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Résumé de l'article

Cette étude expose les vues de quelques universitaires et chefs de gouvernement d'Argentine et du Chili sur quatre aspects reliés du développement régional et urbain : la colonisation, les déséquilibres entre milieu rural et urbain, la primauté de l'urbain et le déséquilibre entre le centre et la périphérie, les inégalités sociales. Leurs analyses de même que leurs solutions sont encore valables.

# Cities and Regional Thought in Argentina and Chile Between 1850 and 1930

Jorge Enrique Hardoy\* and María Elena Langdon\*

## Résumé/Abstract

*Cette étude expose les vues de quelques universitaires et chefs de gouvernement d'Argentine et du Chili sur quatre aspects reliés du développement régional et urbain: la colonisation, les déséquilibres entre milieu rural et urbain, la primauté de l'urbain et le déséquilibre entre le centre et la périphérie, les inégalités sociales. Leurs analyses de même que leurs solutions sont encore valables.*

*This paper is a discussion of how scholars and government leaders in Argentina and Chile regarded four related aspects of regional and urban development: settlement, urban-rural imbalances, urban primacy and imbalances between centre and periphery, and the stark reality of social inequalities. Their analyses and their solutions are still valid today.*

## Introduction

The scholars studying the region are particularly concerned with the debate on the application of the development pole theory; on the future of urbanization; on the social, economic and political factors of development and the housing problem; on urban primacy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and its impact in the social-economic development; on relations between industrialization, urbanization and urban concentration; on the influence of the historical process over foreign dependency and the formation of present urban and regional networks; on relations between country and city through history — among other topics dealing with the problems of urban and regional development in Latin America. It is not by mere chance that, with slight differences, such titles appeared in an anthology published a few years ago that was devoted to urban and regional development in Latin America.<sup>1</sup>

The debate has often become an indictment of the impact of capitalism in the development of Latin American countries. Because of its relevance with respect to present criticism of the political values that control the region, the debate will undoubtedly go on, providing new understandings and methodological contributions. It will be necessary, however, to see whether the experts who study these problems, especially the economists, go beyond an ideological discussion based strictly on economic factors to one based on a broader analysis.

Historical analysis combining regional and local quantitative analyses with the contributions of a social history that, in spite of great institutional difficulties, is spreading through South America, may become one of the essential contributions to this debate. The problems that reasonably are a matter of concern for the analysts of contemporary urban and regional development drew the attention of and were analysed by both the scholars and government leaders in the last decades of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century.

For this essay we have selected two countries, Argentina and Chile, and four major subjects — settlement, urban-rural imbalances, urban primacy and imbalances between centre and periphery, and social inequalities — to illustrate the regional and urban thought which prevailed concerning the future of those societies in a period during which the spatial structure and the fundamental characteristics were determined.

## ARGENTINA AND CHILE BETWEEN 1850 AND 1930

Starting from the 1850s, Argentina and Chile began to experience increasingly differentiated regional rates of demographic and economic growth. This trend increased in intensity towards the end of the last century and remained unchanged until the end of the studied period.<sup>2</sup> Along with these imbalances between regions, intraregional differences became sharper. Thus depending on the regions, a process of population growth was initiated or accentuated, showing concentration in certain areas: on the coast, particularly in zones directly influenced by the port of Buenos Aires, and in the central region of Chile (essentially the areas near Valparaíso and Santiago). In this way, demographic growth brought about an unequal distribution of population and the primacy of the capital cities in each country. Some major regional cities also tended to grow during the decade under study.<sup>3</sup>

In our research, we chose the period 1850-1930 for a number of reasons. In these decades, Argentina and Chile achieved a better internal organization, which helped economic expansion in both countries and the settlement of territories unexploited until then. Institutional development during the second half of the nineteenth century was fundamental. Argentina enacted the Constitution in 1853, the Commercial Code in 1866, the Civil Code in 1868 and the Criminal Code in 1889. In Chile, the Constitution came into force in 1833, the Civil Code in 1855, the Commercial Code in 1865 and the Criminal Code in 1874. In the cultural field, the Academy of Fine Arts was created in Santiago, Chile. In 1869 and 1870 the newspapers *Le Prensa* and *La Nación* were founded, and in 1863, the *Revista de Buenos Aires* and the *Revista de Artes y Letras* in Chile, while the daily *El Mercurio* of Valparaíso began to be edited in Santiago. Primary and secondary education were expanded, the first technical schools were founded and important universities were established, including the Catholic University of Chile, and in Argentina the University of La Plata and the University of the Littoral in Santa Fe and Rosario. In addition, immigration policies were implemented in both countries.

In the economic field, a pattern of development based on exchange with overseas countries was promoted, and it remained unchanged until the world crisis of 1930. Such a pattern was characterized by countries being monoexporters, making both national economies dependent on the ups and downs of the capitalist world market. Another particularly important aspect was the strong and growing presence of foreign capital in both economies, concentrated in public bonds and railway enterprises in Argentina, and in public bonds and

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mining enterprises in Chile; in the incipient industry, in banking and trading activities and in a lesser degree in agriculture, land speculation, communications, and public services. Towards 1880, from a total of English capital investments in Argentina, (£179,490,261) 55.2 per cent was in public bonds with 44.8 per cent in economic enterprises, most of it in railways and a minor part in public services.<sup>4</sup> In 1928, investments in economic enterprises represented 84.4 per cent of a total investment of £420,395,352.<sup>5</sup> In Chile during the same years, 1880 and 1928, investments in economic enterprises represented 8.3 per cent and 62 per cent respectively; in this case, mining, and to a lesser extent railways, were the most attractive sectors for British investors.

During the analyzed period, there was steady national population growth in both countries — more rapid between 1850 and 1913 than between 1913 and 1930. Argentina quadrupled its population between 1850 and 1930 while that of Chile doubled. Argentina's population growth was closely linked to the arrival of immigrants, especially from Europe. Due to population growth, to colonization policies promoted by national and provincial governments as well as by entrepreneurs and due to the exploitation of non-renewable natural resources, the settlement of both territories was rapidly expanded. While metropolitan cities were quickly and steadily growing, a number of secondary cities and towns that housed the increasing urban population began to develop. The number of urban centres in Argentina grew from 56 in 1869 to 332 in 1914, and in Chile from 45 in 1865 to 115 in 1920.

The whole process of national expansion was favoured at the world level by an advantageous institutional and structural situation during the first stages of the studied period. It was initially pushed by national resources, which were gradually replaced by foreign capital in the key enterprises.

As a result, a number of contrasts and imbalances were increasingly noticeable; the predominance of urban over rural areas and of certain privileged regions and cities to the detriment of the rest of the country; the replacement of national enterprises by foreign enterprises; quick gains due to speculation by government elites responding to party interests; credit misuse; and labour force exploitation. At the same time, the political parties, which were to last until today, were constituted. Labour unions that were to react against wage depreciation and poor living conditions were organized. Important social security laws were enacted, such as those regulating the work of women and minors, those establishing rules for retirement of employees and workers in certain unions, and those establishing the eight-hour working day and the obligation to pay wages in cash.

