure the sovereignty of Spanish American Republics from imperialist foreign aggression.[259] Neither the challenges that these projects posed for the articulation of nationalist discourse nor the relationship between these two forms of identification have been addressed thoroughly.

The historiography on the Mapuche people and their integration during the Republic is extensive and ever-increasing in its depth. Amongst the most notable works, some have focussed on the "indianesque" narrative used to legitimise the emancipation process during the early days of the Republic, portraying the indigenous people as a warrior-figure who ardently fought for their independence since colonial times.[260] Others have addressed the state-formation process on the frontier by studying the scientific explorations entering the Araucania region to survey the area

[258] María Daniela Lara Escalona, 'Evolución de la Legislación Migratoria en Chile. Claves para una lectura (1824-2013)', *Revista de Historia del Derecho*, no. 47 (June 2014): 59–104; Carlos Durán and Luis Eduardo Thayer, 'Los migrantes frente a la ley: continuidades y rupturas en la Legislación Migratoria del Estado Chileno (1824-1975)', *Historia 396* 7, no. 2 (December 2017): 429–61.
[259] Ricardo López, ed., *La Patria común. Pensamiento Americanista en el siglo XIX.* (Santiago, Chile.: LOM, 2013); See 'Chapter IV: The Euro-American World' Marcello Carmagnani, *The Other West. Latin America from Invasion to Globalization.* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, United States: University of California Press, 2011), 136–91.
[260] Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native. Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930.* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007); Silva, *Identidad y Nación entre dos siglos. Patria Vieja, Centenario y Bicentenario.*

as a prelude for colonisation.[261] The ideological debates and controversies regarding the different strategies of 'pacification', particularly how the indigenous people were gradually marginalised by transforming them into an icon of barbarism, is a field that has attracted wide attention amongst scholars.[262] Joanna Crow has profoundly studied the depictions of the Mapuche in Chilean historiography and the indigenous people's agency in the process of integration into the Chilean state and nationhood.[263] However, the historiography has not paid much attention to connecting these issues with the wider problem of articulating Chilean exceptionalism and the role the figure of the Araucanian played in it. A more thorough perspective would contribute to a better understanding of the nationalist phenomena, particularly considering that intellectuals had to address in parallel the challenge of integrating European colonists.

This chapter is framed within the overall discussion of liberalism and romanticism, with their inner tendencies towards universalism and particularism that strained nineteenth-century nationalism. Usually, cosmopolitanism is presented in opposition to any form of nationalism or populist nativism.[264] This idea comes from Ancient Greece, when Diogenes the Cynic coined the concept as a way of renouncing his affiliation to any *polis* since his loyalties were bound to ideas and principles, hence, identifying himself as a "citizen of the world".[265] During modern times, particularly after the French Revolution, the label of being a "cosmopolitan" acquired positive connotations since it evoked sophistication and superior education, usually attributed to members of the urban elite who thought of themselves as progressive and civilised

[261] Mizón, *Claudio Gay y la formación de la identidad cultural chilena.*; Julio Pinto, 'Ignacio Domeyko. Viaje a la Araucanía en el año 1845 y otros documentos sobre la frontera.', in *Araucanía y sus habitantes.*, Biblioteca Fundamentos de la Construcción de Chile (Santiago, Chile.: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile & DIBAM, 2010), ix–lviii.

[262] Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche: siglo XIX y XX*; See 'Araucanía indomable' in: Collier, *La Construcción de una República 1830-1865. Política e Ideas.*; See 'Ocupación de la Araucanía' in: Subercaseaux, *Historia de Las Ideas y La Cultura En Chile*; Fabien Le Bonniec, 'Del paisaje al territorio: de los imaginarios sociales a la lucha mapuche en el sur de Chile (siglos XIX-XXI)', in *Una geografía imaginada. Diez ensayos sobre arte y naturaleza.* (Santiago, Chile.: Ediciones Metales Pesados, 2014), 61–81; Mallon, 'Decoding the Parchments of the Latin American Nation-States: Peru, Mexico and Chile in Comparative Perspective.'

[263] Joanna Crow, 'Rethinking National Identities : Representations of the Mapuche and Dominant Discourses of Nationhood in Twentieth-Century Chile.' (History, PhD, University College London, 2006); Joanna Crow, 'Debates about Ethnicity, Class, and Nation in Allende's Chile (1970-1973)', *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 26, no. 3 (2007): 319–38; Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History.*

[264] See Chapter 33: Populism and Cosmopolitanism in: Paulina Ochoa et al., eds., *Oxford Handbook on Populism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[265] Pauline Kleingeld and Eric Brown, 'Cosmopolitanism', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Winter 2019, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2019/entries/cosmopolitanism.

in opposition to the uneducated countryside people with their traditional/backward customs. Finally, cosmopolitanism has been defined as an attitude, particularly of those who have a revolutionary spirit and attempt to use extensively their international networks to instil liberal values overseas. All the above-mentioned characteristics were present and widely spread amongst the Spanish American intellectuals of the nineteenth century. For instance, as seen with Vicente Fidel López, it seems sometimes they rather feel identified with a worldwide "Republic of Letters" [*República Literaria*] than to any national context.[266] The intellectuals' pledge of universalistic political principles made them advocate for ambitious reforms both at home and abroad since, as Sarmiento argued, "ideas have no country".[267] The clearest sign of intellectuals' cosmopolitanism was the persistent migrant life-experience, suffering exile in several countries due to their revolutionary pursuits and their "messianic attitude". Similarly, the dense transnational intellectual networks created by them should be framed in this cosmopolitanism.[268] Even their self-identification as beacons of progress and civilisation with a mission to expand those principles into their own countries were all cosmopolitan elements present in the Generations of 1837 in Argentina and of 1842 in Chile.

Nevertheless, cosmopolitanism and nationalism do not necessarily have to be antagonistic. Both trends can coexist and even reinforce each other. Kant granted solid philosophical foundations to cosmopolitanism, which soon led to creating political, ethical and international variants based on his enlightened and rationalist principles.[269] According to Dina Gusejnova and James Ingram, these principles were susceptible to ideological modification and were sensitive to varied historical contexts.[270] As a malleable concept, cosmopolitanism's internationalist or universalist

[266] López, 'Clasicismo y Romanticismo'.
[267] Sarmiento, *Recuerdos de Provincia*, 1960, 213.
[268] Bernardo Subercaseaux, *Historia de Las Ideas y La Cultura En Chile*, vol. I: 1810-1900. Sociedad y cultura liberal en el siglo XIX. José Victorino Lastarria. (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 2011), 63
[269] Kant basic moral principle was that "all rational beings are members of a single moral community", hence, they all share the characteristics of freedom, equality and independence, elements that should be protected by common human law. The implications of this moral principle were varied. Politically, it supported the spread of political and civil rights in each state. Morally, it advocated the "equality of rank" of all humans preluding the abolition of slavery and favouring the elimination of distinctions based on titles or linages. Internationally, it championed the creation of a League of Nations organised internally as Republics and protecting foreigners and nationals alike, respecting the equality of each state as a path towards peace. See: Kleingeld and Brown, 'Cosmopolitanism'.
[270] Dina Gusejnova, ed., *Cosmopolitanism in Conflict: Imperial Encounters from the Seven Years' War to the Cold War* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 14. Ingram particularly stresses how cosmopolitanism

aims might adopt different specifications to promote cultural, political and ethical principles. Amongst them, one of the most widespread, particularly from the 19th century onwards, has been anti-colonial and anti-imperialist cosmopolitan movements seeking not only independence but also promoting the formation of different “pan-movements” or the creation of a “League of Nations". Furthermore, Craig Calhoun has argued that nationalism has been internationalist and even universalist in its efforts to pursue independence, self-determination and even democracy for each nation across the globe.[271]

Spanish America, and particularly the Chilean case, constitutes a primary example of all the above-mentioned trends. Despite being cosmopolitan in their attitudes and mindset, the Chilean intellectual milieu was also nationalist to the core, pursuing political emancipation and cultural self-determination while linking their national case to broader ‘pan-continental’ struggles. It follows that pledges of loyalty to Chile should not be considered exclusive or an obstacle to developing supranational or regional forms of identification. What united the Spanish American continent was its Republicanism, its shared colonial past, and a commitment to attaining higher levels of civilisation and progress understood as developing a community organised on liberal principles and enjoying the material benefits granted by modernity. Skilfully relying on these elements, Chilean intellectuals attempted to create a nationalist discourse open enough to include members from completely different ethnocultural backgrounds while keeping a solid ethnocultural foundation to foster the Chilean nation-building process.

1. **Immigration and the quest to foster Chilean civilisation through the incorporation of European colonists.**

One of the challenges for the nationalist discourse was how foreigners could fit into it, particularly European immigrants who did not share most of the ethnocultural elements deemed essential for Chilean nationhood, such as language, ethnicity, customs, and - to some - religion. A long-lasting debate emerged during the 1840s to decide whether foreigners were needed or not in the country and, if so, for what

could degrade into varies forms of “ideologies of domination” since it has been used by Communism, Imperialism and Capitalist globalisation to justify their universalistic aims. See: James Ingram, *Radical Cosmopolitics: The Ethics and Politics of Democratic Universalism*, The New Direction in Critical Thinking (Columbia University Press, 2013), 14.

[271] Calhoun, *Nations Matters. Culture, History and the Cosmopolitan Dream.*, 146.

purpose. Another relevant issue was how to integrate these newcomers: existing alternatives varied from emphasising their juridical conditions as colonists protected by Chilean sovereignty to seeing them as citizens on equal terms with native-born inhabitants, or to reifying them as ideal members of the Chilean nation, with customs and mindsets to which the rest of the country should aspire. Regardless of the chosen option, some intellectuals understood that by stressing different ethnocultural or civic elements, the resulting depiction of nationhood would change, which, in turn, could undermine the alleged exceptionalism that they were trying to articulate in the first place. What follows is an analysis of this effort, exploring how pragmatic reasonings were combined with political principles, ideological motives and even racialist criteria to foster the nationalist exceptional discourse with European immigrants' incorporation into the nationhood. In tandem, both 1842 Generation intellectuals and the Argentine émigrés argued that Chile was the sole country in Spanish America suitable for becoming civilised.

There is consensus amongst scholars in characterising this period as overwhelmingly favourable towards the arrival of a large influx of European immigrants. Nevertheless, the attitudes of intellectuals, politicians and the press were more nuanced, at least during the decades between the 1840s to 1860s. Some ethnocultural elements were employed to justify these newcomers' desirability by favouring ethnic groups and faiths, particularly white European Catholics, over others considered unfit or not advanced enough to promote their arrival to the country. For others, a growing mistrust over these foreigners' alleged virtues was raised due to the difficulties of their integration, questioning their loyalty and overall convenience of having large groups of immigrants settling in regions scarcely populated by natural-born Chileans. This led some authors, such as José Victorino Lastarria and Francisco Bilbao, to denounce colonisation policy as an endeavour oriented towards the benefits of foreigners at the expense of Chilean progress and national interest.

Amongst most intellectuals who were in favour of bringing European immigrants to Chile, one can find mainly two lines of arguments to justify this cosmopolitan policy. Some focussed on pragmatic reasonings which varied from economic to geopolitical aspects, while others advocated in favour of Europeans presenting them as bearers of civilisation, although most of the time both arguments were intertwined. Commencing with the pragmatic reasonings, many Chilean public officials, statesmen

and intellectuals saw three major obstacles to the economic development of the country, namely, its scarce population, the excess of vacant land that remained unexploited due to the lack of infrastructure, and the shortage of technical skills amongst the Chilean population to make good use of the available land, problems, they argued that could all be solved through immigration. As early as 1824 there was legislation put in place favouring the arrival of European immigrants, orientated mostly towards the introduction of a skilled workforce who could industrialise the country, although by 1838, with the creation of the National Society of Agriculture, more emphasis was granted to the potential benefits for agriculture of the arrival of a large number of experienced farmers to the country.[272] The economic arguments were the main motivation behind the 1845 Law of Colonisation since, as expressed in the inaugural session of this debate at the Parliament, "foreign immigration has decisively contributed to the United States' rapid expansion and prodigious prosperity".[273] This rationale was explicit in the bill, stating that only those foreigners willing to settle permanently in the country and able to "exercise useful industry" would be granted the benefits established in the law.[274]

As one can see, the 1845 Law was not the starting point of the colonisation debate, as Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna suggested,[275] because the discussion had been developing several years before, reaching even Europe via an article Andrés Bello published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1839. In it, Bello not only recognised the advances brought by English settlers to the Falklands and Patagonia but also invited them to populate Chile's southern lands, arguing that they would make a good impact on the mining and livestock industry.[276] One must highlight that Bello, in some respects a conservative who held Catholicism and Hispanism in high regard as the backbones of Spanish American societies, seems to have had no hesitation about inviting people from other cultural, ethnic and even religious backgrounds to the country if they would contribute to the economic development of these isolated regions. Juan Bautista

[272] María Daniela Lara Escalona, 'Evolución de la Legislación Migratoria en Chile. Claves para una lectura (1824-2013)', *Revista de Historia del Derecho*, no. 47 (June 2014): 59–104
[273] The *Ley de Inmigración y Colonizacion Act,* Deputy Chamber, Sesion 17, July 17th 1844, p. 170.
[274] Art. 1, 'Colonias de Naturales i Estranjeros.' (1845).
[275] Lara Escalona, 'Evolución de la Legislación Migratoria en Chile. Claves para una lectura (1824-2013)', 64.
[276] See: 'Narrativa de los viajes. De los buques de Guerra de su Majestad Británica "Adventure" i "Beagle". Por los capitanes King i Fitzroi, de la Marina Real Británica, i por Carlos Darwin, Escudero, Naturalista del "Beagle", Londres, 1839' in: Bello, *Miscelánea*.

Alberdi shared this opinion, becoming one of the most enthusiastic supporters of immigration in Chile during the second half of the 1840s, in works that were a prelude for his well-known essay about the future Argentine Constitution (1852) when he coined his famous motto "In America to govern is to populate",[277] an aim that rapidly resonated in the Chilean press.[278] Chile was not only a "desert" - as he notoriously qualified Argentina due to its low population density – but the material and educational poverty of the Chilean was so acute that Alberdi declared that it seemed its population were "born solely to die, […] passing rapidly and in mass from the cradle to the grave".[279] Alberdi was justifying his predisposition towards the arrival of large numbers of immigrants due to the spiritual and material deprivations of these "lazy and unfit" *rotos,* and under such conditions, any effort for their betterment via education would have to be a long-lasting endeavour and one that had no guarantees of being successful.[280] Alberdi even used racial considerations to justify his preference for Europeans over locals: when addressing how to colonise Chile's southlands he claimed that Latin races were unable to populate latitudes below 40 degrees south. Similarly, to Bello, he claimed that Patagonia – the most beautiful land in the Western Hemisphere – should be colonised by Germanic races fit for those harsh landscapes and weather.[281]

Besides, according to these intellectuals, Chile presented itself as the most suitable country in Spanish America to receive a large number of European colonists, as an alternative to the United States as a place of destiny. The commonalities in terms of natural conditions, landscape and weather between the regions south of the Biobio river and northern Europe were constantly stressed by Chilean public officials and the press, as it also happened with the ethnocultural criteria favouring Europeans over local colonists. The press also stressed Chile's stability, political peacefulness and tolerance compared to the rest of Spanish America, attributes recognised even abroad

[277] Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina.*, First published in 1852, Colección Pensamiento del Bicentenario (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Biblioteca del Congreso de la Nación, 2017), 199.
[278] Although *Las Bases* was published as a series of articles in *El Mercurio*, the editorial also praised the essay using it as argument to advocate for an open and liberal policy towards immigration, particularly in benefit of the agriculture. See: El Mercurio, 'Lo Que Falta a La Agricultura', *El Mercurio*, 11 December 1852; El Mercurio, 'La Inmigración y El Gobierno.', *El Mercurio*, 16 December 1852.
[279] See 'Población y Pobreza, El Comercio de Valparaíso, December 10th 1847' in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 123.
[280] See 'Población y Pobreza', El Comercio de Valparaíso, December 10th 1847' in: Barros, 124.
[281] See 'En el Atlántico hacia Chile' in: Alberdi, *Obras Selectas. Memorias e Impresiones de Viaje.*, III:303–4.

by figures of the prestige of Alexander Von Humboldt.[282] During his European voyages to observe the pedagogical practices of the Old World, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento took the opportunity to promote Chile as a welcoming place of destiny for colonists. Stressing Chilean political exceptionalism, Sarmiento planned the arrival of more than 60,000 Germans.[283] However, he warned that those numbers would dwindle without legislation to guarantee religious tolerance for non-Catholics.[284] According to Sarmiento, German authorities celebrated Chile for its political stability and the "common sense [*cordura*] of its administration that has saved the country from the horrors faced by other Spanish American countries".[285] On the other hand, Manuel Bulnes – Chilean president between 1841-1851 - fostered the colonisation based on the economic needs of the country, the exceptional opportunities that Chile provided in the region and the racial predilection for Europeans over locals, using Valdivia as an example of the progress made by the Germans due to their "robust race, industriousness, morality, and education based on the Catholic faith".[286]

The geopolitical and security considerations of the colonisation endeavour are additional pragmatic arguments used by this generation of *pensadores*. This was a concern particularly of Juan Bautista Alberdi, who adopted a cautious attitude towards the United States after the war against Mexico in 1848. Alberdi's arguments were twofold. Firstly, the arrival of large numbers of European immigrants would deter the Americans from intervening in regional affairs due to the implications for relations with the European powers. Therefore, the absence of colonists was Mexico's major weakness.[287] Secondly, the best alternative to achieve rapid development of critical

[282] Bernardo and Rodolfo Philippi – both German naturists and explorers – since 1841 were surveying and planning the colonisation of Llanquihue region by German colonists, who were chosen due to their alleged traits as industrious and respectful people towards authority. These expeditions were promoted in Europe depicting Chile as a progressive, secure, and stable country. Traits acknowledged even by Alexander Von Humboldt, who praised "the wisdom with which that beautiful country has been governed, has made possible the achievement of agricultural and industrial progress that in vain have been searched for in other parts of what was before Spanish America", hence, advocating for German colonisation of the region. See Chapter 5: 'The Prussian Connection' in: Shell, *The Sociable Sciences. Darwin and His Contemporaries in Chile*. P. 145

[283] See '25 de Junio de 1846, Domingo F. Sarmiento a Señor Don Manuel Montt' in: Vergara, *Manuel Montt y Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: Epistolario 1833-1888*. Just to have as a point of reference of how ambitious this plan was, by 1857 there were only 2,754 Germans settled in the country, and by 1875 only 4,679 according to the Censuses.

[284] See: '12 de Septiembre de 1846' in: Vergara, 71.

[285] '15 de Julio de 1847' in: Vergara, 80.

[286] Manuel Bulnes, 'Esposición que el Jeneral don Manuel Bulnes dirije a la nación chilena.', *El Mercurio*, 24 September 1851.

[287] See 'La América del Sud, amenazada por la América del Norte', El Comercio de Valparaíso, January 04th 1848 Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 139.

industrial infrastructure to sustain any war effort was via "changing the social-body [*el cuerpo*]" of Spanish American countries through a process of racial improvement and massive transplantation of European peoples.[288] It follows that education was not a viable option since it took too long to have any real economic impact,[289] which, in turn, left these countries vulnerable to foreign intervention. Alberdi's interpretation suggests that the only way to secure independence was through immigration since foreign powers only recognised sovereignty once a country becomes civilised. Paradoxically, allowing the entrance of large numbers of Europeans to populate the country was the quickest and safest way to avoid foreign intervention in domestic affairs.

Maybe the most consistent analysis favouring immigration during the 1840s was made by Marcial González (1819-1887) in the *Revista de Santiago*.[290] His premise was that "European immigration has been a providential act and a requirement for humanity to attain progress",[291] from which he built his argument based on three main points: the exceptional conditions of Chile, the motivations of the migrants and the improvements brought by them. First, González echoed the narrative of Chile as a safe haven for immigrants because of its exceptional political conditions, stressing, in turn, how peaceful in comparison it was with the rest of the region "purged by war, struggling with anarchy or dealing with revolts".[292] Nevertheless, Chile needed further improvements in two things to foster immigration, namely easing the nationalisation process by lowering its requirements, such as reducing the years of residence to five, equating it with the US,[293] and funding the travel of colonists and

[288] See: 'Más sobre inmigración', El Comercio de Valparaíso, June 15th 1849 Barros, 402; 'Inmigración Europea', El Comercio de Valparaíso, August 01st 1848 Barros, 322.
[289] After all - according to Alberdi - it would take 100 years to make an English worker from a Chilean *roto*, and 200 years to do the same process with an Araucanian. See: 'Nuestro credo en la cuestión de extranjeros', El Comercio de Valparaíso, April 04th 1849 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 393; 'Inferioridad Social de la América del Sud respecto de la del Norte', El Comercio de Valparaíso, February 1st 1848 in: Barros, 176–77.
[290] Lawyer, Deputy during the years 1849-1852, 1864-1873 and Senator in the years 1885 until he died in 1887 for the Liberal Party. He was also an academic of the Faculty of Humanities of the Universidad de Chile.
[291] Marcial González, 'La Emigración Europea en sus relaciones con el engrandecimiento de los países de América.', *Revista de Santiago*, no. 1 (April 1848): 300.
[292] González, 320.
[293] According to the 1833 Constitution, to become a Chilean-national, foreigners needed to have a certified trade or degree, real estate or certified income, and 10 years of residence in the country. For married couples with family, these years were lowered to 6, and in case they were married to a Chilean woman to just 3 years. These were severely reduced in 1874 eliminating the requirements in terms of trade, patrimony and only demanding 1 year of residence for any case. See 'Chapter IV: De los chilenos', Article 3 in: 'Constitución Política de la República de Chile.' (1833).

their families from Europe.[294] The remaining points were civilising arguments. González claimed that modern immigrants were not conquerors but peacemakers and contributors to the industrial and economic development of their societies of destiny. Furthermore, these colonists were meant to instruct and educate the native population while providing advances in the cultural, political and economic fields. Lastly, colonists presented an opportunity to "improve our race by mixing it with theirs".[295] An underlying racialised discourse was clear. The European was deemed to be inherently civilised, unlike their Chilean counterpart; a distinction based not only on their education and general enlightenment but also on a natural predisposition towards work, reason, and morality. These traits, not all races enjoyed in equal measure; hence, one way of civilising Chile was through its racial improvement by attracting large-scale European immigration.

Interestingly, based on González, this would not undermine the nationalist project since the massive arrival of Europeans would buttress one of the ethnocultural traits that made Chile exceptional in Spanish America, namely, its homogeneity based on its Europeanness. According to this line of thought, If Chile was constituted by pure Spanish descendants, by the 1840s, one would have to add the contribution made by English, French and Germans. Still, these combinations would keep Chile as part of the "civilised America [which] is nothing other than Europe transplanted into this continent".[296] The combination of racial homogeneity based on the mixture of diverse European elements while dismissing the contribution of indigenous people and African descendants complemented the narrative of political exceptionality; an alluring discourse with a long lifespan, as Francisco Solano Astaburuaga (1817-1892) – liberal deputy and public official with vast experience in the Ministry of Foreign affairs - shows by depicting the country in the same manner in his *Geographic Dictionary of the Republic of Chile* two decades later.[297] Republicanism and Europeanness were the two pillars upon which the edifice of Chilean civilisation stood, from which it follows

[294] According to the 1845 legislation, the cost of transportation was funded by the Government, but within the country towards the final place of settlement (Article 3). The need to cover all travel expenses was demanded also by Juan Bautista Alberdi in *El Comercio de Valparaíso*. See 'Ley de Inmigración', El Comercio de Valparaíso, June 14th 1849 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*.
[295] González, 'La Emigración Europea en sus relaciones con el engrandecimiento de los países de América.', 309.
[296] González, 304–5.
[297] Francisco Solano Astaburuaga, *Diccionario Jeográfico de la República de Chile* (New York, United States: D. Appleton, 1867), 109–10.

that the arrival of immigrants was no threat, just the opposite: it was an opportunity to foster both crucial elements.

This unapologetic support for immigration and predilection for Europeans over Chilean nationals enjoyed great clout in the political, press and intellectual spheres, but it was controversial. Regardless of the overall support for immigration, there was a sense of mistrust against immigrants based on two main concerns. First, the suitability of these newcomers was doubted, and more importantly, some voices expressed apprehensions about colonists' loyalty to the Chilean state and their willingness to be integrated as equal members into this welcoming nation. Some unfortunate events fuelled these doubts about the good intentions of the foreigners and their sense of reciprocity towards Chilean nationals. Particularly important was the experience faced by Chilean migrants in California during the second half of the 1840s and early 1850s. Vicente Pérez Rosales,[298] after spending two years as an immigrant in that former Mexican province, changed his attitude from being an enthusiast proud of how thousands of his fellow-countrymen went to build the railways and mine the gold deposits of that harsh region, to manifest a growing sense of discontent and perplexity over the injustices, discriminations, and abuses that Chileans endured in those lands.[299] These problems peaked in August and September of 1849 when *El Comercio de Valparaíso* started a campaign to bring back dozens of trapped workers who were ill and unemployed without receiving aid from local authorities.[300] A couple of years after, *El Mercurio* denounced the large scale emigration towards California was "draining the country" of its workers and peasants, a problem that hit Valparaiso hard since it was in dire need of a workforce to sustain its rapid growth.[301]

[298] Vicente Pérez Rosales (1807-1886). Businessman, diplomat and writer. After spending most of his youth in Argentina, Brazil and France, he travels to California in 1848-1849, seeking fortune in the mining industry. After his return to Chile, he was appointed in 1850 as Agente de Colonización to guide the colonisation of the Southlands by European immigrants. Deputy for the National party between 1861-1864 and Senator between 1876-1882.

[299] See Pérez Rosales, *Diario de un viaje a California 1848-1849*.

[300] The excess of immigrants, the dire working conditions and the lower than expected wages became a problem for the Chilean migrants, a situation worsened by conflicts and fights between different immigrant communities. Due to the great number of stranded Chileans, and the government inability to send a ship for them, this became an international problem where the "dignity of the country" was at stake. See: 'California', *El Comercio de Valparaíso*, 17 August 1849; 'Alta California', *El Comercio de Valparaíso*, 23 August 1849; 'Los chilenos en California', *El Comercio de Valparaíso*, 8 September 1849.

[301] 'Crónica Local', *El Mercurio*, 16 December 1851; 'Emigrados chilenos a California'.

These events undermined confidence in the benefits of immigration. Based on the aforementioned testimonies and articles written by *El Comercio* and *El Mercurio*, it seems that some members of the political and cultural elite grew tired of the asymmetrical relationship of the immigration phenomenon. Valparaíso's press raised an implicit concern: if Chilean migrants were not treated with respect by other powers, which left them stranded without any help or support, why should the Chilean government treat the immigrants from these countries differently? Where was the reciprocity based on equality between sovereign nations? Or conversely, maybe this was evidence that these liberal or cosmopolitan policies were always to the benefit of the strongest geopolitical power. In any case, these events were used by journalists, politicians and intellectuals to ask for more protectionist and restrictive policies in terms of immigration, seeking to guarantee Chilean interests, the cohesion of its society and the safety of its countrymen.

One of the first intellectuals promoting a more balanced approach towards colonisation was Ignacio Domeyko.[302] After his voyages through the Araucania region in early 1845, he claimed that army veterans would be better colonists than Europeans because of their prior experience with indigenous affairs.[303] Moreover, Domeyko openly favoured German Catholics as colonists to Llanquihue region because of their supposed traits as industrious, sober and moral people. Yet, he contended they should be coming only in small numbers – proposing 200 families – to function as educators and monitors for future Chilean settlers.[304] The Parliamentary debate over 1845 Colonisation bill addressed the contentious role of Chilean-born colonists in this enterprise. Some Congressmen denounced the Government's original project allegedly designed to benefit foreigners at the expense of nationals. Therefore, fellow Chileans were not considered as potential beneficiaries.[305] The conservative deputy Ramón Yrarrázaval (1809-1859) took the lead in warning about the international problems that sudden attacks by indigenous people could cause if European settlers

[302] Ignacio Domeyko (1802-1889). Polish geologist and naturist who arrived to Chile in 1838. Teacher at Liceo de Coquimbo, Instituto Nacional and Universidad de Chile. He was appointed as the second Director of Universidad de Chile in 1867 after the death of Andrés Bello.
[303] Ignacio Domeyko, *Araucanía y sus habitantes*, 1st in 1845, Biblioteca Fundamentos de la Construcción de Chile (Santiago, Chile.: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile & DIBAM, 2010), 67.
[304] Domeyko, 69.
[305] The Senators Mariano Egaña and Juan Meneses included Chilean naturals as colonists. They also demanded that foreigners were willing to adopt Chilean nationality as a requirement to receive the benefits granted by this policy. See The *Ley de Inmigración y Colonizacion Act,* Senator Chamber, Extraordinary Sesions 12 & 13, November 11th and December 14th 1844.

populated those areas.[306] Adding the possibility that these colonists were used as a vanguard for further imperialistic interventions, particularly if foreigners were to be settled in sparsely populated regions becoming a local majority.[307]

These concerns were also raised by the press, particularly the difficulties that the first waves of immigrants had when integrating into Chilean society and culture. Some blamed the "Spanish American vice of self-sufficiency",[308] understood as the pride or arrogance that dismissed any contribution of others, which translated into a local unwillingness to open up to other races, faiths and cultures. In their worse version, this led to xenophobic attacks against the newcomers, as happened periodically in Valparaíso until the 1860s.[309] Contrariwise, others criticised the immigrants and their isolationist tendencies. It was reported that Europeans tended to gather in hermetic communities with little or no contact with Chileans, showing, in turn, contempt towards everything local, as allegedly happened with the failed attempt to colonise Chiloé by Germans.[310] Regardless of who was to blame, the main problem remained: how to integrate peoples with different ethnocultural backgrounds. It follows that these new arrivals could undermine an idea of Chilean nationhood based on homogeneity and cohesiveness. This protectionist group's response revolved around political and ethnocultural reasonings, namely: establishing criteria for the colonists' suitability (favouring Catholics);[311] mandatory naturalisation making citizens out of foreign colonists;[312] creating specific political institutions and authorities suitable for newcomers' alien to the traditional Chilean bureaucracy.[313]

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[306] The *Ley de Inmigración y Colonizacion Act,* Deputy Chamber, Sesion 21, July 31st 1844, pp 208-9.
[307] The *Ley de Inmigración y Colonizacion Act,* Deputy Chamber, Sesion 22, August 03rd 1844, p. 225
[308] 'Los estranjeros en Chile', *El Comercio de Valparaíso*, 28 December 1848.
[309] Collier, *La Construcción de una República 1830-1865. Política e Ideas.*, 231–32.
[310] 'Crónica Local', *El Mercurio*, 2 December 1852; 'Chiloé y Los Alemanes.', *El Mercurio*, 17 December 1852.
[311] Although by law it was never a requirement to be Catholic, based on Domeyko's suggestion amongst other conservatives, it was an instruction given by the Executive to Bernardo Philippi and other commissioned officials that went to Europe to promote immigration. Nevertheless, due to the difficulties of finding Catholics, by 1853 the *Revista Católica* was already lamenting the great number of Protestant arriving into the country, and the lack of political will to stop this trend. Collier, *La Construcción de una República 1830-1865. Política e Ideas.*, 164.
[312] Although it was established in 1845 Colonisation Law that every colonist becomes Chilean once taking possession of the land granted by the state (Article 5) it was difficult to enforce this policy. By 1856, a new Bill of Naturalisation was enacted, making naturalisation optional for foreign colonists settling in the country (Art. 1). The only requirement needed was to manifest formally the will to become Chilean.
[313] Llanquihue was designated as a colonisation territory, and therefore, it depended on the Courts of Concepción, and locally, it had only an Intendent, Secretary and 2 helpers. This simplification of the institutionalisation was needed since the German colonists "…still don't have knowledge of the country's

On the opposite side, Francisco Bilbao and José Victorino Lastarria led the voices against the arrival of masses of European settlers. Lastarria was the first to stand against the mainstream consensus of opening the borders without reservations towards foreigners. According to him, this represented a culture of subordination to the interests of the great powers. In an anonymous article published in 1849, Lastarria played the role of Devil's advocate by criticising the Government for their ardent protection of foreign interests – particularly bankers and merchants – compared with their indifference towards their own most vulnerable people. With clear socialist undertones, he criticised the country's social divide and how land distribution was focused on benefiting big landowners instead of native-born peasants.[314] For Lastarria, the favourable predisposition towards the foreigner was another example of how alienated the elite was from the common people; a gap worsened by a racial divide between the European-descended elite and the *mestizo* of predominantly indigenous background who constituted the bulk of the population. Although this article created great commotion when published, its thesis of how the colonisation endeavour was instilling a dependent mindset in the country gained some clout,[315] while remaining a minority outcry.

The most radical stand against immigration came later during the 1860s with Francisco Bilbao's *Evangelio Americano* [The American Gospel]. This doctrinal manifesto sought to lay the foundations for a Spanish American philosophy, unveiling what allegedly was the continent's mission in the development of civilisation and progress. His basic premise was that Europe was ruled by the "doctrine of success" which led them towards imperialism, oligarchy and the subjugation of what they deemed as lesser races, whereas the doctrine of Spanish America was "self-government", which meant political, individual and cultural autonomy. Based on this, Bilbao labelled Europeans as a "race of imbeciles […] and people of serfs" if they do not follow the "Truth" of personal autonomy.[316] Moreover, the arrival of large numbers of these Europeans was contributing to widening the social divide in Spanish America, leaving completely marginalised the "virile race of the countryside"; those *gauchos,*

customs; and above all, very few are the ones who speak Spanish…" See: The *Creación de la Provincia de Llanquihue Act,* Senator Chamber, Session 28, September 06th 1861, p. 294

[314] José Victorino Lastarria, 'Manuscrito del Diablo', *Revista de Santiago*, no. 3 (April 1849): 307.

[315] 'El progreso - Inmigración', *El Mercurio*, 6 December 1852.

[316] Francisco Bilbao, *Evangelio Americano* (Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1864), 688.

huasos and *rotos* – the poorest of Chile and Argentina – were being left behind, since all the benefits and lands granted by the state were geared towards aiding the Europeans.[317] He ended up denouncing the organisers of the colonisation – the governing elite – and the European colonisers as the "enemy within" [*enemigo interno*], since, instead of tackling the hunger of the most impoverished classes, they were giving money to foreigners who, to make things worse, also proved to be violent towards the indigenous.[318] What Bilbao and Lastarria shared is their reasonings based on ethnocultural and socioeconomic considerations; both were against the arrival of European immigrants, mainly because it was an attempt to continue marginalising the true backbone of both societies - the *mestizo* worker and peasant - who the authorities were trying to replace with pure Europeans. Also, the results of this active policy were the creation of a new social and racial stratum, some sort of new middle-class based on landowners and urban bourgeoisie with little contact to the countries where they were settling and with an exploitative attitude towards its resources and people.

To sum up, scholars are right to characterise this period as one with an overwhelmingly positive reception of European colonists. Nevertheless, one must stress some nuances to comprehend thoroughly how this related to the formulation of a wider idea of nationhood. The exceptionalism narrative, particularly its racial variant, framed the different attitudes towards immigration since, depending on how each intellectual characterised the Chilean race, they adopted diverging responses towards the arrival of Europeans. There was a consensus regarding how racially homogeneous Chilean society was, hindering the task of integrating foreigners without undermining this key feature. Those who characterised the Chilean as Europeans or "Latin races" transplanted into the new continent thought that the arrival of Europeans would foster this exceptional trait. Hence, opportunities rather than conflicts arrived with immigration. Those protectionist groups led by Domeyko agreed on the general benefits of immigration and the racial depiction of Chile as part of the Latin races. However, they emphasised other ethnocultural traits related to Hispanism, such as language, tradition and Catholicism. For them, the integration of these newcomers was paramount to avoid undermining society's cohesiveness since they were aware of the threat involved in immigrants' unrestricted arrival. Lastly, Bilbao and Lastarria

[317] Bilbao, 690–91.
[318] Bilbao, 747.

represented a radical stance against the colonisation enterprise led by Europeans. For both, this was an attempt to racially whiten the *mestizo*, hiding, in turn, the contribution made by indigenous and *mestizo* people to the Republic's well-being. This was also aimed at strengthening the oligarchic rule and its ties with imperial powers at the expense of the artisans and workers, which constituted an attack on democracy and the attempts to enlarge the political franchise.[319]

In short, in these *pensadores*' assessment, civic and ethnocultural elements were considered, although non-political criteria were predominant since those determined the newcomers' desirability. What is most striking is that regardless of the stance adopted - whether the identification of Chile as European, Latin or *mestizo* race - these intellectuals showed an internal coherence and sought to protect whichever version of racial homogeneity that they thought made Chile exceptional. Remarkably, this constitutes a prelude to the racialised discourse inaugurated by the early twentieth century.

2. The frontiers of Chilean nationhood put to the test. The role of the indigenous people and the debate over the colonisation of their lands.

Nationalist intellectuals' main challenge was how to address 'the indigenous question', principally the role envisioned for the indigenous people in the future Chilean nation. This was a contentious and ambivalent issue throughout the nineteenth century, with contested accounts of the nature of the Araucanians, their development since colonial times, their political alliances, as well as their capacity for being integrated into a modern socioeconomic structure and Republican system and, thereby, becoming 'civilised'. All these elements shed light on the decisive action taken by the Government between 1868 to 1883 to seize the Araucanian region by force, aimed at facilitating the colonisation enterprise through the alleged "pacification" of the region. This dissertation focuses on the period immediately before Chilean forces

[319]Democracy or *Semecracia* acquired a positive connotation for both Bilbao and Lastarria. Bilbao adopted a radical liberal stance in which, by the mid-1850s, he was committed to direct democratic forms of governments. He deemed political regimes based on representation granted by bourgeois parties as a subjugation of individual freedoms. Similarly, Lastarria published in 1868 a political treaty about *Semecracia* or self-government in which he advocates for the abolition of political parties and the establishment of direct forms of government based on a radical expansion of the political franchise. See: Francisco Bilbao, 'El gobierno de la libertad a los electores', in *Escritos republicanos. Selección de escritos políticos del siglo XIX.*, 1st Edition 1855 (Santiago, Chile.: LOM, 2012), 171–219; José Victorino Lastarria, 'La reforma política, única salvación de la República, único medio de plantear la semecracia o el gobierno de sí mismo.', in *Escritos republicanos. Selección de escritos políticos del siglo XIX*, 1st Edition 1868 (Santiago, Chile.: LOM, 2012), 134–54.

trespassed the Malleco river and thus explores the earlier debates to understand the motivations and interest of these creole *pensadores* and politicians as well as the attempts by some to halt or impede the conquest of indigenous lands. The focus here is on the debates of the political and intellectual circles about the indigenous people's role in the idea of Chilean nationhood. The aim is to understand if the Araucanian was deemed to be a valuable member of the national community, or conversely, an alien figure ethnically, historically, and morally distinctive from the Chilean. Neither option was exclusive nor consistent enough to hinder overlaps and changes over time. Yet, each represented a path towards alternative strategies of integration or exclusion of the indigenous people into the Chilean nation.

There is a consensus amongst scholars about the role played by the indigenous people in Chile's nation-building process, namely that the country experienced a gradual shift in attitude towards them during the 1850s, changing what used to be a positive depiction of the Araucanian into an image of savagery and threat to the country's well-being. During the early Republic, the indigenous people represented an alternative source of identification against the Spanish. In Chile, in particular, the "romantic image" of an independent Araucanian, victorious against all odds, was exploited to the limit to foster their own creole emancipation movement.[320] This symbolic and discursive recognition had a degree of political correspondence. Since colonial times the Araucanians were held up as an autonomous nation with whom the Chilean authorities celebrated international treaties (Parliaments), had intensive trade relationships and even military alliances in times of need.[321] Araucanians were regarded as equals and highly esteemed by Spanish creoles and Chileans alike, functioning as a source of inspiration despite being considered a different national community, but one characterised by mutual cordial relations.

The 1850s were the pivotal decade when this attitude began to change. The impact of shocking events such as the shipwreck of *El Joven Daniel* in 1849 - exploited in a sensationalistic manner by the press - shaped public opinion against the indigenous people by depicting them as inhumane people. The looting of the

[320] Silva, *Identidad y Nación entre dos siglos. Patria Vieja, Centenario y Bicentenario.*, 49; Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History.*, 23.
[321] See Chapter 2: 'Las Reformas Borbónicas y la Inclusión Original. Los cambios del siglo XVIII y la independencia del pueblo Mapuche' in: Pinto, *La Formación del Estado y la Nación y el Pueblo Mapuche. De la inclusión a la exclusión.*, 55–88.

destroyed vessel and the killing of the survivors by an indigenous tribe near the Tolten river mouth was met with a retaliatory expedition sent by Manuel Bulnes's government to find the alleged culprits and put them on trial in Concepción. This event was "the crucial point where the political language regarding the Mapuche question changed".[322] The support given by indigenous groups to the 1851 and 1859 revolts against Manuel Montt's government consolidated prejudice against the Araucanians not only as a security threat but as an enemy with a political agenda.[323] Framed in the same process, some authors have emphasised the influence of positivism in the intellectual milieu, which led to the identification of the Araucanian as inherently "anti-progressive" and anti-republican" agents.[324] These elements prepared the scenario for the articulation of what has been called an "ideology of occupation",[325] meaning the discursive tool to legitimise the annexation of indigenous land prompted by the growing needs of the agricultural sector in a context of increasing pressures coming from foreign markets.[326]

As shown, whether from an economic, political or intellectual perspective, scholarship located the change of attitude in the 1850s. Nevertheless, it is difficult to talk about a consensus before or after this pivotal decade, because the debates remained contentious into the 1860s. In truth, the only consensus amongst the political and intellectual milieu of the time was on the need to integrate the indigenous people and lands into the Chilean territory, regardless of their motivations or whether they considered that the Araucanian had a place in the emerging nation-state. The discussion was more about the means and ways to make the integration more humanitarian and just, but the assimilation of the indigenous people into the Chilean nationhood was a shared goal. In summary, a nationalist agenda was predominant in the period, emphasising the final aim at the expense of the foundations or forms of legitimations of that endeavour.