During this period, both countries opened their doors to foreign trade, taking advantage of the favourable situation in world markets. In Argentina's case, it was for its livestock products (sheep, suet and hides) beginning in the 1850s, and for wheat some decades later. For Chile it was for wheat and mining products (silver from 1840 and later copper and nitrate). It was all a consequence of the increasing demand for food and raw materials from the industrial countries, favoured by technological development in transport and communications, the abundance of capital, and the competition for overseas markets started by capitalist countries in the industrialization process, along with massive immigration to the "new countries" — one of the most important migratory phenomena known in history. This approach to the outside world was determined by the way foreign relations were perceived by the predominant economic groups in Argentina and Chile at the time — producers and exporters of raw materials connected to enterprises dealing with mining, agriculture, livestock, trade, financing and transport.

Between 1860 and 1930, the concentration process in both national economies was accentuated. Our previous work for this period (see footnote 2) showed the increasing concentration of national population, industries and industrial workers, and also of foreign capital, in certain privileged regions and provinces. The same process was reproduced in each region and province, although there are enormous differences in the indicators we used.

The rapid process of urbanization and concentration of urban population in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Santa Fe in Argentina (and within them, on the west side of the Paraná River — already suggesting the main industrial conurbation of the country) and, for Chile, in the provinces of Santiago and Valparaíso and, due to mining exploitation, first in the near north and then in the farthest northern regions went side by side with the process of centralizing decision making. In fact, if we use employment in public services for measuring the increase of decision-making centralisation, assuming a direct relationship between the number of public servants in a given province and the power of decision-making, we obtain the following results:

**Percentage of public servants, including the military, in the provinces of highest concentration**

Province	1865	1869	1895	1914	1920
<i>Argentina</i>					
Buenos Aires	—	40.40	53.99	78.35	—
Santa Fe	—	10.58	15.72	5.44	—
<i>Chile*</i>					
Santiago	35.98	—	34.52	—	31.04
Valparaíso	18.85	—	15.68	—	11.68
Norte Grande (Tarapacá and Antofagasta)	—	—	6.46	—	12.42

Source: Hardoy, Jorge E. and Langdon, María Elena "Desigualdades regionales en Hispano América (1850-1930)," *Revista de Indias* No. 151-152 (Madrid, 1978), tables III-3, III-8, III-28, III-32 and III-36.

\* The high percentage of public servants in the two peripheral provinces that constitute Norte Grande is a consequence of the importance of customs revenue, which was the main source of Chilean income during those years.

Around the 1870s, signs of growing differences in the development of the various regions began to appear.<sup>6</sup> This was accentuated in Argentina during the first presidential term of Julio A. Roca (1880-1886) and particularly during the administration of Juárez Celman (1886-1890). As for Chile, the process started in 1855 (when Diego Portales became Minister of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs) as a consequence of a greater centralization of decision-making mechanisms and of the political power centralization in both the president and the official party.<sup>7</sup> Such a situation came to a crisis point in Buenos Aires in 1890 when, after a period of strikes which had started three years previously, the economic crisis, the rise in the cost of living, and the currency devaluation led to the revolution of July 1890, causing Juárez Celman's resignation. In Chile, the prolonged conflict between executive and legislative powers sharpened during the administration of Manuel Montt (1851-1861) and ended with Balmaceda's restitution. During the 1870s and especially during the 1880s, both countries completed or undertook important public works — ports, urban improvement, public buildings, railways and telegraphs — which favoured the city of Buenos Aires and the littoral ports in Argentina and the cities of Santiago and Valparaíso in Chile.

It is within this perspective that the present essay is placed. Its central objective is to detect how some writers, essayists and politicians of the period perceived the regional imbalances and how they viewed these imbalances.

## REGIONAL THOUGHT IN ARGENTINA

### *Settlement*

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the sparse population of Argentina and Chile drew the attention of travellers over their vast territories. In 1865, a young Englishman, who had come to Argentina to meet a friend in the hope of making a rapid fortune rearing sheep, described the landscape he saw from the stagecoach that crossed the *pampas* between Rosario and Córdoba: "The countryside we went through was, as usual, perfectly flat, and only occasionally would one see some shrubs or a *rancho*, that is, a clay shack."<sup>8</sup> Arriving at Fraile Muerto (now Bell Ville), some 220 kilometres west of Rosario and 180 east of Córdoba, "a shabby place, with hardly a few decent houses and clay shacks in most streets," the traveller was astonished at the sight of the fields completely uninhabited spreading out "up to a region as unknown as the Sahara desert."<sup>9</sup>

Other travellers described in similar terms the sparse population and the poverty of rural life.<sup>10</sup> Several governments, being aware of this, saw in European immigration a possible way to economic progress and production growth. Shortly after Independence, scholars in both countries, concerned about the lack of population, wrote the first reports and enacted the first laws to promote immigration.<sup>11</sup>

From 1820, the time statistics were kept regarding people arriving in the country, the number of immigrants appeared to be quite small. On August 22, 1821, the Buenos Aires legislature passed a law concerning the promotion of immigration, and in 1824 a special commission was created for the settlement of arriving foreigners and craftsmen.<sup>12</sup> Actually, the members of the "1837 generation" — including Alberdi, Cané, Echeverría, Gutiérrez, Vicente Fidel López and Marcos Sastre, among others, all of them concerned about Argentina's social reality were the promoters of the unsettled regions, the building of cities and the development of communications. Moreover, they accepted the idea of federalism — which was against their original thought — because it constituted the people's wishes.

In 1853, Alberdi was critical in his description, "Without large populations there is no cultural development, there is no remarkable progress; everything is mean and small. Nations of half a million inhabitants may be nations because of their territory; on account of their population they will be just provinces, villages, and everything about them will bear the stingy mark of provincialism." Furthermore, he stated that "population — a South American need that embodies all the needs — is the exact measure of our governments. The Minister of State who does not double the population of these nations every ten years will have wasted his time in trifles and superfluities."<sup>14</sup> "The population census is the rule of South American ministers' capacity."<sup>15</sup> Alberdi drew the outline of an immigration plan which, based on religious tolerance, and the use of railway transport, free navigation and free trading, would have encouraged occupation of the continent's hinterland.<sup>16</sup> And he synthesised the guarantees that the civil law of the Republics should enact in order to attract immigrants: "Firstly, to remove the obstacles and hindrances of backward times which impede or make difficult mixed marriages; secondly, to simplify civil requirements for obtaining residence; thirdly, to grant foreigners the benefit of civil rights without requesting needless reciprocity; fourthly, to give all aliens the same civil rights the citizen has to

dispose of his posthumous possessions by will or otherwise."<sup>17</sup> He also proposed the reform of the mortgage system, insurance for the disabled, encouragement of private credit and the suppression of internal customs.

Governments should promote the "real and great immigration" coming from "Europe (which) will bring us its new genius, its industrious habits, its civilized practices" by means of maganimous land grants, "by the great, wide and generous system which in four years has brought forth California by the allowed freedom, by the privileges that will help the foreigner to forget his condition, persuading him that he lives in his own country."<sup>18</sup> Alberdi condemned the speculative colonization that was beginning to thrive in 1856, when big capitalists obtained huge land grants so that they could partially subdivide them, establishing therein small groups of immigrant families.<sup>19</sup> In 1868, in his first presidential message, Sarmiento said, "Through the most thoughtless, needless colonization system that any people have ever tried, the most populated part of the Republic is already owned so that the immigrant cannot find an inch of land free from the hindrances opposed to its acquisition by private property. Even with 2,330,000 square kilometres (nine hundred thousand square miles), and a population of only one and a half million, two-thirds of them do not know where to set their homes, and the immigrant does not know where to turn to place his sleeping mat."<sup>20</sup>

A year later, when the first National Population Census was carried out, there were 211,900 aliens in Argentina, which represented 12.15 per cent of the national population. Of this total, 71.34 per cent were concentrated in the province of Buenos Aires. Nearly half of the immigrants recorded by the 1869 census had arrived in the previous six years during Bartolomé Mitre's presidency (1862-1868). The following President, Sarmiento stated that "immigration comes as a human avalanche and we do not have a law to make land available for them."<sup>21</sup> Several provinces passed legislation about this issue, in certain cases providing for the donation of land to spontaneous immigrants and the sale of much larger lots in the vicinity of the incipient colonies (e.g. Law of 1871 in the province of Córdoba and Law of 1877 in the province of Corrientes) which obviously could not be bought by the immigrants without resources or credit.

The Law No. 817 of 1876 (Immigration and Colonization Law) tried to put in order the problem of immigrants' settlement in different regions of the national territory by creating provincial bureaus and a hotel for immigrants near the port of Buenos Aires. It constituted the first colonization plan for the country and allowed the direct or indirect participation of the state and provincial government as well as that of private individuals and personal initiative. However the railroads, which had begun to connect the coastal ports with the hinterland in all directions, did not reach the unoccupied areas. In addition, the best land was already the property of powerful landowners. This discouraged the immigrants, and the majority of those who finally reached the land ended up as tenants, sharecroppers in a farm, or simply labourers. As a consequence, most of the immigrants remained in, or came back to, Buenos Aires (which exerted a growing economic and political domination over the country), to Rosario or to the main ports and cities of the littoral.

Despite these limitations, the immigration balance was highly positive.<sup>22</sup> In 1895 the foreign population was 1,004,527, 24.4 per cent of the national population. From this total, 62.3 per cent were settled in the province of Buenos Aires, especially in Buenos Aires City, where the shortage of housing and public services, uncontrolled expansion of the suburbs, and problems associated with mixed land uses were evident.

The small rural farm had become an impossible aim for hundreds of thousands of immigrants. When the government

decided to act in 1903 by legally proscribing the large estates (Latifundia), it was too late, and the best land had been subdivided. The huge *estancias* were economically and socially outdated in a country which had started to produce grains and linen in growing quantities. Torino was right when he wrote in 1912 that an abundant immigration and large estates were incompatible.<sup>23</sup> "Of the native Argentina," wrote Romero, who used the term *Argentina criolla*, "ethnically and socially homogeneous and economically arranged within a primary system, there was soon nothing left but a faint memory, gloomily preserved among certain groups that had lost weight in the leadership of collective life. Starting from around 1880, the alluvial Argentina — the one that was formed as a consequence of such commotion — grows, develops and struggles to find a system of equilibrium which, obviously, would be attained only with the help of time."<sup>24</sup>

Rural life in the *pampas* — the new hinterland of the coastal ports — changed rapidly. Many immigrants settled in the agricultural colonies of the provinces of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Entre Ríos and Santa Fe and developed agriculture, dairies and farms while the native population and the *gauchos* went to work as unskilled *peons* or wage workers in the big *estancias*.<sup>25</sup>

Although the Constitution of 1853 granted aliens the same rights as Argentinians, the colonization policy was guided to prompt the settlement of immigrants in the colonies that began to develop in the middle 1850s. In 1866 a law was passed in the province of Santa Fe which gave native families, willing to settle in the colonies founded according to such law, the same privileges as those of foreign families.<sup>26</sup> As Pérez Amuchastegui points out, the natives were favoured with the same rights as immigrants.<sup>27</sup> Laws such as this had but limited impact, however, because the native population was sparse and dispersed, or simply because it was easier for the provincial governments to deal with intermediaries for the settlement of European immigrants.

## REGIONAL IMBALANCES

This was a topic of concern for some of the outstanding Argentine essayists and politicians. In 1912, when Juan Álvarez wrote "Las Guerras Civiles Argentinas," the country was still quite unpopulated and the main regional urban centres remained poorly interconnected.<sup>28</sup> "In order to populate the country," wrote Álvarez, "there are not enough Indians and *gauchos* left, and the child death rate is so high that our growth is largely due to immigration."<sup>29</sup> Then he asked himself, "What were the reasons that prevented this new country...from constituting a compact homogeneous whole and from achieving during the nineteenth century the highest ideals of human solidarity?"<sup>30</sup>

During the first years of the 1870s, national production went through a critical period, which it began to recover from in 1876, and it started a period of rapid expansion that began to be consolidated in 1880.<sup>31</sup> But the growth was geographically and sectorially uneven. The construction of railways enlarged the hinterland of Buenos Aires' harbour and of the ports along the Paraná river, and allowed the incorporation of regions that were hitherto unexploited, or hardly exploited. At the same time, it established competition that limited the frail economies in the interior. "The (regional) inequalities," remarked Álvarez, "were scarcely noticeable before the development of agriculture and industry in the littoral."<sup>32</sup> He added that Argentine history is divided into "two ages determined by the rail."<sup>33</sup> A consequence of the distinct policies applied by successive governments for the development of the littoral and hinterland regions was synthesized by Joaquín V. González in a work contemporary to Álvarez's. "The Argentine Republic (wrote González) still has

unsolved problems and will have them for a long time; the problems of actual occupation, population and colonization and utilization of its twenty-four federal territories where millions of leagues of public land await the fertilizing work and the closer condensation of the population's primitive nucleus which form the organic block of the Republic."<sup>34</sup>