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[322] Jorge Muñoz Sougarret, 'El Naufragio del Bergantín Joven Daniel, 1849. El Indígena en el imaginario histórico de Chile', *Tiempo Histórico*, no. 1 (2010): 144.
[323] See 'La Araucanía durante los primeros ciencuenta años de la República' in: Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche: siglo XIX y XX*.
[324] Mizón, *Claudio Gay y la formación de la identidad cultural chilena.*, 78; Crow, 'Rethinking National Identities : Representations of the Mapuche and Dominant Discourses of Nationhood in Twentieth-Century Chile.', 43.
[325] Pinto, 'Ignacio Domeyko. Viaje a la Araucanía en el año 1845 y otros documentos sobre la frontera.', liv.
[326] Collier, *La Construcción de una República 1830-1865. Política e Ideas.*, 214–15.

The first approach could be interpreted as a variation of the *indianesque* myth identified by Rebecca Earle. According to Earle, Spanish American "elite nationalism" appropriated the figure of the native, a case that was replicated by creole intellectuals in Chile's narrative of exceptionalism, but with the added novelty of the elite's strong predisposition to treat the Araucanian as some "noble savage". In Chile's early Republic, indigenous people were conceived as the embodiment of several positive features and depicted as a proud warrior-like race who ardently defended their independence; traits that were undermined only by the corruptive influence of external agents and not by an organic decline, as was common in the narratives found in other parts of Spanish America. An early example of this interpretation is seen in one of Bello's essays from the 1830s, treating Patagonian natives as gentle and peaceful giants and the Araucanians as a trustworthy, austere, courageous and sturdy race.[327] Furthermore, Bello attempted to justify the Araucanians' wrongdoings by appealing to their ignorance. For instance, when addressing the '*Guerra a Muerte*' (1818-1832) that counted on the active support of indigenous groups, Bello blamed the corrupting influence of the Pincheira brothers, who led a former monarchist army that transformed into an armed band after the declaration of independence, pillaging on both sides of the Andes until their final defeat by Manuel Bulnes's forces in 1832. It followed that after the removal of these *caudillos*, the indigenous people were free to attain civilisation.[328]

A strikingly similar pattern was followed by José Joaquín Vallejo, who hailed the Araucanian as an inspirational and unconquerable race that opted to die rather than cede their territory, while attributing indigenous raids north of Biobio to the misguided leadership of Royalists who offered them a chance of easy looting and pillage.[329] An analogous rationale was followed by Francisco Solano Astaburuaga in the late 1860s when depicting the Araucanians as the embodiment of freedom and a source of inspiration since their "independent spirit has become the [Chilean] national

[327] Narrativa de los viajes. De los buques de Guerra de su Majestad Británica "Adventure" i "Beagle". Por los capitanes King i Fitzroi, de la Marina Real Británica, i por Cárlos Darwin, Escudero, Naturalista del "Beagle", Edinburgh Review, 1839. Bello, *Miscelánea*, XV:241.
[328] Fin de la guerra contra los Pincheira. Comunicación del Comandante de Armas de la Plaza de Chillán al Señor Ministro de Estado en el Departamento de Guerra, January 16th 1832 in: Bello, XV:120.
[329] 'El último jefe español en Arauco', September 18th 1845 in: Vallejo, *Colección de los artículos de Jotabeche. Publicados en El Mercurio de Valparaíso, en el Semanario i en el Copiapino, desde abril 1841 hasta septiembre 1847*.

character".[330] As shown, the *indianesque* myth was sustained throughout these three decades, as was the conviction that their martial prowess remained undiminished since colonial times. However, these authors shared the opinion that the Araucanian people was a completely distinctive national group, separated and essentially different from the Chilean. As Solano Astaburuaga stated, the only resemblance the Araucanian had with the Chilean is to have been born "under the same blue sky" and to share the same "ardent [conviction] for emancipation's sanctity",[331] important elements to position the natives as an inspiration but not sufficient to consider them as part of the Chilean nation.

Framed in this *indianesque* narrative and interpretation of the noble savage, there were diverging understandings of the level of Araucanian integration into the Chilean nation. The majority of intellectuals argued that they constituted a completely autonomous and independent nation, different from Spanish creoles during colonial times, and hence, it was claimed, different from their successors in the form of the republican Chileans. In contrast, a minority of intellectuals considered Chile to be a *mestizo* country. Amongst those who did, there was a difference between those who stated that the miscegenation process was made via the fusion of creoles with Araucanians or only with their subdued and peaceful northern relatives, the *Picunches*. Miguel Luis Amunátegui is an excellent example of these trends:[332] on the one hand, he recognised that the Chileans used the indigenous people as an inspirational figure during the wars of independence since Chileans represented themselves as successors to the Araucanians in their fight against the Spanish invader; on the other, he denounced the fact that the indigenous absorption into the Spanish American nations had been an inexorable process, to which Chile was no exception.[333] To Amunátegui, the relation with the Araucanian changed from a symbolic appropriation to a process of social and cultural assimilation after independence.

[330] Solano Astaburuaga, *Diccionario Jeográfico de la República de Chile*, 107.
[331] Francisco Solano Astaburuaga, 'El Abate Molina', *El Crepúsculo. Periódico literario y científico.*, no. 3 (1 August 1843): 137.
[332] Miguel Luis Amunátegui (1828-1888). Historian, politician and liberal intellectual. Teacher at the Instituto Nacional since he was 19 years old, academic at the *Universidad de Chile* since 1847. He was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs (1868-1870). Several other times from then on, he was appointed as Minister of Justice, Education and Religion, as well as Foreign Affairs and Colonisation. Elected deputy in successive terms between 1864-1888.
[333] Amunátegui, 'Lenguas Indíjenas de la América', 125.

Similarly, José Victorino Lastarria argued that Chile was a *mestizo* country, but the fusion was with the indigenous people of the Central Valleys, natives who had "simple lives and naive customs". In contrast, the inhabitants south of the Biobio maintained their independence despite generations of would-be conquerors.[334] Contrary to Amunátegui, for Lastarria, the indigenous people remained largely an unchanged nation since all the Republic's attempts to incorporate them had failed. Lastly, Claude Gay (1800-1873), French-born naturalist, academic and prolific writer who resided in Chile between 1829-1863, was one of the few who argued that the miscegenation process between Chileans and Araucanians was widespread, making the *mestizo* the backbone of both societies. In his ethnographical voyages to the Araucanian region during the second half of the 1830s, Colipi, a local cacique interviewed by Gay, declared that the fusions of the two races had occurred to such an extent that it was impossible to find a true *reche* (pure Mapuche) in Araucania.[335] Based on these testimonies and his own observations, Gay argued that the intimate connections established through war (including the mutual kidnapping of people as booty), trade, and spontaneous colonisation on both riversides of the Biobio over 300 years, had resulted in a homogenous race, divided only culturally between Araucanians and Chileans.

For most intellectuals Chileans and Araucanians constituted two different national communities, although intimately connected, transforming the latter into a source of inspiration as a vigorous and autonomous race. Although the above-mentioned *indianesque* narrative was widespread and common to a series of *pensadores*,[336] the insights of the naturalists Claude Gay and Ignacio Domeyko are particularly telling, since both surveyed directly the Araucania region with the aim of comprehending thoroughly the indigenous people, their customs, culture and way of life. Both authors portray the traits of the Araucanian in a very positive light, going beyond the usual praise for their martial prowess to argue for the superiority of the

[334] Lastarria, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista i del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile.*, 77.
[335] Claudio Gay, *Usos y Costumbres de Los Araucanos.*, trans. Diego Milos (Santiago, Chile.: Taurus, 2018), 29.
[336] Maybe one of the Journals where one can find more articles related to this narrative was the *Revista de Santiago* which lasted – with interruptions – between 1848-55. Amongst them, a particularly telling article was one of Guillermo Blest Gana were he depicted the Araucanian as a bulwark of liberty, freedom and warrior spirit echoing the deeds of the Araucanian heroes in the fights of Independence. See: Guillermo Blest Gana, 'La muerte de Lautaro', *Revista de Santiago*, no. I (April 1848): 77–90.

indigenous in comparison with the Chilean in terms of health,[337] hospitality and morality.[338] This led them to even qualify the Araucanian as materially more civilised than the Chilean commoner,[339] while reinforcing their stance against the idea of their degeneration since "nothing seems to suggest, […] that the current race was inferior to that of their forefathers."[340]

For Gay and Domeyko, the signs of degeneration were explained by the corruptive forces coming from Chile, particularly from the abusive and vicious public officials and traders on the frontier, who were allowed to establish relations with the Araucanian thanks to the negligence of the Government.[341] The only harsh critiques made by both naturalist was when addressing their spirituality and their attitude towards work since they were portrayed as indolent, prone to idleness and hedonistic excesses in times of peace, besides their superstitious and vengeful attitude in their relationship with others and with God.[342] In short, both intellectuals knew the Araucanians first-hand, from their own experience by spending time in the region, and depicted the indigenous similarly. They shared an *indianesque* narrative disseminating the idea of a noble savage while blaming Chileans for any signs of decadence. This image came to be important for the colonisation debate that took place afterwards, granting their positive impression a degree of truthfulness given by their status as scientists. However, one needs to counterbalance this approach by the opposite thesis that labelled the Araucanians as a source of barbarism and a menace to peace and order.

During this same period, a counter-narrative, depicting the native inhabitants south of the Biobio as savages and uncivilised brutes, gained momentum. Some of the most important members of the Argentine diaspora joined forces with important Chilean newspapers and relevant political figures, all of whom mobilised these notions for political gains. The press, in particular, while reporting the numerous raids and indigenous incursions north of Biobio to steal livestock - occasionally killing those who opposed them – gradually gave rise to an image of the Araucanian as an aggressive,

[337] Gay, *Usos y Costumbres de Los Araucanos.*, 30.
[338] Domeyko, *Araucanía y sus habitantes*, 39.
[339] Domeyko, 53.
[340] Gay, *Usos y Costumbres de Los Araucanos.*, 345.
[341] Gay, 42; Domeyko, *Araucanía y sus habitantes*, 57.
[342] Gay, *Usos y Costumbres de Los Araucanos.*, 32–33; Domeyko, *Araucanía y sus habitantes*, 39.

marauding and even anti-Christian people, driving, in turn, Chilean public opinion to demand state intervention and protection along the frontier.[343] Such images were reinforced by an alarming news story about the kidnapping of Concepcion's Bishop and how his life was decided in a traditional *chueca* game;[344] although he survived this traumatic experience, Gregorio V. Amunátegui argued that the Araucanians were untrustworthy, bloodthirsty and opposed to Christian values.[345] The contribution made by some Araucanian *caciques* and their hosts to General Cruz's rebellion against the Central Government in 1851 was also commented on by the newspapers and by renowned Congressman, Pedro Felix Vicuña (1805-1874),[346] who blamed the rebellious forces for breaking the rules of engagement. By incorporating undisciplined barbaric tribes, known for behaving without chivalry on the battlefields, Vicuña argued that this meant a declaration of 'total war'.[347] This egregious act was used afterwards to demand a direct state intervention and seizure of the Araucanian region to avoid such a thing happening again while expanding the frontiers for migration and commercial use.[348]

A common discursive strategy was to depict the indigenous as the "other", as alterity was used as a contrast to their own sense of identity. Some Argentine intellectual exiles were amongst the most enthusiastic in using this discursive form to legitimise their modernisation proposals. In particular, Juan Bautista Alberdi repeatedly used this strategy, arguing that America was divided between Europeans and *Americanos*, deeming the latter to be the indigenous natives who were savages, impossible to educate or civilise.[349] A second strategy was to equate the Araucanian

[343] 'Malón Pehuenche', *El Comercio de Valparaíso*, 21 December 1848.
[344] The *Chueca* ball game, or *Palín* in Mapudungun, is a traditional game with religious undertones practised by the Mapuche people. Similar to modern-day Hockey, It consists of two opposing teams of 5-15 players who have to carry a ball using sticks to the bottom line of the rival team in order to score one point. The first team to reach a 4 point advantage wins.
[345] Gregorio Víctor Amunátegui, 'Una partida de Chueca. Escenas Araucanas.', *Revista de Santiago*, no. I (July 1848): 370.
[346] Liberal congressman, deputy and senator on several occasions between 1828-1834, 1843-1846 and 1864-1876. Founder of many newspapers in Valparaíso and Santiago, including *El Mercurio* in 1827. Prolific writer and journalist, he was forced into exile on numerous occasions due to his efforts to topple conservative governments and his support to 1851 uprising against Manuel Montt. Father of Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna.
[347] Pedro Félix Vicuña, 'Boletín de Concepción', *El Mercurio*, December 08th.
[348] 'Después de la victoria.'
[349] 'Nuestro credo en la cuestion de extranjeros', El Comercio de Valparaíso, April 04th 1849 Carolina Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: VERLAP, 1997), 388–89; Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina.*, First published in 1852, Colección Pensamiento del Bicentenario (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Biblioteca del Congreso de la Nación, 2017), 92.

with their relatives from the Argentine pampas, the *pehuenche* who, due to their nomadic and horseback culture, were depicted in the same manner as the *gauchos*, and as such, associated with *caudillismo* and the traditional Hispanic mindset that hindered progress in the region. This link was used, both in Chile and Argentina, to justify the expansion of the frontier and the conquest of the indigenous lands by force if necessary, favouring a process of building forts from which to combat any incursions.[350] These two narratives were combined, presenting the native as an irredeemable hostile and uncivilised nation, as a distinctive menace and source of constant troubles for the Republic, and particularly for the plans for colonisation of the southern lands. Invoking security issues and the need of land for progress were the two most powerful reasonings to promote a plan of seizure of indigenous land through military means, but before this went to Parliamentary debates and became government policy the idea was mobilised particularly by the press and the Argentine intellectuals.

An interesting question is whether varying ideological sympathies amongst intellectuals, particularly those associated with artisan and working-class movements of the late 1840s and early 1850s, played a role in how they addressed the indigenous question. It is illustrative to know if those *pensadores* considered the indigenous as part of society's oppressed groups and therefore as their protegees. Bengoa argued that the intellectuals associated with *the Sociedad de la Igualdad* and the early socialist movement, like Santiago Arcos and Francisco Bilbao, remained quiet since they were "ideologically blocked from understanding the [indigenous] problem".[351] These intellectuals interpreted the indigenous people in a classicist light as cattle owners or small traders rather than marginalised communities with whom artisans and workers could make common cause. Bilbao is the most noticeable example of this attitude; in general he overlooked their presence, limiting himself to designating the indigenous as backwards, intimately related to the colonial legacy he sought to leave behind. In 1844 he talked about the indigenous people as a conservative element not so different from the *huaso* of the Southlands. Hence, he uses them as an example of how their isolation from the rest of the world contributed to their barbarism.[352] Two

[350] See: 'Colonización Ficticia (Sesión del 19 de Octubre de 1858)' and 'Los Indios', El Nacional, November 02nd 1879 in: Sarmiento, *Obras Selectas*.
[351] Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche: siglo XIX y XX*, 183.
[352] Bilbao, 'Sociabilidad chilena', 78–79.

decades later, when addressing the continent's "public enemies", or Hispanic remnants on the list to be eliminated, he identified the abusive treatment given to the indigenous peoples and the negation of their liberties as one.[353] Regardless, for him, the indigenous people were - if not omitted - treated as passive agents, considered only in relation with the creoles/Hispanic or the Republican elements, and as such, an archetype of any form of illiberal and anti-progressive attitudes in the continent due to their ignorance. This lack of agency explained why he formulated as a moral duty the civilisation of the indigenous people through education, promising in his *American Gospel* that their salvation and freedom would come once a true Republican system was implemented.[354]

The colonisation of the indigenous lands south of the Biobio produced a heated debate during this entire period which prepared the way for the military seizure commencing after the crossing of the Malleco river in 1868. The intellectual and political debate revolved around how to integrate the indigenous people, since leaving them as an independent nation or a separate political entity was not imagined as a possibility for any of the thinkers studied. One of the few points of consensus amongst them was their dismissal of any alternative proposing that Araucania should remain as an autonomous and peculiar nation with its own culture, customs and practice, since – as Claude Gay suggested – it was part of "the natural order that an inferior civilisation ends up being absorbed by a superior one".[355] In other words, the only alternative faced by the Araucanians was to become extinct or to be assimilated as Chileans.[356] From this conviction an urgent question arose, namely whether to integrate the Araucanian territory and its inhabitants through peaceful or forceful ways and under which circumstances each alternative was legitimate. In this sense, usually those who were in line with the interpretation of portraying the Araucanian as noble savages were the most enthusiastic advocates of some sort of gradual colonisation, whereas the

[353] Bilbao, *Evangelio Americano*, 747.
[354] Bilbao, 754.
[355] Gay, *Usos y Costumbres de Los Araucanos.*, 354.
[356] In the same line of thought, arguing about the inevitability of the spread of civilisation and how the indigenous people were facing the conundrum or whether to become modern losing the old ways or risk becoming extinct, Andres Bello stated: "the indigenous races are vanishing, […] leaving no more traces [*vestigios*] than a few words incorporated into the local languages and scattered monuments about which curious travellers would wonder in vain which civilisation erected them." 'Investigaciones sobre la influencia de la conquista y del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile, por Don José Victorino Lastarria', El Araucano, November 8th and 15th 1844 in: Jaksic, *Andrés Bello. Repertorio Americano*, 282.

opposite was true for those who deemed them to be unredeemable savages. The main political debate focussed on the constitutional basis for seizing indigenous land, the issue of its redistribution, who would be the beneficiaries of such policies and how to secure the advances made from future indigenous incursions.

The advocates of the gradual colonisation of the indigenous land using peaceful strategies began promoting these measures in the 1840s. Amongst them, two main lines of argument were preferred, although they were not mutually exclusive. The first emphasised the role of economic modernisation, infrastructure and the key role of traders as bearers of progress. In contrast, the second strategy stressed morality and the gradual adoption of Christian values by the Araucanians, relying on the persuasion of missionaries. For most of them, the main problem was the marginalisation of the indigenous people and the reluctance of the national authorities to address this issue. Miguel Luis Amunátegui wondered in 1849 what the natives had gained since Independence from the allegedly newfound liberties of the Republican system beyond "fratricidal indifference".[357] Amunátegui further explained that independence meant only a political change, but all the rest of the pillars of the old colonial edifice remained in place, including the abusive treatment of the indigenous peoples. To counter the authorities' dismissive attitude, some authors argued that the best remedy would be to grant indigenous people a taste of the benefits that would come with modernisation by investing in infrastructure to foster wealth creation and betterment of living standards through trade. Bello, for instance, claimed that the best way to civilise Araucania was by building a railroad that crossed the entire region.[358]

Nevertheless, most of these *pensadores* thought that trade, modernisation and infrastructure could also complement the real civilisational tools consisting of education and the teachings of the Gospel. For Ignacio Domeyko, trade could help to 'alleviate' some of the Araucanian customs by introducing goods and civilised notions into the indigenous ways of life, such as private property and the division of labour. Still, only a moral and religious civilising process through education would grant legitimacy to the plan of integration of the indigenous people since Chile was cemented as a "Catholic and Republican nation".[359] Besides the gradual education of

[357] Miguel Luis Amunátegui, '18 de Setiembre', *Revista de Santiago*, no. 3 (September 1849): 288.
[358] Bello, *Miscelánea*, XV:XXXIII.
[359] Domeyko, *Araucanía y sus habitantes*, 54.

the Araucanian elite through religious missions, he proposed a mixed system of colonisation based on the state buying the indigenous land to redistribute it amongst the same indigenous people, virtuous and Catholic foreign colonists, and particularly, army veterans who should receive an allotment of land as a form of gratitude for their services. Similarly to the status achieved by 'Manifest Destiny' in the United States, Domeyko's report gained widespread recognition amongst the political elite by advocating for the peaceful and gradual advancement of civilisation in the Araucania region.[360] For instance, based on Domeyko's findings, Juan Bello (1825-1860), son of Andrés Bello, liberal deputy and writer, argued that Chile had an opportunity of achieving "the glory of doing a noble, magnificent and truly Evangelical task" that all Chileans should support.[361]

Likewise, Manuel Antonio Matta, the future founder of the Radical Party,[362] stated that Chile should follow a colonisation strategy based on love and fraternity towards its 'Araucanian sibling'.[363] These thinkers prepared the ground for enacting legislation inspired by the same principles and spirit that motivated Domeyko. For instance, the Chilean government created Arauco Province in 1851. By 1861 this province was fortified, and in 1866 the law of Indigenous Reductions was enacted. These three acts were inspired by the conviction that the indigenous lands should be incorporated into the Republic based on a lawful claim. Domeyko, Gay, Lastarria, Matta, amongst others, were motivated by a paternalistic spirit that sought to stop the constant abuse of Chilean public officials, other state authorities and unscrupulous individuals against the indigenous people, whom, because they were not covered by special legislation or institutions were without legal protection. The laws of 1851 and 1861 were approved without much debate, granting an administrative special status to the lands south of the Biobio river and giving additional resources for its defence

[360] On a political level, Domeyko's report heavily influenced Antonio Varas' own report in 1849; both ended up being strikingly similar in their conclusions regarding the alternative methods of colonisation.
[361] Juan Bello, 'Análisis del informe presentado a la Cámara de Diputados sobre los medios de obtener la reducción i civilizacón de los indíjenas por don Antonio Varas.', *Revista de Santiago*, no. 3 (November 1849): 331.
[362] Manuel Antonio Matta (1826-1892). Prolific writer and poet. He commenced his political life as a Liberal deputy between 1855-1858 to become the founder of the Radical Party in 1863. He was a deputy in consecutive terms from 1858-1882 to become a Senator during the last 10 years of his life. Active member of the cultural elite he was a member of the *Sociedad Literaria*, founder of the *Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria* in 1856 alongside his brother Guillermo Matta, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna and Miguel Luis Amunátegui amongst others. One of the 1859 uprising leaders against Manuel Montt's government, he went to exile, returning to Chile in 1862.
[363] Manuel Antonio Matta, 'Al Bío-Bío', *Revista de Santiago*, no. 3 (December 1849): 268.

against the indigenous raids.[364] However, for the latter, some warmongers commenced a campaign supporting a hostile takeover of Araucania, continuing a discussion started two years before with the *Revista Católica.*

This well-known debate confronted Arauco's Deputy Francisco Puelma and *El Mercurio* with the Catholic Church. The deputy claimed that the Chileans were suffering constant looting and harassment due to native raids, arguing that the government ought to respond to stop further humiliation*. El Mercurio* not only supported Puelma's plea but heightened the tone by depicting the indigenous people as scoundrel [*miserable*] cowards with no morals. Reminding the incident of *El Joven Daniel* shipwreck, they claimed that the Araucanian were scavengers that had lost their warrior traits of old, suggesting a complete occupation of the region while expressing their shock that, after decades of wrongdoings, still, some were defending the Araucanians. Responding to these racist and aggressive remarks, the Church published two articles in *Revista Católica*, reassuring that the only alternative for long-lasting peace in the region was to continue with the gradual strategy via Missions and Education. In the second of these articles, they highlighted the case of the *cacique* Uaimpan of Imperial, who confirmed the willingness of his tribe to cooperate for their gradual incorporation into the country.[365] As said, despite this debate, the 1851 and 1861 legislation was approved without much controversy in the Parliament.

The situation changed in 1866, when, after three years of discussion, the Law for the *Foundations of settlements in indigenous territory* was enacted. Since the very beginning it was clear that two points of argument were clashing under the leadership

[364] 1852 Law established that Arauco was a colonisation territory with mostly indigenous inhabitants, therefore proposes a simplified administration based on the old military governments adopted during colonial times. The President of the Republic appoints only an Intendent, two assistants and a First instance Court [Juzgado de Letras], this was adopted explicitly to have a general overseer that would help to "…avoid that the indigenous would be robbed for those who, with more civilisation than them, would have an easy time deceiving them." See: The *Creación de Provincia de Arauco* Act, Senators Chamber, 4th Session, June 14th 1852.
Regarding the 1861 Law, Minister Cerda stated that 14,000 Chileans were living in misery due to the harassment experienced by the indigenous raids, and considering that their lives and livelihoods were at jeopardy, he supported the fortifications since that would lead "to take back the bread audaciously stolen by barbaric enemies" describing the Araucanians as "…an annoying enemy that is threatening and damaging us constantly. See: The *Defensas del Sur del Biobio* Act, Senators Chamber, 34th Session, October 18th 1861, pp. 361-362

[365] To see the Francisco Puelma denounce and *El Mercurio* position see: Francisco Puelma, 'Situación de Arauco', *El Mercurio*, 1 September 1859; 'Los Araucanos', *El Mercurio*, 13 September 1859; 'Los bárbaros nos invaden', *El Mercurio*, 25 November 1859.; To see the position of the Catholic Journal: Revista Católica, 'Colonización de Arauco', *El Mercurio*, 16 November 1859; 'Carta de un Cacique', *El Mercurio*, 29 December 1859.

of José Victorino Lastarria and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna.[366] Both acknowledged that until that point neither commerce nor missionaries had been successful in integrating the Araucanians or their territory into the Republic, but they diverged in their proposals for how to deal with this problem. Lastarria argued that the indigenous were Chilean subjects and as such they had civil rights protected by the Constitution, from which the most important one was the inviolability of private property. Furthermore, he proposed a colonisation system that would prioritise the subdivision of land amongst the indigenous first and, following public auctions to sell all vacant land to the highest bidder granting the respective reparations to the indigenous people.[367]

Conversely, Vicuña Mackenna dismissed Lastarria's theory entirely. Based on a comparison with Argentina, Mackenna argued the indigenous people living south of the Biobio river were not Chileans, and therefore did not enjoy constitutional protection.[368] For him, the Araucanians were subjects without rights due to their barbaric nature. After all, no protection could be given to people who practised polygamy, had no respect for private property and knew nothing more than the law of the strongest since their main economic activity was plunder. Vicuña supported a system where the state confiscated all the land – paying the respective reparations in cases where there was a recognised owner – and only afterwards, grant allotments of land, preferably to colonists of their choosing, to populate the region with mostly foreign colonists. He knew this could lead to a hostile reception from the natives but, according to him, only through a system of redistribution of land centralised by the state the danger of taking advantage of the Araucanians' ignorance could be

[366] Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1831-1886). Journalist, writer, historian and statesman. He went to exile due to his involvement in the uprising against the conservative government in 1851, living in many European countries as well as the United States. He returned to Chile in 1856. Went to exile again in 1859-61 due to his attempt to topple Manuel Montt's government. On his return, he got an academic post at the *Universidad de Chile* in 1863 and was one of the main editors of the *El Mercurio* newspaper. Deputy in several periods between 1864-1870, 1873-1879 and Senator 1879-1885. Mayor [*Intendente*] of Santiago between 1872-1875

[367] Guillermo Blest Gana supported Lastarria when talking about their constitutional rights, arguing that expropriation of their communal land would be an "inefficient, inconvenient, and maybe illegal", adding that if the expropriation is in itself an "unjust" policy when applied to civilised men, but when it targets the natives becomes "egregious". See *Fundación de Poblaciones en el territorio de los indígenas* Act, Deputy Chamber, Session 42nd, August 30th 1864, pp. 547-548

[368] "I wonder, does it rule the Constitution in Araucania? Who would dare to affirm that! If it is not known or accepted, how could you possible violate it? […] The Argentine Constitution, for example, does not rule on the *Pampas*, amongst the barbarians who inhabited it, would someone say because of this that the *Pampas* are not a constitutive part of the Argentine Republic?". See *Fundación de Poblaciones en el territorio de los indígenas* Act, Deputy Chamber, Session 43th, September 01st 1864, p. 560

prevented. A third option was presented by Pedro Félix Vicuña, in which the incorporation of indigenous peoples would be the responsibility of the Army through a system of recruiting cavalry detachments from the natives, inspired by the Cossacks in Russia. Still, this initiative was quickly dismissed by the Parliament because it recognised the *de facto* autonomy of Araucania.

Regardless of the alternative, this Parliamentary debate showed clearly that both interpretations of the Chilean nationhood were competing to become the foundation of the colonisation policy. In Lastarria's stance, the Araucanians were Chileans, albeit understood in civic terms. Thus, they ought to be protected by the same rights as any fellow citizen who lived under the rule of law granted by the Republic. In contrast, in Vicuña Mackenna's understanding, Araucanians could never become nationals because neither in rights nor ethnocultural criteria were they eligible for Chilean nationhood. In the civic approach, the emphasis was on protecting fellow Chileans who were deemed vulnerable and marginalised, and therefore in need of the protection of the State. In the exclusionary stance, the emphasis was on efficient use of the indigenous territory, doing what was necessary to control its inhabitants – whether via financial inducement or military repression – to incorporate that region into the Republic. The 1866 law was the result of an uneasy compromise of both perspectives that had competed for the previous two decades over protecting the indigenous rights and taking military actions against them. Ultimately, regardless of the new set of institutions and public officials destined for the natives' protection,[369] the seizure of Araucania was not averted by this legislation, and the policy of military actions prevailed after 1868. In general, whether the Araucanian was deemed as a constitutive part of the Chilean nationhood in ethnocultural or civic terms, an important nationalist aim remained unchanged throughout this period: the nation should incorporate the indigenous people and their territory. The lawful claims of annexing Araucania were based on the shared notion that the Chilean state ought to expand the rule of law in those territories. However, the means and underlying motivations

[369] In articles 1 and 2 it followed Vicuña Mackenna's idea of granting monopoly to the State in acquiring indigenous land and its prerogative to give allotments at will to colonists of their choosing (including foreigners and nationals), whereas in the same article 2 it was stated that the government would help indigenous to settle in their new lands and will compensate when a rightful owner could be identified (Art. 6). Also, due to the Government initiative, it was established a "*Protector de Indíjenas"* who would represent and defend the Araucanian when enclosing, redistributing the communal land amongst the alleged owners, mediate in case of conflict, selling, or rent of allotments owned by natives (Art. 7 – 10). See: 'Fundación de poblaciones en el territorio de los indíjenas.', Pub. L. No. S/N (1866).

diverged greatly between those who sincerely sought to protect the native's civil and political rights and those who coveted those 'vacant lands' to bring foreign and Chilean colonists into the Araucania.

To conclude, throughout this period between the 1840s-1860s, the indigenous question remained highly contentious, particularly regarding the role assigned to natives in the formation of the Chilean nationhood and how to integrate them into the country to foster civilisation and progress. In contrast to the scholarship, this discussion has shown that it is difficult to argue for a clear turning point during the 1850s amongst the *pensadores* studied since both narratives – the depiction of Araucanian as noble savages or as unredeemable barbaric brutes – persisted and were severely contested during this time. Furthermore, inspired by Domeyko's report, most of the enacted indigenous and colonisation legislation was sympathetic towards the natives until 1866, always preferring a gradual, persuasive and peaceful approach than a hostile seizure. In general, only those intellectuals who deemed the Chilean nationhood as pure Latin or European race – like Alberdi, Sarmiento or Vicuña Mackenna – had a completely negative impression of Araucanians. Nevertheless, both interpretations shared an ultimately nationalistic aim, namely, the expansion of Chilean nationhood and its rule of law into the Araucanian region.

Finally, one can see a turning point in 1868 after the army crossed the Malleco river to push Chile's frontiers towards the Andes mountains. After this, a warmongering attitude was hegemonic in the political milieu, as shown in the Parliamentary debate of 1869 about the solicitude of additional resources and men to the military while creating a new region for colonisation by European immigrants. Despite the efforts of Lastarria, Matta and others to persist with the peaceful strategy of colonisation by denouncing the beginning of a "war of extermination" in Araucania,[370] Vicuña Mackenna's 'military solution' gained popularity within the government;[371] maybe

[370] See in particular Arteaga Alemparte address to the Chamber in: *Creación de la Provincia de Ángol* Act, Deputy Chamber, Session 46th, August 12th 1868, p. 599

[371] Vicuña Mackenna justified the seizure of the land by force arguing that "the indigenous are only subdued through terror, due to its vile nature", and that even "…according to International Law [*derecho de gentes*] the conquest of idle and vagabonds barbaric peoples is perfectly legitimate", but more importantly since "Our people [Chileans] do not descend from Arauco's barbarians, who have never wanted to be subdued to the foreigner nor ally with them. […] The Araucanians have not been the ones who have given us the Republic, […] the Araucanian fought with blood and fire the creation of this very Republic in the name of the Spanish king, of whom they claimed to be subjects." See: *Creación de la Provincia de Ángol* Act, Deputy Chamber, Session 47th, August 14th 1868, p. 669

because the government grew tired of the stagnation after decades of debate showing no clear results with the peaceful approach. This led them to favour direct action despite any opposition since, in the end, the colonisation endeavour probed to be more important for the political and intellectual elite than its legitimacy, or even the native's well-being. The jingoistic depiction of the natives as unredeemable savages with whom the Chilean population had no ethnocultural bonds facilitated the hostile takeover of their lands. These debates, and the racist and hostile tones that they acquired by the end of the decade, were the precursors of the many abuses committed against the natives in the following years, hence the importance of this study. Nevertheless, the intellectual and political voices who attempted to stop these violations by promoting an alternative form of integration, too, deserve to be taken into account for a better understanding of the tragedy that was the seizure of the Araucania.

3. Nationalism and Spanish American Union, two colliding projects?

The relationship between the emerging nationalist discourse and projects of a continental union remains largely overlooked by current scholars. Maybe this is a rather counterintuitive relationship, yet it was vital for the intellectuals at the time since it allowed the interplay of local with hemispheric aims. It is striking how the idea of Chilean exceptionalism coexisted with notions of continental identity since both were articulated in tandem. Some questions emerge: What elements – civic or ethnocultural - were stressed when attempting to expand the notion of nationhood? Were these continental projects only circumstantial phenomena responding to specific contentious political and international conflicts, or was there a consistent commitment to re-imagining the extent of the nation in Spanish America? If these intellectuals were re-defining nationhood's idea to integrate a wide range of people across the continent, what were its limits? However, this is not an exhaustive analysis of the continental projects articulated in this period, nor one orientated towards the different Pan-American and Spanish American Congresses held between the 1840s-1860s. Those endeavours exceed the dissertation's purpose; the focus is on exploring the ideas of these nationalists and *pensadores* to assess the extent to which these notions were consistent with the principles used when they addressed the challenges of integrating the Araucanian and European immigrants into the nationalist discourse.

Nationalism and broader internationalist projects and ideas of the continental union are usually interpreted as opposite phenomena. In terms of the motivations that inspired these initiatives, there is consensus that they were in large part responses to different forms of imperialism felt as potential threats to the country, combined with a geopolitical leadership that Chile pursued in the region.[372] Besides, it is a commonplace to link these ideals with forms of liberalism and utopian socialism in terms of underlying ideological aspirations.[373] Nevertheless, scholars have deemed these ideals inconsistent and ambivalent, based on continentalism's contentious nature and its short lifespan.[374] This section will explore how the intellectuals managed to articulate projects of Spanish American union without undermining the exceptionality of nationalist discourse due to their ingenuity in combining ethnocultural with political elements in response to different threats and menaces. Moreover, these intellectuals portrayed themselves as cosmopolitan *pensadores* who were organising supra-state alliances and institutions to safeguard national sovereignty as well as cultural autonomy from foreign threats that were undermining the two backbones of the shared Spanish American nationhood: its Republicanism and its heritage as a Latin race.

For clarity, the analysis will be divided into the above mentioned two elements; the ethnocultural considerations to sustain a Spanish American unity, particularly when engaging against the menace coming from the United States; to follow up with the political reasonings used to articulate ideas of continental alliance which was commonplace when facing the menace of a resurgence of European imperialism in the Western Hemisphere. Nevertheless, these arguments were usually intertwined, differing in terms of emphasis, since they were not seen as mutually exclusive. Moreover, some of these intellectuals strategically changed their stance between both types of arguments, accommodating the discourse as it fitted them best to challenge the contentious elements with which they were dealing.

Spanish America, with all its new independent nations, is a continent tied by its colonial history. As discussed in chapter one, the Hispanic legacy was one of the more contentious elements in articulating a Chilean nationalist discourse. Still, even such

[372] López, *La Patria común. Pensamiento Americanista en el siglo XIX.*, 9.
[373] Subercaseaux, *Historia de Las Ideas y La Cultura En Chile*, I: 1810-1900. Sociedad y cultura liberal en el siglo XIX. José Victorino Lastarria.:192.
[374] Collier, *La Construcción de una República 1830-1865. Política e Ideas.*, 226–30.

staunchly anti-Spanish intellectuals as Lastarria acknowledged these bonds, arguing that throughout the colonial times, "all Spanish Americans were a single nation, a homogeneous people, with a shared starting point as the origin and pursuing the same goal: the label of 'foreigner' was not part of our language of brothers."[375] The Spanish language captured most attention since debates about it were taken as a proxy to define whether Chile should renounce this common heritage by creating a new national language or the country should retain its cultural links with the Hispanic world through a common linguistic framework. According to Bello, the continental fragmentation into distinctive national languages would be followed by cultural and political distancing. The contrary applies if Spanish was maintained as mother-tongue for all the emerging nations.[376] Bello's thesis proved to be highly influential in incorporating regional variants as forms of cultured Spanish, thus, fostering the creation of a canon of Spanish American literature. But the attempts to unite through language were not limited to Spanish, as shown by Miguel Luis Amunátegui proposal to unify the continent through the study of pre-Columbian languages. Amunátegui argued that by unveiling the natives' culture and languages, it would be possible to finally attain literary autonomy, creating, in turn, an independent and distinctive cultural tradition separate from Iberia.[377] It follows that ethnocultural elements united the continent with its colonial past and its future in terms of cultural goals, consequently blurring each emerging nation's frontiers in this foundational period.

Based on these common ethnocultural bonds, some intellectuals advocated for eliminating national distinctions between fellow Spanish American countries, stressing that there should be no 'foreigners' amongst the emerging nation-states. This strategy was periodically practised by the exiles in Chile, particularly the Argentine community led by Juan Bautista Alberdi and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Both claimed their right to be deemed nationals due to the shared history that united the two countries based on the comradery and mutual sacrifices experienced during the independence wars, and the common political and cultural aims Chile and Argentina were pursuing.[378]

[375] Lastarria, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista i del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile.*, 55.
[376] Bello, *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, IV:8–9.
[377] Amunátegui, 'Lenguas Indíjenas de la América', 128.
[378] 'Los escritos extranjeros', El Comercio de Valparaíso, January 15th 1849 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 371–72; Domingo F. Sarmiento, 'Los redactores al otro Quidam', El Mercurio, Valparaíso, June 05th 1842 in: Pinilla, *La controversia filológica de 1842*, 72.

Alberdi's newspaper, *El Comercio de Valparaíso,* even advocated granting nationality to all foreigners by constitutional amendments since Chile was a safe haven for the exiles and politically persecuted people in all of Spanish America.[379] These elements were also mobilised to promote Chilean leadership in regional affairs, particularly when protecting the weakened "Latin Race" from threats coming from abroad. Sarmiento denounced this regional vulnerability as early as 1841 when he argued that the European powers saw the "Spanish [American] race" as an easy target for re-colonisation due to the region internal chaos, ongoing civil wars and Spanish America's population scarcity, which frustrated the efforts made by each country to claim sovereignty in relatively isolated territories in the sub-continent.[380] Chile solved most of these political problems by the 1840s, and hence, according to Sarmiento, the country had a moral obligation to protect the region from any potential invader.[381] By the end of the decade this abstract enemy acquired a specific form in the United States due to its war against Mexico (1846-1848), which produced a notable concern amongst intellectuals, who called for decisive Chilean leadership in the region to rally the "Spanish race" against its Anglo-Saxon northern neighbour.[382] Amongst them, Alberdi was one of the most vocal personalities warning against the threat of the United States.

The first debate in which Alberdi actively engaged was regarding Chile's leadership role in Spanish America and how to use this privileged status granted by the exceptional political, economic and geopolitical conditions of the country. According to him, Chile had a duty to mediate – and if necessary even intervene - in any country threatened by foreign forces or experiencing revolutions that could topple a Republican system in exchange for an authoritarian regime. In contrast, *El Mercurio* proposed a more cautious approach arguing that Chile should limit its action to the realm of diplomacy and stressing the role of the country as a refuge for those politically

[379] 'Chile y las Repúblicas sudamericanas', *El Comercio de Valparaíso*, 18 September 1849.
[380] Published in El Nacional, 1841 in: Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Recuerdos de Provincia* (Madrid, Spain: ANAYA & Mario Muchnik, 1992), 339–40.
[381] In a private letter sent to Manuel Montt, Sarmiento strongly advocated for Chile's mediation in the conflict between Perú and Spain, arguing that solely Chile had that level of international clout. In addition, he claimed that the attempts of the United States to mediate in such conflict constituted a flagrant intervention of imperial power on Spanish American affairs. See May 05th 1864 in: Vergara, *Manuel Montt y Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: Epistolario 1833-1888*, 121–22.
[382] 'Diplomacia Americana', *El Mercurio*, 23 December 1852.

oppressed in their countries of origin.[383] When denouncing the regional menace that the United States was becoming, Alberdi used a strategy based on ethnocultural and geopolitical reasonings to find alternative ways to contain the emerging imperial power. Acknowledging that Chile alone could not cope with such a challenge, he urged all the New and Old World's Latin races to ally against the Anglo-Saxon nations of the Western Hemisphere.[384] Moreover, Alberdi was convinced that the European Latin powers, namely France and Spain, would be sympathetic to the cause against the US, supporting and encouraging their ethnocultural siblings in their formation of a "United States of South America". Alberdi claimed that even the Pope ought to support such confederation because, if not, Spanish America would be lost for Catholicism.[385]

Sarmiento and Alberdi conveyed that Spanish America represented a distinctive civilisation that needed to be protected from any foreign threats trying to subjugate it by taking advantage of its fragmentation and its temporal disorganisation in a post-independence context. In this outlook, Chile represented the pinnacle of the Spanish American civilisation. Therefore, it felt responsible for the rest of its fellow siblings, protecting and mediating when necessary in times of conflict, leading to cooperation between them, sheltering the victims of political persecution by authoritarian regimes and promoting democracy in the region.[386] The United States represented a rival civilisation and the major threat to developing the Latin races in the Western Hemisphere. Its economic progress, territorial expansion to the Pacific, astonishing population growth, and, more importantly, its imperialistic foreign policy were all interpreted as demonstrations that the Anglo-Saxon races had a different spirit. The US was prone to material progress and domination while dismissive of other more spiritual values.[387] Although not reaching the complexity and thoroughness of

[383] See: 'Política Exterior de Chile' and 'Política Exterior. Intervención. Contestación al Mercurio. Valor de las opiniones de Lamartine', El Comercio de Valaraíso, February 08th, 11th & 12th 1848 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*.