Another author who contributed a great deal to the social and economic history of Argentina was Alejandro Bunge, whose work stretches from the first decade of the twentieth century to its culmination with the publication of "Una Nueva Argentina" (A New Argentina) in 1940, shortly before he died.<sup>35</sup> Bunge was one of the first to criticize the general lack of interest in the country for acquiring adequate information and statistics on which the "leading decisions" should be founded and one of the first to analyze what he considered false beliefs around which national life was carried on due to a lack of "an exact understanding of reality." This aspect, together with its resolution, constituted, in Bunge's opinion, "the two essential aspects for a serious and urgent national enterprise."<sup>36</sup> Among various topics approached by Bunge in "Una Nueva Argentina", two are chosen. Bunge was one of the first authors to draw attention to the economic imbalance of development in this "fan-shaped country." In 1924 he wrote: "We were able to verify the following fact: One-third of the republic's territory, located within a circular arc with a radius of 780 kilometres, having as its centre the capital city, contained eight-tenths of the population and nine-tenths of the economic capacity." This was partly due to climate and geography — mainly, the rain distribution — but also the demographic attraction of the littoral's big cities, the investment of most of the nation's fiscal resources in the area near Buenos Aires, and to the economic policy (or rather the absence of a policy) "which has explained the attitude of that first region looking abroad and turning its back on the interior." Bunge improved his first analysis by using census returns related to industry, agriculture and livestock in the 1930s, and he elaborated a series of indicators which led him to divide the country into three great zones — the first with a radius of 580 kilometres starting from Buenos Aires city, the second with a radius of 1,000 kilometres, and the third embracing the farthest regions beyond the second zone.

**Distribution of the demographic and economic values in the three zones (percentage).**

Zones	I	II	III
Territory	20	40	40
Population	67	25	8
Area cultivated with grain and linen	86	11	3
Cattle	63	27	10
Sheep	46	18	36
Hogs	77	16	7
Railroad lines	54	29	17
Telephones	71	28	1
Automobiles	79	16	5
Capital investment in mining and manufacturing industries	78	11	11
Foreigners	80	15	5
% of population in centres with more than 1,000 inhabitants	82	56	61
Economic capacity by km <sup>2</sup> *	100	15	9

Source: Bunge, Alejandro E. "Una Nueva Argentina" pp 223-224 Editorial Guillermo Kraft Ltda, Buenos Aires, 1940

\* Bunge measured economic capacity on the basis of 100 economic values corresponding to zone 1 and relating its average to the respective territorial area.

The deterioration of "living conditions increased with the distance from the first privileged sector".<sup>37</sup> In 1916 and 1930 respectively, illiteracy among males over 18 years old reached 3.98 per cent and 2.54 per cent in Buenos Aires city (the federal capital); 30.26 per cent and 17.32 per cent in the province of Buenos Aires, and 30.90 per cent and 19.23 per cent in Santa Fe (zone I). It rose to 51.74 per cent and 42.03 per cent in Corrientes, 37.88 per cent and 29.78 per cent in San Luis, and 44.33 per cent and 29.08 per cent in Córdoba (zone II), and to 48.46 per cent and 35.30 per cent in La Rioja, and 47.39 per cent and 33.67 per cent in Jujuy (examples of zone III). At the national level, illiteracy among males over 18 years old represented 35.65 per cent in 1969 and 21.96 percent in 1930.<sup>38</sup> The child death rate in 1931-1935 which was 59.1 per thousand in the federal capital, 73.7 per cent in the province of Buenos Aires and 83.87 per cent in Santa Fe, reached 111.7 per cent in the province of Córdoba, 111.9 per cent in San Luis, and 199.7 per cent in Jujuy.<sup>39</sup> In support of his assertion, Bunge presents statistics showing similar differences regarding illegitimacy, wage rates, etc.

For a Catholic like Bunge, influenced by the encyclicals of his time and by the position of Monsignor Gustavo Franceschi, one of Argentina's Catholic leaders in the inter-war period, the social function of land was fundamental in the populating of the country and in its development<sup>40</sup>: "In countries where the soil is strictly related to the population, the *Latifundium* constitutes a sort of robbery against society and it is impossible that in the name of God and human community, the Popes will not raise their voice in opposition to it."<sup>41</sup> To this end, it is necessary "to correct the consequence of the perversion of property rights".

In a country endowed with 190 million hectares suited to cattle raising and agriculture, according to a declaration of the Ministry of Agriculture, and with only 20 millions of them cultivated with grain and linen, and "less than 8 millions cultivated by their owners, the land controlled purely as a merchandise is becoming a hindrance for population growth, for the rational utilization of territory and even for the stability of our country."<sup>42</sup> A few people made fortunes speculating with land, the value of which had increased due to the railways, to the export of grain and raw materials, to the introduction of refrigeration plants, to immigration and to agricultural development.

### Social Inequalities

Several writers, essayists and politicians were seriously concerned about the country's social problems. Living conditions in Buenos Aires' slums located in the districts of La Concepción, Piedad, San Telmo Balvanera, Socorro and San Nicolás, were revealed by popular writers such as Caterino de la Calle<sup>43</sup>, by physicians such as Guillermo Rawson, author of "Estudio sobre las casas de inquilinatos de Buenos Aires" (a Study of the Slum Dwellers of Buenos Aires) (1885) and Eduardo Wilde who wrote "Curso de Higiene Pública" (lectures on Public Hygiene) (1883); and by authors such as Roberto Payró, Eugenio Cambaceres, Francisco Sicardi and Santiago Estrada, and by scholars like Samuel Gache who, in 1900, wrote "Les logements ouvriers à Buenos Aires" (Workers' Housing in Buenos Aires), and Adrian Pavoni, author of "Los trabajadores argentinos" (Argentinian Workers) (1898).

Living conditions in the interior were best described at the beginning of the century by Juan Bialek Massé, a Catalan physician who in 1904 prepared an extensive report on "El estado de las clases obreras argentinas" (The Situation of the Argentinian Working Classes) at the request of Joaquín V. González, Minister of the Interior during Roca's second presidential term (1898-1904). Bialek Massé travelled over the north and central provinces and territories of the country, and pointed

to "three Chinese walls obstructing the settlement of the hinterlands; native population distribution, taxes and their iniquitous distribution, and *Latifundium*."<sup>44</sup> Bialek Massé described the ill treatment suffered by northern workers: "I saw there (in the province of Jujuy), for the first time, complaints and claims against a medieval feudalism, without a knife and with the rope of the company's supply store, without banner and cauldron, though sometimes with whip and *cepo*; with private issue of money, with money circulating out of the emission state; without the bridle of law and justice."<sup>45</sup> He denounced the filth and sadness of rural villages and camps, the endemic malaria which could be prevented at virtually no cost, the exploitation of Indians, children and women. Bialek Massé urgently asked for "a labour law, the abolishment of the *vale* (sales slip) and the company's supply store, for a rational workday and Sunday rest . . . but above all, for the prohibition of children's work before the age of fifteen and the hiring of them for night work . . ."<sup>46</sup> And "in the northern sugar plantations; for (national) regulations, cautions for mining workers since provinces do not take care of them"<sup>47</sup> and "the need for a formal preoccupation with the workers' nourishment."

### URBAN PRIMACY AND URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENCES

#### *The Primacy of Buenos Aires*

If we analyze the reasons for the increasing political and economic influence of Buenos Aires City over the rest of the country and the conflicts that an undefined relationship between the two continued to create, we would be writing the history of Argentina during the first eighty years of its independence. Even today, this provokes resentment, partly justified, from the population of the interior. With some intervals, the struggle of provincial economic interests to prevent Buenos Aires hegemony was carried out during the nineteenth century and culminated when Buenos Aires was established as the Republic's capital city by means of Law 1029 of September 20, 1880.<sup>48</sup>

Already in the *Cabildo Abierto* (City Hall's Assembly) of May 22, 1810, Juan José Paso, one of its members espoused the theory that Buenos Aires was assuming the position of the eldest sister protecting in an emergency the rest of the provinces and taking care of their interests. In 1826, a plan for making Buenos Aires the national capital was drawn up, and, during the long period of civil war, Buenos Aires was always a feared and resisted capital, defended and attacked by some leaders from the provinces as well as from Buenos Aires. "They are not two parties, they are two countries; they are not Unitarians and Federalists. They are Buenos Aires and the provinces," Alberdi said and he insisted, "Nations' capital cities are not decreed. They are the spontaneous results of facts."<sup>49</sup> He added "the old capital cities of South America represent the rooted colonial system, acquainted in its own way, experienced with its own style, proud of its physical strength, and therefore, unable to endure the pain of a new education."<sup>50</sup>

From the provinces' point of view, Buenos Aires pretended to replace Spain, maintaining the same monopoly that the latter had exerted during colonial times. This was put into practice through the army's command and the control of foreign trade by means of customs. From Buenos Aires' point of view, the revolution had been initiated by its residents and it demanded continued leadership. The performance of some of its leaders gave rise to the resentment and suspicion of the city in the hinterland, which increased as Buenos Aires dominated the provinces through its economic and political power.

The Constitution of 1853, by adopting the representative, republican and federal form of government and by dividing the legislative, executive and judiciary powers, defined the pro-



vinces' right to enact their own social laws and to elect their governors, legislators and other officials without the intervention of the Federal Government.<sup>51</sup> Besides, "the provinces can hold partial treaties for the administration of justice, economic interests and works of common utility, reporting to the Federal Congress; they can also promote industry, immigration, and construction of railways and navigable canals, the colonization of province lands, the incorporation and establishment of new industries, the import of foreign capital and the exploitation of rivers, by means of laws protecting these objectives, and with their own resources."<sup>52</sup>

The Constitution of 1853 was sworn by the provinces that constituted the Confederation, but not by the province of Buenos Aires, which refused to give up the control of the only real source of income available to the Confederation government — Buenos Aires' customs. Years of continuous conflicts came about, interrupted now and then by short periods of negotiations during which the country's economic unification was attempted. Buenos Aires stressed its economic hegemony since it was the province best placed to profit from the good market situation for livestock products during the decade of 1850-60, particularly for cattle, leather and suet, all of which meant higher incomes for customs.<sup>53</sup> This situation led to the consolidation of Buenos Aires City and its increasing prosperity.

Several authors of the analysed period and subsequent decades, reacted against Buenos Aires centralism and the growing primacy of the capital city in all the aspects of national life.<sup>54</sup> During his stay in Chile, Sarmiento proposed the creation of a capital city for the United States of South America, suggesting that the latter should be integrated by Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay. Sarmiento proposed to locate such a city on Martín García Island, on the northeastern corner of the *Río de la Plata* (La Plata River), near the confluence of this river with the Uruguay. He was thinking of a small city to be named Argiropolis, that would balance the excessive centralism exerted by Buenos Aires upon the provinces of the Confederation. "If a geographic map of Argentina is consulted (Sarmiento wrote), one can notice that, if compared to almost any country in the world, it is the most ruinously organized regarding the proportional distribution of its wealth, power and civilization all over the confederate provinces."<sup>55</sup> Sarmiento admired the institutional organization of the United States which discarded the big colonial cities and chose a new site for the capital of the Union. To him, this indicated "an expedient that reconciled the opposed pretensions of the different cities participating in the association, without making any one feel dependent on any other." According to Sarmiento, Congress had to overcome the historic errors that allowed the confederation to have only one port equipped for foreign trade. It was necessary to promote river navigation to the interior carrying the same benefits to both littoral provinces and Paraguay.

The subject was bitterly discussed among representatives of both the provinces and the capital city during the subsequent decade. But when the moment arrived to decide the role of Buenos Aires, Sarmiento vetoed the move of the capital to an interior city three times during his presidential term (1868-1874).<sup>56</sup>

Alberdi saw the old South American capitals as "the headquarters and the fortress of colonial traditions", and they were therefore a threat to political freedom.<sup>57</sup> He judged them unable to incorporate the reforms required by the new countries and he suggested replacing their power with "the cities less populated by such people, that is to say, the newest ones, that are most capable of learning and carrying out the new Government system." He added, "The republic must create the new cities in its own image, the same way the colonial system made the old ones for its own objectives."<sup>58</sup> Like Sarmiento, Alberdi

tried to show the inconveniences that Buenos Aires centralism was posing to the balanced development of the Confederation's institutions. But neither of them defined the location of Argentina's new capital city. They even left the door open, by political decisions (Sarmiento) and by omission (Alberdi), for the permanence of Buenos Aires as the national capital, even though the situation in the country after 1852 favoured the idea of moving the capital from Buenos Aires, "the old bastion of monopoly," to another place on the shores of the Paraná River.