[384] 'Revolución de principios en la política de América del Sur para con la Europa, con ocasión de la conquista de México', El Comercio de Valparaíso, February 22nd 1848 in: Barros.

[385] 'Examen de las opiniones españolas sobre la cuestión de la América del Norte con la América del Sur', El Comercio de Valparaíso, February 23rd 1848 in: Barros, 202.

[386] Interestingly, the concept of democracy was gradually preferred over Republicanism or Constitutional rule when authors such as Alberdi, Bilbao and Vicuña Mackenna made comparisons with the United States. For instance, the latter claimed in 1862 that the biggest enemy of the "Latin-Democratic race" was the "Saxon-Republican family". See: 'Colección de Ensayos i Documentos Relativos a la Unión i Confederación de los Pueblos Hispano-Americanos', quoted in: López, *La Patria común. Pensamiento Americanista en el siglo XIX.*, 26.

[387] For instance, Chilean intellectual Manuel Carrasco Albano during the 1850s characterised the Latin race as "the heart of humanity", while the Anglo-Saxon race as its "arm"; "the first represented poetry,

the early twentieth-century analysis, this constitutes a prelude of the anti-US-American narrative based on the dichotomy of both continental races found in Rodo's *Ariel* or promoted by the Chilean Centenary Generation in figures such as Joaquín Edwards Bello. Besides, the emphasis on being part of the "Latin races" also connected Chile with European countries, but not only with the traditional representatives of such race, but with the wider peoples of the Old World. In a way, Chile was depicted as part of the European nations transplanted into a different continent. Therefore, welcoming of new arrivals made by immigrants willing to settle in Chile novel Republic. In short, it was also a form to justify and promote in a discursive manner the colonisation made by European immigrants due to the ethnocultural affinities between both nations and the geopolitical security provided by these colonists that could help to protect the country from the juggernaut of the north.

The idea of Spanish America as a continent at the vanguard of liberalism in the world was also one of the most important discursive elements to foster a sense of continental union. If race, culture and religion united the novel nations with their pasts, the promises of liberalism with its constitutional governments, political and individual freedoms united the continent with a shared aspirational future. Francisco Bilbao *Evangelio Americano* is the most explicit attempt to broaden the idea of nationhood based on the aforementioned civic principles, the goal of which was to integrate all the newly independent countries in Spanish America. Bilbao's Gospel stated as a self-evident truth the following: "Men of America, your honour is to be republican, your glory is to have conquered the Republic, your right to govern yourself is the Republic, and your duty is to be republican forever."[388] For him, the New World represented and embodied Republicanism, and the fate of both elements were intertwined. It follows that the United States did not constitute a menace, but quite the opposite: the US was the pioneer, the role model, and the ultimate protector of this political experiment of building nations based on the principle of "self-government". If the US represented the desired future, conversely, Europe and Iberia particularly, constituted the past full of prejudices, superstitions and subjugations. As such, Europe was destined to undermine the progress of free Spanish America. To liberate oneself and the continent

enthusiasm, abnegation; the latter, material progress, industry and commerce." See: Maike Thier, 'A World Apart, a Race Apart?', in *America Imagined. Explaining the United States in Nineteenth-Century Europe and Latin America.* (Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 169.

[388] Bilbao, *Evangelio Americano*, 677.

from such a burden, it was paramount to "de-Hispanicise" [*despañolizarse*],[389] which meant dismissing all the common history to embrace the ideals of modern progress and civilisation fully. Bilbao represents the most extreme, ideological and doctrinaire of all the intellectuals studied but was by no means alone in his interpretation. Still, admittedly, his attitude towards the US was more contested.

The relationship with the United States remained ambiguous even when analysing it from this civic and liberal perspective. To most intellectuals, the US represented a potential threat to the well-being of Spanish American Republics and an agent that would hinder any initiative of alliance or cooperation between them to oppose the US hegemony in the region. For example, Alberdi urged in 1847 for more Chilean action to save the "democracies of the South before the Democracy of the North can devour them".[390] Regardless of this menacing presence, the US maintained its ascendancy as a role model in domestic affairs. For instance, Alberdi notoriously used the US constitution as a reference for his Argentine *Bases* in 1852. Lastarria passed from openly praising the US as a guideline for the development of federalism, religious tolerance, education, commerce and immigration policy in 1846,[391] changing his attitude by identifying in them "the Devils' tail" that intervened in all regional affairs in benefit of US interests four years after.[392] Finally, while at Rhode Island's Historical Society in 1865, Sarmiento commenced his address with a flattering comparison stating that the United States was for democracies in the Western Hemisphere what Jerusalem is for the Christian World; a beacon of inspiration and a source of guidelines for any Republican system. Furthermore, Sarmiento also justified Monroe's Doctrine and the American role of watchdog in the continent against European ambitions,[393] while also denouncing the US interference since "half of the upheavals experienced during half a century in Mexico, Colombia, the Argentine Republic, […] have been the effect of indirect but efficient influences coming from the United States".[394] As all these examples suggest, Republicanism was deemed a paramount principle that bound

[389] Bilbao, 692.
[390] 'Recursos que Chile debe echar a mano para llevar adelante la obra de su progreso material.', El Comercio de Valparaíso, December 06th 1847 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 121–22.
[391] Lastarria, *Lecciones de la Jeografía moderna para la enseñanza de la juventud americana.*, 83–84.
[392] José Victorino Lastarria, 'Crónica. Artículo inédito de una obra que verá la luz algún día.', *Revista de Santiago* V (July 1850): 159–60.
[393] 'La Doctrina Monroe. Discurso de recepción en la Sociedad Histórica de Rhode Island', Providence, October 25th 1865 in: Sarmiento, *Obras Selectas*, 281.
[394] Sarmiento, 301.

together Spanish America. Still, even under this light, the US had a dual interpretation, as an inspiration in policymaking but a menace due to their geopolitical ambitions. This ambiguity was not there when engaging with European powers in the region since they were unequivocally interpreted as a threat against the very survival of the Republican systems, particularly after the failure of the 1848 revolutions across Europe.

The attitude towards the European powers gradually changed after the 1860s. If before then, figures such as Lastarria and Bilbao led a discursive anti-Hispanism, what happened afterwards was in response to the new wave of Imperialism experienced in the Western Hemisphere. Events such as the Spanish takeover of Dominican Republic (1861-65) and the successive interventions in Mexico by a coalition of Spanish, English and French forces (1861-67) were clear warning signs to the rest of the region. Signs that the intellectual and political circles took notice of by updating their discourses and taking actions to further the continental cooperation with initiatives such as the organisation of a Spanish American Congress in 1864-65. This potential imperialistic threat eventually became real with the Chincha islands conflicts that led to a war between Spain against a Pacific Alliance composed of Peru, Chile, Ecuador and Bolivia (1864-66), in the midst of all of these, the Chilean nationalist discourse also had to adapt, refocussing in its target against Europe. In this sense, *El Mercurio* was one of the leading voices in this new strategy, changing its stance from one of neutrality – and even sympathy towards European interventions since those could contribute to stopping the everlasting civil wars in the region – to one of openly condemning them, while fostering in the process the continental union. In May 1862 two long articles were published probing this change of attitude, in the first one, after auguring a new phase of imperialism brought by steam and armored battle-cruisers the editorial line warned against how political fragmentation was alluring European powers to put an end to the democratic ideas and institutions of the Continent.[395] Continuing further in a second article, advocating for the formation of a "Great Confederation" of Spanish American Republics based on the following pillars: the creation of a Spanish American annual Congress, the formation of a standing continental Army, the establishment of a common Supreme Court, the enactment of a "Latin American *Zollverein*" or customs union, and expanding the franchise of nationals

[395] 'Revoluciones Modernas', *El Mercurio*, 1 May 1862.

and citizenship rights to all of Spanish Americans.[396] In short, the creation of a Spanish America Federal State lead by Chile, in recognition of its exceptional stability and achieved progress, was deemed to be the only real alternative to counterbalance US and European hegemony in the region.

All of this led to the creation of the Sociedad de Unión Americana in May 1862, as an organisation that gathered several relevant figures of the military, political, intellectual and cultural milieu to promote more intimate cooperation between Spanish American nations.[397] In their founding statement, they declared their objectives to sustain Spanish American independence and to promote unification via the establishment of similar societies in each country in the region.[398] The Sociedad de Unión Americana understood itself as the result of a long tradition of failed attempts to foster this unification, and as such, they reviewed and criticised heavily the reasons why the previous continental congresses became rapidly irrelevant. The Directive board's answer revolved around three elements, first the lack of clear guidelines and attainable objectives, secondly how short-lived these initiatives were, and lastly the confusion of which was the main continental threat. Starting with the latter, they identified two main enemies of the "democratic-Latin race": the first being its counterpart in the "Saxon-Republican race", namely the United States, and secondly, the inner "monarchical tendencies" that existed in each Spanish American country,[399] understanding those as the sympathies that some political groups had towards *caudillismo* or pledged to foreign Royal Houses, as the Mexican conservatives did with the Habsburgs in 1862. As is stated clearly here, the two pillars underpinning the entire edifice of the new projected Spanish American nationhood ought to be Republicanism and the Latin Race. Furthermore, both elements had natural enemies that the region needed to confront in order to attain the desired unification.

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[396] 'Espedición contra Méjico', *El Mercurio*, 2 May 1862.

[397] Amongst them one can find *pensadores* who actively engaged in the previous debates analysed in this chapter about the indigenous integration and the European immigration such as Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, José Victorino Lastarria, Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Marcial González, Manuel Antonio Matta and Guillermo Blest-Gana.

[398] La Voz de Chile, May 25th in: López, *La Patria común. Pensamiento Americanista en el siglo XIX.*, 19.

[399] Bruno Larraín, Aniceto Vergara Albano, and Isidoro Errázuriz, 'Informe Sobre El Proyecto de Tratado de Unión Americana Celebrado En 1856 Entre Las Repúblicas Del Ecuador, Perú y Chile, Leído a La Junta Directiva de La Sociedad de Unión Americana y Aceptada Por Esta En Su Sesión Del 31 de Agosto.', in *La Patria Común. Pensamiento Americanista En El Siglo XIX* (Santiago, Chile.: LOM, 2013), 145.

Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna was maybe one of the most active members of this society, showing his optimism about the unification effort. Unlike in previous Congresses, this initiative could yield fruits since it was not made by incumbent Governments, which by nature are temporary, but by the cultured elite of each nation. He called this a people's movement oriented towards the foundation of the "Great common fatherland" [*gran Patria Común*].[400] As such, this was the beginning of a long-term effort that should work regardless of the state's support but pressuring governments into higher forms of cooperation. Vicuña Mackenna had no doubts that Chile should lead this endeavour. Not only did he share the opinion of *El Mercurio* that the Chilean press and intellectual elite was the best prepared and most highly educated in Spanish America,[401] but he also believed that Chile had a moral responsibility to do so. Firstly, due to Chile's progress, stability and character, it ought to have the "initiative" to commence this monumental task that no other Spanish American country can, since – paraphrasing San Martín – Chile was the "citadel of Spanish America". More importantly, the country must "repair" the damage done to the cause since, as Vicuña Mackenna claimed, Chile was the only country that had successfully prevented an attempt to unify two countries after independence, when the Peru-Bolivia Confederation dissolved after the war in 1839.[402] Interestingly, Vicuña Mackenna's strategy was based on replicating the exceptionality narrative proving the superiority of the country in every single aspect. Even the token admission of Chile's faults was really a rhetorical form of proving - based on recent history - the superiority of Chile's might in the region.

As final remarks, the Chilean nationalist discourse had an interesting and complex Americanist thread that needs to be explored further, adding a variable that the historiography has usually overlooked due to its emphasis on international and political factors. This group of intellectuals developed a discourse of expanding the idea of nationhood during more than three decades, showing flexibility to adapt the narrative to the contentious geopolitical events in Spanish America. With ingenuity, and always maintaining the core of its discourse in the shared ideas of Republicanism and the identification as part of the Latin races, these intellectuals intertwined civic

[400] Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, 'Estudios Históricos', in *La patria común. Pensamiento americanista en el siglo XIX* (Santiago, Chile.: LOM, 2013), 154.
[401] 'Espíritu de la Prensa', *El Mercurio*, 10 May 1862.
[402] Vicuña Mackenna, 'Estudios Históricos', 160.

with ethnocultural elements to foster an expanding nationhood with a shared history and a common political project. Moreover, the identification of these two elements as the core of Spanish American identity allowed intellectuals to emphasise one or the other when engaging the threat from either the United States or any European power, in a logic based on the dichotomy between Latin versus Anglo-Saxon races, recast as Democracy against Empire/Monarchy. Finally, the Chilean nationalist discourse based on a narrative of exceptionality was reinforced because the country's alleged qualities of being the most politically stable and economically developed, with a cultured and moderate elite, and a strong military presence were all elements recognised by Chilean and Argentine intellectuals alike, justifying the self-imposed role of leader of this confederative initiative and the responsibility of being a protector of the Latin race and Spanish American Republics.

Conclusion

National communities are never completely determined by an atavistic past, nor are their contours as neatly defined as those on a political map, making it difficult to determine who belongs to it or not. As shown in this chapter, ideas of nationhood relied heavily on compromises and negotiations between what constitutes the core of the national community with its ill-defined frontiers represented by those peoples who did not necessarily fit into that criteria. In the Chilean case during this crucial period between the 1840s-1860s, those blurry borders of nationhood were represented by the triple elements of the European colonists, the indigenous people (particularly those known as the Araucanians) and other fellow Spanish Americans. In contrast, Chile's national core was based on the interplay of conceiving the country both as part of the Latin race and as a Republican political community.

The *pensadores* who articulated this nationalist discourse were flexible enough to combine their political affinities with their ethnocultural heritage producing a consistent narrative even when addressing the challenge of integrating this new trio into the nationhood. Their cosmopolitan and liberal affinities led to an emphasis on the political elements that constituted the nation, particularly in terms of civil rights, freedoms and institutional frameworks granted by the constitutional regime. On the other hand, the intellectuals' romantic urgency to foster an idea of Chilean ethnocultural distinctiveness aimed to legitimise the emerging state led to the adherence to a broad definition of a Latin race. This, instead of restricting the nation

to the narrow frames of Hispanic tradition, had the opposite result by connecting Chile to broader European history and Western tradition, allegedly positioning the country on equal terms with the white peoples of the Old World.

The narrative of Chilean exceptionalism was built on this civic and ethnocultural tandem. The intellectual and political milieu portrayed the country as the most politically stable and economically developed in the region, with the most moderate and lawful ruling elite and a refined *intelligentsia*, due to its status as a safe haven for many exiles in Spanish America. Besides, in terms of weather, landscape and race, Chile was considered the most European style country in the region. The result was the articulation of a complex and multi-layered nationalist discourse, a malleable narrative able to accommodate itself by choosing the criteria to stress when proposing to integrate or to exclude any specific community.

The precondition of this form of cosmopolitan nationalism was to target an “alterity” or “other” as a counterpoint to buttress a sense of identity. In short, to enable the integration of European immigrants, civic and Republican elements were stressed. Consequently, ethnocultural criteria were gradually left aside, as happened with the soon-abandoned instruction to recruit Catholic colonists. In the case of the natives, ethnocultural elements were emphasised, highlighting the common struggle against the Spanish invader and the shared social composition as a *mestizo* race. Simultaneously, civic elements were raised to justify their inclusion based on their status as equal subjects of law, protected by civil rights granted by the constitution. Yet, thinkers used civic reasonings to justify their exclusion since those who did not recognise Chilean sovereignty, law and authority, in addition to those natives deemed impossible to civilise (such as *Pehuenches* and raiders), were targeted as an enemy to be subjugated by force. Lastly, regarding fellow Spanish Americans, these intellectuals expanded the idea of nationhood reaching continental limits, as long as they were members of this common origin as Latin race and if they upheld Republicanism or Democracy. In turn, they labelled as "other" and as potential enemies, the Anglo-Saxon race and any monarchical or Imperial power. As seen by these three ‘frontiers’: namely, the natives, European immigrants and Spanish Americans, Chilean exceptionalism was malleable enough to produce a cosmopolitan nationalism. This appealed, when necessary, to different sources of identification to integrate these three frontiers into the Chilean nationhood. In an ingenious manner,

foreign and national intellectuals combined Enlightened principles, political and institutional reasonings, racial considerations and romantic notions of nature and culture to address different ideas of what the Chilean nation ought to be and its role in Hemispheric affairs. This, in turn, shows the inner nature of nationalism as a social construct and, more importantly, how contentious was the idea of nation and the several projects that were competing amongst intellectual elites at the time.

Finally, in broad terms, Chilean nationalism was cohesive and consistent enough to be used, refined, and disseminated throughout three decades by the intellectual and political elites. Albeit, it was not short of caveats and nuances granted by alternative narratives and nationhood competing ideas. Particularly controversial was the debate of the role envisioned for the indigenous people in the idea of Chilean nationhood. A debate that was not solved until the late 1860s when geopolitical and economic reasonings were imposed over any other consideration, closing, in turn, the phase of the intellectual and political discussion by moving to the military seizure of the indigenous land. This illustrates the consequences when an exclusionary nationalist discourse emerged victorious since these were not byzantine discussions or abstract exercises with no further implications in public policy. On the contrary, these debates were constantly used by the political and intellectual elites to justify a wide range of immigration, indigenous and geopolitical policies, working as a prelude to some of the most relevant state interventions in the nineteenth century, such as the colonisation of the southlands, the occupation of Araucania and even the declaration of war against Spain in 1865. Moreover, it sheds light on the dire consequences of being excluded from the national community by imposing the role of the “other” on a discursive level to a specific group. Ultimately, Mapuche people endured these consequences when the Chilean army passed the Malleco line in 1868, ending the debate over their integration via subjugation and conquest.

Chapter 3. The Centenary Generation's Nationalist Project. Immigration, race, continental union and the colonisation of the Mapuche lands, 1891-1931.

In 1910 Chile was preparing to commemorate one hundred years of independence on September 18th. The government invited foreign delegates from Europe, the United States and Latin America to join the celebrations, dedicating most of the scheduled activities to the entertainment of these illustrious guests. The eighteen days of celebrations were filled with aristocratic events such as Five O'clock tea parties and fencing tournaments,[403] which lent the festivities a cosmopolitan hue. The inauguration of wide arching public investments on elegant European-style landmarks and monuments that embellished the country's major cities further highlighted this aristocratic and cosmopolitan ambience.[404] The centenary was an opportunity to 'show off', to demonstrate how exceptional the country was by maintaining its place as the most stable Republican regime in the region with an uninterrupted constitution since 1833 and one of the most rapidly developing economies. In consequence, Chile aspired to publicly display its preeminent place as the rising star in Spanish America.[405] Those celebrations gave the opportunity to prove that Chile was on a par with Europe, as a country with whom the Europeans shared cultural and political principles. In short, the commemorations were designed to portray Chile as a liberal, cosmopolitan and enlightened role model. Not even the sudden death of two Presidents of the Republic in 1910 was taken by the authorities as a bad omen or a constraint on the general celebratory mood, which was accompanied by complacency and blindness towards the harsh social struggles that the country was facing.[406] To several public figures, the *Fiestas Patrias* were non-patriotic and non-Chilean since the government paid little attention to incorporate the common people

[403] See: Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago, *Programa Oficial de las Fiestas Patrias en Santiago: 18 de Septiembre de 1910.*, 1910.
[404] See: Soledad Reyes del Villar, *El centenario de Chile (1910): relato de una fiesta.* (Santiago, Chile.: Globo, 2007).
[405] Chile's GDP per capita was 3,000 (1990 Int. GK$) in 1910, which was the second in the region only behind Argentina with 3,822 (1990 Int. GK$), and being almost the double of the Latin American average of 1,531 (1990 Int. GK$). See: Jan L. van Zanden and Jutta Bolt, 'The Maddison Project: Collaborative Research on Historical National Accounts.', *The Economic History Review.* 67, no. 3 (2014): 627–51.
[406] Pedro Montt died of a heart attack in August 16th 1910 and his successor - Elías Fernández A. - died of pneumonia in September 06th 1910, See: Andrés Baeza, 'Chile en 1910. El Centenario de la Muerte.', in *XX. Historias del siglo veinte chileno.* (Santiago, Chile.: Ediciones b, 2008).

and their popular traditions into the official programme. Moreover, to some the centenary's Europhile spirit was a perfect example of the moral decay and lack of national consciousness of the ruling elite.[407]

A 'Literature of the crisis' or a 'nationalist critique' emerged during this time, with several intellectuals, known as the *Centenary Generation,* who denounced the political crisis of an oligarchic and non-representative Parliamentary regime. They also protested against the growing social inequality and proletarianisation of the working class and the high levels of dependency produced by a primary commodity-export led economy. These issues demonstrated the critical state of the country and the lack of willingness of the ruling elite to address those matters. The articulation of an ethnocultural nationalist discourse based on certain qualities claimed to be inherent to the Chilean race was one of the key features of this generation which, in turn, fuelled the emergence of an anti-oligarchic and hostile discourse against cosmopolitanism. However, this discourse was being challenged by the presence of a growing number of immigrants who settled in the country bud did not necessarily share the racial and cultural criteria which were deemed essential for Chilean nationhood.

As explained in the first two chapters, scholars pointed out that during the nineteenth-century Chilean exceptionalism was mostly founded on civic and geopolitical considerations. Chile gained a certain prestige and although it was challenged by the rise of Argentina and Brazil, the country by the twentieth century still enjoyed ascendency in the region. More importantly, the civic underpinnings of the country's exceptionalism were still the cornerstone of the political and cultural self-image of the Chilean elite, albeit this narrative was dented by the events of 1891. Nicola Miller, however, proposes that during the early twentieth century, Latin America experienced a surge of nationalism which emphasised racial and cultural considerations over the state-based patriotism of old and created a narrative based on the mixture of both civic and ethnocultural elements.[408] Particularly, the Chilean Centenary Generation articulated a racialised notion of nationhood under which its

[407] 'Carta Primera: Orijen de nuestra crisis moral', Quilpué, September 1910 in: Alejandro Venegas, *Sinceridad. Chile Íntimo en 1910* (Santiago, Chile.: Ediciones Chileamerica CESOC, Consejo Nacional del Libro y la Lectura, 1998), 35–37.
[408] Miller, *In the Shadow of the State. Intellectuals and the Quest for National Identity in the Twentieth-Century Spanish America*, 248.

intellectuals defined and outlined the so-called patriarchal features of the national race and its archetype: the *roto*.

As pointed out by Craig Calhoun, nationalisms have a social dimension that fosters solidarity, promotes democracy and pursue the establishment of inclusive welfare systems,[409] and Chilean ethnocultural nationalism could be also framed in this phenomenon. On the one hand, by looking beyond its state's borders, its agenda sought to protect national self-determination and unity; on the other hand, inwardly, its aspiration was the betterment of the popular classes and their integration in the political system. In turn, this dual nature had, in practice, a twofold outcome. First, the Centenary Generation inaugurated a racialised anti-immigration narrative which aimed to protect Chilean people against any form of racial degeneration brought by unwanted foreigners. In tandem, this discourse empowered the Chilean middle and lower classes – and to some extent even the indigenous population – by expanding the political franchise and representation while extending access to the benefits of economic modernisation. Ultimately, the nationalist intellectuals advocated for social unity by sponsoring mandatory naturalisation of the resident European colonists; they aimed at their integration via granting them equal political rights with those of native-born citizens of the Republic.

These issues have not been fully addressed in Chilean historiography, nor have they received sufficient attention in European or American scholarship. There have been three main approaches when studying the Centenary Generation. First, these thinkers have been described as a heterogeneous group, with thinkers that did not have personal links or common socioeconomic and political backgrounds; they were nevertheless seen as united in denouncing the social, working and living conditions of the population.[410] According to this interpretation, the major consequence of the social critique made by the Centenary Generation was an unprecedented awareness of the social question in the public sphere.[411] Regardless of their mediocre political performance, they, in turn, fostered the emergence of labour and political

[409] Nationalism is not "a moral mistake" since, although it is implicated in many atrocities and discriminatory practices, it is also a "form of social solidarity", one of the conditions for "modern democracy" and has helped to "secure domestic inclusion and redistributive policies". See: Calhoun, *Nations Matters. Culture, History and the Cosmopolitan Dream.*, 1.
[410] Gazmuri qualifies this bond as an "emotive attitude" towards Chilean social reality's denouncement. See: Gazmuri, *Testimonio de Una Crisis. Chile: 1900-1925*, 9–10.
[411] San Francisco, 'La crítica social nacionalista en la época del centenario (Chile, 1900-1920)', 33.

organisations such as the Socialist Workers' Party in 1912. Conversely, the second recurrent interpretation of the group emphasised the conservative and authoritarian strand present in the nationalist ideology. As such, their strain of nationalism is interpreted as an update of Portalian thought which reinvigorated illiberal political movements and established a trend that ultimately fuelled the Coup d'état in 1973.[412]

Lastly, this early twentieth-century nationalism has been interpreted as the major supporter of the democratisation process and of the social reforms undertaken in the country between 1910-1930. For instance, Rinke argues that nationalism fostered "a modernisation on a human scale" since it revolved around the common people's betterment.[413] This interpretation emphasises the anti-oligarchic discourse of the intellectuals of the Centenary Generation, their political links with the Radical Party, and their close ties with the educational, labour and cultural organisations as well as with individuals who were the key actors in these transformations. According to this reasoning, the main effect of the reformist nationalism created by the this generation was that it gave agency to the middle and popular classes in the political, social, economic and cultural milieu of the country.[414] Although numerous studies have been made of the Centenary Generation, little attention has been paid to their stand on immigration, which is a key concern to understand the ethnic, cultural and political criteria used by the nationalist intellectuals in their notion of nationhood. This is crucial to envision how the nationalist discourse had effects on the colonisation and immigration policies implemented during this period, public policies which are telling of the scope and sway achieved of the nationalist narrative.

The literature regarding the relationship between nationalism and immigration in Chile is scarce, especially in comparison with other similar countries such as Argentina;[415] this contrast might partially be explained by the relative importance of

[412] See: Góngora, *Ensayo Histórico Sobre La Noción de Estado En Chile En Los Siglos XIX y XX*; Corvalán, *Nacionalismo y Autoritarismo durante el siglo XX en Chile*; Pinedo, 'Apuntes para un mapa intelectual de Chile: 1900-1925'.
[413] Rinke, *Cultura de Masas: Reforma y Nacionalismo 1910-1931*, 17.
[414] See: 'Tomo IV: Nacionalismo y Cultura' in: Subercaseaux, *Historia de las Ideas y la Cultura en Chile*; Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile. Cultural Politics, Nationalism and the Rise of the Middle Class*; Barr-Melej, 'Imaginando el campo: Nacionalismo Cultural, Política y la búsqueda de la chilenidad, 1891-1941.'
[415] Bertoni, *Patriotas, cosmopolitas y nacionalistas: la construcción de la nacionalidad argentina a fines del siglo XIX*; Lilia A. Bertoni, 'Acerca de la nación y la ciudadanía en la Argentina: concepciones en conflicto a fines del siglo XIX.', in *La vida política en la Argentina del siglo XIX. Armas, votos y voces.* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003); DeLaney, 'Imagining La Raza Argentina.'; Jeane DeLaney, 'Immigration, Identity, and Nationalism in Argentina, 1850-1950.', in *Immigration and National Identities in Latin America.* (United States: University Press of Florida., 2014).

immigration expressed in absolute numbers in both countries.[416] The scholarship usually portrays Chile as a country where the rise of a nationalist discourse did not affect its cosmopolitan mindset because nationalism was not transformed into a hostile narrative against foreigners. According to Patrick Barr-Melej and Bernardo Subercaseaux, nationalism's main focus was to achieve social integration; hence, immigrants were omitted or not treated as a pressing matter by the intellectuals. This constitutes a difference with what happened in Argentina, where nationalism and its cultural manifestation, *criollismo,* was used as a banner to attack the presence of the immigrants and reject their influence in the country. Conversely, in Chile, it was used only to undermine the oligarchy and its Europhile culture.[417] Carl Solberg extensively studied this phenomenon in Chile and Argentina by arguing that Chilean nationalism emerged as a discourse focused more on economic aspects since it was directed towards nationalising natural resources and ceasing economic dependency. Moreover, he claimed that from a political perspective, "the impact of the foreign-born never became an issue in Chile" because of its limited size.[418] This argument dismisses the Centenary Generation's influence and its cultural nationalist discourse on the grounds that few intellectuals and politicians followed the romantic idea of the Chilean race or used it for xenophobic aims. The same argument was made by Stefan Rinke, who compared the anti-German sentiment experienced during the First World War in Argentina and Brazil with episodes of xenophobic violence against colonists and their patrimony, which were the result of new legislation directed against German minorities. "By contrast, the situation in Chile remained calm", where Germans maintained mostly undisturbed lives and kept their informal ties with the political elite thanks to the overwhelmingly positive image that they enjoyed in the country.[419]

[416] According to the 1907 Census the Chilean population was 3,249,279, out of which 134,524 were foreigners representing a 4,1% of the population. In 1914 Census the total population of Argentina was 7,885,237 out of which 2,357,952 were foreigners, and 33,219 were foreign-born naturalized, which combined represented a 30,3% of the population. See: Ramón E. Santalices et al., 'Memoria Presentada al Supremo Gobierno por la Comisión Central del Censo.' (Santiago, Chile.: Chilean Government., 30 April 1907); Comisión Nacional and Presidente Alberto B. Martínez, 'Tercer Censo Nacional. Levantado El 1 de Junio de 1914.', 1916, 416–17.

[417] Subercaseaux, 'Raza y Nación: Ideas operantes y políticas públicas en Chile, 1900-1940.'; Barr-Melej, 'Imaginando el campo: Nacionalismo Cultural, Política y la búsqueda de la chilenidad, 1891-1941.', 96.

[418] Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism. Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914.*, 128.

[419] Rinke, 'The Reconstruction of National Identity: German Minorities in Latin America during the First World War.', 176.

The internationalist dimension of Chilean nationalism during the early twentieth century has been usually overlooked by historiography. The racialised and inward-looking nationalism that emerged with the Centenary Generation has been interpreted as mutually exclusive from any attempt to promote a wider supranational union. In this sense, there has been neglect of focussing on their anti-imperialist strand and their contribution in articulating wider forms of continental nationalism. On the contrary, scholars have focused mostly on how Chile reacted to the menaces posed by European and American imperialisms from a geopolitical dimension. The Monroe Doctrine and the Pan-American Congresses initiated by the US have been analysed as tools which secured American hegemony in the Western Hemisphere.[420] In this sense, it is general consent that Chile attempted to protect its sphere of influence in Latin America through a policy of containment by using its favourable position at the eyes of foreign powers and its diplomatic ascendency to protect both Chilean and the Latin American's autonomy.[421] As far as projects of a continental union are concerned, most studies revolve around the emergence of Indo-Americanism thought during the early twentieth century led by populist and Marxist oriented movements in the region such as the Mexican Revolution and the APRA in Peru, as well as their followers in Chile who were represented by the Socialist Party.[422] Conversely, little attention has been paid to the Centenary Generation's contribution to re-assess the region's ethnocultural *ethos* as a means towards a broader political and economic union to confront the dual threat coming from European imperialism and US expansionism in the Americas.

According to most historians of this period, nationalism grew in parallel to the overwhelming prestige that the immigrant had in the country, and its reformist agenda

[420] Alex Bryne, *The Monroe Doctrine and United States National Security in the Early Twentieth Century.*, Security, Conflict and Cooperation in the Contemporary World (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 7.
[421] See: William Sater, *Chile and the United States: Empires in Conflict.* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1990); Chapter 2: 'Las tareas de la Paz y del Nuevo Siglo, 1900-1910' in: Joaquín Fermandois, *Mundo y Fin de Mundo. Chile en la Política Mundial* (Santiago, Chile.: Universidad Católica de Chile, 2005).
[422] See: 'Chapter 6: Nation and Trans-nation' in: Stefan Rinke, *Latin America and the First World War* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Fabio Moraga, '¿Un Partido Indoamericanista En Chile? La Nueva Acción Pública y El Partido Aprista Peruano (1931-1933)', *Histórica* 33, no. 2 (2009): 109–56; Alfred Hinrichsen, 'El Nacionalismo del Partido Socialista chileno durante su primera década de existencia, 1933-1943', in *Perspectivas para el estudio de Ideas y Proyectos Políticos en el Chile Contemporáneo.* (Viña del Mar, Chile: Ediciones Instituto de Historia Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, 2020), 165–208.

affected little the situation of the European colonists living in Chile. This optimistic view is challenged throughout this chapter by arguing that an ethnocultural discourse emerged in the country which led to several consequences. First, this racialised idea of the Chilean nationhood did fuel an anti-immigration narrative that promoted changes in the colonisation policies. These policies sought to benefit national colonists at the expense of Europeans. Secondly, the nationalist discourse promoted changes in the immigration policies which established several restrictions and tighter controls from 1918 onwards. Even on an international level, nationalism was mobilised to advocate for projects of continental union as a response to different forms of foreign imperialisms. Nevertheless, the nationalist intellectuals also supported the naturalisation of the European colonists by stressing their condition as new citizens of the Republic with identical political and civil rights as the native-born, in an effort to assimilate them to the Chilean nationhood gradually.

1. The Chilean Race: Patriarchal features, the exceptionality of the roto and debates about ethnic composition.

The emergence of an ethnocultural nationalist discourse during the first three decades of the twentieth century had several consequences in the country's cultural and intellectual milieu. First and foremost, it established a racialised idea of Chilean nationhood based on innate cultural and biological traits that resulted from the specific racial composition and history of the Chilean people. In addition, it framed the debate around the homogeneity of the Chilean race. The ethnocultural nationalist discourse was also used to denounce the country's social divide. Intellectuals argued that social cohesion was under threat because of the increasingly aristocratic attitudes of the elite, their adoption of European cultural patterns, and their reluctance to address the needs of common people. Finally, this racialised nationalism also influenced the country's political self-image, since it was used as an additional argument to buttress the idea of the Chilean exceptionality in Spanish America due to the supposedly unique features of the Chilean race.

Early signs of ethnocultural nationalistic discourse emerged in the country during the War of the Pacific (1879-1884), when the *roto's* mythification began by

depicting the popular classes as embodiments of a soldierly spirit.[423] This myth was extensively used as propaganda during the conflict and it fuelled the *roto's* popularity as a national icon. But only when the intellectuals of the Centenary Generation adopted this figure as a Chilean archetype, attempting to use it to justify their sociological and scientific racism, did a nationalist discourse emerge with sufficient intellectual weight to challenge the liberal and cosmopolitan *ethos* of the period. Nicolás Palacios' "*Raza Chilena"* published in 1904,[424] laid the foundations of the twentieth century Chilean racialised nationalist discourse, drawing on Herbert Spencer's and Gustave Le Bon's works. Palacios identified the Chilean people as a "historical race", which resulted from over three centuries of coexistence and racial fusion between indigenous peoples and Iberian conquistadors. According to this theory, the Chilean national race was the product of a unique *mestizaje* process in Spanish America, which resulted in a strikingly homogenous nation. This was based on the lack of an African component in its racial composition and – allegedly – on a remarkably stable process of miscegenation between male Spanish soldiers and captured Araucanian women; the latter, Palacios claimed, was the inevitable outcome of the lack of Spanish women in Chilean territory due to the dangers of the ongoing Arauco War with the natives.

Palacios led a cohort of intellectuals who shared his interpretation about the positive racial features of the indigenous people. All the Centenary Generation members had a romanticised image of the Araucanian as a warrior-race with all the masculine or virile attributes usually deemed to be innate to such peoples. This war-prowess and bellicose spirit was exalted as without a match in history. For instance, Luis Galdames (1881-1941) – prestigious educator, lawyer and historian – stated that "there is none, or has ever existed, another people […], none that had shown more patriotism, more courage and warrior energy, at any time in any place in the world."[425] According to these intellectuals, despite being savages in almost every other sense, the Mapuche were highly praised as the only Native-American people who could

[423] See: Gabriel Cid, 'Un ícono fundacional: la invención del roto como símbolo nacional. 1870-1888', in *Nación y Nacionalismo en Chile. Siglo XIX.*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Santiago, Chile.: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2009).
[424] Nicolás Palacios (1854-1911). Medic and writer. His attitude towards foreigners and the Chilean worker is heavily influenced by his years working at the nitrate mines in the Tarapacá desert.
[425] Luis Galdames, *Estudio de la Historia de Chile.*, 2nd Edition (Santiago, Chile.: Imprenta Universitaria, 1911), 24.

withstand and ultimately defeat the biggest European empire of its time. These intellectuals claimed that this could only be explained due to the innate soldierly qualities of the indigenous race.

If on the one hand there was a consensus regarding the depiction of the Araucanians of pre-Columbian and colonial times, on the other hand a debate began amongst nationalist intellectuals about how to interpret the Iberian conquistador's racial features, more specifically, about their Germanic or Latin/Mediterranean racial origin. Nicolás Palacios was the leading voice to claim that the Spanish *conquistadores* who populated the country had Germanic roots. According to him, these soldier/colonists were the true descendants of "the Goths, the archetype of the Teutonic race, Germanic or Nordic, which maintained almost intact its racial caste";[426] they came to Chile motivated only for the glory of fighting against the ferocious Araucanians. In this interpretation, the Chilean territory was populated by the unique warrior-race amongst all the indigenous people of the continent, and by a Germanic warrior-caste. Unsurprisingly, the result of the fusion between the two was the creation of a new and enhanced patriarchal race, the *Chilean roto,* who was classified by Nicolás Palacios, Tancredo Pinochet, Luis Galdames and others as an "Araucanian-Goth".[427] Conversely, another group of intellectuals stressed the conquistadors' Hispanic legacy by heightening their values as the true roots of the national race. Chile is part of the Latin races and,[428] as such, the *roto* is an heir of their superior values of honour, religiosity and communitarian spirit that distinguish Mediterranean peoples and their descendants from the egotistic, individualistic, and materialistic Anglo-Saxon nations.[429] According to Alberto Cabero,[430] Latin Americans and Chileans, in particular, were the best representatives of these Hispanic values because, after more than 300 years of colonisation, all the best elements of Spain came to settle in the

[426] Nicolás Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 2nd Edition. (1st Edition in 1904), vol. I (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Chilena, 1918), 36.
[427] Palacios, I:36; Galdames, *Estudio de la Historia de Chile.*, 48; Tancredo Pinochet, *Si yo fuera Presidente.* (Secretaria del Comité Central Pro-Candidatura Presidencial Tancredo Pinochet, Santiago, Chile: Editorial Gutenberg, 1938), 9.
[428] Alberto Edwards, *Obras de don José Joaquín Vallejo (Jotabeche)*, Biblioteca de Escritores de Chile, VI (Santiago, Chile.: Imprenta Barcelona, 1911), XVII.
[429] Joaquín Edwards Bello, *Nacionalismo Continental*, (1st Edition in 1925) (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Zig-Zag, 1968), 133.
[430] Alberto Cabero (1874-1955). Lawyer and Senator for the Radical Party in the periods 1915-1918 and 1926-1937. Member of the Government Junta of the Socialist Republic in 1932.

New World; a “blood-drain” that also left the Old World without their most noticeable warriors, industrialists and businessmen.[431]

This debate had further implications: on the one hand, it presents two alternative ways of arguing in favour of Chilean exceptionality; on the other hand, it justified the rejection of European colonists of a supposedly different racial origin. Palacios’s and his followers' works seem to suggest that biology dictated the superiority of the country: its North-European ancestry positioned Chile as a simile to England or Prussia in South America, as it was commonly stated at the time appealing to its naval tradition, commercial success, army’s reforms and many other flattering comparisons made to reinforce the alleged exceptional status of Chile in the region.[432] This was an attempt to separate Chile from the rest of the continent by rejecting its Hispanic past. In turn, it was also a way to advocate for greater restrictions on “Latin immigrants” who were deemed to be inherently inferior to the Chilean Germanic race. Conversely, the second group were *Hispanistas.* As such, they had the highest regard for other Spanish American countries and European-Latins; according to them, this culture explained Chile’s superiority over England or the United States. Nevertheless, the racialised argument was still used to justify Chile’s superiority over the rest of the continent when necessary.

Regardless of the debate over the presence or absence of German and Latin blood in the Chilean race, all the Centenary Generation’s intellectuals defined the *roto* by using the same masculine portrait of its virtues. From its indigenous and European ancestry, the Chilean race inherited patriarchal features which were not only expressed in war-related aptitudes but also in other ‘manly’ attributes such as high skills in manual labour. The Chilean worker was recurrently praised for his resilience, vigour, strength and even for his astuteness; all these features positioned the Chilean labourer as one of the world’s best and superior workers in comparison with any European workforce.[433] Nevertheless, the nationalist intellectuals had a binary theory

[431] Alberto Cabero, *Chile y los chilenos.* (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Nascimento, 1926), 94–95.
[432] William Sater studies the army case in depth. According to him, the military mission led by Emilio Korner “…indeed transformed the Chileans into the ‘Prussians of South America’.”, or at least this was Chilean aspiration in terms of doctrine and military equipment. See: William Sater and Holger Herwig, *The Grand Illusion. The Prussianization of the Chilean Army.* (United States: The University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 3.
[433] Francisco A. Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad económica.*, 7th Edition (1st Edition in 1911) (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 1990), 84–85.

of the races that came from their organic conception of History. This was first expressed in the subdivision between “matriarchal” and “patriarchal” races, as well as in the notion that each set of virtues associated with one of those racial types must have a negative complement incarnated in inherited flaws or weaknesses. For example, the reverse side of the coin of the warrior-like virtues was the “conqueror mentality”; this would explain the alleged unwillingness of the Chilean elite to take part in businesses or endeavours in which a long-term commitment was required since the Chilean elite had a predilection for obtaining wealth by force.[434] The downside of the talent for manual labour’s skills was the ineptitude to master more abstract or intellectual tasks: in this case, the average Chilean was deemed to be a person with no refinement or artistic taste who would struggle to excel in liberal arts or scholarly endeavours.