The author of the most important essay on the hegemony of Buenos Aires within the country was Juan Álvarez, a historian and jurist who lived most of his life in Rosario, whose third municipal census he conducted in 1910. In 1917, he published an essay on "El problema de Buenos Aires en la República Argentina" (The Problem of Buenos Aires in Argentina), which complements "Las guerras civiles argentinas" (The Argentine Civil Wars) published five years before.<sup>59</sup>

"The problem of Buenos Aires (wrote Álvarez) until now has not had a satisfactory solution, each day it becomes more serious, and if it is not looked at, it will continue to act as a motive of imbalance that should by no means be considered chronic or hopeless."<sup>60</sup> Álvarez recognized the natural advantages of the site of Buenos Aires, which made of it "the political, educational, artistic, and religious centre of the country" and "the main commercial and industrial market-place in Argentina." But he considered its location as a disadvantage, if it was to be a real "axis of national economy, away from the sources of energy and of some indispensable resources, too distant from the interior markets, with subsequent and unnecessary costs for the transportation of merchandise."<sup>61</sup> "Buenos Aires, with more than one million and a half inhabitants, in a country of eight million, forms a disturbing unitarian nucleus within the federal mechanism."<sup>62</sup> Álvarez analysed three "determinant influences for the abnormal development of the metropolis." He dedicated a chapter to each of them:

- a. The location of the large seaport in Buenos Aires, favoured by consecutive governments despite multiple natural inconveniences for navigation, was transformed into "the most suitable and accessible port of the country, substituting the old advantages set forward by official monopoly with new legal preferences."<sup>63</sup>
- b. The concentration of industry favoured "by the policy started in 1890, (that) shows unmistakably the tendency to settle immigrants in the big city;" by the protectionism of government's measures whose real weapon "is the right of entry," by the influence of the railroad design and of the type of tariffs that particularly protected the federal capital, and by privileges obtained through official banks' credits and public investments.<sup>64</sup>
- c. The seat of the national authorities attracts thousands and thousands of employees who, with their families and the personnel of embassies, legations and consulates, represent a high percentage of the city population. Besides, "many financial agents representing banks, insurance companies and other enterprises" established themselves permanently or temporarily in Buenos Aires in order to be near the government. From 1886, the government also spent huge amounts of money in public buildings, creating additional employment sources.<sup>65</sup>

Álvarez wondered if the capital should be changed, and to where it should be moved. The latter was for Álvarez "the actual knot of the problem." Like other authors, he did not decide on its location. He just concluded, due to countless historical and circumstantial reasons, that it had to be a new city. Álvarez' suggestion of stimulating the development of five industrial centres "in certain self-sufficient regions", with technical schools

and a general fellowship programme was a very interesting idea. Two of these centres would be ports: Rosario, converted into a shipyard, a river fleet base, and a transportation centre; and Bahia Blanca converted into a textile and administrative-political centre of the region and base of the sea fleet. The three others would be located in the interior. "For the fast development of Córdoba, Tucumán and Mendoza, it is necessary, at least, to make them main customs centres; give them arms and capital, and to restructure the railways tariffs. The last three measures should be extended to Rosario and Bahia Blanca."<sup>66</sup> Buenos Aires' decongestion was not a practical measure if there was not a definite intervention of the state, which lacked great resources. Therefore, the most reasonable thing to do was to divert towards those new points "the same factors" that allowed Buenos Aires to increase the effects of nature's factors.

## REGIONAL THOUGHT IN CHILE

### *Settlement*

Almost all the Chilean intellectuals who wrote at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century made it clear in their writings that the country was going through a period of crisis. Many of them linked it to the immense wealth of the country as a consequence of the nitrate mines exploitation.<sup>67</sup> McIver wrote:

The gold of the territory that forced us to obtain, neither avidity or selfishness, but our own confidence, was to be the magic wand that would create ports, railways, canals and roads, schools and immigration, industries and wealth, and well-being throughout the Republic... what a bitter awakening! Ports and railways, canals and roads, schools and immigration, industries and wealth, work and well-being were just dreams, the gold came, not as a kind rain that fertilizes earth, but as a devastating torrent which extricated the energy and hope from the soul and razed those public virtues which could enrich us.<sup>68</sup>

Chile, during McIver's childhood, was a country of great demographic voids. Its sparse population was concentrated in a few areas of the national territory, mainly the central zone. Before this, the government and the intellectuals saw in immigration a real possibility of populating the country. Vicente Perez Rosales was one of the leading figures among those public officials who promoted European immigration and colonization in Chile towards the middle of the last century. He was governor of a southern province, general consul in Hamburg and Colonization Officer before becoming a senator for the province of Llanquihue (1876-1881). In his autobiography he criticized the postponement of immigration policies by successive governments, in spite of the few demands of the immigrant.<sup>69</sup> He was concerned about the slow increase of the national population, concluding that only immigration could fill the "lamentable void with the convenient promptness." He praised the immigrants' preoccupation with education and their impact on the "increase of business, on the comfort of life, and even an agreeable change in the physical aspect of settlements" in the territories they occupied.<sup>70</sup> Due to the importance he gave to immigration, he considered it important to preserve the public lands in the south of the country; "...the mode and form of how the written contracts transmitted the rights over the land... and, above all, the lack of a representative of the state's interests... very soon will leave the state without any land of its own. What would happen then to colonization?"<sup>71</sup> Although Perez Rosales favoured spontaneous immigration, without discarding the colonized settlements, he preferred the immigrants from the north of Europe, because they "rarely look behind when they find their happiness in some other land," and also the Basques rather than the immigrants from Southern Europe, "spoiled by the mercifulness of the sky" and "only leaving their homes temporarily."

In contrast, other authors saw immigration as the cause of vices and bad habits which would influence the native population. Among them, Nicolas Palacios Navarro should be singled out.<sup>72</sup> He considered immigration as a burden for the country, since only the scum of Europe reached this land.

European immigration did not have much relevance in Chile, especially if we compare it to the huge repercussions it had in other countries of the southern part of Latin America. In 1865, foreign residents represented 1.27 per cent of the national population and only reached 3 per cent in 1920. However, the government made important efforts in order to promote such immigration. The first colonization law was passed in 1824. This encouraged a type of immigration that, it was thought, would promote industrial development and would populate its empty regions. The law granted lands in perpetuity. Immigrants were exempted from production and municipal taxes if they would start industries using the country's raw materials and local labour force in manufacturing previously approved by the government (articles 1 and 4). In order to promote the settlement of immigrants in rural areas, land granted to them would be exempt from direct and production taxes for a period of at least ten years (article 2).<sup>73</sup>

This first law was followed by another in 1845 that promoted the settlement of remote places by nationals and foreigners on uncultivated public lands. Its main articles dealt with the amount of land assigned to them and the annuity and farming tools they would receive. For government authorities and thinkers of the middle nineteenth century, immigration not only met the function of populating and developing the country but was also seen as a means of improving people's culture and bringing "civilization" to the farthest places of Chile.

Nicolas Palacios Navarro, one of the most influential writers of his time, defended the native Chilean people in "Raza Chilena" (Chilean Race) against the tendency of some intellectual circles to regard them with contempt. He also warned his compatriots against the growing foreign control of trade and industry, and of the privileges received by foreigners in relation to the natives. His position on this issue was similar to the one Encina adopted a decade later.<sup>74</sup> Both in Chile and Argentina, some intellectuals and politicians associated immigration with some of the worst influences in their societies.<sup>75</sup>

### Urban-Rural Imbalances

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, important migratory flows brought about the displacement of the rural population from the central and southern zones and its concentration in the main cities and the north of the country. Very few authors of the time made reference to the disparity among regions. Valdes Cange, writing in 1910, gave the most effective description.