The racialised theory of the Chilean nationalist intellectuals followed a binary logic. They subdivided the world-races into patriarchal and matriarchal races according to gendered reasonings. The former was deemed to be the quintessential stereotype of ‘manly’ attributes, while the latter was characterised by the traditional feminine aptitudes; both functioned in a relation of complementary opposition to each other. This dual logic seems to be widespread in Western Europe’s national imagination,[435] but it has yet to be explored in the Chilean case. Although the nationalist intellectuals never explained this explicitly, their binary logic seems to work as follows: if on the one hand the patriarchal race was bellicose, expansionist and a conqueror, on the other hand, the matriarchal race was pacifist, sedentary and submissive; if the patriarchal race was industrial, pragmatic and productive, the matriarchal race was commercial, idealistic and idle; even in terms of behaviour, if the patriarchal race was laconic, severe and austere in its manners, the matriarchal races were amiable, relaxed and opulent in mindset. There were no nuances since any mixture was deemed to be a degeneration, any hue a tarnish of its original value. Indeed, an uncritical and profoundly a-historical mentality is evident in these depictions. They were based on a static-historical interpretation in which the racial spirit was inalterable throughout the times; however, in its history, this racial-spirit may

[434] Encina, 66–67.
[435] See: ‘Culture, Nation and Gender’ in: Ida Bloom, Karen Hageman, and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations. Nationalism and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century.* (Oxford: Berg, 2000).

have shown different phases of “feminisation” (crisis) or “expansion” (apogee). The gendered and openly favourable divide in benefit of manly attributes is embedded in this narrative, as well as its hierarchisation since it considered the feminine traits as inherently lower in dignity and value than their masculine counterparts in each race.

The Centenary Generation used their ethnocultural nationalism extensively to denounce the social divide in the country. Framed in the debate over the racial homogeneity of the Chilean population, the intellectuals condemned the widening socioeconomic gap between the oligarchy and the popular classes by using two different argumentative strategies. The first one argued in favour of racial homogeneity, but with the caveat that the new cosmopolitan elite was losing its traditional social solidarity because of its lack of national consciousness. The alternative approach contended the extent of the social stratification in the country, challenging the notion that it affected Chilean racial composition by subdividing its population into two completely different social classes and races. In any case, there was a clear attempt to highlight the social question and an explicit criticism of the upper classes for their failure to address it. Conversely, by overlooking this acute social criticism to the elites, some scholars proposed that the Centenary Generation were an expression of the Chilean oligarchy. For instance, J. Pinedo claims that “…Chilean nationalism was an ideology which hides class contradictions […] Here we have a discourse used to hide the social differences through a so-called egalitarian national identity.”[436] Such an interpretation is pertinent to only one of the nationalist intellectuals, namely, Nicolás Palacios. According to him, the racial homogeneity of the Chilean population was absolute, and all the compatriots had an identical character since “one is our moral and social criteria”.[437] Consequently, this has meant a negation of the social divide and of every form of class struggle.

However, the rest of the intellectuals were decisive in their critique of the social divide by using one of the argumentation strategies identified above. Tancredo Pinochet and Alejandro Venegas are amongst those who argued in favour of racial homogeneity. Still, they also asserted that social inequality was undermining any connection and relationship between the upper and working classes by eroding Chile’s social cohesion. Pinochet illustrated his case with evidence for the harsh living

[436] Pinedo, ‘Apuntes para un mapa intelectual de Chile: 1900-1925’, 36.
[437] Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918, I:39.

conditions of the peasants in Chile's rural regions who were treated as a "slave-race" even on the President of the Republic's estate.[438] Alejandro Venegas (1871-1922) – prolific writer and prominent teacher - claimed that the alienation and moral decay of the oligarchy could also be seen in their marriage practices since, according to him, family endogamy was widespread.[439] Some intellectuals argued that the social divide was so acute that it affected the racial composition by establishing an ethnic and socioeconomic gap between the oligarchy and the *Chilean roto*. Amongst them, Joaquín Edwards Bello was the most prolific author to denounce this situation,[440] as shown in a series of press articles written in 1923. He stated that the elite was of "pure European-blood" with no indigenous ancestry, in contrast to the popular classes. This racial division explains, according to him, why the elite wanted to maintain the *roto* as a "servant-caste".[441] It is worth noticing that for these authors, the oligarchy was considered degenerate, alienated and/or exploitative and that the true embodiment of the Chilean race were the lower and middle classes. The purpose of the Centenary Generation's nationalism was to give agency to the *roto* as an active part of the Chilean nationhood, undermining in the process the cosmopolitan culture of the ruling elites who were cast as the *"*other*"*. The elites' Europhile way of life and their contempt for the rest of the Chileans made them "foreigners" at the eyes of these intellectuals who labelled them as the enemies of the people and blamed them for the critical state of the Chilean race.

The Centenary Generation's racialised discourse was appropriated to justify the idea of Chilean political exceptionality. In this sense, racial and cultural elements worked as supports of civic and political arguments, giving an ethnocultural hue to the traditional state-based patriotism widely promoted during the Chilean nineteenth century. For instance, Alberto Cabero stated that the Chilean race had "political virtues" incorporated to its patriarchal features since – according to him – the Chilean

[438] Tancredo Pinochet, *Inquilinos en la Hacienda de su Excelencia.*, First Edition 1916 (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial ICIRA, 1970), 103.
[439] 'Carta Vijésima Sesta', Viña del Mar, December 1910 in: Venegas, *Sinceridad. Chile Íntimo en 1910*, 364.
[440] Joaquín Edwards Bello (1887-1968). Prolific writer, journalist and novelist. He won the National Literary Award (1943) and National Journalism Award (1959). Author of more than 30 novels, his first book *El Inútil* was published in 1910 and his most renowned novel *El Roto* in 1920, in most of them he was overly critical of the elite attitude towards the popular classes and of Chile's widening social gap.
[441] See: 'No existe homogeneidad de la raza (i), (ii), (iii)', published between July 20th - July 22nd 1923 in: Joaquín Edwards Bello, *Crónicas Reunidas. 1921-1925* (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universidad Diego Portales, 2008), 37–57.

was respectful of social hierarchies and disliked violent revolutions.[442] More importantly, he claimed that the racial homogeneity, due to the lack of black-race population in the country, was the single most important element to explain Chilean political stability and its superiority over other "tropical" Republics of the continent.[443] Alberto Edwards (1874-1932), prominent conservative lawyer, deputy and writer, established the same idea from a different perspective by arguing that the peaceful constitutional regime enjoyed in the country since the 1830s was due to the racial attributes of the ruling elite. He argued that they were descendants of Northern-Spaniards/Basques who were known for their pragmatism and political good judgement, not like the Andalusian descendants that ruled in other parts of the continent. At last, Edwards stated that the "Chilean aristocracy was also the outcome of racial selection."[444] According to him, a "Basque-Goth" race, from which the Chilean elite descended, constituted a natural aristocracy in the world because of its love of freedom and democratic spirit combined with unrestricted respect of tradition, order and family; hence, this would explain the presumed Chilean Republican and racial exceptionality.[445]

The racialised argument could also be inverted by establishing the Republic and its institutions as foundations of Chilean racial homogeneity. This was the claim of Luis Galdames when he argued that during the colony the racial caste system was maintained in Chile,[446] resulting in stark social divisions between whites and *mestizos,* and thus, only once the Republic was founded, did "the idea of Fatherland [*Patria*] and nationhood [develop]. What was just a motley human gathering, two different peoples overlapping, became a nation."[447] He advocated the promotion of racial miscegenation

[442] Cabero, *Chile y los chilenos.*, 78.
[443] Cabero, 57.
[444] Alberto Edwards, *La Fronda Aristocrática en Chile.* (Santiago, Chile.: Imprenta Nacional, 1928), 4.
[445] 4 years before the publication of *La Fronda Aristocrática*, one can find this article in *El Mercurio*. The striking similarity in terms of the main thesis, examples and the fact that Alberto Edwards was a regular contributor of this newspaper allows to think that the initials stated were just one of the many pseudonyms used by him. See: C.S.V., 'Los vascos y su raza', *El Mercurio*, 17 November 1924.
[446] The traditional racial castes were based on the difference between White Europeans, African-descendants and Indigenous people, and their respective mixtures. Traditionally, the racial mixtures were as follows: between White-European and native resulted in the *mestizo*; the fusion between White-European and African-descendant resulted in *mulato*; finally, the miscegenation between African-descendant and indigenous people resulted in *zambo*. In Chile, the mainstream interpretation during the early twentieth century dismissed the presence of *mulato* and *zambo*, focusing only on the difference between *Peninsulares* (pure White-European born in Spain), *criollos* (pure white-European born in the Americas) and *mestizos*, which constituted the majority of the population.
[447] Luis Galdames, *Jeografía Económica de Chile.* (Santiago, Chile.: Imprenta Universitaria, 1911), 59.

through a common public education system while extending civil and political rights to the entire population. In various ways, the Centenary Generation's intellectuals combined ethnocultural and civic arguments in their nationalist discourse. In this narrative, the features of the national race explained the idea of Chilean political exceptionality and superiority in the continent. At the same time, the Republic promoted the formation of national consciousness and the elimination of artificial social distinctions, which resulted in the fostering of the racial homogeneity. In short, racial and political arguments were intertwined and mutually complementary to explain why the Chilean race and republic were unique in the continent.

To conclude, the Centenary Generation's racialised nationalist discourse that emerged during the first three decades of the twentieth century was based on a highly ambiguous idea of the "Chilean race", which – as happened with the *"Raza Argentina"* in the neighbouring country – "proved to be an empty screen upon which any number of images could be projected".[448] This gave each intellectual the necessary freedom of movement to portray at will the origins, features or scope of the racial homogeneity or the political implications ascribed to the national race. This essayistic attitude gained momentum by reaching the wider public, giving way to the publication of the most extravagant theories, as seen in one article which argued that the Araucanian's origins came from Central Europe. This preposterous idea was based on presumed commonalities in language, craftmanship and weaponry with "the old Caucasian race" settled in the south Baltic area,[449] reinforcing the alleged notion that Chile belongs to the White – if not Germanic – race from both sides of its fusion, the Spanish/Goth and the Indigenous/Baltic. Nevertheless, a consensus existed in some elements of the Centenary Generation. First, the oligarchy was becoming gradually more cosmopolitan, alienated and "foreign", and that it was eroding the country's social cohesion; secondly, that Chile's political and racial exceptionality were mutually complementary. This resulted in the conviction that the degeneration of any of those elements would trigger negative consequences for the other. The latter sheds light on the anti-immigration stand that nationalists had adopted since any corruptive influence

[448] DeLaney, 'Imagining La Raza Argentina.', 149–50.
[449] Pedro Eduardo González García, 'Los araucanos provienen del centro de Europa', *El Mercurio*, 4 February 1928.

which was brought by unfit or unwanted immigrants could have severe effects on the country's racial heritage and on its republican well-being.

2. Nationalist discourse as an anti-immigration narrative.

The emergence of the Centenary Generation gave rise to an intellectual movement which articulated a hostile discourse against foreigners and immigrants for the first time in Chilean republican history. Unexpectedly, the cosmopolitan and liberal attitude maintained by the elites and the intellectuals since the second half of the nineteenth century was being challenged by an alternative ethnocultural and nationalistic narrative that portrayed the foreigner as a menace to the well-being of the country. According to the centenary intellectuals, the survival of the nation was at stake due to the arrival of an unregulated and massive influx of immigrants. As Nicolás Palacios claimed, "the Chilean people were liable to disappear if a nationalist reaction does not come soon to bring a halt to its march towards extinction."[450] To others, such as Joaquín Edwards Bello, the colonisation policies sponsored by the Government meant a collective and national suicide because the Chilean was being displaced in his own country by the European colonists who were actively favoured by the state's racist public policies.[451] As these warnings show, within the intellectual spheres, there was an awareness and a deep concern of the dangers surrounding the immigration phenomenon, in contradiction to what the current historiography states about the lack of a xenophobic element in the Chilean nationalist discourse. Furthermore, this discourse was driven by ethnocultural considerations since the immigrants were deemed a threat to the national spirit, values, and racial heritage. Such considerations even influenced the economic reasonings that Carl Solberg identifies as the causes of Chilean nationalism. The analysis of this section is divided into two different but complementary aspects of the anti-immigration discourse: its racial component, which represents the 'biological threat' to the nation; and its cultural strand, meaning the disruptive influence that the newcomers could have on the Chilean people.

The nationalist discourse of the Centenary intellectuals was based on the premises of Social Darwinism, especially on Gustave Le Bon's work. According to the

[450] Nicolás Palacios, *Decadencia del espíritu de nacionalidad.* (Santiago, Chile.: Conferencia dictada en Salón Central de la Universidad de Chile., 1908), 23.
[451] 'Reemplazo progresivo del indígena', May 2nd 1924 in: Edwards Bello, *Crónicas Reunidas. 1921-1925*, 290.

French sociologist, any form of miscegenation is negative since it degenerates the inner properties of the races by creating mixed-blood individuals with an unstable and uneven character; in the long term, this means the complete disappearance of the distinctive features of each race. This notion presented a challenge to the Chilean nationalists since the *roto* was the product of crossbreeding between Europeans and natives. Hence, if one is strict with this interpretation, the national race would be considered as degenerate and inherently flawed. The conundrum was solved by using Herbert Spencer's work. The English anthropologist stated that the positive or negative outcome of racial fusions depended on the races' commonalities to be mixed: if each race was analogous to the other - in this case both sharing patriarchal or matriarchal features – the outcome should have been an improvement. In contrast, the opposite result would occur if the contributing races were "asymmetrical". Nicolás Palacios used this theory to justify his two major findings: that the Chilean race was a positive outcome of the miscegenation process since it resulted from the fusion of two patriarchal races; and that any matriarchal race should be banned from Chilean territory because of the dangers that a racial mixture would have implied to the national character. [452]

Some intellectuals favoured condemning immigration based purely on ethnic considerations, as happened with the "Latin races" represented by the Mediterranean nations, particularly by the Italians. To Palacios, the Latin races were matriarchal in nature; consequently, Palacios labelled them as commercial, seductive, artistically refined, idealistic, passionate, somewhat idle and sedentary people; in sum, they represented the opposite of the Chilean race's patriarchal traits. He identified three potential dangers with the Latins' arrival: the feminisation of the Chilean 'manly' character, the unjust economic competition in certain trades, and finally the displacement of the Chilean worker by the newcomers.

Beginning with the latter, Palacios claimed to have unveiled a conspiracy sponsored by Mediterranean Governments to populate Chile with foreign colonists as a first step to the gradual replacement of the native inhabitants and the eventual seizure of the country. According to him, a propaganda-machine of foreign-owned newspapers and journals promoted mass immigration of Italians and Spaniards and

[452] Nicolás Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 2nd Edition. (1st Edition in 1904), vol. II (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Chilena, 1918), 156.

published false news to discredit the Chilean *roto* to the country's public opinion.[453] This conspiracy explained why the Chilean authorities were so eager to attract Latins as colonists to the country and why, according to Palacios's estimations, the Mediterranean immigrants increased their numbers dramatically. By 1904 Palacios calculated that at least 10,000 Latins had already settled in the country, roughly representing the 3% of the population.[454] The problem was not only quantitative but also qualitative since most immigrants of Mediterranean origin established monopolies in key aspects of the economy, such as domestic commerce and manufacturing. To explain his theory, Palacios used the example of the clothing industry in which 90 out of 120 factories were owned by Spaniards, Italians, or French. The author of *Raza Chilena* also used as an example the retail shops, an economic activity in which the Italians alone controlled 144 out of 182 food/goods distribution companies. Palacios claimed that the Latins were obstructing the possibility of Chilean entrepreneurs to compete in those areas. What is most striking about this conclusion is that it was not merely based on economic reasonings, but it was also rooted in a racialised attitude. The explanation that Palacios gave was founded on the Italians' matriarchal attributes. Such features allowed them to thrive at the expenses of the Chileans who – with their severe patriarchal manners – did not have the tools to compete with them in commerce-related activities, unless the Chileans contaminated themselves by adopting Latin "feminine" behaviours.[455] Surprisingly, during this period the press echoed some of Palacios' worries about the Italians, who were severely targeted with harsh critiques. Their arrival was qualified as "disastrous" and their migrants as "poor", "sick" and "idle"; these attacks were heightened after Benito Mussolini's ascendancy to power: the Italian colonists came to be seen as a major threat to Chilean sovereignty due to *Il Duce's* fascist and imperialist ambitions.[456]

[453] Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918, I:40.
[454] Based on the 1907 Census 18.755 Spaniards, 13.023 Italians and 9.800 French lived in Chile, which proved how wrong Palacios was since the number of the combined "Latins" in Chile represented a meagre 1,2% of the total population. See: Santalices et al., 'Memoria Presentada al Supremo Gobierno por la Comisión Central del Censo.'
[455] Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918, II:121.
[456] Although the major critiques were to the lack of virtues of the colonists, also denounces were addressed towards the lack of job opportunities in the country and particularly the lack of morality of the Colonisation Agencies in Europe, who brought people via lies and scams. See: Le Berti, 'La inmigración italiana a Chile', *El Ferrocarril*, 6 October 1890; 'Prensa Nacional. Sobre inmigrantes', *El Ferrocarril*, 21 August 1890; Emilio Tagle, 'El nuevo concepto sobre migración en Europa', *El Mercurio*, 27 February 1928.

The list of unwanted peoples contains other "matriarchal" races such as the Jews and other minorities including African-descendants and Asians. The anti-Semitism of the nationalist intellectuals was particularly acute in Palacios, who blamed Jews and Latins for spreading degenerate ideologies such as feminism and socialism,[457] and in Alberto Edwards, who believed that the new Chilean bourgeoisie was being contaminated by an "Israelite disdain for anything that is not gold."[458] In addition to this xenophobic trend, in the Nationalist Party's programme of 1918, Guillermo Subercaseaux, a highly regarded economist and Senator,[459] stated that the Asian races should be banned from the country because they were "a ruinous competition to the Chilean workers and because they represent a culture that must not be considered by us as an ideal."[460] Finally, Tancredo Pinochet and Alberto Cabero targeted black people with racist remarks; the first warned against the immigration of Asians and African-descendants alike because not even the United States was successful in their attempts to assimilate such exotic races.[461] Cabero warned that countries with *"*abundant African blood*"* amongst their population are prone to political anarchy,[462] and urged the government to prohibit the entrance of such peoples to Chile.

Contrary to what Carl Solberg suggested, this xenophobic attitude cannot be explained solely from an economic perspective. Racialised elements in the intellectuals' anti-migrant discourse are evident in particular when the meagre number of Africans, Asians, and Jews who lived in the country is considered.[463] It is difficult to explain the economic reasoning behind the nationalist claim which states that the immigrants were replacing the national workforce when the sum of all the "unwanted

[457] See: 'Funesta influencia de los literatos judíos' in: Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918.
[458] Edwards, *La Fronda Aristocrática en Chile.*, 306.
[459] Ramón Guillermo Subercaseaux (1872-1959). Civil Engineer, Academic and Economist. Conservative deputy in consecutive periods between 1909-1919 and Senator in the period 1924-1930. Three times he was appointed as Minister of Treasury (in 1907, 1919-1920, 1923-1924). Professor at the Universidad de Chile since 1902 and Founder of the Nationalist party in 1915.
[460] Guillermo Subercaseaux, *Los ideales nacionalistas ante el doctrinarismo de nuestros partidos políticos históricos.* (Santiago, Chile.: Imprenta Universitaria, 1918), 28.
[461] Tancredo Pinochet, *La Conquista de Chile en el siglo XX.* (Santiago, Chile.: Imprenta, Lit. y Encuadernación La Ilustración, 1909), 26.
[462] Cabero, *Chile y los chilenos.*, 56.
[463] According to the 1907 Census, only 4 immigrants came from Africa, 1.920 were originally from China, 209 were Japanese, and only 90 persons identified themselves as Jews (regardless of their nationality). See: Santalices et al., 'Memoria Presentada al Supremo Gobierno por la Comisión Central del Censo.'

races" was roughly 1.3% of the total population,[464] or why the highly corruptive influence of the Jews was denounced when there were 90 of them in the whole country. Apparently, the intellectuals' main motivation was to protect the "purity" of the Chilean race's ethnic and cultural heritage from the perceived threats of foreign influences; thus, the economic reasonings that these intellectuals used were just a cover-up of their main racist agenda.

These cultural considerations were also used to criticise the 'civilising' aim of governments which promoted European immigration, since the Centenary Generation thought that the cultural background of the newcomers made them unfit for that purpose. Nationalist intellectuals distinguished between what they called "voluntary or free immigrants" – the ones who embarked on colonising lands of their choice with their own resources – and the "forced or bought immigrants" – the ones who were recruited by government colonisation agencies in Europe. According to Pinochet, the best immigrants – those who were healthier, more educated and with high moral standards – chose the United States, Brazil or Argentina. The colonists who emigrated to Chile through recruitment agencies were the "incapable and the pusillanimous who were expelled from the European societies"; they were part of the worst elements of Western civilisation out of which it was impossible to rescue something positive for the country.[465] These "bought" immigrants were qualified as potential criminals because, as Palacios claimed, there was evidence that Italians, Spaniards and French were almost twice more likely to commit a felony than a fellow countryman.[466] Furthermore, the press constantly targeted these "artificial immigrations" negatively due to their high cost for the state's treasure and because of the officials' inability to enforce these colonists to fulfil their contracts; indeed it was common that, after arrival, some of them emigrated with their families to neighbouring Argentina where they had better economic prospects.[467]

[464] The combined number of Latin, Asian, Jews, and Afro-descendants in the country was 43,801 out of a total population of 3,249,279.
[465] Pinochet, *La Conquista de Chile en el siglo XX.*, 192.
[466] Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918, I:260.
[467] Although immigrants were not the only denounced, the state, due to its lack of investment in infrastructure and particularly the Colonization Agencies were harshly targeted as well. As examples, see: F. Lastarria Cavero, 'Servicio de Inmigración', *El Ferrocarril*, 27 October 1907; 'Los frutos de la colonización', *El Mercurio*, 15 December 1911; 'La Colonización en Chile', *El Mercurio*, 5 January 1916.

According to the nationalist intellectuals, the European immigrants recruited by an agency usually showed contempt for the country that received them. This was shown through the arrogant attitude that they adopted once they had arrived, a behaviour that – as Joaquín Edwards Bello stated – may only be explained by their chauvinistic sense of national superiority that made them utterly despise the laws, customs and race of the country that welcomed them.[468] In sum, the nationalists portrayed the European immigrants as Europe's worst elements, as individuals who would become more of a burden than an asset for the country, and who were unwilling to be assimilated. Hence and not surprisingly, the nationalists urged the government to halt the activities of the recruitment agencies and reform the colonisation policies.

The Centenary Generation thought that the immigrants would have a disruptive effect in the country that welcomed them because of their corrupting influence, particularly by alluring the host society into an attitude of admiration and awe towards foreign powers that made them susceptible to subordination. This argument was usually divided into two topics. The first one stresses the transformation that the elites experienced because of their contacts with foreign cultures. The second one focuses on the figure of the foreign trader. Starting with the latter, for the nationalist intellectuals, any immigrant related to overseas commerce was deemed to be an instrument used by imperialistic powers to subordinate weaker economies. For authors such as Encina, Pinochet and Palacios, the principles of economic liberalism and international cooperation were illusions elaborated by industrialised powers to hide their true goals of domination and conquest, if not through military fashion, then by subtler economic means. For them, the only international principle that exists was the inexorable struggle of races and nations.[469] Given such an outlook, one could understand their depiction of foreign merchants as immoral and utilitarian beings since it "is not the happiness of the people, its demographic increment, its moral and political progress that concerns the immigrant trader; […] The idea of nation is replaced by them with a territory more or less rich, more or less populated; their inhabitants are factors of productivity or consumption, and living instruments of exploitation."[470] For the nationalist intellectuals, the weaker races were being subdued and dominated by

[468] Edwards Bello, *Nacionalismo Continental*, 131.
[469] Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad económica.*, 114.
[470] Palacios, *Decadencia del espíritu de nacionalidad.*, 8.

the merchants, who were depicted as some sort of new breed of conquerors; in consequence, they ought to be expelled from the country.

From a cultural perspective, the foreign trader was to blame for the Chilean elite's loss of national consciousness. According to the Centenary Generation intellectuals, the foreign merchant needs to spread a sentiment of admiration amongst the population towards anything that comes from the country out of which the merchant was selling its products, as a method to eliminate the domestic competition. The merchant must also persuade the local population of its own inferiority to spur in them a desire for European/American goods, ideas, and services since anything made locally would be deemed to be of lower quality. The foreign merchant and his ally, the press, spread the Europhile sentiment to the Chilean population, especially to its upper classes, which were the most cosmopolitan within society, and as such, susceptible to be affected by overseas cultures because of their proximity to European immigrants. For instance, Alberto Cabero interpreted this "intimate contact" as a subordination and denounced the degeneration of the oligarchy which was becoming a "shallow" imitation, a parody of their masters, the French and English bourgeoisie.[471] Edwards Bello recurrently denounced this phenomenon by being even harsher in his remarks, he called the oligarchs who worked for international companies "blood-leeches" who treated the Chilean worker as a "slave-race",[472] or he dismissed the offspring of those oligarchs as worthless "hedonists" since they preferred to live in Europe instead of in Chile.[473] As these testimonies show, the Centenary Generation was convinced that the corruptive influence of the foreign traders was so acute that it would have eventually transformed the Chilean aristocracy into a European puppet, into something "non-Chilean"; once again, an alterity narrative emerged from the idea of portraying the elite as the "other", as some sort of enemy responsible for the exploitation of the Chilean population.

To conclude, the nationalist discourse that emerged with the Centenary Generation had a clearly hostile narrative against the European immigrant fuelled by either cultural or pseudo-scientific biological motivations. According to them, the survival of the Chilean *roto* as a pure patriarchal race was put in jeopardy by the arrival

[471] Cabero, *Chile y los chilenos.*, 59.
[472] 'Por Nuestra Soberanía', December 3rd 1924 in: Edwards Bello, *Crónicas Reunidas. 1921-1925*, 651–52.
[473] 'El Nacionalismo Chileno', January 29th 1925 in: Edwards Bello, 323.

of matriarchal races such as the Latins, exotic peoples such as Asians and Blacks, and foreign merchants. As the cases of the Jews and Italians clearly showed, even the economic reasonings argued by these intellectuals were facades attempting to claim substantive grounds for arguments which in truth were based on sheer racial prejudice. Their main aim was to protect the ethnic heritage of the Chilean population from any kind of degeneration as they saw happening amongst the oligarchy due to their intimate contact with foreigners. This, in turn, gave birth to a form of xenophobic and racist discourse that was alien to the Chilean tradition, at least as seen from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Nevertheless, this discourse's first weaknesses and inconsistencies came to light when the Centenary Generation's positions on the United States and other Latin American countries are explored. If the purity of the national race was so relevant for them, how it is possible that they promoted forms of political and economic union with other countries in the continent deemed to be Latin, "feminine" or lesser races? How could the notion of exceptionality can be maintained when advocating for such an integration process? How was the relation with other "patriarchal" nations, such as the Anglo-Saxon and Germanic race, akin to the allegedly Chilean race? These questions are the subject of the following section.

3. The paradoxes of the Centenary Generation project of a continental union. Chilean Exceptionality and Anti-Imperialism.

One of the Centenary Generation's major challenges was to propose policies based on their supposedly new findings about the national race as guidelines for domestic reforms as well as for an international agenda. Furthermore, to varying degrees, most of these intellectuals advocated for higher levels of cooperation and integration within Latin America as a means of protecting both regional and Chilean independence from foreign imperialist powers. Their objective was also to foster tighter regional economic bonds in order to spur industrialisation while hindering subordination towards European and North American economies. These aims led some of the intellectuals to propose a continental union built on two main pillars. The first one consisted in the acknowledgment of the country's civic and ethnocultural exceptionality, which entitled Chile to assume a position of leadership in this initiative. The second one was motivated by an evidently anti-imperialist sentiment which condemned foreign participation in the economy and geopolitics of the region as an

undue interference in Chile's autonomy and self-determination, which, in the long term, could endanger the mere survival of the national race.

The Centenary Generation's intellectuals were aware of the Chilean favourable geopolitical position amongst the Latin American countries. These intellectuals explained such preeminent position based on Chile's exceptional ethnocultural and civic traits. Alberto Edwards argued that Chile was a "functioning state" [*Estado en forma*] which achieved an unprecedented political stability amongst the Castilian speaking countries, due to the north European ascendency of its ruling elite. All this was deemed worthy of labelling the country as "the England of [Spanish] America".[474] Although Edwards never explained in detail what he meant by this comparison, one can easily notice that according to him and many other authors of his generation, Chile had a higher status in the region, a status that, potentially, made the country equal to the biggest powers of the globe. Current scholars support this claim; Stefan Rinke for instance, acknowledges Chile's privileged position by stating that, after the War of the Pacific and the annexation of Easter Island during the 1880s, "Chile's status as a colonial power in the Pacific region remained an exception [in Spanish America]."[475] This self-awareness of possessing a higher status enabled the country to pursue further international goals while granting Chile a self-imposed responsibility with the rest of Latin America to represent the region and protect it from foreign powers.

This status was maintained through diplomatic means more than via sheer military and economic power. The first Chilean diplomatic victory was seen in the Second Pan-American Conference held in Mexico in 1901-02. The United States renewed its efforts to establish a treaty by which any territorial dispute amongst Western Hemisphere countries would automatically go to international arbitration after one year if the conflict remained unsolved.[476] Chilean diplomacy was against this initiative for two reasons. First, Chilean chancellery thought that this would open an

[474] Edwards, *La Fronda Aristocrática en Chile.*, 303–4.
[475] Rinke, *Latin America and the First World War*, 34–35.
[476] Since the first Pan-American Conference held in Washington in 1889-90, the United States insisted in this forced arbitration, in addition to other policies such as the illegitimacy of territorial claims achieved through military means and the demand of territorial concessions as War Compensations from the victorious party to the defeated one. This issue remained unresolved during the Washington Conference, but it was clear how Peru, Bolivia and Argentina were against the Chilean negative stance towards these principles. See the editorial pages of: El Comercio de Lima, 'El arbitraje internacional', *El Ferrocarril*, 30 April 1890; El Ferrocarril, 'El Ferrocarril', *El Ferrocarril*, 1 May 1890; La Patria, 'En el Congreso Americano', *El Ferrocarril*, 2 May 1890.

opportunity for the US to meddling in domestic and bilateral affairs in the continent, and since the US military might was undisputed in the region, their arbitration would be impossible to resist for any country in Spanish America, which, in turn, would mean the consolidation of their hegemony in the Western Hemisphere. Secondly, it would have clashed with Chilean interests since some unresolved territorial discords remained with Peru after the War of the Pacific. After intense diplomatic efforts, Chile led the opposition to this US initiative, and made them withdraw it from the 1901-2 Conference. The US insisted on it several times during the 1910s but always failed to achieve approval because of the staunch Chilean opposition to the forced arbitration.[477] These actions reaffirmed Chilean clout; nevertheless, the early twentieth century was different from the mid-nineteenth century because a favourable position in the continent was held not only by Chile.[478] Chilean authorities and the intellectuals of this generation were aware of Argentina's and Brazil's emergence as regional powers.[479] But in this new geopolitical reality lay the opportunity to confront foreign threats, particularly, the American hegemony in the continent. The ABC nations, corresponding to Argentina, Brazil and Chile, enjoyed prestige in the eyes of Europeans and Americans alike. This caused a "great divide" between these three countries and the rest of Central, South America and the Caribbean.[480] In particular, the US saw them as civilised countries and ascending powers able to control their own destinies, and thus, as places where the US ought to restrain themselves from exercising their self-imposed mandate as the Western Hemisphere watchdogs under the Monroe Doctrine.[481] In 1914, when Veracruz was occupied by US forces in the context of post-Revolutionary Mexico, the ABC nations offered to be mediators in the

[477] Fermandois, *Mundo y Fin de Mundo. Chile en la Política Mundial*, 52.

[478] During the early twentieth century, some international commentators still stressed the Chilean favourable position in the continent. On September 24th 1901, The New York Times declared that Chile is "one of the strongest, better organized and more interesting South American republics.", "without a doubt the most militarized amongst the Spanish American states" even if it is compared with the much bigger countries of Mexico and Brazil. See: 'El Congreso Pan-Americano', *El Ferrocarril*, 7 November 1901.

[479] Some authors recognised Chilean inferiority, particularly in comparison with Argentina. Alejandro Venegas wrote in 1910 that "two colossi" are lying in the Atlantic which erases any dream of Chilean hegemony in South America by stating that it was time "to confess our inferiority". A year later, Francisco Encina declared that Argentina's vicinity must be contemplated as one of the major factors of Chilean economic inferiority since it has drained the country from some of its best elements in the form of emigrants since the 1860s onwards. See: 'Carta Décima Sesta', November 1910 in: Venegas, *Sinceridad. Chile Íntimo en 1910*, 263; Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad económica.*, 107.

[480] Bryne, *The Monroe Doctrine and United States National Security in the Early Twentieth Century.*, 65.

[481] See: 'Fellow Sponsors' in: Bryne, *The Monroe Doctrine and United States National Security in the Early Twentieth Century.*

conflict and achieved the withdrawal of the invading troops.[482] According to William Sater, this not only averted war in the region while guaranteeing the self-determination of a Latin American country, but more importantly, "marked the emergence of the ABC nations as a regional power bloc that might limit Washington's imperialist urges."[483] Once again, Chilean geopolitical exceptionality – although by then shared by Argentina and Brazil – was recognised by Latin American, European and Anglo-American countries alike. The remarkable international position achieved by the country, allowed the Centenary Generation to fuel their projects of a continental union, as well as their anti-imperialist agenda.

The early twentieth century experienced several debates about Chile's role in the international sphere, in which the members of the Centenary Generation participated actively. As previously highlighted, the official attitude in Chile was one of caution about its international alliances. Chile attempted to achieve a delicate balance between its relationships with European powers, particularly Germany and the United Kingdom, and its relationship with the United States.[484] In contrast, most thinkers of this generation framed their nationalist thought in a clearly anti-imperialist stance by denouncing Chile's vulnerability against America and Europeans in a somewhat similar degree. This sentiment commenced in mistrust of liberalism, particularly in the thought that nations can be protected by international law. Nicolás Palacios argued that "the only fixed principle, invariable in International Law [*Derecho de Gentes*], is the old one that nations have as many rights as they can defend."[485] Imperialism was perceived as an existential threat by authors such as Joaquín Edwards Bello, a "fatality" to small nations since imperialist powers "devour[ed]" the world's weakest nations.[486] Furthermore, in Spanish America, the main vulnerability towards these

[482] Stefan Rinke is sceptical about the results of such conference and the real impact that the ABC mediation had on the conflict. Nevertheless, he signposts the Niagara Falls Conference as the birth of the ABC treaty celebrated in May 1915, which reinforced the awareness of Spanish American countries to work together in order to maintain their autonomy from foreign imperialist threats. See: Stefan Rinke, *América Latina y Estados Unidos. Una historia entre espacios desde la época colonial hasta hoy.* (Madrid, Spain: Marcial Pons Historia, 2015), 117, 120–21.
[483] Sater, *Chile and the United States: Empires in Conflict.*, 82–83.
[484] The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rafael Sotomayor in a report to Joaquin Walker, Chilean ambassador in the US, addressing the naval blockade made by German, British and Italian forces to Venezuela in 1902-03, and about the American support to Panama's independence in 1903, declares that Chile "must open the door to the United States without closing the European one", and that Chile would never accept the Monroe Doctrine since it constitutes an "imposed tutelage, but never solicited". See: Fermandois, *Mundo y Fin de Mundo. Chile en la Política Mundial*, 58.
[485] Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918, II:161.
[486] Edwards Bello, *Nacionalismo Continental*, 35.

powers was its political fragmentation. The emergence of nationalist movements in each country was considered the main remedy for that vulnerability, as well as the first step towards a continental union. As Edwards Bello claimed, following the example of post-revolutionary Mexico, the twentieth century should be a time to spread "the Ibero-American Nationalist Gospel".[487] For him, without autonomous and strong nationalist movements in each country, there were no hopes for attaining his ultimate aspiration of an Ibero-American union.

Within the Centenary Generation, the author of the *Raza Chilena* was the one who targeted Europe as the main threat. Consistently with his anti-immigration stance, Palacios' major conflict was with the Latin nations, namely Spain, France and Italy. First, he claimed that their numerous immigrants in the Americas, particularly in the Southern Cone, constituted a spearhead from which further imperialist ambitions could advance. More importantly, Palacios denounced the "self-imposed mental and political tutelage" claimed by these Latin powers based on their alleged "race rights" over Spanish American countries. In Palacios' eyes, this was a fallacy since countries such as Chile retained only slight vestiges of Latin blood.[488] From which it follows that, for Palacios, there was no such thing as Latin America, and if it existed at all, it certainly did not include Chile, which had its own Arauco-Germanic patriarchal race. In contrast, Palacios was the thinker most favourable to the United States; he argues that it was their sway and oversight, under the Monroe Doctrine, which protected the continent from being split into pieces by European colonial powers once again. Furthermore, according to him, the US "democratic individualism" and their progressive mindset was akin to the "manly psychology" that the Chilean race possessed.[489] For Palacios, it seems that the Germanic or Anglo-Saxon American race was a much trustworthy ally than the monarchical European powers, renewing the old sympathies and arguments used by Sarmiento, Bilbao and other members of the 1842 Generation when they addressed the democratic and liberal links that Chile had with the United States.

Conversely, most of the Centenary Generation's intellectuals were critical of the US role in the Americas. Even those, such as Tancredo Pinochet, who recognised that the Monroe Doctrine served the purpose of protecting the continent from European

[487] 'El Salitre Trágico', June 10th 1925 in: Edwards Bello, *Crónicas Reunidas. 1921-1925*, 338.
[488] Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918, II:169–70.
[489] Palacios, II:171.

ambitions, argued that no real independence could be attained by this tutelage and urged the Spanish American countries to strengthen their economic and geopolitical power.[490] According to Pinochet, events such as the US intervention in Panama in 1903 were clear signs that the Monroe Doctrine was a façade for the US imperialist ambitions in the region. Luis Galdames shared this opinion, going back to clashes with the US such as the "Baltimore incident" in 1891 and to the Pan-American conferences, where the US had attempted to intervene in the results of the War of the Pacific. These instances allowed the audience to better understand that the colossus of the North was aiming at securing a "real and effective hegemony" in the region.[491] But the critiques were not addressed only to their geopolitical behaviour; the major criticism was framed in an ethnocultural narrative of contrasting the Latin with the Anglo-Saxon America, by stating that the misdeeds done by the US were only an expression of their inner character.

The old narrative of two Americas, used extensively during the mid-nineteenth century by Alberdi and others – who perceived American expansionism as an existential threat to the Latin races of the south of the continent – was renewed and gained momentum from the 1920s onwards. During his stay in the United States, Tancredo Pinochet wrote the essay "The Gulf of Misunderstanding", where he addressed the cultural differences between Latin and Anglo-America. Reversing the prevalent argument of Latin American scholars in the US, such as the Argentinian Alfredo Colmo, who established a flattering comparison in favour of the United States, Pinochet wondered what the US had in common with the southern countries of the continent; answering "very little: the incidental fact of its geographical location in the same hemisphere, and the external circumstance that it became independent at almost the same time". In contrast, "nearly everything [differs], and in terms so disparate that they are but little less than diametrically the opposite of one another."[492] Pinochet declared that neither in interests nor in ideals could the two Americas be joined. The utilitarian and pragmatic spirit of the US could not be applied, or even

[490] Pinochet, *La Conquista de Chile en el siglo XX.*, 17.
[491] Galdames, *Estudio de la Historia de Chile.*, 473. To consult about the Baltimore incident and its international consequences in the relationship between Chile and the US. See: Germán Bravo Valdivieso, *El Incidente del USS Baltimore: Como una gresca de marineros borrachos, en Valparaíso, estuvo a punto de provocar una guerra entre Chile y Estados Unidos.* (Altazor, 2002).
[492] Tancredo Pinochet, *The Gulf of Misunderstanding or North and South America as Seen by Each Other.* (United States: Boni & Liveright, Inc., 1920), 214–15.

understood, by the idealist spirit of the south of the continent, from which followed his utter scepticism towards any Pan-American initiative, because the incomprehension between both worlds made a true alliance unviable. To Pinochet, Pan-Americanism, or the attempt to create a *Zollverein* in the Western Hemisphere, stood for nothing more than a "colossal campaign for the commercial conquest of Latin America by the United States",[493] an interpretation that was soon echoed by *El Mercurio* from the 1920s onwards.[494]

Following the same line of argument, Alberto Cabero and Joaquín Edwards Bello justified their mistrust towards the northern giant. Both went one step further by adhering explicitly to a broader idea of Hispanism as the foundation of their divide with Anglo-America. The former addressed the "Latin soul" as focussed on beauty, justice and truth over material wellbeing and pragmatic thought, and qualified the United States as "the most civilised barbarians of the globe" because of their bluntness and money-driven mindset that dismissed any thread of idealism, delicacy and refinement.[495] Cabero praised the Americans for their initiative and work ethic but warned the public not to fall into the temptation of imitating too closely the American way of life, because those are completely alien to the Chilean character, even more so, their imitation would be a degradation of the "superior spirit of the Latin races."[496]. Paradoxically, Edwards Bello adopted a different path; he praised the material greatness, wealth and advances in science and culture made by the Americans and argued that without a continental union, it would be impossible for the weak Spanish American countries to achieve similar levels of progress on their own. But it was only by embracing the "seal of Hispanism and Christianity" that Spanish American unity might be feasible.[497] He praised the Hispanic heritage based on a strong ethic that all Spanish America shared, a democratic sentiment based not on abstract political theories but on a deep humanism. In general, Edwards Bello seems to depict Spanish

[493] Pinochet, 234.
[494] By 1925, El Mercurio's editorial page declared that Chile and the US "belong to different races, with opposing values in primordial matters. Not always we understand each other. Hardly we would get to know each other." Three years later, it went even further declaring that a Pan-American Union might become a threat to each country's freedom and sovereignty in Spanish America since it means the undisputed hegemony of the US within the state members. See: El Mercurio, 'Los Estados Unidos y la América Latina.', *El Mercurio*, 18 December 1925; Flavio, 'Un nuevo peligro para la libertad Sudamericana.', *El Mercurio*, 20 January 1928.
[495] Cabero, *Chile y los chilenos.*, 24.
[496] Cabero, 29,79.
[497] Edwards Bello, *Nacionalismo Continental*, 62.

Americans as instinctive or passion-driven persons in contrast to the cold, rationale and pragmatic people of the United States. Whether it would be desirable to become as progressive and industrious as the Americans was up for debate, but the importance of Hispanic values, including its religion and culture, was indisputably used by these authors to buttress the difference between Ibero and Anglo-America, and thus, to project its unity.

In the end, whether based on geopolitical or ethnocultural reasonings, these authors enthusiastically advocated for further integration with the continent's Spanish speaking countries. Furthermore, they all shared a sense of urgency in leaving rhetoric aside to start policies which aimed at this union. These policies were motivated by a sense of imminent threat, particularly of an economic subordination towards the great powers. Nicolás Palacios thought that it was a matter of time before the Europeans attempted a new colonisation campaign in Spanish America, in which Chile and the remaining countries in the region – no matter how well organised they were – were doomed to be conquered if they remained alone and isolated. Chile – as the strongest country in the region – was called upon to organise the defence preparations of the "[Spanish] American-Nation".[498] Tancredo Pinochet argued that the next conquest of Chile would be an economic one because of the lack of industrialisation in the country and stated that the only way to solve this economic subordination was by applying protectionist tariffs against Europe and North America and establishing a custom union in the rest of the continent. This economic union would be the first mandatory step towards a full political union under the new "United States of Spanish America".[499] Guillermo Subercaseaux, one of the country's leading economic figures, and as such the man responsible for writing the economic programme of the emerging Nationalist Party, proposed several policies orientated towards a higher state involvement in the economy as well as towards the implementation of protectionist measures.[500] As the ultimate goal of the Nationalist Party's developmental agenda Subercaseaux had in mind the creation of a broader economic and political union; according to him, "the enlargement of the territorial limits of a State, when it deals with nations that speak the same language, have the same religion and are part of the same race, could be

[498] Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918, II:172.
[499] Pinochet, *Si yo fuera Presidente.*, 55.
[500] Amongst his suggested policies, he pointed out: The nationalisation of the Merchant Navy, Steel industry, as well as the extractive mining industries of nitrate and coal.

peacefully achieved through the economic union amongst them."[501] A customs union amongst nations that shared an ethnocultural background with Chile would imply not only industrialisation and economic development for the region but also independence and the possibility to get rid of any undue military, political or economic foreign intervention in the country.

Joaquín Edwards Bello summarised better than anyone else the joint ethnocultural and civic foundations of the project of a continental union. Based on racial, cultural and developmental commonalities, he advocated for the union of Chile, Argentina and Uruguay in a "neo-imperial continentalism".[502] The most advanced, cultured, industrialised countries of South America should be united into one single state in the Southern Cone, with common tariffs, currency and armed forces. This novel power could promote a further integration with the rest of Spanish America by using force if necessary. Edwards Bello saw this campaign as the equivalent of the one made by Lincoln to keep the United States together. For him, the fate of the continent depended on this political, economic and social integration foretelling that, because of the "sanctity of our roots and because of our Hispanic spiritualism", this novel Empire would have surpassed in everything any other European or American power.[503] Paradoxically, this project was attainable only through Chilean leadership, thus and once again, the myth of Chilean exceptionalism played a crucial role in the articulation of an agenda of integration with fellow Spanish American countries.

4. The State's colonisation policies and the debate surrounding the naturalisation and the political rights of the immigrants.

The policies regarding immigration promoted by the Centenary Generation questioned some of the main tenets advocated by their ethnocultural nationalist discourse. The question of how to better integrate the European colonists who were already residing in the country necessarily strained the anti-immigration narrative proposed by some of the most influential members of this generation. The weaknesses and inconsistencies of the anti-immigration nationalist discourse became evident when this generation attempted to find an alternative to integrate people who were

[501] Subercaseaux, *Los ideales nacionalistas ante el doctrinarismo de nuestros partidos políticos históricos.*, 25.
[502] Edwards Bello, *Nacionalismo Continental*, 81–82.
[503] Edwards Bello, 135.

deemed a harmful influence to Chile's racial heritage and cultural identity, and yet, who were already contributing to the country's progress, particularly as colonists. Therefore, it is necessary to explore how the Centenary Generation solved this conundrum while also analysing if it was possible to conciliate their anti-immigration stance with an active policy of integrating foreign nationals residing in the country. The only solution that these intellectuals came up with was the adherence to political principles by using reasonings framed in the logic of state-based patriotism. The nationalist thinkers believed that the foreigners needed to be integrated into the Republic first as citizens, and subsequently, to be culturally assimilated into the Chilean nation gradually. This shows that the Centenary Generation's idea of nation was not purely based on ethnocultural elements but also on political principles. Chile was not only a community of origin expressed in race, spirit, geography and language, but also a Republic, a political community based on the voluntary and individual adherence to the law and loyalty to the State. By this dual stance, the nationalists confirmed that they combined civic and ethnocultural considerations in their definition of Chilean nationhood.

Nationalist intellectuals had two major concerns regarding the colonisation policies and how the government dealt with foreign colonists. The first issue regarded whether it was necessary to naturalise the immigrant who was granted lands and equipment by the government. The second argument concerned the racial criteria adopted by the government to select the beneficiaries of the colonisation policies. Starting with the latter, the nationalists claimed that the government established racist colonisation policies discriminating against Chileans to benefit European applicants. According to them, the Chileans would have been able to settle in the Southlands and to make productive lands out of the wilderness; but because of the lack of opportunities in the country, they ended up colonising Argentine Patagonia instead.[504] The intellectuals also saw an opportunity to improve the living conditions of the numerous urban proletarians by transforming them into colonists; in this way, they might be provided with education, tools and land in the South. Thus, these intellectuals

[504] Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918, II:25; Cabero, *Chile y los chilenos.*, 155.

denounced the government and claimed that state-officials preferred to aid exotic races instead of fellow countrymen.[505]

The nationalists were right to identify racial patterns in the selection of colonists made by the government. Since 1845, the state policy systematically consisted of bringing in Europeans as part of civilizing ideals and 'racial betterment' aims. The civilising objective is clearly stated in Bernardo Philippi's 1848 commission, when he was instructed by the Government to colonise the southlands with Catholic Germans due to their higher work ethic. This was further confirmed in 1864 in Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna's report, where he recommended the recruitment of Germans and Swiss because of their superior working capacities.[506] The preference towards foreign colonists became law in 1874 when it was established that only North-Americans and Europeans could benefit from the allotments of land granted by the state in the former indigenous land of the Araucanía region.[507] Furthermore, if in the previous examples the racialised discourse was a subtext of government indications and legislation, the 'racial betterment' aim was transparent in the 1882/1895 Report of the Recruitment Agency established in Paris. This report outlined the objectives to achieve in the building of the "future Chilean race" by attracting the same proportion of German and Latin races in order to acquire the positive features of both.[508] This demonstrates the existence of an institutionalised racial discrimination against the Chileans in benefit of white colonists. This policy was contested by the nationalist intellectuals who proposed an alternative way to colonise the Southlands: through compatriots. At the same time, they demanded to naturalise all the foreign colonists.

The 1845 *Colonia de Naturales i Estranjeros* Law was praised by the Centenary Generation since it established the compulsory naturalisation of foreign colonists who benefited from the granting of land by the state.[509] The law was celebrated because it established a requirement for foreigners who wanted to settle in the country: they needed to acquire Chilean nationality and consequently, the same civil and political

[505] See: 'Inmigración Nacional' in: Pinochet, *La Conquista de Chile en el siglo XX.*, 195–98; 'Reemplazo progresivo del indígena', May 2nd 1924 in: Edwards Bello, *Crónicas Reunidas. 1921-1925*, 291.
[506] Lara Escalona, 'Evolución de la Legislación Migratoria en Chile. Claves para una lectura (1824-2013)', 65–66.
[507] Article 11, Ministerio de Justicia, Culto e Instrucción, 'Enajenación de terrenos situados en territorio Araucano' (1874).
[508] Nicolás Vega, *La Inmigración Europea en Chile. 1882 a 1895.* (Agencia General de Colonización del Gobierno de Chile en Paris.: Imprenta de F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, Alemania, 1896), 146–48.
[509] Article 5, Colonias de naturales i estranjeros.

rights as the rest of the community. This was deemed to be a necessary safeguard to secure the foreigner's loyalty to the Republic and its institutions. However, on October 01st 1891, the principle of mandatory naturalization was abolished, to the unanimous condemnation of nationalist intellectuals. Here a paradoxical situation emerged, since the same authors who had previously stated that the nation was an ethnocultural community of origin were arguing in favour of the automatic and compulsory naturalisation of any European colonist regardless of their racial background. Nicolás Palacios, for example, in 1904 wrote in favour of German immigration due to the similarities between both national races and against the Mediterranean immigration. However, by 1908 he seems to have changed his attitude by adopting a more civic approach when he criticised German and Italian colonists alike because of their constant refusal to adopt Chilean nationality, and for maintaining their political connections with Europe.[510] Consequently, Palacios urged the government to re-establish mandatory naturalisation. This position was shared by Tancredo Pinochet and Luis Galdames since both of them suggested to follow the example of the United States. For these two intellectuals, the United States showed that it was possible to create a new sense of *Patria* amongst the newcomers by granting citizenship as a means to foster adherence to a democratic constitution.[511] Nevertheless, they went further since they aimed to achieve the complete cultural assimilation of the immigrants. In this process, education, political liberties and economic progress would have helped to reach the final outcome of "a uniformity, if possible, in the race, the culture and the character of the country's population".[512] Once again, civic and ethnic reasonings were intertwined in the works of the nationalist intellectuals, and it is impossible to rigorously establish which criteria were subordinate to the other.

It is striking that the nationalists focussed exclusively on the changes made in the 1891 legislation, especially if we consider how open and cosmopolitan the Chilean law was at the time. Although mandatory naturalisation was abolished, any colonist who was interested in doing so could easily acquire active political rights as well as becoming naturalised. Since the 1874 Constitutional reform, the only requirement for

[510] Palacios, *Decadencia del espíritu de nacionalidad.*, 29.
[511] Pinochet, *La Conquista de Chile en el siglo XX.*, 30–31.
[512] Galdames, *Jeografía Económica de Chile.*, 61.

naturalisation was having been resident in Chile for one year.[513] Moreover, there was no obstacle for the naturalised foreigners to exercise their political rights in the electoral legislation.[514] One way to interpret this flagrant omission by the nationalist intellectuals is that to obtain Chilean nationality was not a matter of choice; it was a mandate given by the host society to anyone who planned to settle in the country.

In these years, the intellectuals became slightly more sympathetic towards the resident European colonists by integrating civic elements into their ethnocultural nationalism. By contrast, from late 1910 onwards, the governments commenced an inverse cycle by establishing more restrictions and controls. Despite the new less discriminatory attitude, the nationalists' hostile stance against the arrival of immigrants continued, and by 1918 Guillermo Subercaseaux made a plea to the government about the "urgency of dictating an immigration law which forbade the entrance into the country of bad elements, morally, hygienically and economically speaking, like criminals, anarchists, idlers, the sick and the depraved."[515] The Government's response did not wait long, publishing the Law 3,446 during the same year, which enabled provincial authorities, such as the Intendants, to forbid the entrance of unwanted immigrants and to expel from the country foreigners who had criminal records or those without a certified trade. They also banned the entry of anyone who taught doctrines that could disrupt social order, promoted the use of violence or were incompatible with the unity of the Nation.[516] It is telling to examine how some Congressmen reacted to this legislation. They replicated the Centenary Generation's anti-immigration narrative and lamented that in the previous years "foreign countries' scum" arrived without obstacle to Chile.[517]

Despite the intellectuals' claims regarding naturalisation, the 1925 Constitution established more obstacles to acquiring it. The period of residency required was extended to 5 years, and an additional 5 years to apply for a public office.[518] This was

[513] Art. 6 'De Los Chilenos' in: Ministerio del Interior, 'Constitución Política de La República', Pub. L. No. S/N (1874).
[514] Art. 26 in: 'Ley Electoral', Pub. L. No. S/N (1890).
[515] Subercaseaux, *Los ideales nacionalistas ante el doctrinarismo de nuestros partidos políticos históricos.*, 28.
[516] See respectively, Articles 1 and 2 in: Ministerio del Interior, 'Que impide la entrada al país o la residencia en él de elementos indeseables.', Pub. L. No. 3,446 (1918).
[517] Zenón Torrealba Ilabaca, member of the Partido Demócrata, in: 'Congreso Nacional. Cámara de Senadores. Ley de Residencia.', *El Mercurio*, 8 December 1918.
[518] Art. 2 in: Ministerio del Interior, 'Nacionalización de Extranjeros', Pub. L. No. Decreto Ley 747 (1925); Art. 5 'Son Chilenos' in: 'Constitución Política de La República de Chile' (1925).

fostered by what can be interpreted as a complete change in mood towards immigration by the press, particularly by what used to be its most staunch supporter, *El Mercurio*. During the 1920s, they warned that "no civilised nation is willing today to open its territory without reservations to every race and men of all [political] leanings"; they argued that a conservation instinct must prevail to protect the nation and its economic resources.[519] By echoing the Centenary Generation's critiques, *El Mercurio* also called for the use of Chilean colonists to populate Patagonia's southern regions since the lack of opportunities deprived the country of some of its best elements.[520] The anti-immigrant trend reached its pick in 1931 under the administration of Carlos Ibáñez, who, in response to the 1929 economic crisis, completely revamped the purposes of the colonisation endeavour and established the priority to give lands to unemployed Chileans. Ibáñez stated that this was a crucial point to contribute to the "stability and solidity of our nationality" which meant the exclusion of foreigners from the process of allocation of lands.[521] *El Mercurio* supported this change of heart sealed by Ibáñez's administration. This newspaper argued that in the dire time that Chile was facing, "the idea of [promoting] foreign colonisation must shock any nationalist principle" adding that the future lay in the creation of Chilean small-landowners [*Burguesía campesina*] reached through "colonisation as a means to diminish unemployment".[522] The above shows how the nationalist intellectuals helped to set in motion an anti-immigration sentiment disseminated by the press. This ultimately translated into a myriad of legislative initiatives which sought to benefit nationals who were previously marginalised. These new legislations and more vocal xenophobic attitude went beyond the Centenary Generation's plans because they dismissed not consider their stances regarding the naturalisation of foreign settlers, which were the second crucial aspect of their colonisation agenda. It seems that the inconsistencies of the nationalist discourse became evident by the end of this period, as well as their more nuanced approach towards residing foreign colonists was incomprehensible or were overlooked by the press and political elite of the time who was driven by more pressing matters created by the economic crash.

[519] El Mercurio, 'Cartas de Ciudadanía', *El Mercurio*, 23 August 1920; Adrián Palomino, 'Inmigración y Nacionalismo', *El Mercurio*, 2 February 1928.
[520] El Mercurio, 'La colonización de territorios australes', *El Mercurio*, 3 February 1928.
[521] Art. 1 in: Ministerio de la Propiedad Austral, 'Decreto Con Fuerza de Ley', Pub. L. No. 256 (1931).
[522] El Mercurio, 'Porvenir de la colonización', *El Mercurio*, 10 July 1931.

To conclude, the Centenary Generation adopted civic and ethnocultural elements in their nationalist discourse since this approach was deemed to be the best solution to address the issue of resident foreign colonists. The objective was to naturalise and grant citizenship rights to newcomers to foster loyalty to the Republic and its institutions, and gradually assimilate them into the Chilean race and culture. This shows that the nationalist discourse was complex because it attempted to accommodate itself to the country's social conditions, even if this led to contradictions with some of the intellectuals' principles about restricting the entrance of emigrants and establishing new desirability criteria; contradictions that also occur when addressing the issue of the contemporary indigenous peoples.

5. Colonisation of Mapuche Lands. Between sympathy, assimilation and indifference.

The nationalist intellectuals also had an ambiguous relationship with the contemporary indigenous peoples since their stance differed greatly. Some considered them part of the national community due to shared ethnic ancestry, while others labelled the native as a potentially harmful influence on the Chilean nation. There was not a consensus on how to integrate the indigenous peoples. Political and cultural elites tended to be indifferent towards their current situation. According to Florencia Mallon, this could be explained by the traditional marginalisation of the indigenous figure in the nationalist discourse, which constituted a distinctive Chilean feature in the Latin American context.[523] However, it is interesting to analyse this phenomenon because it sheds light on the limits and scope of the intellectuals' ethnocultural and civic discourse since the apparent omission of the native presented a challenge to both principles. The question here is how the Centenary Generation addressed the indigenous question and whether the native fits the racialised notion of Chilean nationhood.

Although the Araucanians of Pre-Columbian and colonial times were highly praised, it is striking that there is almost no mention of the contemporary native in the works of the nationalist intellectuals. This may reveal that the figure of the native was used only as a romanticised archetype, as a fictional character of the past that did not have a direct modern-day representative, being the Chilean *mestizo* its legitimate

[523] See: Mallon, 'Decoding the Parchments of the Latin American Nation-States: Peru, Mexico and Chile in Comparative Perspective.'

successor since – as the intellectuals of the centenary intellectuals would argue - the *roto* inherited the Araucanian positive traits. Tancredo Pinochet, Luis Galdames and Nicolás Palacios were amongst the few who dedicated some words to describe the natives' current situation. The latter seems to have a more positive image of the present-day Araucanian. For him, the indigenous people were part of the Chilean nation, defending their name in the same way as he did with the *roto* when he deemed that they were unjustly criticised, as happened with the journal *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* which published a series of anthropological studies that discredited the contemporary indigenous as "cowardly savages".[524] Supporting this defence, Galdames and Pinochet described the patriarchal virtues of the natives. They celebrated the actions of the "heroic race" during the conquest of Araucanía in the decades of 1860s-1880s,[525] depicting them as honourable defenders of their territory who were defeated only by the technological superiority of the Chilean army but who were never spiritually subdued, maintaining their cultural independence until those days.[526] However, these ideas were not developed further and scholars only acknowledged implicitly that the war-like virtues of old remained in their heirs until the twentieth century.

Joanna Crow shares this last opinion, arguing that these motley crew of nationalist intellectuals were amongst the few who addressed the indigenous problems, but mostly with a "propagandistic agenda".[527] According to her, this attitude "reinforces the dissociation between the indigenous past, which was exalted, and the indigenous present, which was largely ignored."[528] Nevertheless, most of the intellectuals either omitted the contemporary indigenous peoples or had a pessimistic image of them. For example, Francisco Encina described the modern-day Araucanian farmer as lazy, prone to theft and lacking in initiative, calling the natives an "anti-economic mass."[529] Alberto Cabero further analysed why the Araucanian race fell into disgrace by blaming abuse over three centuries of alcohol, tobacco, bad nutrition, lack

[524] Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918, I:61.
[525] Galdames, *Estudio de la Historia de Chile.*, 393.
[526] Pinochet, *Si yo fuera Presidente.*, 11.
[527] Crow mentions in particular the campaign made by some of them in the re-location of a Caupolican Statue from Santiago's *Plaza de Armas* to a more preeminent place at the top of Santa Lucía hill. (Caupolican was a Mapuche *toqui,* hero and martyr regarded as a fierce warrior and leader of the resistance against the Spanish. Killed in 1558)
[528] Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History.*, 54.
[529] 'Psicología Económica del pueblo chileno' in: Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad económica.*

of hygiene, the conquistadors' exploitative labour regime, and the *"*injustices of the Chileans*",* all of which explained the degradation of the indigenous race.[530] For most nationalists, the indigenous people were useful only to foster a national identity by celebrating the idea of being a *mestizo* nation, but nothing else. Rebecca Earle studied how the indigenous figure was celebrated as part of a historical idealisation in other Latin American countries. Earle explains that this attitude never translated into a truthful concern about the present-day native who was deemed to be an obstacle to civilisation by statesman and intellectuals; a situation akin to the Chilean experience as demonstrated by both Crow interpretation and by these findings.[531]

Nevertheless, some intellectuals were concerned about the living conditions of the modern-day indigenous and denounced the abuses committed in the Araucanía region mostly due to the inefficiency of the indigenous legislation that should have been designed to protect the natives. The state's official stance was to maintain the status quo, aiming to safeguard the indigenous property and their cultural independence by giving the ownership of those territories in perpetuity as communal lands in 1866 and by prohibiting any form of contract regarding the sale, mortgage, or rent of those "indigenous reductions" in the period 1874-1923.[532] However, testimonies show that those measures were useless because of the blatant corruption of state officials, especially of the *Protector de Indígenas* responsible for overseeing those policies. According to Alejandro Venegas, the *Protector de Indígenas* usually conspired with Chilean and foreign colonists to expel the indigenous population from their territories by force, lobbying for declaring these territories as "vacant land" (without owner) and to sell those lands in a public auction. Venegas lamented that the Araucanians, who "could have become the blood and muscle of our people" due to their "manifest ethnic advantages" were becoming extinct due to the oppression practised by Chilean authorities.[533] It follows that for the nationalist intellectuals, the solution to halt the degradation of the native was to adopt an assimilationist approach. For instance, Alberto Cabero continued the trend inaugurated by Bello and Domeyko

[530] Cabero, *Chile y los chilenos.*, 88.
[531] See: Earle, *The Return of the Native. Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930.*, 2007.
[532] See: Fundación de poblaciones en el territorio de los indíjenas. Followed by its renewal in the successive laws of: Ley S/N August 04th 1874; Ley S/N January 20th 1883; Ley S/N January 11th 1893; Ley Núm. 1581, January 13th 1903; Ley Núm. 2737 January 09th 1913
[533] See: 'Carta Décima Tercera', Viña del Mar, November 1910 in: Venegas, *Sinceridad. Chile Íntimo en 1910*, 195.

in the previous century, hoping that the indigenous people could be “saved” through railroads, religious education and closer relationships with fellow Chileans.[534] It seems clear that these intellectuals never questioned this approach, failing to realise that their 'strategy of salvation' meant in practice the abandonment of the native culture and way of life in order to transform them into a Chilean in equal political, economic and cultural terms with the rest of the country. Nevertheless, these testimonies demonstrate that the authors of the Centenary Generation were part of a wider debate concerning the reforms about the condition of the natives implemented in the 1920-30s. It was a debate that has remained sidelined by the historiography, and in which Mapuche peoples were depicted as divided between those who wanted to maintain the status quo and those who were in favour of assimilating as Chileans.[535]

To conclude, although the nationalist intellectuals did not have a consensual stance regarding the condition of the contemporary indigenous populations, some of them defended the native and proposed to incorporate the modern-day Araucanian into the Chilean nationhood because both shared ethnic ancestry, understood by these intellectuals as a common patriarchal racial character. Furthermore, some of the most important intellectuals of the Centenary Generation denounced the abuses committed against the indigenous people and suggested a new approach of assimilation to solve their marginalisation. This approach sought to transform the native into a Chilean citizen of equal political and civil rights, hence, into a potential beneficiary of colonisation policies. On the other hand, they failed to envision the human consequences this assimilation strategy could bring, with the potential loss of Mapuche’s socioeconomic and cultural practices, which maintained their community together with a strong sense of identity until those days. Nevertheless, nationalist thinkers helped to set in motion political debates by creating awareness of a problem that, after the violent seizure of the Mapuche land in the late nineteenth century, was being purposely ignored by the authorities. In terms of legislation, the abuses committed by public officials and denounced by the Centenary Generation triggered a new parliamentary approach to revamp legislation on the indigenous reductions from

[534] Cabero, *Chile y los chilenos.*, 94.
[535] See: ‘Renewed Struggles for Survival: National Festivities and Mapuche Political Activism, 1910-1938’ in: Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History.*

1915 onwards.[536] In this debate, positive moral depictions of the Araucanians, who were described as honest, trustworthy, intelligent and prone to justice, were spread by public officials who demanded a better treatment of the indigenous communities.[537] Ultimately, during the government of Carlos Ibáñez (1927-31), several new policies were implemented which were orientated towards this assimilation goal. First in 1927 it was established an Indigenous Tribunal which aimed to represent the Mapuche legally and to protect their patrimony;[538] secondly, the natives were turned into private owners of their allotments of land, with the same rights and benefits as the Chilean colonists; and thirdly, the government invested in schools and infrastructure in order to culturally and economically integrate the indigenous people into the country as Chileans.[539]

Conclusion

During the first three decades of the twentieth century the Centenary Generation played a major role in the Chilean intellectual and political milieu, particularly in the articulation of a racialised nationalist discourse. This discourse challenged the hegemonic liberal and cosmopolitan attitude that pervaded the country since late nineteenth century. An ethnocultural nationalist discourse emerged based on a supposed Chilean race that resulted from the crossbreeding of Araucanians with Spanish conquistadors. Despite some controversies regarding its Germanic/Hispanic ascendancy and how to assess its racial homogeneity, the Chilean nation was defined as a patriarchal race, a notion reliant on a gendered image of the allegedly inherent 'virile' features of the nation. In turn, this claim was used to justify both Chile's assumed racial superiority and its political exceptionality in the continent. Contrary to what the historiography suggests, on a domestic level, this racialised discourse fuelled a hostile narrative against foreigners. This triggered an anti-immigration stance that was motivated by the aim of preserving the racial purity of the Chilean *roto* and its cultural heritage from a possible contamination by unfit 'feminine' races that could undermine the nation's character. On an international level, this form of nationalism based on the

[536] Leading advocates of new legislation were Enrique Zañartu Prieto and Zenón Torrealba Ilabaca, both members of the Partido Demócrata. See: 'Congreso Nacional', *El Mercurio*, 18 December 1915.
[537] See the interview to Armando Moraga, *Protector de Indígenas*, in: 'Los indios de Temuco', *El Mercurio*, 29 December 1921.
[538] Ministerio de Agricultura, Industria y Colonización, 'Crea Tribunal Especial de División de Comunidades; Indígenas y Reglamenta Procedimientos', Pub. L. No. 4169 (1927).
[539] Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización, 'Texto Definitivo de La Ley Sobre División de Comunidades, Liquidación de Créditos y Radicación de Indígenas.', Pub. L. No. Decreto 4111 (1931).

ethnocultural divide between Anglo and Spanish America, fomented the development of a project of a continental union in response to the threat coming from any form of European or North American imperialism. In this sense, the common condition as a Latin race enabled the design of a fruitful continental union led by Chile.

The Centenary Generation's ethnocultural nationalist discourse also had a socially inclusive strand since it was used as a rhetorical tool to empower the middle and working classes and to undermine the oligarchy and its Europhile way of life. The objective was to give agency to the Chilean commoner while positioning its embodiment, the *roto*, at the centre of Chilean culture and public policy. By taking into consideration this aim, one can understand the rather contradictory method used by nationalist intellectuals to address the issue of resident European colonists. The generation's consensus was to incorporate the newcomer as a citizen of the Republic by granting them equal civil and political rights. This was part of a strategy that required the compulsory naturalisation of the colonists to foster their loyalty to the State, and eventually, to achieve their cultural assimilation. This illustrates the complexity of the Centenary Generation's nationalist discourse which intertwined ethnic, cultural and political elements in its foundations while privileging pragmatism over consistency when addressing the country's increasingly cosmopolitan reality. The same attitude was upheld in the ambivalent relationship of the Centenary Generation with the modern-day Araucanian. Although there was a lack of consensus amongst the intellectuals on whether to consider the Mapuche as a degenerate influence on the Chilean race or as fellow countrymen – because they shared patriarchal ancestry – there was also a pragmatic and paternalistic concern orientated towards the assimilation of the indigenous people, granting them equal rights and status as colonists, which would lead, as it was hoped by these centenary intellectuals, in saving and protecting the modern-day native from abuses committed by State's officials and unscrupulous individuals.

Finally, the Centenary Generation's influence was not limited to the rhetorical or cultural fields but also helped to set in motion several reforms that changed the liberal and cosmopolitan attitude of early twentieth-century governments. From 1918 onwards, tighter controls were imposed on European immigration, restricting their entrance to the country and limiting foreigners' role in the colonisation endeavour, in short, public policies were revamped exclusively to benefit national colonists. The

government also established higher requirements to obtain naturalisation and exercise political rights even though this clashed with the desires of the Centenary Generation. The sway of this generation's discourse reached even the government by fomenting a change of attitude towards the indigenous people and their new strategy of assimilation that commenced under Ibáñez. All the aforementioned debates and policies, illustrate the diversity and extent of the nationalist agenda and concerns from 1900 to 1930, deeply affecting in the process the public school system and educational reforms advocated in the early twentieth century, as explained in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Nation-building through schooling: The role of the National Education Association, 1904-1926.

As seen in the previous chapter, the centenary commemoration of the Chilean independence in 1910 provided the context for the emergence of a racialised nationalist discourse based on the archetypical figure of the roto as the embodiment of the popular and middle-classes. The marginalisation and the difficult living conditions of this roto was used as a symbol to harshly criticise the liberal and cosmopolitan attitude of the ruling elite. Furthermore, the Centenary Generation used this nationalist discourse to promote far-reaching reforms regarding immigration, international affairs and indigenous policy; but their domestic agenda went beyond by including policies towards the betterment of the roto's sanitary and health conditions, and more importantly, its education. This chapter analyses how the Centenary Generation, this supposedly scattered group of intellectuals, gathered some of their most important members in the National Education Association to promote nationalist education reforms.[540] In addition, during the years 1904-1926, the AEN became the hub of the country's most prominent nationalist intellectuals. Its original intent of becoming a teachers' association gradually shifted towards the aim to revamp the educational system which should have triggered a "nationalist revolution" and consequently, a broader political and socio-economic transformation of the country.

Most scholars regard education as one of the main pillars of the nation-building process. Modernists, such as Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm, have stated the importance of establishing a centralised public education system for economic, political and cultural/symbolic reasons; without this system, the formation of a sense of common historical memory that underlies in any notion of nationhood is unattainable.[541] Non-modernists, including John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, shared this view. They argue that public education is crucial to foster the emergence of middle classes and a sense of national awareness of common ethnocultural

[540] National Education Association [*Asociación de Educación Nacional*], hereafter referred to as 'AEN'.
[541] Gellner argued that a public education system is a key element to consolidate national capitalism and a mobile workforce within the country. Hobsbawm focused on the "social engineering" process, and how ruling elites use the education system to instil "invented traditions" to a wider public. Finally, Anderson stated the crucial role of schooling, particularly history courses, to create a common national memory to shape an "imagined community". See: Capítulo VI: Entropía social e igualdad en la sociedad industrial in: Gellner, *Naciones y Nacionalismo.*, 146–73; Hobsbawm, *Naciones y Nacionalismo desde 1780.*, 20; Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 201.

elements that replaced religion as main element of identity.[542] In summary, regardless of the theory used, the consensus remains about the crucial role played by educators and public education in the development and dissemination of national identity.

The Chilean historiography on education has focused on the institutional goals pursued by the State, such as the consolidation of a unified educational system, organisation of an urban and rural schooling system as the backbone of a national literacy campaign, the incorporation of women and creation of technical schools. Less attention has been paid to aspects such as the nationalist content of the syllabus or how an ethnocultural and civic notion of Chileanhood was disseminated through public schooling. Another trend is to treat education as a subfield of intellectual history, engaging in its institutional development in a very fragmented fashion. However, Sol Serrano's series *of Historia de la Educación en Chile 1810-2010* was the first real attempt to address the topic thoroughly. From her studies, it is evident that the education system by the early twentieth century is the result of the institutional reforms made during the 1840s and 1880s in Chile, which were based on liberal and positivist ideas.

By the start of the twentieth century, the foundations of the public education system were a legacy of the educational reforms begun in the 1840s when the *Estado Docente* was envisaged. Under the leadership of Andrés Bello and Domingo F. Sarmiento, respectively, the *Universidad de Chile* and the *Escuela Normal* were founded in 1842. On the one hand, the University worked as a Superintendency of Education, overwatching the entire public education system by establishing a minimum curriculum at all levels of study, certifying professional degrees and granting education licences.[543] On the other hand, the *Escuela Normal* was responsible for teachers' training. It mostly focussed on Language (grammar, writing, etc.) and Mathematical Sciences. The establishment of a national network of public schools was

[542] Hutchinson and Smith, *Nationalism.*, 7; Smith, *Nacionalismo*, 52–53.

[543] The other two major objectives of the *Universidad de Chile* were: first, to become the national institution of Higher Education dedicated to the pursuit of truth and innovation in all the relevant fields of human knowledge (The original five faculties at inauguration were: Humanities and Philosophy, Physics and Mathematics, Law and Political Sciences, Medicine, Theology). Second, it had the purpose of educating the elite in all subjects needed in the art of statecraft and in promoting the economic development of the country. See: 'Capítulo II: La Universidad de Chile y la Formación del Sistema Nacional de Educación' in: Sol Serrano, *Universidad y nación. Chile en el siglo XIX.*, 2nd Edition (Santiago, Chile.: Editorial Universitaria, 2016), 67–112.

fostered by the "*Lei Jeneral de Instrucción Primaria"* of 1860.[544] The final relevant reform revolved around the professionalisation of Secondary Teachers by creating an Institute of Pedagogy in 1889.[545] The scholarship usually stressed the positivist turn that education adopted by the end of the century particularly under the sway of Valentín Letelier.[546] This was mostly expressed in the innovations adopted in the curriculum by fomenting sciences under an experimental approach, as well as reinforcing Humanism as a universal value.[547]

The State's commitment to the diffusion of education experienced a dramatic growth in its coverage during the first two decades of the twentieth century. By 1895, there were more than 1,248 public schools and 114,565 students. Just before the Law of Mandatory Education of 1920, this number rose to 3,214 schools and 346,386 students, although absentee pupils remained an unsolved problem during this period.[548] In the country, the main obstacle to the progress of schooling was the structural poverty of the families, particularly in rural areas.[549] Hence, the education system was socially stratified and unable to fulfil its aspiration of fostering social mobility of the lower classes. This, in turn, provoked unrest amongst educators despite the progress made.[550] This context triggered the response of the intellectuals of the Centenary Generation, who turned to the public education system as the vehicle for realising their hopes for attaining cultural and socioeconomic integration of the popular classes. The nationalist aim was to replace the liberal and positivist model with a national-base model based on pragmatic and economically driven public education. Furthermore, by denouncing the cosmopolitanism and universalistic content of the syllabus, they proposed an education to reflect the supposedly

[544] The aim to expand Primary Education's coverage by building schools for each gender in every settlement of more than 2,000 inhabitants was established by law in: Article 1 & 4, 'Lei Jeneral de Instrucción Primaria' (1860).
[545] Article 1 & 2, 'Instituto Pedagógico', Pub. L. No. 1,113, Decreto (1889).
[546] Chapter X: 'Liberalismo positivista y naturalismo' Subercaseaux, *Historia de Las Ideas y La Cultura En Chile*; Chapter VII: 'Nuevos actores y nuevos vínculos' Serrano, Ponce de León, and Rengifo, *Historia de La Educación En Chile (1810-2010)*, 2012; Chapter II 'the era of positivism' Jaksic, *Academic Rebels in Chile. The Role of Philosophy in Higher Education and Politics.*
[547] See: Article 7 Instituto Pedagógico.
[548] Varying around 37-39% during this period. See: Francisca Rengifo, Gonzalo Ruz, and Aldo Mascareño, 'Managing the 1920s' Chilean Educational Crisis: A Historical View Combined with Machine Learning', *Plos One* 13, no. 5 (30 May 2018): 3, https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0197429.
[549] See: Francisca Rengifo, 'Familia y Escuela. Una Historia Social Del Proceso de Escolarización Nacional. Chile, 1860-1930.', *Historia* 1, no. 45 (June 2012): 123–70.
[550] Iván Núñez, 'Educación Chilena En La República: Promesas de Universalismo y Realidades de Inequidad En Su Historia.', *Psicoperspectivas. Individuo y Sociedad.* 14, no. 3 (2015): 8–9.

exceptional constituents of the country, namely its Republican regime and national race. The combination of both elements was the pillar of the project to "nationalise education" advocated by the members of the Centenary Generation, but such an attempt to revamp the public school system provoked a divide in the pedagogic milieu, as has been usually stressed by the scholarship.[551]

The scholarship has interpreted this divide by stressing the sway of individual educators and intellectuals. Scholars claimed that they have been able to disseminate their own ideas amongst the learned public opinion to push for the enactment of the Law of Mandatory Primary Education. It follows that educators are depicted as a scattered group with no trade or institutional links, composed of isolated figures, who were followed as prominent thinkers according to their ascendancy in the education system or their relevance as public intellectuals.[552] An illustrative example of this trend is shown by the studies about the educational debate between Enrique Molina and Francisco Encina in 1912.[553] These intellectuals have been analysed in regard of their individual merits but never as members of wider political parties or trade organisations.[554] Although it is true that Encina, for instance, achieved amazing commercial success with his first published work despite not having any institutional affiliation,[555] this interpretation neglects the ties that the author had with the National Party and with teachers' organisations such as the *Asociación de Educación Nacional* (AEN).[556]

[551] See: Subercaseaux, *Historia de las Ideas y la Cultura en Chile*, II: 1900-1930. Nacionalismo y Cultura:256; Serrano, Ponce de León, and Rengifo, *Historia de La Educación En Chile (1810-2010)*, 2012, II: La Educación Nacional (1880-1930):52.

[552] See: Andrés Donoso Romo and Sebastián Donoso Días, 'Las Discusiones Educacionales en el Chile del Centenario.', *Estudios Pedagógicos* XXXVI, no. 2 (2010): 295–311.

[553] Enrique Molina (1871-1964). Lawyer and prolific educator and philosopher, founder of the *Universidad de Concepción* in 1919. He advocated for the de-centralisation of Higher Education and was a staunch supporter of Valentín Letelier's education model. Whereas Francisco Encina (1874-1965), Lawyer, essayist and writer, he was one of the most important members of the Centenary Generation and crucial advocator for a more nationalist and economically driven education.

[554] Bernardo Subercaseaux and Sol Serrano are part of this trend, presenting Enrique Molina as Rector of *Liceo de Talca*; Luis Galdames as Rector of *Liceo Miguel Luis de Amunátegui* in Santiago; and Francisco Encina without any institutional allegiance but as an influential intellectual.

[555] According to Encina's own memoirs, *Nuestra inferioridad económica* had an "unprecedented success", selling out the first edition in only a matter of weeks. See *La Educación Económica y el Liceo* (Santiago, Chile, Editorial Nascimiento, 1962, p. 42). Its popularity continued throughout the twentieth century, as shown by reaching its 7th edition by 1990.

[556] Francisco Encina was a Deputy for the National Party for the constituency of Linares in two successive terms between 1906-1912. In 1912 he joined as member of the AEN.

Similarly, educators are usually portrayed as having weak or temporary professional organisations. The lack of guild associations or teachers' unions has led to the assumption that their main strategy to promote their pedagogical agenda was via the organisations of Educational Congresses.[557] Furthermore, few mutualist organisations existed, such as the *Sociedad de Profesores de Instrucción Primaria* (SPIP) and the *Sociedad Nacional de Profesores* (SONAP) and these have been usually depicted as elitist (even with bourgeoise undertones) and controlled by political parties, which undermined their clout amongst teachers as well as their engagement in public debates.[558] Iván Núñez identified the National Education Association as such, labelling it as "paternalistic and cautious", even gracious towards the government.[559]

Conversely, Rinke has recognised the AEN for its modernising role as a trade-union because of its work orientated towards the improvement of teachers' working conditions and wages.[560] Similarly, Serrano highlights AEN eclectic membership within which one could find advocates for diverging pedagogical theories; in this sense, Serrano stresses AEN role as a mediator when educational debates occurred between positivists, social Darwinists,[561] and American style democratic-pragmatists.[562] Besides, Serrano highlights the heavy influence that the American National Education Association (NEA) had in its Chilean counterpart.[563] Subercaseaux agrees with this interpretation, identifying two elements of US influence: the key contribution made by John Dewey's thought,[564] and the developmental and industrialist focus of its pedagogic programme.[565] A common element which unites these scholars is that they

[557] Educational Congresses organised during this period: First National Pedagogic Congress (1889); General Congress of Public Education (1902); National Congress of Secondary Education (1912); First National Congress of Popular Education (1914); American Pedagogical Congress (1925).
[558] See Capítulo I: Las organizaciones pre-sindicales in: Iván Núñez, *Gremios del Magisterio. Setenta años de Historia: 1900-1970* (Santiago, Chile.: Programa Interdisciplinario de Investigaciones en Educación (PIIE), 1986).
[559] Núñez, 32.
[560] Rinke, *Cultura de Masas: Reforma y Nacionalismo 1910-1931*, 104–5.
[561] Amongst the most influential Social Darwinist authors used by the Chilean intellectuals were Herbert Spencer, Oswald Spengler and particularly Gustave Le Bon.
[562] Serrano, Ponce de León, and Rengifo, *Historia de La Educación En Chile (1810-2010)*, 2012, II: La Educación Nacional (1880-1930):45.
[563] The American influence in the Chilean AEN has been analysed by Serrano particularly at an administrative level. Serrano stresses how the American NEA was used as an institutional framework for its Chilean counterpart, particularly in its Declaration of Principles. See: Serrano, Ponce de León, and Rengifo, II: La Educación Nacional (1880-1930):46–49.
[564] John Dewey has been identified as one of AEN's main inspirations because of his progressive-democratic thought and educational model which was pragmatic-technically driven. See: Subercaseaux, *Historia de las Ideas y la Cultura en Chile*, II: 1900-1930. Nacionalismo y Cultura:245.
[565] Subercaseaux, II: 1900-1930. Nacionalismo y Cultura:254.

mention the AEN only briefly in their study and see it as a mere branch of the American counterpart. In contrast, in this chapter I will argue that the AEN achieved significant agency and sway and differed greatly from the US model by embracing the nationalist tenets and wider reforms proposed by the intellectuals of the Centenary Generation.

The National Education Association was founded in 1904 by Carlos Fernández Peña as an organisation which aimed to improve the pedagogy and schooling, particularly amongst the popular classes.[566] Its primary aim was to unite all educators of its Primary, Secondary and Higher levels in a single organisation, although its membership was open to anyone who was interested in sponsoring educational activities and who wanted to advance the AEN's pedagogical programme.[567] In addition to educators, this allowed many non-teacher intellectuals and politicians to be part of this organisation, such as Francisco Encina, Guillermo Subercaseaux and Alberto Edwards. AEN managed to attract a substantial membership,[568] particularly compared to other similar institutions of its period; this assured political and ideological plurality amongst its members.[569] The AEN worked as a semi-official institution enjoying a great deal of support from both the State and the *Universidad de Chile*.[570]

[566] Carlos Fernández Peña. Doctor and Educator, was the President of the AEN since its foundation in 1904 until 1926.