There are problems common to all regions; in all nations there are provinces where all the misfortunes come together. The problem of drinking water and toilets is very serious. Poor people in some provincial neighbourhoods do not have them at all. Southern provinces and the two in the north gained in the Pacific War, present abominable characteristics... drinking water may be called so only if one ignores the meaning of the word 'potable'...<sup>76</sup>

The same author goes on:

Furthermore, in the north, water is in the hands of speculators who sell it... for a long time they [the people] requested that this service be managed by the state or the municipalities; occasionally they have almost attained it, but the influence of some magnate has always interfered...<sup>77</sup>

Further on, the author refers to the great differences existing between the main cities (in the central zone) and the northern



ones; "Iquique has been the Cinderella of our cities." It was necessary to supply it with drinking water, to improve its port, to complete the sewerage system, to build workers' houses, to build the railway to Pica and Tarapaca, etc. The same was needed or Antofagasta, Taltal and all the nitrate region.<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately, these authors do not mention the unequal distribution of income in the country. Palacios Navarro, in 1904, gave us a brief reference: "Santiago absorbs about 40 per cent of the country's current incomes."<sup>79</sup> On the other hand, decisions were made in Santiago and municipalities had little influence over them. As a consequence of the colonization problem, specifically the eradication of the native colonizers, some southern municipalities asked for a reform on such policy, but they were not heard. Palacios Navarro says: "The people, part of the press, as well as municipalities have recourse to the government for avoiding such colonization (alien) and for encouraging the government to assume Chilean colonization."<sup>80</sup> But letters or interviews of municipal representatives with government officials were in vain.

### Centre-Periphery Imbalances

Francisco Antonio Encina was one of the historians who most clearly saw the problems related to the style of development predominant in Chilean society.<sup>81</sup> For Encina, the economy was in a pathological state. While the economy was mainly in national hands until the middle of the last century, from the beginning of the second half it was taken over by foreign interests who assumed control of the big mining enterprises, ousted the national merchant marine, and dominated banks and trade firms. In other words, Encina detected the "displacement of what is national in the control of business and in the possession of wealth."

Encina described this phenomenon of increasing denationalization in the following terms. "Never has a nation approached another nation to civilize it or to cede to it voluntarily part of its power or wealth. Every nation seeks contact with others in order to increase its own well-being by eliminating or dominating others." He continued:

When two economies are in contact and one is so weak that it cannot yet be a hindrance to the expansion of a more powerful one, the latter tries to subordinate the former, turning it into a helper of its development and power. The powerful country looks for the sympathy and admiration of the weak but not to assist it, nor make it a future rival but to increase its own well-being and power, and thereby create a satellite that will facilitate its growth and help it in the struggle with other countries.<sup>82</sup>

The presence of foreign capital in the dynamic sectors of Chile's economy concerned a great number of Encina's contemporaries. The situation was described by McIver:

To the initiative, the effort and capital of our citizens we owe the first railways and telegraphs, bridges, piers, credit houses, big irrigation canals and all sorts of enterprises. Could not the spirit and energy that once incited our country to work, even if not strengthened, at least be maintained?<sup>83</sup>

Tancredo Pinochet described the phenomenon as follows:

After seeing... how the struggle is initiated among modern nations, how every country proceeds in the defence of national interests and ideals, we have had the sad mission of showing how our country not only abdicates in this struggle but also gives up its arms, its camp and its banner. Our government, our educational institutions and almost all our elite seem to show an earnest desire for promoting the decay and ruin of national interests and ideals in order to see them replaced by foreign interests and ideals. It is not only a matter of lacking the national selfishness which is inherent in all well established nations, but a matter of despising our race as if

we Chileans were outsiders in our own country and received by mercy in our own land.<sup>83</sup>

These writers basically had two problems in mind: the first was related to the profit received by foreign capitalists, even those living in Chile, for they did not actually bring capital into the country. Encina wrote: "Mining business does not incorporate wealth into the soil. It neither improves it nor increases its value on a permanent basis. The mining investor leaves behind only barrenness, holes, etc. The foreigner who goes away takes with him the whole profit of his effort put on copper or nitrate."<sup>84</sup>

The second problem was the presence of foreign capital in industry. Chilean industry at that time was purely a craft industry and mostly rural. Foreign industries that had settled in Chile brought a more advanced technology. They also had capital available at low interest (as long as capital was the productive factor of greater relative abundance according to the growth of capital accumulation in the central countries). Thus small national industry was unable to compete and many local industries went bankrupt or became stagnant, especially those with a rural base. Orrego Luco described the situation of rural workers towards the end of the nineteenth century;

... their small industries began to get ruined, their looms could not compete and began to be idle; the same was true of their tools, carts, ploughs and all the products of their rough craftsmanship. Railways were transforming country life causing the disappearance of roadside inns which were small industry sources for the labourer giving employment to women and children.<sup>85</sup>

Only a few years before, Cruchaga Montt wrote:

Individual action, neither well prepared nor firm, had not been enough for setting a solid base of progress to the country. Mining... is in an evident state of exhaustion. In its regime, agriculture obeys the traditions of poor land subdivision, of luxury and of lack of activity. The manufacturing industry has not been born yet, ... [and]... today all these small (rural) industries have been crushed by their foreign equivalents...<sup>86</sup>

In response to a general attitude preferring foreign workmanship to national workmanship, several intellectuals undertook the defence of the Chilean worker. Onofre Avendaño wrote in 1908: "The foreign worker is preferred to the native; even though his output is inferior and his work more expensive, he offers the advantage of being steady."<sup>87</sup> Almost two years later, Valdés Cange added: "The inferiority of the Chilean craftsman with respect to the foreigner lies almost exclusively in his lack of temperance and in his informality... when education succeeds in correcting habits of our workers they will have no rivals."<sup>88</sup>

In that sense, Palacios Navarro denounced the lack of workshops and craft schools that would teach Chilean labour to perform the tasks needed by the national economy. In his view, "the only difference between the foreign and the Chilean craftsman is that the former has had thousands of arts schools and thousands of factories in which to learn the most diverse industries."<sup>89</sup>

One can clearly see a preference for foreign workmanship when analysing the colonization policy carried out by the Chilean government.<sup>90</sup> Due to the depopulation of the south, foreign immigrants were brought to be settled there. On the other hand, it was quite difficult for the Chilean farmer to be accepted as a settler and many natives were eradicated (with the excuse that they were illiterate) in order to transfer this land to foreigners. Some said that the foreign colonizers included many vicious and ill people who knew nothing about agriculture.<sup>91</sup> But they were "favoured with lands, instead of the natives and, among the latter, the strongest, the most industrious and skillful ones were forced to migrate."<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, Palacios Navarro wrote, "We are in the presence of two of the most grave

facts that can be told to a people; the loss of their territory (as long as it is settled by foreigners) and that such loss is the result of the conscious and willful action of their rulers."<sup>93</sup>

A third problem dealt with by certain authors of the period indicated the totality of the phenomenon of dependency. This was the education system. From the start, Chilean culture was greatly influenced by some European countries. The elite tended to copy uses, consumption habits, architectural styles, etc, inherent in European society, at the expense of the vernacular. Education did not escape this general trend.