[567] AEN had a professional and elitist profile since its membership was by sponsorship or invitation of a prior member. It had three types of membership (without including the honorary ones): *Activos* which made being a teacher, an educator, a librarian or a journalist a requirement; *Cooperadores* which was open to anyone interested in sponsoring public education in the country, enjoying the same benefits as the active members but without having the right to participate in the Directorate (although with no exclusion from the General Assembly). The third, *Correspondientes*, was meant only for those residing abroad, who were excluded from the mandatory payments and other active membership obligations. See: Article 4, 'Estatutos de la Asociación de Educación Nacional', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* I, no. 1 (July 1905): 5; 'Estatutos de la Asociación de Educación Nacional', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* IV, no. 9 & 10 (December 1908).

[568] Based on the annual reports and the attendance at its General Assemblies, in 1905 AEN reached around 50 active members, a figure that rose to 300 by 1913, which seems to be the consolidate number of its membership since it had 299 by 1925. In comparison, according to Iván Núñez the SPIP enjoyed at its peak roughly 100 members, whereas the size of its normal membership was between 30-50 people. See: Núñez, *Gremios del Magisterio. Setenta años de Historia: 1900-1970*, 28.

[569] Although it has been depicted mostly as a conservative organisation, it is possible to find relevant figures of different political sensibilities in its membership and usual collaborators, such as Emiliano Figueroa (Liberal Democratic Party), Eliodoro Yáñez (Liberal Party), José Maza (Liberal Party), Pedro Aguirre Cerda (Radical Party), Eugenio Matte (founder of the Socialist Party in 1932), and amongst many intellectuals who cannot readily be classified as conservative or right leaning, such as Gabriela Mistral, Amanda Labarca, Enrique Molina, Maximiliano Salas Marchán, and others.

[570] As an example, based on the reports of the National Education Association, in the period between 1912-1916 approximately 82% of the total budget was subsidized by the Government and the U. de Chile ($62,650 CLP out of $76,578 CLP that was the total budget during these 5 years), whereas in the period between 1924-1925 the proportion of subsidy declined to roughly 57% ($27,266 CLP out of $47,421 CLP that represented the total budget of this period). As it is evident, AEN management relied heavily on State sponsorship, constituting in practice the official mediator between the Government and

Nevertheless, AEN had high levels of autonomy in terms of institutional administration, financial management and editorial line. Finally, AEN's project sought to expand its influence by achieving national coverage with branches in most of the country's regions.[571] In short, the National Education Association was by far the most successful and the largest teaching association. Its clout was guaranteed by the close links that it had with the Chilean political and cultural elite. As such, it is an organisation that demands more attention by scholars.

The close relationship between the National Education Association and the Centenary Generation intellectuals is another reason to stress the relevance of this organisation in the articulation of a Chilean nationalist discourse. Instead of focussing on individuals, a better approach to have a thorough understanding of this nationalist development in education should highlight their institutional support. In turn, this undermines the notion that Centenary Generation intellectuals were scattered and completely independent figures since – as part of the AEN – they had a more cohesive agenda, at least concerning education. Some of the most high-profile intellectuals of this generation worked under the umbrella of the National Education Association, such as Francisco Encina, Tancredo Pinochet, Darío Salas,[572] Amanda Labarca,[573] Julio Saavedra,[574] José Pinochet and Guillermo Subercaseaux, all of whom held leadership positions in this organisation.[575] Also, other relevant nationalist intellectuals actively

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the educators understood as a guild. The remaining funds came from members' fees, journal subscriptions and the revenues from their printing press.

[571] Ten active members were required to constitute a "Provincial Association", there could be one for each Department, they were completely autonomous in their inner administration as long as they pledged to observe the Statutes and Declaration of Principles and to give a quarter of their revenues to the national organisation. See: Articles 13, 20-23 'Estatutos de la Asociación de Educación Nacional', July 1905.

[572] Darío Salas (1881-1941). Language teacher, awarded with a PhD degree in pedagogy at the University of New York in 1907. In 1918 he was appointed General Director of Primary Education and actively contributed to the "Ley de Instrucción Primaria Obligatoria" in 1920.

[573]Amanda Labarca (1886-1975). Educator, writer and diplomat. She studied at the University of Columbia in the United States to continue at La Sorbonne in France. On her return, she became one of the first and leading voices of the feminist movement in Chile, creating the "Círculo Femenino de Estudios" in 1919. Academic at the Humanity Faculty at the Universidad de Chile from 1922 onwards. During Ibáñez's administration, she was appointed as the General Director of Secondary Education at the Ministry of Education between 1927-1931..

[574] Julio Saavedra (1880-1949). Educator, philologist and literary critic. He published actively in *El Mercurio* and *Las Últimas Noticias*. Academic at the Universidad de Chile and language teacher at *Internado Barros Arana*.

[575] Darío Salas was appointed as Vice-President in 1912; Amanda Labarca was appointed as Director of the AEN's Feminine Section in 1913; Tancredo Pinochet Le-Brun was chosen as Director for life [*Director Vitalicio*] in May 1913; Julio Saavedra was the director of AEN Journal in 1913; Guillermo Subercaseaux and Francisco Encina were appointed as AEN's Printing House Director *[Director de*

participated as members, collaborators or received honorary membership such as Luis Galdames, Nicolás Palacios and Alberto Edwards.[576] Only by analysing these educators and intellectuals as a group one may understand the sway that this nationalist narrative held over public debate and how these educators and intellectuals were able to influence the political decision. This influence was shown in legislative initiatives taken during the first decades of the twentieth century.

To conclude, during the years 1904-1926, the National Education Association became a hub for the most prominent nationalist intellectuals of the country, becoming a key institution to articulate and give a coherent voice to the Centenary Generation. AEN objective of revamping the educational system was consistently pursued by focusing on two main points, namely: establishing a compulsory national education system that would foster social integration and mobility, as well as nationalising the curriculum taught at the public schools. The new nationalist education focused on language, civic education and the protection of the Chilean race as their primary concern, which provoked several debates and promoted a wide array of policies that went even beyond the field of education. Ultimately, the AEN became one of the best tools of this generation of intellectuals to disseminate the notion of Chilean exceptionalism into a wider public and instil its main tenets into the minds of the Chilean youth.

1. A National Education compulsory and common to all.

One of the National Education Association's main aims was to nationalise the education system since, according to them, it was excessively influenced by 'exotic' and cosmopolitan thought. Consequently, the school system was deemed unfit to train Chilean pupils and unable to deliver the necessary values, knowledge, skills and aptitudes that the young nationals required. This critique started in 1899 with Eduardo de la Barra's *Embrujamiento alemán*, which condemned the undue influence of the German positivist tradition as the main model for the Chilean education system.[577] The

Solicitaciones] in May 1917; José Pinochet Le-Brun was appointed Vice-President and General Secretary in 1924.

[576] Nicolás Palacios received the honorary title of "everlasting co-partner" [*consocio superviviente*] *post-mortem* in 1911.

[577] Eduardo de la Barra considered that the positivist scientific emphasis on natural and basic sciences was inadequate for the Chilean reality because of its onerous cost and – more importantly – because it was based on the idea of a continuation of studies on to University, something that in reality only a minority of the students could attain at the time given the limited number of places in higher education. Secondly, the implementation of this system was introduced by German academics at the newly

AEN shared and deepened these critiques by stating in the Declaration of Principles that its role was to create a "complete organic education system", cemented on the qualities of the Chilean pupils in accordance with the "history and noble conditions of their race" which, at the same time, stressed the Republican tradition and democratic values of the country. This task was of utmost importance because "national salvation" was at stake. The AEN's main goal was to transform the school in one of the three pillars of the nationhood, thus, instilling patriotism into the Chilean population along with military service and suffrage.[578]

The campaign to nationalise education and tackle cosmopolitanism also promoted the nationalisation of the teaching staff, as de la Barra wished. In 1905, Julio Saavedra denounced that German and foreign teachers alike were ignorant in fields such as Chilean geography, Chilean political history, national and Hispanic-American literature and language. Hence, their replacement by Chilean teachers should be an immediate aim for the AEN.[579] Tancredo Pinochet in *La Conquista de Chile en el Siglo XX* (1909) shared Saavedra's view, adding that the hegemonic presence of foreign teachers had atrocious consequences amongst Chilean pupils since teachers' ignorance fostered a sense of decay in the Chilean civic spirit and generated a "contempt towards ourselves and for everything made by us."[580]

In general, foreigners were considered unqualified to teach at school, a malign influence on pupils and a detriment to Chilean educators since they were displaced to subordinate positions to the benefit of foreigners who usually held leadership posts. In response, AEN advocated for strengthening the teacher's career in public schools according to three principles: improvement of working conditions by equalising payments of teachers at all levels (feminine and masculine primary and secondary schools);[581] a fairer payment scheme; and more institutional autonomy by creating a

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founded *Instituto Pedagógico*, who were deemed as inadequately trained for their role as heads of the education system. See Jaksic, *Academic Rebels in Chile. The Role of Philosophy in Higher Education and Politics.*, 52; Subercaseaux, *Historia de las Ideas y la Cultura en Chile*, II: 1900-1930. Nacionalismo y Cultura:243.

[578] Articles 1, 2 & 6 in: 'Declaración de Principios de la Asociación de Educación Nacional', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* I, no. 1 (July 1905): 7–8.

[579] Julio Saavedra, 'La Educación Cívica en Chile', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 3 (May 1907): 68–69.

[580] Pinochet, *La Conquista de Chile en el siglo XX.*, 81.

[581] They demanded more transparency on the requirements for teachers at public schools to be promoted, an increase in wages and paymentby the number of courses taught and not by teaching hours. See: 'Asociación de Educación Nacional', *El Ferrocarril*, 20 October 1907; 'Proyecto de Lei', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* II, no. 1 (July 1906); Carlos Fernández Peña, 'Memoria

Ministry of Education.[582] In addition to enhancing teachers' institutional protection against foreigners, AEN was aware that the main problem was the lack of updated pedagogical training of national educators and, conversely, how immersed foreign educators were in vanguard educational theories. Thus, in the long term, the best way to nationalise staff was through a permanent system of training abroad, by creating a scholarship scheme to send educators overseas, particularly to the United States.[583]

The ultimate aim was to 'de-Germanise' the *Instituto Nacional* in order to train Chilean teachers by Chilean educators.[584] To achieve this, in 1915 the *"Sociedad Pro Estudiantes"* [Society for Students] was founded, an association responsible for the promotion of these exchanges, for looking for new institutions suitable for this task, and for maintaining permanent contact with the Chilean students abroad.[585] Paradoxically, for the AEN, the best way to interrupt the "servile imitation of European scientific teaching" which was destroying the national character amongst the younger generations,[586] was to send as many Chilean students abroad as possible, as Francisco Encina argued, in order to acquire European and American experiences at first hand. This shows that AEN nationalism was not an inward looking phenomenon. On the contrary, the members of the AEN were open to explore and find suitable foreign experiences that could be applied and readapted into the Chilean context.

The programme to nationalise the Chilean education system revolved around a stated commitment to social integration. The aim was to make public schooling 'more democratic' by expanding coverage to include people of every social background. According to the Centenary Generation, the elite's Europhile attitude fostered their alienation from the rest of the country. Nicolás Palacios blamed the lack of common

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del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional, correspondiente a 1912', *Revista de Educación Nacional* IX, no. 2 (April 1913): 71; 'Asociación de Educación Nacional', 20 October 1907; 'Asociación de Educación Nacional', *El Ferrocarril*, 23 July 1910.

[582] At the time, Education was part of the same Ministry as Justice and Religion. By contrast, vocational, trade and technical schools were under the supervision of the Ministry of Industry. See: Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional, correspondiente a 1912', 70.

[583] Amongst the most well-known beneficiaries of this scholarship scheme were Amanda Labarca (Columbia University) and Darío Salas (New York University) and Tancredo Pinochet (unclear, possibly Columbia University).

[584] 'Asociación de Educación Nacional', *El Mercurio*, 7 December 1911; 'Asociación de Educación Nacional', *El Mercurio*, 27 August 1920.

[585] Carlos Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional correspondiente a 1915', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XII, no. 1 (March 1916); 'Intercambio de estudiantes chilenos i norteamericanos', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XII, no. 6 & 7 (September 1916).

[586] Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad económica.*, 223.

socialisation spaces – amongst them schools and military service – where higher and popular classes could come together.[587] AEN shared this view and denounced that the public schools were based on class differences, which consequently triggered a sentiment of "deep contempt that the gentleman feels towards the *roto*, from whom he lives at an immeasurable distance".[588] Thus, if Palacios' preferred method to solve this problem was the military barracks, for AEN, it was the establishment of a public, common, mandatory and democratic education system that would buttress a "sentiment of intellectual, material and moral fraternity between the different layers of society".[589] This would, in turn, reduce the possibility of mutual class hatred while contributing to political and social stability in the process.

Since its foundation, the National Education Association advocated for the enactment of a Law of Mandatory Education.[590] One of the AEN's main challenges was to attract children from all social backgrounds to attend school, particularly those from vulnerable low-income families. There were three important obstacles to surpass: first, parents should be convinced that formal education was useful and a long-term investment that pays off by leading to the betterment of the children's future standard of life. Secondly, it was paramount to ban – or at least limit – child labour. Children should not be used as a workforce or as an additional source of family income through labour. Thirdly, legislation should be enacted by establishing parents' duties to educate their children, hence, there would be legal sanctions if parents failed to comply with this mandate. Annually, AEN renewed its pressure to promulgate a "national and universal education" bill, by using many strategies, amongst them the journal, its annual reports and the disclosure of its Declaration of Principles.[591] AEN also organised several congresses and seminars to promote this bill's benefits to the wider public. This commitment was once again reinforced in 1915 with AEN's "Programme of Civic Action" by stressing the pragmatic, civic and mandatory status that Primary Education ought to have.[592] This constant pressure was well-received by the Government, allowing the incorporation of two AEN key figures at the heart of the

[587] Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918, I:39.
[588] 'Organización democrática de la educación pública', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* I, no. 1 (July 1905): 209.
[589] 'Organización democrática de la educación pública', 210.
[590] Article 7, 'Declaración de Principios de la Asociación de Educación Nacional', 9.
[591] 'Educación Nacional i Universal' in: Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional, correspondiente a 1912', 68–73.
[592] 'Programa de Acción Cívica', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XI, no. 2 (April 1915): 49.

writing of this legislation. The first, Darío Salas, was appointed Director of Primary Education in 1918. Salas has been recognised as the main inspiration of the *Ley de Educación Primaria Obligatoria* after he published *El Problema Nacional* (1917) where he outlined the three pillars that this bill ought to have: primary Education must be mandatory, neutral and democratic, echoing AEN principles. On the other hand, Carlos Fernández Peña, as AEN President, also enjoyed a position of authority in this process after being appointed President of the Committee for Mandatory Primary Education created by the Congress in 1916.[593]

Salas and Fernández guaranteed the influence of AEN in the drafting of the final document promulgated in 1920, responding to some of the most urgent claims made by the association for over a decade. In this sense, in the Declaration of Principles of 1905, AEN stressed the need to secure children's education by declaring it a parent's "sacred duty" to send their children to school and advocating for severe punishments if they refused to comply. In the final version of the *Ley de Instrucción Primaria Obligatoria,* it was established that Primary Education was compulsory, consisting of 4 years for any children of less than 13 years old. In case that this obligation was not fulfilled because of parental negligence, a monetary fine and imprisonment were implemented.[594] More important is their petition since 1905 to regulate child labour, which became by 1911 a demand for the "prohibition of work for children of school age".[595] In turn, the 1920 law explicitly proscribed employment of workers under 16 years old if they had not completed their primary education. A system of overseers was established (Education Juntas and *visitadores*) and monetary sanctions for those who broke this law.[596] Nevertheless, the complete banning of working for people under 14 years (with limitations between the ages of 14-18) was established in the Labour Laws of 1924 promulgated because of the demands of the military insurrection of September 3rd,[597] a movement that the AEN also supported.

[593] 'Ley de Instrucción Primaria Obligatoria', *El Mercurio*, 10 July 1920.
[594] Preliminary article, and Articles 2, 11 & 12 in: Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, 'Ley de Educación Primaria Obligatoria', Pub. L. No. 3,654 (1920).
[595] See Darío Salas 'Neutralidad de la Enseñanza' in: Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional, correspondiente a 1912', 91–104.
[596] Articles 7, 8 & 14 Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, Ley de Educación Primaria Obligatoria.
[597] See: 'Contrato del Trabajo', Pub. L. No. 4,053 (1924).

Dario Salas frequently stated that the Law of Mandatory Primary Education was a "truly democratic conquest" for the country.[598] An assessment that has been further corroborated by current studies confirming how attendance and literacy improved dramatically in the decade after its promulgation.[599] To achieve the nationalisation of the Chilean education, it was also necessary to focus on "common education" and the syllabus reformation. The former was understood by the AEN in two ways: first, as the idea that education should be granted to all children regardless of their social background, gender or ethnicity; secondly, the idea of a continuation of studies between the three levels of education (primary, secondary and higher).

AEN first objective was to achieve "equality of education between men and women",[600] particularly considering the scarcity of institutions of primary and secondary education for women.[601] Amanda Labarca, appointed Director of the women's section of the AEN in 1913, also criticised the social background criteria that *Liceos* had since it was a requirement to be literate to be accepted as student, a problem that was deepened by the few places available. Also, inspectors – who usually were women of elite background - played a role in this problem by favouring children of a similar higher social-status when selecting new entries of students. Finally, it was necessary to change the curriculum and make education more useful by incorporating more pragmatic courses into their training. Without this, it was deemed impossible to attain higher levels of schooling and social integration. However, AEN maintained a gendered idea of education, as shown in their motto to prepare young girls "in their triple and noble mission of being women, wife, and mother".[602] Hence, the focus was on conducting courses suitable for the job market

[598] 'Instrucción Obligatoria', *El Mercurio*, 10 July 1920; Darío Salas, 'La Instrucción obligatoria y disposiciones que ella contiene', *El Mercurio*, 11 July 1920.

[599] Between 1920 to 1930, the average attendance increased from 61,4% to 70,5%, the enrolment rate of children at school in both urban and rural contexts went up from 29,17% and 24,95% to 38,37% and 46,63% respectively, and the average illiteracy in school-age children decreased from 55,28% to 24,09%. See: Rengifo, Ruz, and Mascareño, 'Managing the 1920s' Chilean Educational Crisis: A Historical View Combined with Machine Learning'.

[600] Article 23 'Declaración de Principios de la Asociación de Educación Nacional'.

[601] The inequality was particularly acute in Secondary Education. The first *Liceo* for women was founded in 1892 in Valparaíso followed suit by the inauguration of a feminine *Liceo* in Santiago in 1895. However, its expansion was at an astonishing rate, between 1895-1908 there were 31 Secondary Schools in the country and the number of students increased from 110 to 5,627, to reach 19,580 by the end of this period in 1927. Serrano, Ponce de León, and Rengifo, *Historia de La Educación En Chile (1810-2010)*, 2012, II: La Educación Nacional (1880-1930):387.

[602] Asociación de Educación Nacional, 'La sección de los Liceos de Niñas de la Asociación de Educación Nacional', *Revista de Educación Nacional* IX, no. 8 (October 1913): 435.

and the role assigned to women, such as teachers or secretaries, but including more technical tasks.[603] In terms of indigenous education, in the Declaration of Principles of 1905, it was established that indigenous schools should be essentially agents of civilisation by teaching courses of practical use, particularly agriculture.[604] The aim was to become natives into small-landowners and farmers with profitable crops.

The common education project also sought to establish a continuity of instruction between the three levels of education through a smooth transition. The aim was to establish a curriculum in which the student gradually could attain the necessary knowledge and skills to ascend into Secondary education. Once reaching secondary level, the student had the option of following a vocational path to pursue a trade or of pursuing higher education at a university level.[605] This also meant a common training for teachers and equality in wages for those educators who taught in primary and secondary levels, as demanded since 1910 and publicly suggested by Carlos Fernández Peña to the National Congress in 1920.[606]

The last stage to nationalise the Chilean education focussed on content and disciplinary knowledge taught at schools. According to Carlos Fernández, "nature, geography, heritage, and traditions endow each nation with a unique genius"; therefore, each nation should be understood as the synthesis of these elements and should be nurtured and protected by the school.[607] Otherwise, Fernández claimed, the nation could be at risk of dissolving, and humanity of losing its unique worldview. To the AEN, the school had a duty towards the nation, and it should constitute the embodiment of its character. AEN members' diagnosis of the current situation was the opposite: they saw the Chilean system as too cosmopolitan, arguing that the subjects learned at school were foreign and unfit for the Chilean pupils.[608] This happened because, as Julio Saavedra stated:

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[603] By 1932, the courses of the Female Technical School included: Cooking, Embroidery, Washing and Flattening, Fashion, amongst others oriented towards the development of domestic skills.
[604] Article 28 'Declaración de Principios de la Asociación de Educación Nacional', 13.
[605] Carlos Fernández Peña, 'Hacia la nacionalización de nuestra enseñanza' in: Carlos Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional correspondiente a 1920', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XVII, no. 1–5 (July 1921): 41.
[606] 'Asociación de Educación Nacional', 23 July 1910; 'Instrucción Obligatoria', *El Mercurio*, 11 July 1920.
[607] Carlos Fernández Peña, 'La Patria', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* IV, no. 8 (October 1908): 206–7.
[608] Julio Saavedra, 'No estamos condenados', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* IV, no. 3 (May 1908): 44.

> "As long as we did not have a clear idea of what the Chilean constitution was, a nation on Earth separated physically and morally, distinctive from the rest of America and Europe, we could not guess that the more useful education system for us differed from those of other nations, and nobody thought of a national version."[609]

Thanks to the findings of Nicolás Palacios and the rest of the Centenary Generation authors, the AEN claimed that Chile, allegedly for first time in its history, had scientific knowledge of its own character, one that could be used as a guideline to shape the entire education system to fit Chilean racial traits. This meant that the syllabus – from language to physical education – should be filled with "national content" to adapt those courses to the racial, political and socio-economic context of the Chilean pupils.

2. Nationalising the Curriculum: Language, Civic Education and the protection of the Chilean race.

The centenary intellectuals and the National Education Association sought to nationalise the courses' contents taught at the school in all levels. Frequently, one can find different projects which propose re-organisations of the hours dedicated to each subject, incorporation of new approaches to existing subjects or creation of new courses into the syllabus. Still, few of these projects ever came to fruition, particularly before 1921.[610] AEN Declaration of Principles stated the main guidelines of these reforms, which aimed to foster pupils' civic spirit to become good citizens while "developing physical vigour, intelligence and character". Following these guidelines, the objectives were to incorporate physical education and hygiene as means of racial protection, as well as practical education based on the training of economic skills along with civic education subjects.[611] Something that became increasingly important and was absent from the original objectives was the incorporation of National and Hispanic American History courses.It was unexpected that heated debates emerged on how to

[609] Julio Saavedra, 'Reformemos nuestra enseñanza secundaria', *Revista de Educación Nacional* IX, no. 3 (May 1913): 109–10.
[610] See 'Reforma de las Cátedras' in: 'Declaración de Principios', *Revista de Educación Nacional* X, no. 2 (April 1914); Julio Saavedra, 'Modificaciones al Plan de Estudios', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XI, no. 4 & 5 (July 1915); Carlos Fernández Peña, 'Petición inicial al gobierno sobre reforma de la enseñanza pública de la AEN', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XVII, no. 6–10 (December 1921); José Pinochet, 'La Reforma de nuestra enseñanza pública', *El Mercurio*, 29 December 1921.
[611] Articles 2, 12, 13 & 22 'Declaración de Principios de la Asociación de Educación Nacional'.

teach language courses. Like an umbrella which covered all these proposes, a common issue was how to create a properly Chilean educational model with its own pedagogy and contents adapted to fit the unique set of traits that the national pupils had.

Idioma Patrio and the language debate.

Language was one of the nationalists' preferred topics because it was interpreted as the most original and undeniable manifestation of a national uniqueness, usually being depicted as the bearer of the national acumen understood as the gathering process – since atavistic times – of knowledge, wisdom and insight that the people express in its language.[612] An illustrative example of how language and nationalist thinking intertwined in this period is Argentina. The debate over how to understand their language was paramount for nationalist intellectuals because it was deemed as a 'proxy' of the main issue of how to conceive "Argentinehood". In summary, the two stances were as follows: those who understood Argentina as a nation rooted in the colonial past and the miscegenation between indigenous peoples and creoles, such as Doctor Ernesto Quesada, favoured a Hispanist policy of keeping the language as close as possible to the formal Spanish sanctioned by the *Real Academia de la Lengua Española* (RAE). Conversely, those who interpreted Argentina as a new nation 'in the making' because of the crucial influence of new immigrants, such as Doctor Luciano Abeille, embraced the everchanging nature of language, being open to the incorporation of words, modifications on phonetics and changes in grammar that were, in turn, leading to the formation of a new Argentine dialect.[613] In general, the Chilean debate was lower in intensity than that in the Argentine case.

[612] As J.G. Herder stated: "in each one of the languages is expressed the intellect and the character of a nation […] the genius of a nation is not better revealed anywhere else than in the physiognomy of its language". See Herder, *Ideas para una Filosofía de la Historia de la Humanidad*, 273.

[613] See 'Capítulo V: Un Balance Crítico" in: Bertoni, *Patriotas, cosmopolitas y nacionalistas: la construcción de la nacionalidad argentina a fines del siglo XIX*; See also: Juan Bautista Selva, 'La evolución del lenguaje', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, November 1905; Juan Zerda, 'Enseñanza Del Idioma Nacional', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, December 1908; Manuel Ávila, 'Cultivo Del Lenguaje', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, April 1918; Antonina Raño de Malpérez, 'El Sentimiento de Nacionalidad. Cuál Debe Ser El Ideal Argentino', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, April 1927; Rafael Barrios, 'La unidad del idioma', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 1929.

However, it had profound implications during this period which the historiography has failed to address.[614]

As previously seen in chapter one, in Chile, since the debate between D.F. Sarmiento and Andrés Bello, the issue of how to understand the Chilean language seemed closed with the Venezuelan *pensador's* victorious interpretation. As a Spanish speaking country of South America, Chile did not differ much from the Iberian tradition, following in its formal and written expression the rules of Bello's masterpiece *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana destinado al uso de los americanos* (1847).[615] This consensus, and the lack of public debate regarding this issue, explains why there is no mention of language in the AEN Declaration of Principles or during the first years of publication of their journal *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional*. Nevertheless, with the publication of Nicolás Palacios' *Raza Chilena* (1904), a challenging interpretation against Bello's consensus emerged, a debate that reached its peak when Julio Saavedra begun to argue in favour of a national language in 1907.

Nicolás Palacios advocated for the recognition of the common oral language spoken by the *roto* and the peasants as the formal Chilean language, dignifying its written expression as an educated form. According to Palacios, the Spanish spoken in Chile derives from an old form of Gothic-Spanish that the conquistadors brought with them; he used examples of the Chilean jargon and, more importantly, explained the attitude of Chileans towards language using this theory.[616] Supposedly, Iberian Spanish and Latin Americans are flamboyant in their speaking, prone to hyperbole and embellishment, whereas the Chilean *roto* is laconic and blunt, closer to how Germanic people speak. In the phonetic use of letters *'s', 'd'* and *'h'* Palacios saw a direct link with Northern Spain that distinguished Chilean-Spanish from other Latin American countries and formal Castilian. Finally, he also acknowledged the incorporation of many indigenous words into the Chilean lexicon, reinforcing this Araucanian heritage the peculiar direct and dry speaking style that distinguishes Chileans.[617]

[614] B. Subercaseaux is the only one who has addressed this issue (albeit briefly): Subercaseaux, *Historia de las Ideas y la Cultura en Chile*, II: 1900-1930. Nacionalismo y Cultura:252–53.
[615] See: 'Bello and Sarmiento' and 'Gramática de la Lengua Castellana' in: Jaksic, *Andrés Bello. Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America.*
[616] Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos.*, 1918, I:141.
[617] See Chapter II 'El Pueblo Chileno y su Lengua' Palacios, I:113–75.

Taking Palacios' thesis as a premise, Julio Saavedra revisited Bello's old analogy of comparing Spanish America with the former Roman Empire and Spanish with Latin, but added a different conclusion. Instead of revolving around nations and how they would diverge linguistically, Saavedra focused on how social classes already experienced a similar process, concluding that in the Americas only the elite continued to speak proper Castilian whereas the people spoke with their own grammar, phonetics and lexicon.[618] It follows that elite's resistance to acknowledge and formalise their own national dialect as part of the written language created a cultural and linguistic divide between social classes, a gap that would become unbridgeable if the press, the education, the theatre and any other form of cultural practice continued to marginalise this emerging language. In two articles published in AEN journal, Saavedra blamed Andrés Bello and his Hispanophile followers for laying the foundation of this social and linguistic division of the country, and he claimed that Chile's linguistic unity was a far more important aim than continental unity based on a common grammar.[619] Finally, he proposed to create a Chilean Dictionary and Grammar to teach them in a new independent subject of "National and Hispanic-American Literature".[620] This differentiation from the traditional Spanish Literature course sought to buttress pupils' pride towards their own Chilean language, character and mindset. In his proposal, Saavedra wanted to abandon classical and medieval European/Spanish literature to focus on Spanish American and Chilean authors, expanding the study to national theatre and other local and regional literature forms.

An internal debate quickly emerged amongst AEN members. Tomás Ramírez, the leader of Bello's followers, distinguished between what he called "provincialisms" – or idiomatic words and expressions – and grammar; Ramírez stated that oral or vulgar Chilean did not differ from the *Gramática Castellana*, and he dismissed the creation of a new Literature course since it lacked a proper reason to be, or more precisely, this proposed new course was the product of an whimsical interpretation.[621] This linguistic debate proved to be divisive within AEN members since, in the end, this

[618] Julio Saavedra, 'Lo Americano en Castilla', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 5 (July 1907).
[619] Julio Saavedra, 'Nuestro Idioma Patrio', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 6 & 7 (September 1907).
[620] Julio Saavedra, 'Sobre La Formación de Un Plan de Estudios de Idioma Patrio', *Revista de La Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 4 (June 1907).
[621] Tomás Ramírez, 'Acerca de la Enseñanza del Castellano', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 4 (June 1907).

dispute was resolved through internal elections in June 1907, and only after deliberating for three sessions, was Saavedra's interpretation victorious.[622] Nevertheless, this debate reached new heights when Miguel Unamuno intervened. He wrote a vehement response in the Argentine newspaper *La Union* in March 1908, published in the AEN journal the following July. Unamuno questioned Saavedra's linguistic knowledge and qualifications, doubting his real motivations since – Unamuno stated – the Chilean author was blinded by "hatred of Spain". The Spanish philosopher completely dismissed the comparison between Latin and Spanish. According to him, in the Americas, the demographic weight of Iberian descendants and the cultural prevalence of Spain made Castilian the continent's mother tongue since other European languages and native languages were no competition in terms of the number of speakers in the region.[623] Saavedra's answer was as impassioned as Unamuno's: Saavedra defined Unamuno as a fatuous academic motivated by patriotic chauvinism. He pointed out that his aim had never been to diminish Spain's role or influence, nor to "create a National Language", but instead to "dignify the popular expressions that live on our lips" and thus to narrow the social divide that this idiomatic difference created in the country.[624]

In each of the three phases of this whole debate (Palacios-Bello; Saavedra-Ramírez; Saavedra-Unamuno), the claim for a national language was based on linguistic foundations which seemed to be more the product of a political aspiration than an academic thesis based on verifiable findings. A national language would have buttressed the idea of a unique Chilean character, a goal that overshadowed any other consideration. It is telling of the weak foundations of this debate how Saavedra retreated from his original stance after Unamuno's response. He dismissed his attempt to formalise a new national language to narrow the class divide between formal and colloquial Spanish speakers in the country. It follows that Saavedra's argument revolved around different levels of people's education and was not a truly linguistic debate; he limited his original stance to a question of how pertinent the creation of a new course of National and Spanish American literature was. Ultimately, even this last

[622] See Acts of Sessions 128, 129 & 130 'Sobre el Idioma Patrio', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 4 (June 1907).
[623] Miguel Unamuno, 'Más sobre el idioma nacional', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* IV, no. 5 (July 1908).
[624] Julio Saavedra, 'Barajando palos de ciego', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* IV, no. 5 (July 1908).

concern was overlooked by the AEN during the following years, since the association exclusively focussed on the request of a new Chilean and Spanish American History course to foster pupils' pride in their own country.[625]

In parallel, another linguistic debate commenced regarding the importance of the indigenous influence in Chilean Spanish. Intellectuals such as Rodolfo Lenz inaugurated what was called at the time the "indigenist hypothesis".[626] These intellectuals became champions of the cause of recovering Mapuche language and tradition, in quest of a better understanding of the linguistic and cultural peculiarities of the country.[627] Nicolás Palacios and Julio Saavedra were also part of this broader debate. Still, their influence has been frequently overlooked by the historiography, which disregarded the fact that Palacios' *Raza Chilena* (1904) was published before Rodolfo Lenz's masterpiece *Diccionario etimológico de las voces chilenas derivadas de las lenguas americanas* written between 1905-1910. Regardless, by having as a starting point the acknowledgement of the deep Araucanian influence in Chilean language, Palacios and Saavedra influenced the debate about indigenous education; they proposed to include the teaching of Araucanian Language as an optional course in the training of primary and secondary teachers,[628] to provide bilingual educators for the indigenous schools. Furthermore, Saavedra socialised the AEN demand to promote multicultural education by acknowledging that the indigenous people had a distinctive culture which was worth preserving. Since its foundation, AEN was concerned about indigenous education and the need "to civilise" indigenous peoples; indeed, they denounced the governments' abandonment of this "heroic race". Frequently, in 1907-1908 the AEN asked for the creation of special schools exclusively for indigenous pupils, where the teaching ought to be either bilingual or in the native tongue and, if possible, conducted by native teachers. Their proposal led to the suggestion of creating a special grant to incorporate Araucanians into the *Escuela Normal.*[629] Still, regardless of some isolated cases, this policy was not able to be

[625] 'La Reforma de los planes de enseñanza oficial', *El Mercurio*, 27 December 1921.
[626] Guillermo Soto, 'Rodolfo Lenz y la enseñanza del castellano como idioma patrio en Chile.', *Boletín de Filología* 51, no. 1 (2016): 214.
[627] See: Gilberto Sánchez, 'El Dr. Rodolfo Lenz, Primer Investigador Científico de La Lengua y Cultura Mapuches', *Lenguas Modernas* 42 (Second term 2013): 99–113.
[628] Julio Saavedra, 'Cátedras de Araucano', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 9 (November 1907).
[629] 'Act of Session 112', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 1 (March 1907); 'Act of Session 140', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 8 (October 1907); 'Escuelas Indígenas', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* IV, no. 1 (March 1908).

implemented extensively. Additionally, their education would have mainly focussed on practical skills, particularly those related to craftsmanship and agriculture.

AEN concern about indigenous education was genuine during its early years, along with the debate over language. This is shown in the reports of the First Pan-American Scientific Congress held in Santiago in 1908-1909, where both topics were directly addressed. During the Congress, AEN focussed on three inquiries: namely, how to organise the indigenous schools as civilising institutions, how to promote the teaching of foreign languages and which ones, and how to nationalise foreign immigrants and colonists.[630] Unfortunately, AEN interest in indigenous education faded away through the years since there was no mention of this issue beyond this point in AEN journals. Nevertheless, all things considering, it would be unjust to omit this debate and AEN ideas on this regard. Although in practice the responsibility of indigenous education relied heavily on missionary schools, particularly on those run by the Capuchin Order,[631] these ideas were circulating amongst intellectuals and educators alike since 1904. They paved the way for the policy of *radicaciones* that established as a priority the creation of indigenous schools on former unclaimed communal land advocated under Ibáñez administration.[632]

The challenge posed by immigrant schools and their integration into the country's public school system also caught the attention of some AEN intellectuals. This was a minor concern circumscribed to Valparaiso, Santiago and other settlements scattered in the country, particularly in the southern regions where the European colonists enjoyed an elite status and had a relatively important demographic presence which enabled them to establish exclusive educational institutions. AEN was worried that foreign schools were implementing a "denationalisation" strategy in those places and that they used every available means to keep colonists' descendants loyal and culturally attached to the countries of origin of their parents. To tackle this, AEN demanded the establishment of a new law in which the courses of National Language, Chilean History and Geography, and Chilean Civic Education were made compulsory;

[630] See points 8, 12 & 57 'Bases Presentadas a La Subcomisión de Ciencias Pedagógicas i Filosofía Del Congreso Científico Pan Americano Por El Directorio de La A. de E.N', *Revista de La Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 10 (December 1907).
[631] See Chapter VIII 'Sin Tierras ni Letras' Serrano, Ponce de León, and Rengifo, *Historia de La Educación En Chile (1810-2010)*, 2012.
[632] See; Article 4, Ministerio de Agricultura, Industria y Colonización, Crea Tribunal Especial de división de comunidades; indígenas y reglamenta procedimientos.

in addition, lessons were required to be in Spanish and be conducted by Chilean-born educators.[633] Regardless, the most urgent matter was to choose which secondary language was most beneficial to adopt amongst French, German or English. AEN intellectuals criticised the government's policy which established French as a compulsory subject. As Julio Saavedra argued this was due to the traditional Chilean affinity with French/Latin intellectual culture.[634] After much discussion, AEN favoured implementing a policy of free choice by students as to which European language they wished to learn and argued that Chilean pupils should also learn from the pragmatic Germanic and Anglo-Saxon spirit,[635] since, they claimed, by knowing their language and culture, Germanic work ethic and their predisposition towards industrial tasks could be instilled in children's minds.

To conclude, in Chile the fight over language was not the 'mother of all battles' or the banner under which nationalist forces rallied, as happened in other Spanish American countries, particularly Argentina.[636] Although Palacios and Saavedra sought to politically mobilise the idea of a National Language, a more pragmatic approach towards this topic was predominant in intellectual and educational circles. The attempt to instil 'Chilean' as a distinctive language was rapidly debunked by national and foreign intellectuals. Their efforts to create a new Literature course to foster pride in the national character and mindset were also quickly discarded from AEN demands. In the end, most of the contentious debates revolved around how to use language as an economic and geopolitical tool to get closer to the industrial powerhouses of the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany. For once, the exceptionality narrative was side-lined by privileging a more pragmatic approach towards education.

Civic Education and National History.

The campaign for the nationalisation and democratisation of education could not have been complete without the reinforcement of civic education in schools. The

633 'Boletín de la Asociación de Educación Nacional, Acta 323', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XIII, no. 10 & 11 (December 1917).
634 Julio Saavedra, 'Horario de Idiomas en las Humanidades', *El Mercurio*, 1 December 1911.
635 Asociación de Educación Nacional, 'Sesión 92. La Enseñanza de Idiomas vivos', *El Ferrocarril*, 6 May 1906; 'Sesiones 157 a 160 (Selección de Idiomas)', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* IV, no. 7 (September 1908); Asociación de Educación Nacional, 'La enseñanza de los idiomas en los Liceos', *El Mercurio*, 3 December 1911; 'La cuestión de los Idiomas', *El Mercurio*, 15 March 1915.
636 See: Fernando Alfón, *La querella de la lengua en Argentina: ensayo biográfico* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial de la Universidad de la Plata, 2013).

aim was to foster pupils' adherence to liberal political values and spur students' loyalty towards the country, understood as a political community based on a Republican and constitutional system. As Sol Serrano has studied, this idea was not new since from 1882 the government established that the teaching of Chilean History in Primary and Secondary schools was mandatory. Moreover, in 1898 the government added the compulsory course of civic education for the formation of good citizens. Nevertheless, the problem was their implementation; this is shown by the fact that only 52% of the students had a History course in 1910, while a meagre 20% attended classes of civic education.[637] In this context, in addition to the crucial implementation of mandatory Primary Education, AEN proposed several strategies to reinforce civic spirit amongst Chilean pupils: first, a change in the orientation of History and Civic Education taught at schools; second, the development of civic rites at schools; finally, the implementation of practical courses designed to train 'defenders of the fatherland and democracy'.

In the period 1905 to 1921 AEN proposed several curricular reforms at Primary and Secondary education. The main demand was to divide Civic Education courses from History since both were usually merged because of budget limitations. Similarly, the Chilean and Spanish American History course should be separated from Geography; both changes would, in turn, add teaching hours in these respective subjects. AEN also demanded that these subjects were made compulsory for every year of Secondary Education. It recommended reinforcing teachers' training on these subjects at the *Escuela Normal* and *Instituto Pedagógico*.

There was also a gradual shift in the orientation of each one of these courses. History and Civic Education were not easy to distinguish on a curricular level since both had, at their core, the same liberal narrative. Before 1898 they were one and the same course, whereas after the split, the borders remained murky. Civic Education revolved around the principles of citizenship, constitutionalism and liberal progress, while Chilean History focussed on their applicationin the development of Republican Institutions, the expansion of civil and political rights, and the narration of the Independence process, with a stress on the life and contribution of the country's Founding Fathers. As Sol Serrano argues, the main idea was to portray Chile as an

[637] Serrano, Ponce de León, and Rengifo, *Historia de La Educación En Chile (1810-2010)*, 2012, II: La Educación Nacional (1880-1930):55.

exceptional country in the region, where liberty was guaranteed through a peaceful and stable institutionalisation after the Independence.[638] It is striking that, despite this hegemonic narrative of exceptionalism, AEN and the nationalist intellectuals promoted the creation of a broader sense of nationhood based on the commonalities that Chile had with the rest of Spanish America. AEN intellectuals used the same elements used by the rest of the members of the Centenary Generation to sustain this sense of shared nationhood with the rest of the continent: namely, the common colonial experience/heritage, the pioneering establishment of Republican systems, and the defence of Democracy and Sovereignty in a world threatened by Imperialism. This dual sense of nationhood explains in turn why AEN members never suggested splitting Chilean and Hispanic American History courses: after all, they wanted to buttress this broader nationalism.

Complementarily, Civic Education could have been instilled in children's minds through rites, festivities and school ceremonies. Following the promulgation of the Law of Mandatory Primary Education, AEN focussed on activities outside the classroom to foster civic and political awareness. In 1920 they sent a legislative project to the Congress to implement a daily ceremony of "honouring and saluting the flag" in every school of the country; it consisted in raising the Chilean flag with the pupils in ranks, emulating military formations at barracks.[639] This law sought to create some sort of "civic prayer" before commencing class and it guided staff and students' daily efforts to aggrandise the *patria*. AEN deemed this rite as crucial in the "nationalisation of the education system", thus, it demanded that it be made compulsory for private and public institutions alike, especially those run by foreign colonies.[640]

Finally, the most contentious strategy of all was the idea of making students defenders of the *patria* to inculcate civic spirit through military discipline and physical exercise. Critical was the adoption of the German model of Physical Education by some primary and secondary schools since the 1890s. The German model was based on military training, teaching students –from 12 years –how to march and perform

[638] Serrano, 'Enseñanza de La Historia e Identidad Nacional: Un Vínculo a Exteriorizar Desde La Experiencia Chilena. 1850-1930', 215.
[639] 'Artículo 2 de Educación Cívica' in: Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional correspondiente a 1920', 40.
[640] Asociación de Educación Nacional, 'El saludo a nuestra bandera en las escuelas', *El Mercurio*, 19 August 1920.

movements while carrying a rifle and other basic military drills. The adoption of this model aimed to strengthen students' character and body in order to be fitted for service in case of national emergency: in short, giving some hue of military life to help the pupils transition from school to the barracks in the case of conscription, which was made mandatory in 1900.

Nevertheless, the AEN was not decisive in its support for this German model, since it leaned towards implementing only shooting practices and training courses on the use of firearms. Following the examples of Argentina and of the United States, in 1915 AEN supported the practice of rifle shooting as part of the Physical Education course as their way to contribute to national security.[641] This practice was gradually implemented in schools, enjoying wider official support as shown by the celebration of "National Rifle day" with chants and parades.[642] This programme was welcomed by the political milieu, sponsored by influential politicians such as Malaquias Concha and the Democratic Party who presented a legislative initiative to give "military instruction at schools to all Chileans without exception" as a way to foster the "civic education" and the "cult of the fatherland [*patria*]."[643] It follows that AEN intellectuals sought to adopt a military approach to bolster the Republican ideals of fraternity and equality amongst the students regardless of their socioeconomic background, echoing the Army experience with the adoption of military conscription in the country.

To conclude, through the years the change of focus towards the nationalisation and democratisation of education became ever more evident. The main concern passed beyond a discussion of any course contents. At stake was the construction of a Chilean archetype via schooling by shaping pupils into Chilean *rotos* with all the supposedly masculine virtues assigned by the Centenary Generation. According to AEN, Chilean younger generations should be aware of the exceptional history that the country possessed and be proud and grateful for the great deeds of the Founding Fathers and for their national heritage. More importantly, these youngsters ought to be healthy, disciplined and willing to sacrifice in dire times if the nation called for service. An important point to bear in mind is that AEN project did not imply a total

[641] Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional correspondiente a 1915', 23.
[642] See: 'Día a Día. Fiesta Nacional del Rifle', *El Mercurio*, 23 March 1915; 'La práctica del rifle', *El Mercurio*, 1 April 1915.
[643] 'La Fiesta Nacional del Rifle', *El Mercurio*, 27 March 1915.

militarisation of education, as shown by AEN members' reluctance to embrace the German model of Physical Education, which was considered narrow-minded and too hierarchical. In contrast, AEN wanted to extract the Republican elements embedded in the formation of students in whose minds it aimed to instil the notion that Chile was a community of equals who shared sacrifices and duties. This explains the emphasis in combining this military training with civic education; the goal was to inculcate the notion that, in order to enjoy the benefits granted by the Republic, each citizen ought to be able to defend it from every threat.

AEN education for the protection of the race.

One of AEN *leitmotivs* was the protection of the Chilean race and their constant struggle to make it stronger, fitter and lived up to its potential. Carlos Fernández, the Director and founder of the National Education Association, dedicated much of his work and research towards this goal as a medical doctor. Such concern is shown in the AEN Declaration of Principles which states that the development of physical vigour through the promotion of hygiene, temperance and prevention of alcoholism were amongst their top priorities.[644] AEN feared that biological and environmental causes could degenerate the inner virtues of the national race and established Physical and Moral Education as the two main forms of protection against it.

One of the most established consensuses in Chilean elite – which included intellectuals, educators, and government officials – was the need to improve the health conditions of the population to tackle the alarming mortality rate provoked by malnutrition and by the spreading of contagious diseases.[645] In 1889 the Central Council of Hygiene was founded with a sub-department to oversight the sanitary conditions of the Primary Schools. In 1898, Eloísa Díaz - first women medic in the country - was appointed as School Medical Inspector, beginning a campaign to create an "School Aid Service" [*Auxilio Escolar*] dedicated to granting of free clothing,

[644] Article 2 & 12 'Declaración de Principios de la Asociación de Educación Nacional'.
[645] According to a study made in 1939 by Salvador Allende as Minister of Health, in 1910 the mortality reached 31,7 for every thousand inhabitants, having its peak in 1923 with 33,0 to be decreased to its lowest point by the end of this period in 1931 with 22,0 every thousand inhabitants. Allende stated that Chilean mortality rate was the highest in the world during this period. Salvador Allende, *La Realidad Médico-Social Chilena: (síntesis).* (Santiago, Chile.: Ministerio de Salubridad, Previsión y Asistencia Social., 1939), 21.

footwear, medication, and food to students in the most vulnerable socio-economic situation.[646]

AEN actively supported this campaign. In 1908 Carlos Fernández concludes that at least 10% of Primary students were gravely malnourished; thus, he advocated for the creation of a semi-philanthropic scheme to give free meals to those more impoverished children.[647] Funded by private donors and public subsidies, this scheme would come into fruition in 1916 when the *Junta de Beneficencia Escolar* was inaugurated, handing "school breakfast" and clothing to indigent children. Unfortunately, in terms of healthcare, budget limitations never enabled Eloísa Díaz's plans of organising a large medical corps dedicated to the oversight of the sanitary infrastructure of Primary schools. Neither did the pupils actually benefit from the proposed regular health examinations.[648] The AEN, considering these budget limitations, attempted to improve children's health by promoting "school colonies". This granted vacations to indigent children where, on top of exploring nature and practice recreational sports, the children received medications, food, clothing and lessons of personal hygiene and moral education for 2 to 6 weeks.[649] Nevertheless, AEN favourite method to foster pupils' health and well-being was through Physical Education.

Since 1889 Physical Education course was incorporated as mandatory in the Primary School curriculum. Its first problem was teachers' lack of proper training since the *Escuelas Normales* were not prepared to incorporate this field in their formation. Soon, a demand for an autonomous institution exclusively dedicated to training professional instructors on Physical Education began; aim fulfilled by 1906 with the inauguration of the Institute of Physical Education. AEN involvement was scarce until this point, preferring to participate actively in the debate on which model was suitable

[646] Rengifo, 'Familia y Escuela. Una Historia Social Del Proceso de Escolarización Nacional. Chile, 1860-1930.', 130.
[647] Carlos Fernández Peña, 'Condición actual de la jente desvalida', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* IV (September 1908).
[648] Eloísa Díaz proposed in 1901 to have 1 visiting medic every 2,000 students at Primary level, but when this Medic group was established in 1911 it included only 5 medics for Santiago and 1 for Valparaíso. In terms of sanitation of the schools, still by 1915 almost none of them had a sewer system, improving gradually this scenario until 1929 when almost two thirds of Santiago's schools had a sewer system and access to drinking water. See: La respuesta desde la escuela: el auxilio escolar in Rengifo, 'Familia y Escuela. Una Historia Social Del Proceso de Escolarización Nacional. Chile, 1860-1930.'
[649] Eliodoro Flores, 'Colonias de Vacaciones', *Revista de Educación Nacional* IX, no. 9 (November 1913): 481–189.

to be adopted by Primary and Secondary schools. The first alternative was the German model created by F. Jenschke. This was adopted by the State in 1896 as methodology to apply in all schools. It was based on light gymnastic exercises complemented by basic military instruction or dancing lessons in the case of girls. The alternative model was the Swedish methodology by H. Ling and brought to Chile in 1902 by Manuel Barros Borgoño who campaigned for its implementation over Jenschke's model. The Swedish alternative stressed the athletic development of pupils through outdoor activities such as competitive and recreational sports and excursions. As Sol Serrano pointed out, the debate emerged because of the opposition of some renown educators – particularly Darío Salas –against the militaristic and authoritarian approach attributed to the German methodology,[650] ideals that were at odds to Salas' and AEN aims to democratise the education. In such context, AEN was not only a mediator r as Serrano suggested; it also proposed to nationalise the course of physical education.

AEN Internal debate was whether to create a national methodology from scratch or to keep the Swedish model, adding some Chilean games/sports to give some national hue to the field. In regard to the former, Luis Galdames and Julio Saavedra demanded to revamp the Physical Education model by creating "our own physical culture" that fits "the organism of our race and its physiologic development, in concordance with our geography and some of our historical traditions."[651] They were, however, open to adopting specific elements of foreign methodologies that suited Chilean needs. Nevertheless, they were a minority within the AEN and were labelled by their counterparts as an example of over-nationalistic zeal, since most members agreed to support the incorporation of the Swedish methodology adding some national sports, particularly those with historical roots amongst the Araucanians.[652] According to Guillermo Martínez, Chileans were the "Greeks of South America", arguing that one can find the best examples of physical prowess ever recorded in Araucanian history. Thanks to the accounts of Alonso de Ercilla – Spanish conquistador and poet, author of *La Araucana* (1569) - it would have been possible to replicate with exactitude their

[650] Serrano, Ponce de León, and Rengifo, *Historia de La Educación En Chile (1810-2010)*, 2012, II: La Educación Nacional (1880-1930):208–9.
[651] Luis Galdames, 'Educación Física i Educación moral', *Revista de Educación Nacional* IX, no. 3 (May 1913): 158.
[652] 'El Instituto de Educación Física', *Revista de Educación Nacional* IX, no. 6 (August 1913).

sports, which, in turn, would have enabled current students to acquire the physical traits as the heroic race of old. Furthermore, the construction of a National Stadium was urgent to practice these sports and make competitions. This Arena should be treated as a "sacred temple of the race", where the best and fittest Chilean elements could be displayed as role models for all youngsters.[653]

The nationalisation of physical education also served the purposes of buttressing national security and its independence. The aim to keep children healthy and fit in case of national crisis was self-evident and frequently argued by the educators; however, AEN also used geopolitical reasoning to advocate their demands. According to AEN, the world was experiencing a racial competition at the time, and the "Saxon races" were winning. Without the proper improvements in infrastructure, policies and education which aimed to stop the degeneration of the national race, it would be impossible for Chile to remain independent.[654] Similarly, Guillermo Martínez demanded to ban Jenschke's methodology in the Chilean school system and to nationalise the discipline instead. He claimed that the German Empire was promoting this model to bolster their cultural and geopolitical sway in the country, reinforcing, in turn, Chilean dependency towards the German industry.[655]

The goal to reinvigorate the race through a nationalised physical education was complemented by AEN demands to secure the moral and reproductive well-being of the race. Carlos Fernández was particularly committed to this endeavour and dedicated his work to a wide array of related concerns; from promoting a betterment in the nourishment given to underfed children at schools – particularly indigenous students - to the denouncing of public authorities' obesity because of their lack of physical activity and their gluttony.[656] Doctor Fernández attempted to thoroughly tackle the major causes of malice that were deteriorating the Chilean race. Amongst them,

[653] Guillermo Martínez, 'El Stadium Nacional', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XII, no. 6 & 7 (September 1916); 'Educación Física. Organización de los deportes i el Estadio Nacional', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XII, no. 8 (October 1916); 'Consejo Nacional de Educación Física', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XII, no. 10 (December 1916).
[654] 'Stadium Nacional', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XII, no. 3 (May 1916); Carlos Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional correspondiente a 1916', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XIII, no. 1 (March 1917).
[655] Guillermo Martínez, 'Educación Física. La organización de los deportes i el Estadio Nacional', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XII, no. 9 (November 1916).
[656] See 'Alimentación indígena' in: Carlos Fernández Peña and Amanda Labarca, 'La Educación Pública a la luz de nuestra Declaración de Principios', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 4 (June 1904); 'Por la educación física de la raza', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XIII, no. 9 & 10 (December 1917).

the crucial priorities were the struggle against alcoholism and the promotion of sexual ethics, both topics gathered at the time by the common course of "moral education", as stated by AEN declaration of Principles of 1905.

According to the Alcohol Law of 1903, there was a mandate to conduct "Physiology, Hygiene and Temperance" courses in every school, but AEN acknowledged deficiencies in its implementation because of material constraints. Carlos Fernández commenced campaigning for its implementation since the turn of the century.[657] He claimed that education was the most effective way to tackle this social vice, primary reason of the alarming obesity and mortality in the country, a vice deemed by Fernández as "the bigger internal threat to our race".[658] The permanent lack of funds to implement this course pushed AEN to find alternatives to tackle this problem. Because of this, AEN supported other civic associations and organised seminars/conferences. This gave to the AEN a political role that far exceeded their initial educational commitment. Nevertheless, an ongoing debate within AEN membership was about which policy should be pursued: an almost complete banning of alcohol in the country through the establishment of licence limitations for selling alcohol while limiting the days in which it is allowed to drink, or following a long-term solution based on a mixture of promotion of sports and moral education.

Finally, moral education revolved around sexual ethics. According to Carlos Fernández, Chile – as one of the Latin races – had an ethnic predisposition towards promiscuity and was prone to follow its "instinctive deviations" wasting much of its inner energies to satisfy its sexual appetite. This conduct was deemed the "major enemy of the Chilean race" since it was the main source of its degeneration.[659] Furthermore, Fernández suggested that moral education ought to be conducted as a law for the "conservation of the nation and their races", by educating men to channel their energies into sports and productive activities. Also, both sexes should be taught

[657] Carlos Fernández commenced his campaign against alcoholism in 1901 when he founded the "Liga contra el Alcoholismo". See 'El Fracaso de la Prohibición' in: Rinke, *Cultura de Masas: Reforma y Nacionalismo 1910-1931*.
[658] 'El Congreso Anti-Alcohólico de Milán', *Revista de Educación Nacional* X, no. 1 (March 1914); Article 8 Carlos Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional correspondiente a 1913', *Revista de Educación Nacional* X, no. 2 (April 1914); Carlos Fernández Peña and Ignacio Ramírez, 'De la Austeridad a la Lonjevidad. Para la Educación física de la Raza', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XI, no. 4 & 5 (July 1915).
[659] Carlos Fernández Peña, 'La Ética Sexual en el Liceo', *Revista de Educación Nacional* IX, no. 4 (June 1913); Carlos Fernández Peña, 'La Ética Sexual en el Liceo', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XX, no. 2 (April 1924).

to be hygienic and to protect their health by avoiding the sources of corruption produced by alcoholism and activities that could stimulate sexual relations. Following the Argentine example, as a way to complement moral education courses, the AEN pressured the government to adopt a censorship law against cinematographic films because the cinema was "perverting the hearts of the youth" by arousing them with content and images that belonged to the intimate world of adult couples, hence, not suitable for children and women to watch.[660]

As the evidence suggests, the racialised discourse inaugurated by Nicolás Palacios and followed by the Centenary Generation penetrated the educational discourse, a clout particularly heavy on the National Education Association members. One of their major concerns was the preservation of the Chilean race, protecting it from any form of moral and physical decay while promoting policies to reinvigorate its virile traits. In particular, Carlos Fernández using his expertise as a medical doctor, founded this organisation with the aim of stopping the allegedly ongoing trend of degeneration of the Chilean race. For the AEN, the nationalisation of education was a question of 'matter and form'. Thus, the protection of the race was the substance of this claim, whereas the use of a narrative which portrayed Araucanians as an exceptionally athletic peoples similar to Olympian heroes was the form. This demand to incorporate Mapuche's sports as part of the physical education syllabus is also a clear example of '*indianesque'* ideology, a strategy used to provide some sort of embellishment and to give a Chilean undertone to the Swedish methodology of Physical education. Finally, with the wider problems of alcoholism and the protection of the race, nationalist intellectuals understood the limitations of the changes that could be provided through education, which motivated a further political and social involvement. This would become one of the major factors of AEN downfall, particularly after the 1920 Law of Mandatory Primary Education. Once this goal was met, the political agenda provoked acute internal divides undermining its clout from within the association amongst both teachers and politicians.

[660] 'La educación por medio del cinematógrafo. Movimiento de opinión pública en favor de la censura', *Revista de Educación Nacional* IX, no. 6 (August 1913); 'la censura cinematográfica y la Asociación de Educación Nacional', *Revista de Educación Nacional* X, no. 10 (December 1914); 'La Asistencia infantil a los cinematógrafos', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XI, no. 3 (May 1915) (originaly published in Revista de Educación, Buenos Aires, Argentina, December 1914).

3. Nationalisation of education and its foreign role models. The United States and Argentina.

Like every nationalist project, the Chilean case was not entirely an autochthonous idea. Neither was its educational movement embodied in the National Education Association the product of only native influences since it heavily relied on foreign ideas, theories and pedagogical models which were applied in other countries. The United States and Argentina presented feasible examples of an educational system that could guide the Chilean case. Their success at integrating immigrants of several racial backgrounds into a single idea of nationhood was the trait that caught the attention of the AEN intellectuals in Chile. The key for an effective integration was to build a strong sense of political community bolstering every form of civic nationalism, particularly the notion of being citizens of a democratic regime with equal civil and political rights.

As stated in the introduction, the *Asociación de Educación Nacional* has usually been depicted as borrowing heavily from two primary sources, Social Darwinism and the American National Education Association. The influence of Social Darwinism can be illustrated better than anything with the preeminent position that Gustave Le Bon enjoyed in the AEN journals which had a permanent section called *Pensamientos* that were segments of his work used as introduction of the entire number. The idea was to use Le Bon's authority and prestige to shed light into the rest of the journal's articles.[661] Similarly, the United States' influence was intense since the American NEA was the institutional inspiration used by Chilean AEN founders. More importantly, John Dewey's "Pedagogic Creed" enjoyed an equal status with Le Bon's works. Fragments of Dewey's work were constantly quoted in the *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional*.[662]

The tightness of the links between the American and the Chilean National Education Association is proved by the several times a Chilean delegation was invited

[661] For example: Gustave Le Bon, 'La educación por el ejército', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 1 (March 1907); Gustave Le Bon, 'Pensamientos de Gustave Le Bon', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XI, no. 10 (December 1915); Gustave Le Bon, 'Pensamientos de Gustave Le Bon', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XII, no. 3 (May 1916).

[662] For example: John Dewey, 'Mi Credo Pedagógico', trans. Darío Salas, *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* IV, no. 7 & 8 (October 1908); John Dewey, 'Mi Credo Pedagógico', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XX, no. 6 (August 1924).

to participate in pedagogic and scientific congresses in the United States,[663] by how often Chilean students went to North America to specialise in education,[664] and by how sympathetic was the Chilean AEN in the promotion of a Pan-American educational project. For instance, Darío Salas – who obtained PhD in Education at the University of New York between 1905-1907 funded by AEN – declared that his project was creating a National Education Association in every Spanish American country based on the successful cases of the Chilean and American experiences. The objective in mind way to coordinate schooling policies in the continent, strengthen democracy, and bring closer the Portuguese, Spanish and English American cultures of the continent.[665]

By contrast, the Argentine influence in the Chilean nationalist educational process and the AEN, in particular, has been usually overlooked by the historiography even though their contemporaries held it to be one of the best references and guidelines for Chile. On a purely intellectual level, Argentine authors such as Carlos Octavio Bunge enjoyed the same prestige as Le Bon and Dewey, to whom space in the section *Pensamientos* was frequently reserved or by being regular contributor publishing articles in AEN journals.[666] For instance, Julio Saavedra considered Bunge's *La Educación* as a textbook for every Chilean educator, and the perfect complement of Le Bon's "Psychology of Education" since it corrects some general remarks made by the French thinker that did not fit into the Spanish American context.[667]

In general, the Argentine case was considered with the highest regard because it was a prior attempt to nationalise the education. In the Argentinian case, Chilean intellectuals could find a referent and draw many lessons to apply some of these

[663] 'Confraternidad Pedagójica', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* IV, no. 5 (July 1908).
[664] 'Intercambio de profesores entre Chile i Estados Unidos. Homenaje de la Asociación de Educación Nacional al profesor norte-americano, señor Carlos Munro Stronge', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XIII, no. 3 (May 1917); 'Chile en la Universidad de Washington', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XIII, no. 9 & 10 (n.d.): November&December 1917.
[665] 'El 2do. Congreso Científico Pan Americano', *Revista de Educación Nacional* X, no. 10 (December 1915): 506; Darío Salas, 'Memoria del delegado de la Asociación de Educación Nacional señor Darío E. Salas, ante el Segundo Congreso Científico Pan-Americano', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XII, no. 1 (March 1916).
[666] Carlos Octavio Bunge, 'Pensamiento', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 4 (June 1907); Carlos Octavio Bunge, 'La falta de imajinación en las clases dirigentes', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* III, no. 6 (August 1907); Carlos Octavio Bunge, 'Cada hombre, cada pueblo', *Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* IV, no. 5 (July 1908).
[667] Saavedra, 'No estamos condenados', 43.

policies and principles in the country. With the US, Argentina shared some elements that Chileans valued: both countries were committed to the gradual expansion of liberties and freedoms and positioned the Republic as the cornerstone of their nationhood; both were racially heterogeneous, settlers societies shaped by high levels of immigration and both shared the challenge of integrating newcomers to their own nations; finally, both countries were experiencing rapid economic growth, urbanisation and industrialisation though in different degrees. Nevertheless, Argentina had some traits that positioned it even closer and as a more relatable example. Argentina also shared a similar level of civilisation and culture with Chile and a historical background that united both countries in a cultural, social, religious and geopolitical sense.

The commonalities between both countries and their shared challenges made it unsurprising that the Argentine *educación patriótica* became a role model for the Chilean case. It was used as such for a wide variety of endeavours as we have seen already with the issues of the shooting practices in schools, the debate over language, the discussion over physical education, etc. Nevertheless, Chilean intellectuals acknowledged one major caveat that distinguished both cases; Argentina was essentially an immigrant country, whereas Chile was not. Argentina's cosmopolitan nature can only be relatable to particular regions and cities of Chile which differed vastly from the homogeneous nation portrayed by Palacios and his followers. Sometimes this element was considered a good counterpoint to buttress specific policies, such as the Law of Mandatory Primary Education and the continuity of studies. In both, the Argentine case probed how these policies have been effective to bolster social cohesion. However, in most cases, this distinguishing point was used to justify avoiding the implementation of policies in Chile because they previously failed in Argentina. For instance, Argentine nationalist policies were deemed to be too radical for their application in Chile, particularly when they addressed the autonomy of private schools' run by foreign colonists.[668]

Although both Chile and Argentina were deemed 'novel nations', their development differed significantly. Argentina considered itself a race 'in the making' with still plenty of space to be shaped by foreign influences. Conversely, Chile defined itself as a 'historic race', a *mestizaje* product between Iberic conquistadors and

[668] 'Diversos excesos. Patriotismo exagerado. Ed. Pública aquí y allá', *El Mercurio*, 13 December 1911.

Araucanians for centuries. Hence, as a novelty compared to Europeans but as an already well-formed and defined race by the twentieth century, one that needed to be protected to recover their attributes of its heydays. The use of these narratives might have similar consequences when justifying some policies; but the different reasonings also explains some divergent applications. Argentine intellectuals were more concerned about the use of education to integrate a racially diverse population into a single nation. In contrast, Chilean racial homogeneity led to a wider concern regarding the social divide and the increasing fracture between higher and lower social classes.

However, despite their differences, Argentina was deemed to be the closest example and the best role model for Chile. It represented a progressive nation, and a thriving educational project which was frequently praised by educators, intellectuals and by the press. Argentine teachers enjoyed dignity and social prestige, which practically translated into better infrastructure, wages, and major political influence, something that Chilean educators constantly celebrated.[669] The effectiveness of the *Consejo de Educación* as a crucial institution that guaranteed a non-partisan and pragmatic education instilled in the pupils at the public school, in addition to the fervent patriotism, was also commended.[670] In general, this high esteem of the Argentine education system motivated the establishment of tight bonds between the National Education Association and the *Consejo de Educación*, including their respective journals.[671]

This closeness resulted into the invitation of educators to Chile to give seminars and teach about the Argentine education system. As an example, in late 1924, Leopoldo Lugones, Ernesto Nelson – Buenos Aires General Director of Education – came to Chile along with other important Argentine educators,[672] all praised by AEN

[669] 'Diversos excesos. Patriotismo exagerado. Ed. Pública aquí y allá'.
[670] 'Desarrollo de la Instrucción Primaria en la República Argentina', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XX, no. 9 (November 1924).
[671] The Chilean AEN received monthly copies of *El Monitor de la Educación Común, Revista de Educación* and several other Argentine educational journals, whereas the Argentine *Revista de la Educación* received monthly copies of the AEN journal *Revista de Educación Nacional*. See for example: 'Publicaciones recibidas', *Revista de Educación Nacional* IX, no. 7 (September 1913); 'Canje de Revistas', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, May 1923.
[672] Ernestina López, Director of the National College of Buenos Aires, and Julio Picarel, General Inspector of the *Consejo de Educación* joined this educational committee. Ernesto Nelson also finds time to give lectures about the influence of New School pedagogical theories in Argentina, particularly the influence of H. Mann. See: Carlos Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional correspondiente a 1924 (año XXI de trabajo)', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XXI, no. 5 (July 1925).

and by the press for their visits.[673] Furthermore, various proposes of collaboration between Chile and Argentina emerged during the mid-1920s; some of them denounced the lack of mutual knowledge between both countries' intellectuals. In turn, this resulted in making Chile and Argentina too dependent on foreign ideas which were unfit for the Spanish American context. Others, including Darío Salas, stressed the common ideals and goals that both countries had since they both promoted progressive and democratic reforms in the continent. Regardless of the reasoning, everyone shared the opinion that it was paramount increasing the mutual exchange of teachers and the creation of common educative institutions such as libraries and journals, to strengthen the bonds and increase the mutual knowledge of culture, ideas, and affairs between Chile and Argentina.[674]

As a final thought, one of the elements that became a hindrance to these initiatives being fruitful was that Chile's admiration for Argentina was not reciprocated. It seems evident that the mutual appreciation that both countries enjoyed during the mid-nineteenth century was long gone; this was replaced by a feeling of indifference or even contempt on the Argentine part. In fact, between 1902-1903, there is hardly any mention of Chile, or articles published by Chilean authors, in the *Revista de Educación* of Buenos Aires, the country's leading educational journal and one of the official means of communication of the *Consejo de Educación*. Apart from the notable exception of the cosmopolitan figure of Gabriela Mistral, who was highly praised and frequently published in the journal,[675] amongst the most recognised Chilean intellectuals only Amanda Labarca and Julio Saavedra made it to the journal, and then only once during these years.[676] This is explained because Chile – in educational terms – was regarded as a country that had lost its edge, a country halted by its lack

[673] José Pinochet, 'El IV Congreso del Niño y la Delegación Argentina', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XX, no. 9 (November 1924); Ernesto Nelson, 'Tendencias Modernas de la Educación', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XX, no. 9 (November 1924); 'Leopoldo Lugones en Chile', *El Mercurio*, 26 November 1924; 'El Director General de Educación de Buenos Aires', *El Mercurio*, 5 December 1924.
[674] Darío Salas, 'Ideales Comunes', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XX, no. 9 (November 1924); Martín Bunster, 'La América: Un centro de interés que los americanos hemos olvidado', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XXI, no. 10 (December 1925); Maximiliano Salas Marchán, 'Hacia la fraternidad internacional', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XXII, no. 9 (October 1926).
[675] For example: 'Conceptos de Gabriela Mistral', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, April 1924; Federico Quevedo, 'Una entrevista con Gabriela Mistral', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, March 1926; Gabriela Mistral, 'Poema del Hijo', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, February 1928.
[676] Julio Saavedra, '¿Por qué no nos ponemos de acuerdo?', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, February 1915; and a review of Amanda Labarca, 'Nuevas Orientaciones de la Enseñanza', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, February 1928.

of reforms and its impossibility to resolve the Catholic Church's improper influence on public education. In contrast, Brazil and Mexico were seen as far more progressive in that regard.[677] Nevertheless, it is worth noticing that this dismissive attitude was related to education only, because, in a geopolitical perspective, Chile was still – together with Brazil – the main competitor to Argentine hegemony in the region. As José Ingenieros stated, in 1910, Chile's unparalleled virile and vigorous character, together with its militaristic tradition, made it a continuing threat,[678] warning signs which made sense in a context of a decade marked by territorial tensions in Patagonia and the *Puna de Atacama* which were solved in 1904. In turn, this also speaks eloquently about how far and widely disseminated the Chilean racialised nationalist discourse was, besides how effective it was in instilling its main ideas. As shown, Ingenieros accepted Palacios' views as truth, hence, worthy of being integrated into his analysis.

Conclusion

A Monument in honour of Nicolás Palacios was inaugurated at the foothills of *Cerro Santa Lucía* in January 1926, at one of the most remarkable urban parks of Santiago and a landmark located at the heart of the city. The sculpture evokes a scene: a man leads the way while carrying his agricultural tools, always moving onwards across an open field, followed by a woman who has her baby and a dog as a trusty companion. One can interpret that the sculpturer's intention was to symbolise the progress attained by the Chilean race; from humble origins, thanks to work and family, the nation keeps moving forward. It tells something more, how Nicolás Palacios changed the self-image of the Chileans into something to be proud of. Chile did not have great wealth or marvellous cities with architectural wonders, but its richness was its people, particularly, its race embodied in its ordinary folk.[679] This monument also constitutes the milestone marking the end of a process. In little more than twenty years, this ethnocultural nationalism went from being a vanguardist and a minority discourse

[677] J.M. Hermosilla, 'El concepto de la felicidad y los fines de la instrucción', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, May 1910.
[678] José Ingenieros, 'La Evolución Sociológica Argentina', *Revista de Educación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, May 1910.
[679] In a rare show of honesty, the editorial of *El Mercurio* stated about Palacios' work: "It is a scientifically arguable thesis, but a thesis that pleases the Chilean heart. At the bottom of our soul, we have always felt physically and morally superior to the rest of the peoples of [Spanish] America. Our racial superiority has always been a matter of national conviction, although rarely mentioned due to our modesty out of fear of sounding arrogant, but constantly reaffirmed on facts." See: El Mercurio, 'Inauguración al monumento al Dr. Palacios', *El Mercurio*, 30 December 1925.

into the country's hegemonic narrative, enjoying official sponsorship from private and state organisations, and vast popular support.

The National Education Association played a major role in the success of this nationalist discourse. AEN contribution to the development and dissemination of an exceptionality discourse is evident, yet, usually overlooked. Its contribution was twofold: on the one hand, AEN inculcated a complex nationalist thought intertwining ethnocultural with civic elements into a comprehensible narrative for the wider public that achieved, for the first time, a hegemonic position present on schools, political circles and the press. On the other hand, the *Asociación de Educación Nacional* became a nationalist hub, gathering a sweeping arch of educators, intellectuals and even politicians, which helped advocate and pressure the government for the implementation of their nationalist agenda.

As the evidence suggests in this chapter, the National Education Association reinforced a racialised nationalist discourse born with Nicolás Palacios' *Raza Chilena*, but its roots can be traced back to the 1842 Generation. As the historiography has been right to point out, this period experienced the emergence of a racialised discourse that permeates the AEN deeply through their adoption of Social Darwinism. One of the main foundations of every pedagogical policy suggested by the association was the idea of creating an education suitable for the national race. The safeguard and protection of the *roto* from its ongoing downward spiral of degeneration was explicitly one of the major motivations for the intellectuals and educators associated with the AEN. Nevertheless, this interpretation neglects the civic elements embedded in their nationalist thought, an element that, although might have been overshadowed by the racialised rhetoric, was ever-present in their discourses and projects. Some of AEN most emblematic policies are framed in this Republican and civic thought: the emphasis placed on conducting History courses; the influence played by John Dewey and the Democratisation of Education; the wider aims of fostering social integration and mobility through mandatory primary schooling and to integrate immigrants' pupils through civic means by a clear adhesion to the Republic. In short, the National Education Association buttressed the efforts made by the Centenary Generation by disseminating a complex notion of Chile's Exceptionality based on the interplay of civic and ethnocultural elements in a simpler nationalist narrative able to be instilled in the wider public through the public school.

The *Asociación de Educación Nacional* became a hub for nationalist thinkers during the early twentieth century. It gathered some of the most relevant figures of the Chilean cultural, political and educational circles. This provided an institutional framework to a generation that has been usually depicted as loosely defined or united only by denouncing social circumstances. On the contrary, several of the most relevant intellectuals of the Centenary Generation were active members – some were also holding directive positions – of the National Education Association. Furthermore, this organisation was the crucial tool which gave this group of intellectual sway in the country's public policymaking, which shaped the educational policies of an entire generation. On an educational perspective, they achieved most of their demands by reforming the curriculum through the incorporation of courses of Civic, Moral and Physical Education as compulsory for the protection of the race, by improving the professionalisation of the educational staff, by nationalising the educational system. Everything was coronated by the promulgation of the Law of Mandatory Primary Education in 1920. In short, in light of AEN results, it would be unfair to diminish the agency of this teachers' organisation since it became the most important tool for the Centenary Generation to disseminate its nationalist ideology.[680]

Furthermore, gradually and as its educational aims were met, the National Education Association extended its reach towards politics, becoming a more partisan institution. The first sign of this increasing political involvement was its anti-Marxist agenda defined since 1912 as a goal of its Civic Education courses.[681] This trend was consolidated by its "Civic Action Programme" of 1915 and AEN attempt to organise a "Nationalist League".[682] AEN newfound aim was to set in motion a "Nationalist Revolution" with a clear and defined set of policies which involved political reforms that

[680] For instance, Francisco Encina, Nicolás Palacios and Tancredo Pinochet were published almost without interruptions by AEN Printing House for more than 15 years. Besides, in terms of Conferences and Seminars, they organised 456 in 1907-1915 with a controlled attendance of 215,000 people. In addition to the before-mentioned authors, some of the most well-known speakers were Alberto Edwards, Guillermo Subercaseaux and Julio Saavedra, amongst others. See: 'Breve reseña de la labor de la Asociación de Educación Nacional, desde su fundación, 16 de Enero de 1904 hasta el 30 de Diciembre de 1915', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XII, no. 2 (April 1916).

[681] One of AEN's main goals was to avoid a "social-classes struggle" by promoting a sense of solidarity within the Chilean nation. They also denounced capitalism's excesses that lead toward social inequality and the monopoly of political and economic power by the oligarchy. See: 'Article 2: Educación Cívica' in: Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional, correspondiente a 1912', 76.

[682] See: 'Programa de Acción Cívica'; 'Ligas Nacionalistas', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XII, no. 5 (July 1916).

revamped the allegedly corrupt Parliamentary system. This should have been replaced by a decisive and strong Executive power which established a higher involvement of the government in economic affairs; it should have increased the level of labour and social protection granted by the state and even advocated for a customs union in Spanish America. With this clear agenda, AEN sought to establish relationships with organisations which followed the same principles. AEN also created an extensive network that, by the 1920s, included organisations which fought against alcoholism and aided workers in emergency cases.[683] The National Education Association was undoubtedly the bases of the Nationalist Party founded in 1915,[684] since its Manifest coincides in most policies with the *Programa de Acción Cívica* published earlier that same year.[685] Furthermore, most of its founding members were also members of the AEN, including Alberto Edwards, Francisco Encina, Luis Galdames, Carlos Fernández Peña, Guillermo Subercaseaux, amongst others.[686] Nevertheless, at least until the mid-1920s, this gradual political involvement was flexible enough to allow members of different sensibilities to be part of the institution such as José Maza, Emiliano Figueroa and Eliodoro Yáñez;[687] for many years, this

[683] Some of the most relevant organisations linked with the AEN were: the "League against Alcoholism" founded by Carlos Fernández Peña in 1901; the "Chilean League of Social Hygiene" founded in 1917 focusing mainly on reducing the mortality rate in the country and supported by the Catholic Church, the Red Cross and Arturo Alessandri; the movement *Pro-Patria y Hogar* founded by Eugenio Matte (founder of the Socialist Party in 1932) in 1920 dedicated mainly to adult education and tackling 'social vicious' such as prostitution, promiscuity and alcoholism. See: Fernández Peña, 'Memoria del Presidente de la Asociación de Educación Nacional correspondiente a 1920'; 'La juventud chilena ante el problema de los males sociales', *El Mercurio*, 3 December 1920.

[684] The "Nationalist Union" or "Nationalist Party" had a brief life lasting only 5 years between 1915-1920. It participated in a single ballot, the Parliamentary elections of 1915 where Luis Galdames ran for Deputy and Guillermo Subercaseaux for Senator, both without success, but in Subercaseaux case, he became Deputy for the Department of San Carlos (1915-1918) although still as part of the Conservative Party.

[685] See: Subercaseaux, *Los ideales nacionalistas ante el doctrinarismo de nuestros partidos políticos históricos.*

[686] A comprehensive list of the Nationalist Party founding members in: Subercaseaux, *Historia de las Ideas y la Cultura en Chile*, II: 1900-1930. Nacionalismo y Cultura:268.

[687] José Maza was President of the Student Federation of the U. de Chile in 1915, during this time he published frequently in the *Revista de Educación Nacional*. Elected deputy for the period 1921-1927; appointed as a member of the Cabinet during the government of Arturo Alessandri working in three different Ministries (Prime Minister in 1924; Minister of Justice and Instruction in 1925 and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commerce during the same year) during which he had a key role writing the 1925 Constitution. Maza was also a Senator in the period 1926-1932; Emiliano Figueroa became a member of the National Education Association in 1912, having a vast political trajectory he was deputy in the period 1900-1912 and being part of the Cabinet under the government of Pedro Montt (Minister of Justice and Instruction in 1907 and in 1909-1910). He finished his career as President of the Republic in 1927; Eliodoro Yáñez was AEN Director of the Department of Universities' Cultural Outreach [*Departamento de Extensión Universitaria*] in 1913. Enjoying a vast political career, he was deputy in the period 1894-1903, Senator in the period 1902-1903 and 1912-1924, he also was appointed as Prime Minister under the government of Juan Luis Sanfuentes (1917-1918).

guaranteed a presence and influence of the AEN in the higher circles of the political and cultural elite.

The turning point was during the 1920s decade. Thanks to the close collaboration with the reformist government of Arturo Alessandri, and particularly after the Law of Mandatory Primary Education, most of AEN educational demands were met.[688] Paradoxically, the National Education Association political outreach was expanding, which clouded the judgment of some of its members while eroding their original priorities. Their political ambitions became too clear by supporting the military intervention of the *Ruido de Sables* in September 1924 and when adhering unrepentantly to the *Military Junta*.[689] The AEN was then involved in contentious policies such as enacting the "Race Laws",[690] all of which contributed to straining their membership along political divides. The competition came from new teachers' organisation following a more Marxist oriented syndicalist approach, such as the General Teachers' Association of Chile (AGAP), which undermined, in turn, AEN's role as the allegedly sole and unified voice of the educators in the country.[691] Besides, some renowned figures left the association by pursuing their own educational agendas that clearly did not fit AEN political and pedagogical approach anymore, such as Amanda Labarca and Darío Salas.[692] The sunset of the National Education

[688] José Pinochet, 'La Política Educacional del Presidente Alessandri', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XX, no. 4 (June 1924); Arturo Alessandri, 'La Educación Pública y el Mensaje Presidencial', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XX, no. 4 (June 1924): 173–78.

[689] This insurrection was described as a "violent rush of fresh air that will sweep off the corruption of the political parties and turn down the ruinous and empty building of the flamboyant Parliamentary system". This soon led to pledge in support of the military movement officially. See respectively: José Pinochet, 'La Revolución del 5 de Septiembre y los ideales de la Asociación de Educación Nacional', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XX, no. 7 (September 1924): 329; 'Acta 386, 5 Octubre 1924', *Revista de Educación Nacional* XX, no. 10 (December 1924): 545.

[690] There are striking similarities between AEN Declaration of Principles, Civic Action Programme of 1915 and the commonly known "Race Laws" of 1925. See: Ministerio de Higiene, 'Decreto de Ley 355' (1925).

[691] Founded in 1922, following a class discourse they rapidly became the biggest organisation of teachers in the country, gathering more than 5,000 members by 1925, to expand even further to 7,000 across the country in 1927. See: Núñez, *Gremios del Magisterio. Setenta años de Historia: 1900-1970*, 55.

[692] Both adopted "New School" theories, Amanda Labarca strongly advocated the implementation of the Montessori system, while Darío Salas founded the Journal *La Nueva Era* (1926-29) which proposed a wide variety of experimental methods of education centred around the well-being of pupils considered as individuals and as members of a wider organic community. Amongst the things that Salas proposed were "light baths" and a vegetarian diet to renew the students' balance of cosmic energy, which would strengthen their immune system. See: Darío Salas, 'La Enseñanza teórica y práctica de la Higiene en las Escuelas y Liceos.', *La Nueva Era. Revista de la Nueva Educación* I, no. 2 (March 1927); Darío Salas, 'La Escuela Nueva y la Biología', *La Nueva Era. Revista de la Nueva Educación* I, no. 3 (June 1927).

Association as a relevant player came with the end of their journal, and more importantly, when its founder – Carlos Fernández Peña – retired from the organisation in 1926.[693] In short, National Education Association's agency during the first three decades of the twentieth century is all too evident, as it is its contribution to the nationalist wave that experienced the country in this period. Thus, this chapter shed light on how the Centenary Generation in close alliance with AEN managed to disseminate their exceptionality discourse based on a intertwining of ethnocultural and civic elements, attaining such success that their narrative became hegemonic during this time.

[693] Francisco Encina explained in his Memoirs that Carlos Fernández with his incorruptible spirit and unwavering commitment towards Education kept united the different factions of the AEN, once he was gone: "…banished the vigour [*ímpetu*] of Dr. Fernández's apostolate, [the AEN] languished [into irrelevancy]". See: Francisco A. Encina, *La Educación Económica y el Liceo. La Reforma Agraria.*, 2nd Edition (1st Ed. 1912) (Santiago, Chile.: Nascimento, 1962), 47.

Conclusion

This dissertation, which covers the span of almost a century of development of Chilean exceptionalism and its nationalist discourse, makes three main contributions. Firstly, it shows how a nationalist tradition that was both civic and ethnic emerged with the intellectuals of the 1842 Generation. Contrary to the historiographical emphasis on institutional stability – or civic nationalism – Chile's dominant nationalist tradition was based on the intertwining of civic and ethnocultural elements, which sought to justify the country's uniqueness and even superiority in Spanish America. This nationalist tradition was created and disseminated, to a significant extent, by foreign-born intellectuals exiled in Chile. This finding, in turn, challenges the convention of establishing a stark divide between nineteenth-century and twentieth-century forms of nationalism in Chile, based on the notion that ethnocultural criteria were used exclusively from the Centenary years onwards, when, in contrast, such criteria were evident from the 1840s onwards, providing an element of continuity between the two centuries. Secondly, this study stresses the flexible nature of the Chilean nationalist discourse, thereby challenging monolithic understandings of exceptionalism. This discourse resulted from an enduring process of negotiation in the intellectual and political spheres, which aimed to define the nation's limits. Consequently, the policies implemented on immigration, colonisation, indigenous legislation and international affairs were greatly influenced by the debates over who could be considered to be part of the nationhood and under which criteria, showing, in turn, the predominant influence achieved by the nationalist narrative of exceptionalism. Thirdly, the dissertation proposes a revision of how to understand nationalism for the Chilean case, an approach that might be useful when studying similar processes elsewhere in the region. This revised theoretical framework invites historians of nationalism to surpass normative, Eurocentric and modernist approaches, which prevail amongst the studies of this phenomenon in Latin America and Chile. The study of nationalism would benefit from adopting a more flexible approach that considers both the ambivalent relation towards modernity and tradition, as well as the potentially positive outcomes of this discourse in terms of its fostering of social integration, reinforcing solidarity bonds within the nation and promoting its democratic aspects, although without minimising its more evident pernicious effects.

The emergence of a nationalist tradition of exceptionalism.

The notion of Chilean exceptionalism is rooted in a nationalist discourse with a long tradition that can be traced back to the 1840s and expanded until the first three decades of the twentieth century. This almost one hundred years can be interpreted as the period of the consolidation of the republican system and its political regime under the 1833 Constitution. This tradition was based on the interplay of civic and ethnocultural criteria, which formed a complex and multi-layered nationalist discourse. Political considerations were ever-present and deemed paramount in the idea of Chilean nationhood. The criteria usually revolved around the notions of institutional stability, peaceful and orderly transition of power and a gradual expansion of political and civil rights, all of which, it is claimed, were granted by an early adherence to the constitutional regime. In chapter 1 it was explored the emergence of this tradition and how those exceptional political traits were endorsed and disseminated by the members of the Argentine 1837 Generation exiled in Chile. These émigrés, along with the 1842 Generation and other intellectuals based in the country, such as Andrés Bello, combined this form of state-based patriotism with Romantic and racialised notions of the Chilean character, nature, climate, culture and social composition in order to legitimise their claim of Chile's distinctiveness – if not superiority – amongst the countries of Spanish America.

These *pensadores* embraced Romanticism as a general inspiration more than as a rigid theoretical framework. Their main conviction was that universal political principles ought to be adapted to the local context; this led these intellectuals to pursue the discovering and displaying of supposedly national traits. These romantic inquiries portrayed Chile as the closest place to Europe in Spanish America in terms of nature and climate and depicted Chile as an ethnically homogeneous society, hence, more moderate and temperate in its political behaviour. The latter romantic attitude was maintained by the Centenary Generation, diverging mostly in their emphasis on the supposedly biological traits of the Chilean national race, as explored in Chapter 3. This romantic inspiration manifested in both generations of intellectuals in the strong belief that Republican principles had to be adapted to the national circumstances of its people, history, nature, and culture. Thus, the political system had to aspire to become the expression of Chile's ingenuity. Consequently, whether by political or ethnocultural

considerations, this nationalist tradition claimed that Chile ought to be both the champion of Republicanism and the protector of the Latin Race in Spanish America.

The implicit aspiration of this narrative of exceptionality was to depict Chile as a place of unwavering political stability, a notion that could be easily challenged when taking into account the continuous political upheavals that the country experienced during this time, with two major military uprisings (1851 and 1859) and the Civil War of 1891 – the latter was the bloodiest conflict experienced in the country's history.[694] Interestingly, Chilean exceptionalism maintained its ascendancy and clout despite conflicts, even when some of the most remarkable figures of the 1842 Generation were supporters of the revolutionaries' attempts to overthrow Manuel Montt's government in the 1850s. Three factors could explain this: first, the frequent comparison made by national and foreign-born intellectuals between Chile and the rest of the region always flattered the former, at least until Argentina consolidated its Constitutional regime in the early 1860s, which commenced, in turn, a process of rapid economic growth, border expansion and State modernisation that overshadowed Chilean ascendancy in the region at least until the early twentieth century. Furthermore, Valparaiso and Santiago became Spanish American intellectual hubs during this period, gathering arguably the two most influential intellectuals of the century for more than a decade, namely, Andrés Bello and Domingo F. Sarmiento. Their influence, in addition to the importance of the printing presses, newspapers, and transnational intellectual networks that connected the country with the rest of the region, also contributed to the international prestige of the country as a fertile land for freedom of thought.

Secondly, the victory of the conservative government in both revolts during the 1850s was interpreted by its supporters as proof of the institutional and political solidity of the regime; hence, the consequences, reach, and political motivations of the rebels were greatly diminished by the learned public opinion that supported the victorious side and by the subsequent historiography. These elements gave the impression that Chilean stability as a republican role model was in good health despite these setbacks. Furthermore, the Civil War of 1891 was deemed the inauguration of a new phase of

[694] An estimated 6,000 people died in the Civil War of 1891, whereas in the War of the Pacific against Peru and Bolivia (1879-1884), around 3,000 Chileans lost their lives. See: Simon Collier and William Sater, *Historia de Chile 1808-1994* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 123–29, 147.

economic growth and political stability after the revision of the 1833 Constitution under a Parliamentary interpretation.

Finally, the predisposition of the Chilean elite to seek amends after periods of heightened political conflicts between former rivals also contributed to giving this impression of stability. As Brian Loveman and Elizabeth Lira brilliantly demonstrated, the country's elites inaugurated a "Chilean way of reconciliation", which was based on three consensus; namely, the practice of the incumbent government to grant a general amnesty to the defeated party and the leading revolutionary figures, returning to them any property seized during the conflict, and allowing their political participation in the opposition, in exchange for the recognition of the legitimacy of the regime.[695] Perfect examples of this are the cases of José Victorino Lastarria and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, both of whom participated in the failed uprising of 1851 and were forced to go to exile. The former went to Peru and returned in 1853, while the latter came back to the country in 1856 after living in the United States and England. Both of them, after their return, joined the ranks of the most prominent statesmen and intellectuals of the second half of the nineteenth century. They contributed to formulate the reforms of 1861 that led to the liberal governments which ruled until 1891. In short, the combination of a largely recognised and disseminated narrative of exceptionality, in addition to the political behaviour of the country's elite, reinforced the notion that Chile was a Republican role model and inaugurated a nationalist tradition that has captured the imagination of Chileans throughout much of its independent history.

The flexibility of Chilean nationalism and its continuous process of re-imaging its contours.

Chilean nationalist tradition turns out to be more complex than has usually been claimed in the scholarship, which tends to portray this phenomenon in a rather monolithic way based on two interpretations. The first interpretation stresses the civic elements underpinning the exceptionalist narrative, whereas the second establishes a stark divide between the nineteenth century's state-patriotism and the illiberal and racialised discourse of the early twentieth century. This dissertation challenges these rigid interpretations by establishing that such a divide is artificial since the nationalist

[695] Brian Loveman and Elizabeth Lira, *Las suaves cenizas del olvido. Vía chilena de reconciliación política 1814-1932.* (Santiago, Chile.: LOM, 1999), 307.

tradition extended through both centuries based on the interplay of civic and ethnocultural elements into its discourse.

There was less of a divide than a continuum in understanding Chilean nationalism between 1842-1931. The duality of civic and ethnocultural elements was completely intertwined in the prevalent notions of Chilean nationhood instilled by the intellectual and political elites during this century of nation-building. This dual characteristic was crucial to explain the flexibility of Chilean nationalism since it enabled the intellectuals to stress both elements when addressing the challenge of incorporating European immigrants, indigenous people and fellow Spanish Americans into a broader notion of nationhood. This phenomenon is framed in what Nicola Miller describes as a Latin American trend of the "continuous" negotiation process, which define who is part of the nationhood and its limits.[696]

As Chapter 2 shows, by having its main tenets in this tandem of Republicanism and national homogeneity, Chilean nationalism had conceptual plasticity that allowed the intellectuals to imagine different forms of nationhood according to their own political sympathies and interests. A '*cosmopolitan nationalism'* was articulated by the liberal intellectuals of the nineteenth century, one wide enough to embrace European immigrants as long as they became citizens. Moreover, by interpreting Chile as a pure Latin race, the intellectuals saw no threat posed by the Europeans to the nation's homogeneity because of the alleged ethnocultural commonalities with them. This interplay of Republicanism and Latin race allowed the re-imagination of the contours of the nationhood to cover the rest of Spanish America through different projects of a Continental Union. Conversely, such emphasis on Enlightened political principles and European ethnocultural ascendency had as a consequence the rejection of the indigenous people as part of the Chilean nationhood. Ultimately, the long controversy between those who advocated for a gradual integration and those who pushed towards a hostile takeover of the Araucania region was resolved by favouring the latter. With the support of many of these *pensadores*, Chilean authorities were driven by an ideology that depicted the natives as savages who hindered Chile's aspired civilisation and progress, which resulted in the exclusion of the Mapuche people and the forced seizure of their territory. The Mapuche were deemed a foreign nation, with

[696] Miller, 'Historiography of Nationalism and National Identity in Latin America.', 217.

which Chile shared a long history but who were strangers nonetheless; thus, their territory was annexed as if it belonged to a rival country. This shows the limits of the cosmopolitan nationalism disseminated during 1842-1868 and the harmful effects that this nationalist narrative ultimately promoted regarding indigenous policy.

A similar process happened during the first decades of the 1900s, as explained in Chapter 3. The intellectuals of the Centenary Generation used the interplay of civic and ethnocultural elements with diverging emphasis and undertones in their definitions of nationhood in comparison with the experience of the previous century. For them, Republicanism remained a key aspect, particularly when addressing the challenge of integrating the minorities represented by indigenous people and foreign-born residents in the country. Mandatory naturalisation, the expansion of the political franchise and the establishment of equal civil rights were the three strategies to assimilate these minorities into the country. Nevertheless, the emphasis during the twentieth century was undoubtedly the racialised notion of nationhood. According to the followers of Nicolás Palacios' thesis, the Chilean *roto*, with its *mestizo* heritage, had inherent traits worthy of protection. This led to the conviction that, in order to preserve the allegedly patriarchal features of the Chilean from the corruption brought by 'lesser races', the enactment of policies to restrict immigration was crucial along with changing the colonisation endeavour to benefit nationals rather than foreigners. As a result, the cosmopolitan Chilean nationalism of the previous century adopted a more nativist and xenophobic hue by the twentieth, particularly against Asian, African-descendants and Latin races which were deemed unfit for the national race. Paradoxically, these xenophobic claims did not exclude fellow Spanish Americans. On the contrary, based on Chile's racialised notion of *mestizo* nation with a strong Hispanic cultural component, several projects of a continental union were advocated by a myriad of intellectuals, politicians, and educators. These ethnocultural motives were complemented by geopolitical reasonings targeted against the United States' undue influence in the region; it was argued that Chile, as one of the leading countries in Spanish America, ought to counter Anglo-Saxon America and their imperialistic attempts to subordinate the hemisphere to their industrial and economic ambitions.

Finally, the contours of the Chilean nation were always ill-defined or at least the target of a constant debate. European colonists and indigenous people enjoyed periods of a welcoming attitude promoted by intellectuals who advocated for either a

cosmopolitan nationalism or a more nativist approach based on the allegedly patriarchal features of the *Arauco-Germánica* race. In contrast, in different periods, both groups suffered the consequences of being labelled as unfit, harmful and corrupting elements to the well-being of the Chilean nation or obstacles to attain civilisation and progress. Chilean nationalism showed its worse and best version with both groups, sometimes promoting exclusion and marginalisation and at other times inclusiveness and integration. Paradoxically, these sudden changes of heart were not experienced in the approach towards Hemispheric affairs since throughout this period, the 'other' was identified as the European Empires and Anglo-Saxon America. A sense of *Realpolitik* played its part in this since Chile's weakness and vulnerability towards these perceived threats pushed the political and intellectual elites to accommodate the Chilean nationalist discourse, which aimed at promoting forms of cooperation with the rest of the region. The result was an uneasy compromise with Chilean exceptionalism to re-imagine the Spanish American nationhood and the continental political union. The latent tension between a narrative that portrayed Chile as exceptional and superior from a racial, cultural and political perspective to the rest of the region and more urgent geopolitical needs forced the Chileans to adapt the content of their discourse in order to advocate for a Spanish American union based on a shared history and destiny. In short, cold reality forced the Chilean elite to recognise that they were not so different from those of their neighbours that were previously labelled as "feminised races".

A revised theoretical framework

The final aspiration of this thesis is to shed some light on the nature of nationalism in Chile, which could also be applicable for the rest of the region. The aim is to surpass the usual narrow interpretation that portrays Latin America as almost immune to ethnic nationalism. At the same time, Chile is usually used as a prime example of how state-based patriotism was the preferred nation-building model in the region. Nevertheless, Chile represents a case in which both threads, namely the civic and ethnocultural ones, were equally relevant in articulating a nationalist discourse used and disseminated by the intellectual circles throughout this time. Chilean nationalism based on the interplay of Republicanism and national homogeneity also enabled the intellectuals to articulate a very malleable discourse open to negotiating the integration of new elements into the national community, as happened with the

triad of European colonists, indigenous people and other Spanish Americans. These two characteristics should motivate researchers to understand nationalism differently in a context such as the Chilean so different from the Eurocentric and Industrialised cases in which the main theories of nationalism were born.

This dissertation challenges some established understandings when studying such a contentious and politically charged topic as the formation of nationalist discourse. First, it is paramount to surpass a normative definition that irremediably links this phenomenon with authoritarian and exclusionist strands, as was common in the post Second World War scholarship. Recognising that nationalism may adopt such a meaning, it can also be a source of equity, democratisation and an inspiration to foster solidarity within the community by widening social benefits to the middle and working classes.[697] Chilean history is not short of examples of illiberal nationalism. Still, this period also shows the articulation of an approach of openness towards the European colonists during the nineteenth century and a more sympathetic view towards natives during the twentieth century. Although the latter was framed under a paternalist notion of assimilation to the dominant Chilean *mestizo* culture, the attempt was to grant equal political and civil rights by making citizens and colonists of them, following a similar pattern to the one used with European immigrants during the previous century.

This dissertation disputes the notion that nationalism is necessarily an inward-looking phenomenon; on the contrary, the Chilean case shows how a cosmopolitan strand might coincide with a nationalist discourse. This possibility is facilitated when a perceived threat is deemed too big to face in isolation, as happened with Chile against European neo-imperialism and the United States. In this sense, the Chilean case could represent a failed attempt to articulate some sort of "Pan Spanish-American" nationalist movement under the guidance and leadership of Chile because of its self-image as the champion of Republicanism and the Latin Race in the continent. These intellectuals' apparent contradiction of combining nationalism and forms of internationalism is explained because they felt no conflict in their allegiances between the country and the continent since there is no strict hierarchy of loyalties. Neither

[697] See: Calhoun, *Nations Matters. Culture, History and the Cosmopolitan Dream.*; Rinke, *Cultura de Masas: Reforma y Nacionalismo 1910-1931*; Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile. Cultural Politics, Nationalism and the Rise of the Middle Class*.

nationalism overrides all other forms of self-identification. As Caspar Hirschi explained, "nationalism became so powerful and widespread because it easily coexisted or even amalgamed with other loyalties and doctrines, using their symbolic resources without necessarily devaluating them".[698] The Chilean experience illustrates the latter. For instance, for intellectuals such as Francisco Bilbao or Joaquín Edwards Bello, their sense of loyalty towards Chile and Spanish America were equally important, as shown in their respective works of *Evangelio Americano* (1864) and *Nacionalismo Continental* (1925); both shared a juxtaposition of identities regardless of their notorious differences in terms of ideologies and approaches when advocating the conformation of a supranational union. An overlapping of loyalties might also apply to foreign-born *pensadores* who experienced exile for long spans of their lives in Chile, such as Andrés Bello or Juan B. Alberdi. In short, nationalism can be cosmopolitan and inspire continental cooperation and union; yet this cosmopolitan nationalism inevitably has its limits which depend heavily on the civic and/or ethnocultural elements used as foundations of its narrative.

The Chilean nationalism is also framed in the ambivalent relationship towards modernity and tradition argued by Partha Chatterjee in terms of the "colonial dilemma". In Non-Western and post-colonial contexts, Chatterjee claims that nationalist intellectuals seek to recover and update those traditional cultural elements that fit the modern Nation-State, political system and culture aspired by the emancipatory movement. Simultaneously, these nationalist intellectuals impugn customs and practices deemed as backwards and which could hinder those objectives. Most intellectuals studied were driven by the desire to foster the Chilean political system and culture as a beacon of civilisation and progress in Spanish America and even the world. During the nineteenth century, Alberdi's constant comparison between Chile's orderly state and its effective constitutional system with the unstable and prone to internal political strife republics in the region, or even the comparison with the European 1848 failed Revolution, is a prime example of this vanguardist aspiration.[699] Similarly, Andres Bello's famous praise of Chilean ingenuity by finding *"remedios caseros"* to the political conundrum of combining liberty with authority in a post-

[698] Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism. An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany.*, 48.
[699] 'Acción comparativa de la Revolución Francesa en Chile y en los Estados del Plata', El Comercio de Valparaíso, July 8th 1848 in: Barros, *Alberdi, Periodista En Chile*, 303.

independence Spanish American context, establishing the Chilean experience as a possible route map to follow for the rest of the republics in the region, is another example of the same attitude.[700]

From a cultural perspective, Chatterjee's idea of the colonial dilemma helps us to understand the intellectuals' motivation to create a National Literature. For instance, Lastarria aims to create a canon of “National Literature” as a means to elevate Chilean culture to an equal status with the Europeans.[701] Similarly, regardless of their ideological differences and diverging approaches to the language controversy, both Bello and Saavedra pursued the common goal of dignifying Chilean oral and linguistic tradition by elevating it as a refined, distinctive and cultured form of language. It follows that, whether from a political or cultural perspective, the nationalist discourse was used as a tool to foster civilisation, and hence, by advocating for creating the most progressive political systems and cultural achievements, attempting to legitimise the existence of Chile as a novel, sovereign and independent Nation-State on a level playing field with the rest of the European countries.

On the other hand, in terms of impugning elements of Chilean tradition, these intellectuals chose some aspects of the colonial heritage as their main target. Throughout this almost a century, intellectuals' assessment of the legacy of Spanish rule was one of the most contentious elements to address; nevertheless, an enduring interpretation identified the origins of some of the main obstacles to the nation's progress in the time prior to independence. For instance, the most liberal members of the 1842 Generation interpreted the colonial period as a burden because of their alleged lack of rationalist, Enlightened and democratic ideas that dragged the country into the authoritarian Portalian Regime. In contrast, during the twentieth century, Francisco Encina and Luis Galdames labelled Chile as a frontier society in colonial times, using that as a premise from which to build a pseudo-sociological explanation of how the country's militaristic traits made Chileans neglect activities that required

[700] Bello claimed that Chilean authorities’ secret was finding: “*remedios, por decirlo así, caseros a males generalmente sentidos*” in: ‘Las Repúblicas Hispanoamericanas’, 1836 in: Santos Herceg and López Merino, *Escritos Republicanos. Selección de escritos políticos del siglo XIX*, 66.
[701] See: Lastarria, *Discurso de incorporación de D.J. Victorino Lastarria a una Sociedad de Literatura de Santiago*.

long term commitment such as industrial tasks.[702] To sum up, although Chatterjee's thesis was meant for a different context, namely colonial societies aiming for emancipation, his colonial dilemma is a useful framework to understand the ambivalent relation towards history and progress present in Chile's intellectual elites of both the nineteenth and twentieth century.

This dissertation's last contribution to the theoretical framework of nationalism concerns the role of intellectuals in articulating nationalist discourse. Following the guidelines proposed by Bhabha and Anthony Smith, intellectuals have a crucial role when selecting, authenticating, updating and impugning "preformative" ethnocultural and civic elements present in the community before the creation of a Nation-State to articulate a narrative that aimed at shaping the newly defined nationhood.[703] In this "pedagogic" phase, intellectuals have to use different means at their disposal to persuade the wider public to accept and feel identified by their newly-created nationalist discourse.[704] Education was a key institution to disseminate and instil notions of nationhood and exceptionalism into the general public. As seen in chapter 4, the *Asociación de Educación Nacional* was manipulated by the Centenary Generation to promote their exceptionality discourse, particularly their racialised notions about the Chilean nation. Through this organisation, the clout reached by the Centenary Generation grew exponentially; these intellectuals instilled their new approach towards hygiene, technical and physical education through International Conferences, Seminars, Journals and their publishing house, managing to directly participate in the enactment of the Law of Mandatory Primary Education by 1920. Nevertheless, their influence far surpassed the educational field by advocating for public policies regarding the colonisation endeavour, immigration and indigenous legislation, Chile's international affairs and several proposals for political and economic reform. To sum up, the Centenary Generation, either directly or indirectly through the AEN, promoted their "Nationalist Revolution" built on their racialised understanding of the Chilean *roto* and managed to transform a minority discourse into a hegemonic one by the end of the 1920s.

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[702] See: Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad económica.*; Galdames, *Estudio de la Historia de Chile.*; Luis Galdames, *Educacion Economica e Intelectual*, Biblioteca de la Asociacion de la Educacion Nacional (Santiago, Chile.: Imprenta Universitaria, 1912).
[703] Smith, *Nacionalismo*, 33.
[704] Bhabha, *Nación y Narración. Entre la ilusión de una identidad y las diferencias culturales.*, 395.

Lastly, in terms of agency, it is paramount to highlight how the Chilean nationalist discourse resulted from transnational intellectual networks. Chilean self-image was reinforced by the contribution made by foreign-born *pensadores* who not only recognised the supposedly exceptional civic and ethnocultural traits of the Chilean but also actively helped in disseminating these ideas. The implications of this transnational component in Chilean nationalism are twofold: on the one hand, it undermines the common understanding that nationalism is mainly a domestic affair built by local agents; on the other hand, it challenges the notion that the basic alterity from which the ideas of identity are built on consist of a unidirectional confrontation between one community against another, following a dichotomy of “us” versus “them”. Conversely, Chilean nationalism had a strong transnational component due to the crucial contribution made by the Argentine émigrés and other exiles and scientists such as Ignacio Domeyko, Claude Gay and Andrés Bello. Furthermore, the duality of the alterity is less rigid and more reciprocal than unidirectional. Azar Gat explains this phenomenon claiming that the articulation of self-images can be assigned and recognised first by the “other”, helping a particular community to feel attached to the name, traits and attributes assigned to them by 'foreigners'. He uses the example of Germans who were given their name first by Romans, a label that helped this community be "self-aware" of their common traits. According to Gat, the latter is not an artificial process or the "invention" of a nation, but the contribution that an outside observer could make to recognise some distinctive traits in any given community.[705] This is why foreign agents at least co-founded Chilean exceptionalism since they contributed directly to its creation and dissemination. Furthermore, they helped the Chilean elite develop a self-image based on these distinctive elements, confirmed by an allegedly unbiased perspective. In short, Chilean nationalism would not have existed in either its civic or ethnocultural strands without the key contribution made by the Argentine 1837 Generation and other relevant foreign-born figures; hence, the myth of Chilean exceptionalism was truly the result of a transnational process.

Further lines of Research and final remarks.

This dissertation has opened more lines of investigation than those that I have attempted to resolve. As usually happens when studying complex and multi-causal phenomena such as the emergence of nationalist discourse, several new inquiries

[705] Gat and Yakobson, *Naciones. Una nueva historia del nacionalismo.*, 32.

emerged. One can highlight three main concerns that surface from this research, namely, the analysis of the continuity of this nationalist tradition in the period 1868-1891, the question of the political activism of these nationalist intellectuals, particularly during the early twentieth century, and finally, the study of the reciprocal transnational influences with Argentina in the creation of their nationalist discourse, as well as the potential new transnational connections with other regional cases such as Brazil and Colombia.

This dissertation is purposefully based on two focal points, the years 1842-1868 and 1891-1931. This was in response to the usual scholarship that interpreted both periods as opposites; meanwhile, this dissertation interpreted both as different ends of the same continuum in the nationalist tradition of those years. These two fundamental phases are also characterised by the emergence of emblematic intellectual groups such as the 1842 and Centenary generations born in each of the two periods. Also, both represented the dawn and dusk of the period framed by the 1833 Constitution that lasted until 1925; these set of years present several commonalities in terms of their political, socioeconomic, cultural and international history, which enable to develop the mirroring methodology used to analyse the changes and evolution of Chilean exceptionalism.

With all these said, the gap represented by the years 1868-1891 is evident and should be studied in the future to have a comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon. The 1867 Generation with authors such as Zorobabel Rodríguez (1849-1901) and Alberto Blest-Gana (1830-1920) are important for the development of Chilean literature and culture. Yet, to a great degree, they represent the continuation of the liberal and romantic trends established in the previous generation. Their realism had more stylistic and novelistic innovations rather than philosophical or ideological divergencies, hence the assumption that a continuation was more likely than not in their understanding of Chilean exceptionalism. Regardless, many of their contemporaries' authors were included in this study, such as Blest-Gana's two brothers Guillermo and Joaquín, as well as the Amunátegui siblings, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna and others, albeit the focus was on some of their early works. Nevertheless, the contribution made by key figures such as the historian and diplomat Diego Barros Arana (1830-1907) and a more in-depth analysis of the works of the above-mentioned *pensadores* to the development of Chilean exceptionalism and its nationalist discourse

needs to be further investigated. On the other hand, this period was defined by two major events: the first, the wrongly named *Pacificación de la Araucanía* (1868-1883) or the invasion by the Chilean army beyond the Malleco River to annex indigenous lands as Chilean territory with the consequent displacement and marginalisation of the Mapuche people; the second, the *Guerra del Pacífico* (1879-1883) or the victory in arms over Bolivia and Peru and the subsequent seizure of the nitrate-rich territories of Antofagasta and Tarapacá. Whether these events represented a corollary or a disruption of the Chilean exceptionality myth and nationalist discourse is a fascinating topic that deserves further studies despite all the literature written about these two momentous events in Chilean history.

The political involvement of these intellectuals during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, particularly how they attempted to instrumentalise these nationalist notions into political parties or movements, is another interesting field to develop. There is extensive literature regarding the nineteenth century *pensadores* and their participation in the failed uprisings of 1851 and 1859; works that extend to analyse their revolutionary societies such as the *Sociedad de la Igualdad* and their links with radical democratic thought and utopian socialism. Similar works about the Centenary Generation are yet to be done. Their links with the short-lived Nationalist Party during the second half of the 1910s and their involvement in Alessandri's and Ibáñez's regimes during the 1920s has been treated so far in a fragmented and non-cohesive manner, despite the collaboration with those governments of key figures of this generation, such as Guillermo Subercaseaux and Alberto Edwards, or the influence of this group on widely praised policies and reforms such as the *Ley de Educación Primaria Obligatoria* of 1920. The dense network found between some of the most relevant authors of the Centenary Generation with the *Asociación de Educación Nacional*, as well as their expansive connections with several other unions and trade organisations, and the AEN's gradual transformation into a partisan organisation with a clear political agenda after the military insurrection [*Ruido de Sables*] of 1924, suggest that this thread is a line worthy of being followed by new research.

The third line of research is the transnational connections between Chile and Argentina in both nation-making processes throughout this period, particularly how intellectual circuits, institutional links and social bonds in the two countries mutually

influenced each other's construction of nationalist discourse. The influence of the Argentine 1837 Generation in Chilean politics, education and culture has been extensively studied. With Edward Blumenthal's recent work and this study, Argentina's contribution to creating a nationalist discourse from a civic and ethnocultural perspective has been addressed. Nevertheless, there are no equivalent works for the Centenary Generation and the early twentieth century, despite the striking commonalities between the two countries. Chile and Argentina were experiencing a revision of their nationalist imaginary by stressing a racialised notion of nationhood based on an allegedly distinctive *Raza Chilena* and *Raza Argentina* made by the fusion of European immigrants with the native population, albeit the process of those two fusions differed greatly. Regarding education, both were experiencing similar reforms based on shared principles of fostering technical education and advocating for *Educación Patriótica,* which entailed a revision of the syllabus to incorporate content orientated towards nurturing the youth from a physical, health and "moral" perspective. For instance, the institutional links between the Chilean *Asociación de Educación Nacional* and the Argentine *Consejo de Educación* were maintained by exchanging journals and organising international conferences or bilateral seminars. Nevertheless, these connections require more research to assess the significance of these transnational links in the education movement and the overall emergence of a racialised discourse. The same applies vice versa; more studies are required on the Argentine side to assess the Chilean influence on their homologous processes. As usual, plenty of efforts have been made to study the impact of European and American thinkers and theories in Latin American intellectual history, but it is still a relatively recent trend to focus on the transnational movements of ideas and theories between Latin American countries. Questions such as how influential Argentine intellectuals like Carlos Octavio Bunge and Leopoldo Lugones were for the Chilean AEN and the emerging nationalist movement, or similarly, how recognised were the works of Gabriela Mistral and Amanda Labarca, both amongst the first female intellectuals frequently cited in the Argentine *Revista de Educación Nacional*, are questions that deserve to be answered. Furthermore, these two examples suggest that focusing on the transnational connections between Chile and Argentina regarding their educational and/or nationalist movements is a promising and potentially fruitful field of research.

In addition, this research opens the possibility of widening the transnational connections between Chile and the rest of Latin America. Although the comparison and relation with Argentina was part of a methodological approach developed throughout the study, this does not exhaust the options of exploring the institutional relationships and intellectual networks with other countries. Moreover, the theoretical approach used in the Chilean case, particularly the way of interpreting its exceptionalism based on the interplay of civic and ethnocultural considerations, could be applied to other countries in the region. In particular, Brazil and Colombia appear to be two feasible and captivating candidates for such a study.

Historiography has deemed Brazil as one of the most institutionally stable countries in Latin America with a history of political, economic, social and cultural development that diverges from the rest of the sub-continent. For instance, Frank Safford described Brazil's state-building process as one of the most successful in the region due to the crucial role played by the Monarchy. This became a *poder moderador* that achieved a peaceful independence process with a separation from the Portuguese crown without many upheavals while facilitating a compromise between the different regional elites, all of which resulted in a State with "more governmental continuity than occurred in many Spanish American countries".[706] Similarly, Leslie Bethell described the first three decades of Brazil's independent history as one of prosperity, political stability, internal peace stretched from north to south of the country, and successful international affairs due to their friendly relationship with Great Britain and their victory over de Rosas' Argentina in 1852.[707] This "golden age" expanded until the 1870s due to the reinforced social and political legitimacy found achieved by the liberal reforms made by *Dom Pedro II*.[708] This self-image as an exceptional country in the region has been one of the most compelling narratives in Brazilian history.

The notion of *um pais isolado* was bolstered in this period by their geography, language, culture, and above all, their imperial government.[709] Brazil's uniqueness and isolation from the rest of the continent was perceived by contemporary Chilean

[706] Safford, 'The Construction of Nation States in Latin America, 1820-1890', 41.
[707] Leslie Bethell and José Murillo, 'Brasil (1822-1850)', in *Historia de América Latina. América Latina Independiente, 1820-1870.*, vol. 6 (Barcelona, Spain: Editorial Crítica, 1991), 376.
[708] Richard Graham, 'Brasil (1850-1870)', in *Historia de América Latina. América Latina Independiente, 1820-1870.*, vol. 6 (Barcelona, Spain: Editorial Crítica, 1991), 418.
[709] Leslie Bethell, 'Brazil and "Latin America"', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 42, no. 3 (August 2010): 461

intellectuals such as Francisco Bilbao, who almost completely omitted any reference to Brazil in his essay *Evangelio Americano* of 1864. Bilbao mentioned it only once to underline the continuity of slavery in Brazil as a sign of their barbarism,[710] which, in addition to it Imperial regime, was interpreted as evidence of Brazil being an *enemigo interno* that endangered the republican survival in the continent. In short, Brazil and Chile enjoyed a self-image of being "exceptional" cases in Latin America, stressing similar civic and ethnocultural elements in this discourse. Furthermore, as Ana María Stuven argues, "both nations have developed facing their backs to the Spanish American continent, orienting their attention towards Europe in the first place and, later, to the United States".[711] Yet, despite all these commonalities, historiography has paid little attention to these connections. Further transnational studies between both countries could prove to be a fruitful endeavour, particularly addressing issues such as their institutional and intellectual connections, a comparison of their attitudes towards the region and particularly towards Argentina, and, more generally, the attitudes their respective cultural and political elites held towards each other.

A transnational study with Colombia is also promising. While it constitutes an alternative – and to some extent – an antagonistic model of political exceptionalism in the region, some aspects of its nation-building process appear strikingly similar to the Chilean case. Between the 1850s-1880s, Colombia experienced a series of political reforms that established the country as one of the most liberal regimes on the continent.[712] The 1853 Constitution was praised by the intellectual and political elite of Spanish America due to its widening of political rights by establishing universal male suffrage, its separation between State and Church, and the establishment of a federal system that eventually led to the creation of the United States of Colombia in 1863. Amongst them, José M. Samper (1828-1888) – a prolific writer, journalist and liberal politician – frequently compared the Chilean conservative political system with the Colombian case, criticising the former's authoritarian leanings and what he deemed

[710] Bilbao, *Evangelio Americano*, 747
[711] Ana María Stuven and Marco Antonio Pamplona, eds., *Estado y nación en Chile y Brasil en el siglo XIX.* (Santiago, Chile.: Ediciones Universidad Católica, 2009), 11.
[712] Colombia and Mexico, in particular Benito Suarez's government, has been depicted as the two most liberal regimes in Spanish America. See: David Bushnell, 'The Heyday of Liberal Reform in Spanish America (1850-1880) I: Mexico and Colombia.', in *The Emergence of Latin America in the Nineteenth Century.* (New York, United States: Oxford University Press, 1994); James E. Sanders, 'The Vanguard of the Atlantic World. Contesting Modernity in the Nineteenth-Century Latin America.', *Latin American Research Review* 46, no. 2 (2011): 104-27.

was an excessive sway of the Catholic Church in public affairs.[713] According to Samper, even Chilean radicals were "conservative liberals" since they never went against the Church interests.[714]

In contrast, regarding their nation-building process, Chile and Colombia shared a concern for the importance of language to buttress an idea of nationhood but without undermining the common cultural heritage with the rest of the continent. The attempts to transform local dialects and provincialisms into national languages were harshly criticised by figures such as Andrés Bello and Salvador Sanfuentes in Chile, while in Colombia, this role was held by Miguel Antonio Caro (1845-1909) and Rufino José Cuervo (1844-1911). Furthermore, in both cases, these efforts led towards the publication of widely acclaimed *Gramáticas* that pursued formalising the correct use of language via the simplification and scientific application of orthographic and grammatic rules while also protecting the language by denouncing the use of neologisms coming from different cultural traditions.[715] Additionally, these similarities went beyond the linguistic field since, in both cases, these debates were also used as a proxy for broader political controversies between conservatives and liberals.[716]

Finally, from a political perspective, Chile and Colombia represented supposedly "exceptional" institutional systems, which were celebrated as role models for the rest of Spanish America, though by opposite political leanings. From an ethnocultural perspective, the linguistic controversies experienced similar paths since some crucial intellectual figures in both countries shared an assessment of the Hispanic heritage as a cornerstone of their nation-building project. Once again, current historiography has widely overlooked these connections between the two countries. It would be interesting to study their intellectual networks, their potential geopolitical and ideological rivalries and affinities, as well as how the rest of the region perceived these

[713] José M. Samper, *El Clero Ultramontano* (Bogotá, Colombia: Imprenta de El Neo-Granadino, 1857, 86.
[714] José M. Samper, *Chile y su Presidente (rasgo político - biográfico)* (Bogotá, Colombia: Imprenta Vapor de Zalamea Hermanos, 1881), 20.
[715] Andrés Bello published *La Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* in 1847; exactly two decades later, Miguel Antonio Caro and Rufino José Cuervo published their *Gramática de la lengua latina para el uso de los que hablan castellano*.
[716] See: Andrés Jiménez Ángel, 'Ciencia, lengua e hispanidad en la construcción de la cultura nacional en Colombia, 1867-1880.', *Iberoamericana* XIII, no. 50 (2013): 85–99; Andrés Jiménez Ángel, *Ciencia, Lengua y Cultura Nacional. La Transferencia de la Ciencia del Lenguaje en Colombia, 1867-1911.* (Bogotá, Colombia: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2018).

two models. In this sense, this study could work as a starting point from which to build these transnational histories.

Final remarks

A usual temptation or indulgence in the discipline is to link historical research questions with contemporary problems and debates. The aim is to give a historical perspective trying to understand and assess the roots, motivations and different courses of actions that have been taken when addressing any given situation. This dissertation follows a similar path. Many of the inquiries found in this study are still relevant today. The notion of Chilean exceptionality continues to shape the self-image of many members of the political, cultural and intellectual elite. What follows are two illuminating episodes of how pervasive this conviction of exceptionalism still is:

In 1998 *El Mercurio* coined the expression "Chile is the Jaguar of Latin America" because of the pace of its economic growth since the return of democracy, which enabled a comparison with the emerging economies of the "East-Asian Tigers" such as Hong-Kong, South Korea or Taiwan.[717] Only a year later, Chile was experiencing its first major economic crisis since 1990.[718] Twenty-one years later, in October 2019, the President of the Republic Sebastián Piñera stated on a morning TV show that "Chile is an Oasis [in a] convulsed Latin America" since the country was experiencing a long-lasting period of democratic stability since Pinochet lost the referendum in 1988, while – according to Piñera - the rest of the region was mired in political crisis and experiencing a reappearance of political violence.[719] Later that same month, the President declared at a press conference that Chile was at "war with a powerful [internal] enemy" responding to a nationwide protest marked by extraordinary violence, including arson attacks on underground stations, buses and police stations, as well as extensive looting in the city centre of Santiago and other metropolitan areas.[720] The causes of this *Estallido Social* [Social Outbreak] – as these protests have been called – are wide-ranging, deep-rooted and highly contested. Still, undoubtedly, some of their

[717] "La otra cara del Jaguar de América Latina. Millones de Chilenos tratan de subirse al tren a costa del espectacular desarrollo", *El País,* Madrid, Spain, March 22nd 1998.
[718] According to the data of World Bank, Chile's GDP average economic growth between 1990-1998 was 6,8% per year. After the economic crisis, Chilean GDP dropped to a -0.4% by 1999.
[719] "Piñera dice que Chile es un Oasis ante una América convulsionada", *El Mercurio*, October 08th 2019.
[720] "Presidente Piñera: Estamos en Guerra ante un enemigo poderoso que no respeta a nada ni a nadie", *El Mercurio*, October 20th 2019.

main drivers were the sense of growing social inequality amongst the general population, political corruption and the lack of accountability of public and private institutions seen as abusive, such as the police, the health insurance and the pension system. Although the assessment of such a movement is way beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is striking that – similarly to what happened to Allende at the end of his government – such public displays of total confidence in Chilean exceptionalism are the prelude to a major crisis to come, which is telling of how this myth has sometimes distanced the authorities and the elites from the political, cultural and social reality, which connect the country far more to the challenges, limitations and traumas experienced by the rest of the region than to the idealised version portrayed by this narrative of being a Republican role model.

Chile is still navigating the process inaugurated in October 2019. The Government and most opposition parties attempted to find a political solution to the ongoing crisis by writing a new Constitution. The Chilean people voted overwhelmingly in favour of forming a Constitutional Assembly to write a new *Magna Carta* formed by 155 *constituyentes* elected by popular vote.[721] This triggered a debate on many established notions that are now being revised by public opinion. How to define the Chilean nationality and the need to grant state recognition to minority ethnic groups have been some of the top concerns. A debated early policy revolved around granting direct representation to the indigenous people as *constituyentes*, for which it was established the addition of 17 reserved seats divided amongst the 11 native ethnicities recognised in law by the Chilean state.[722] The debate was extended by proposals to grant reserved seats to Afro-descendants who have been historically underrepresented.[723] Conservative politicians responded by proposing the same for Protestants as a traditionally discriminated against religious group.[724] In the end, both alternatives were dismissed, but what these debates show is the underlying dispute

[721] The results of the October 2020 Referendum were 78,2% in favour of writing a new Constitution against a 21,8% opposing that notion. Almost the same figures voted in favour of forming this *Convención Constituyente*.

[722] Based on their current population, those 17 seats are divided as follows: 7 to the Mapuche people, 2 to the Aymara and 1 for each of the followings, Rapa Nui, Quechua, Atacameños, Diaguitas, Collas, Kawéskar, Yaganes and Changos.

[723] See: Claudio Fuentes, "La hora clave del reconocimiento: escaños reservados y la promesa frustrada", *CIPER Académico*, November 21st 2020. Online link: https://www.ciperchile.cl/2020/11/21/la-hora-clave-del-reconocimiento-escanos-reservados-y-la-promesa-frustrada/ ;

[724] "Timonel UDI insiste en escaños para representantes cristianos y de iglesias evangélicas en la Convención", *El Mercurio*, November 17th 2020.

between two colliding understandings of what the Nation-State is and the content of the notion of national identity. The divide is between those who conceive Chile as a "plurinational" country and those who advocate maintaining a notion of an unitarian Nation-State. The former demand a special status granted by their condition as a community that predates the formation of the Chilean state – such as the natives - with specific institutions, rights and a state commitment towards the protection of their traditions and culture, while the latter understand the nation as mostly base on civic grounds, founded on citizenship and equality of political and civil rights regardless of ethnic background. The civic and ethnocultural foundations of the Chilean nationalist discourse are revised nowadays since some of their most pervasive assumptions are now challenged: ideas such as Chilean ethnocultural and social homogeneity, the absence of black elements in the racial composition of the Chileans, or the notion that the Chilean character fostered political virtues such as temperance and probity are now under question. The contentious nature of Chilean nationhood, the malleability of its definition and how the nation's contours are the product of a permanent negotiation process are once again coming to the fore. As illustrated by these discussions, Chilean exceptionalism is as relevant today as it was during the years covered by this dissertation. This constitutional process might be a pivotal time to either dismiss it as a myth or adapt its main tenets to fit the current political and social context; nevertheless, what is certain is that the idea of Chile as an exceptional country in Latin America will still capture the imagination while motivating heated responses for years to come.

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