The foreign book constitutes the only nourishment for the mind. Under this influence (mainly French) an intellectual activity came to life reminiscent of that preceding the Renaissance. Chileans, in the second half of the nineteenth century, imitate the European intellectual production... our mentality, lacking strength and courage to get hold of scientific methods, of artistic and literary proceedings in order to make work of its own, has enough with repeating what others thought or felt... it cannot conceive truth and beauty unless dressed up with the expression given by the foreign thinker.<sup>95</sup>

The creators of public education copied systems in the European fashion, ignoring the problems resulting from the transfer of educational programmes to a completely different situation. Encina tells us "Our education (was) deprived of any sense of nationality."<sup>96</sup> Education instilled pleasure as a goal in life, with elegance, fortune and social prestige as the most important values. Physical work and sacrifice was regarded with contempt and intellectual work was praised:

To be a lawyer, a physician or engineer was better than to be a farmer; a farmer better than a trader or industrialist; an educator, journalist or public employee better than an employee in manufacturing of a business establishment; a schoolteacher, notary clerk better than a mechanic or electrician; such is the aspiration with respect to the different kinds of work carried out by human activity.<sup>97</sup>

## Social Inequalities

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, a real concern arose in the intellectual circles of the two countries about living conditions among the urban and rural population. Several essays and novels were published on what was called, in such circles, "the social question", meaning simply the verification of a growing inequality in the distribution of wealth and political power, as well as of opportunities for satisfying the most elementary needs. "The unanimous aspiration of magnates is to maintain their privileged position (wrote Valdés Cange in 1910) and even if possible to increase their fortune with no effort at all; the golden dream of anyone fairly educated is to become a magnate, that is to roll in riches thanks to another's effort."<sup>98</sup>

Several authors pointed out the respect for leisure as one of the most outstanding characteristics of Chilean aristocracy. To live on income was a mark of social prestige. Encina wrote in the following terms. "The idle rich man who omits the social duty of utilizing all his energies is surrounded by the same respect as is the vigorous industrialist or the progressive farmer. Equal considerations are extended to the incompetent or lazy young man living at his family's expense as to the enterprising and industrious one."<sup>99</sup> While a few people became wealthy, the great majority of the population could not satisfy the most essential needs. This contrast was thus described by Valdés Cange:

... we have armies, ships and fortresses, cities and ports, theatres and hippodromes, clubs and hotels, public buildings and promenades, monuments and, what makes us most conceited, opulent magnates, owners of actual domains, living in kingly palaces... but not far from the theatres,

gardens and aristocratic mansions, live the people, that is to say, nine-tenths of Chile's population, sunk in the most frightful economic, physical and moral misery, degenerating under the influence of over-work, bad feeding, lack of sanitary habits, utter ignorance and the most rude vices.<sup>100</sup>

With respect to these problems, Víctor Celis says "Economic and social questions have a resounding permanence, both exist among us and become more and more serious. Codes that legislate only on behalf of capital and capitalism, ignoring muscle and labour, a banking regime in accordance with such codes and an exemption system of taxes..."<sup>101</sup> Wages were very low. The real salary in Chile seems to have declined between 1890 and 1914.<sup>102</sup> According to Orrego Luco in 1886: "Where wages drop the soil's productivity rises, the rent paid by the farmer for the use of land also rises, and under such conditions the possessor classes become richer while the working classes sink in poverty."<sup>103</sup> Twenty-six years later, Valdés Cange described a similar situation: "Without mentioning the lonely daily worker, on all sides you have fairly educated craftsmen wickedly exploited; carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, manufacturing operators bound to work ten, twelve or more hours a day to receive a salary insufficient to cover their needs and those of their family, to say nothing of the disabled even if that is a consequence of the work itself."<sup>104</sup> But not only did the worker receive a scanty salary, he also had to cope with a heavy tax. Orrego Luco wrote:

The direct tax maintains the feudal base in all its crudeness.... It overwhelmingly fell on the small industry and the workman, burdening the individual all the more, even as the effort demanded by his occupation grew larger. This excessive tax burden was a new barrier blocking the way out of poverty to the man of inferior class, and artificially making more painful an economic imbalance which by itself was hateful.... To tax work and leave capital alone was the supreme principle of the tax regime, a feudal principle which we must reverse.<sup>105</sup>

Valdés Cange analyses the rural situation in the following way:

In these states, life has become exceedingly hard for the working class and in many cases even unbearable, because population has increased disproportionately if compared to cultivated land whose growth rate has remained practically unchanged, because city life and military service absorb more and more agrarian population... thanks to an absurd legislation that protects the magnates at the proletariat's expense. In less than twenty years we have managed to raise the cost of living so that the expression "to die of hunger and poverty" has ceased in this case to be figurative.<sup>106</sup>

As a final comment, we shall quote Valdés Cange once again. "Perhaps there is no country on earth where differences between the high class and the working class are so deep, nor any place where magnates' despotism and weak people's exploitation exhibit such characteristics as those in Chile."<sup>107</sup>

## Primacy of Santiago

From colonial times, Santiago was the country's main city — its economic, political and cultural centre. In spite of this, Valparaíso reached greater commercial importance during this period because it was the main trading port even though it never achieved autonomy.

Unlike Argentina, Chile was soon aware of the role that Santiago would play in the country's political development. The problem did not lie with the legitimacy of Santiago as a capital city, but rather with what it meant regarding power and population concentration. Thus, through data and testimonies, one may detect the resentment of the provinces concerning this fact. There are denunciations, like that of Palacios Navarro when he

refers to the excesses committed in the colonization of the south, or of how municipalities and provincial powers were neglected by the central government. There is also Valdés Cange's denunciation when, travelling over the country, he establishes the wide differences between secondary cities and the capital.

Santiago held a particular influence over the rest of the population during the period. Due to political, economic and cultural concentration, it was the place chosen by the majority of interior migrants, seeing better chances of work and education there than in other cities. Besides, administrative functions in Santiago attracted a great concentration of professionals and public employees towards the State bureaucracy. Encina referred to this question and he called it "empleomanía" (over-employment), a characteristic of Santiago's society.

Rural-urban differences seem to have attracted the attention of Chilean authors of the period much more frequently than that of Argentine writers. This constituted a third type of imbalance, in addition to those already analysed.

Until the middle of the last century, Chilean society was essentially rural. The great majority of workers — almost all of them rural — had no expectation nor many chances of change. The *inquilino* (tenant) did not perceive the difference and contrast between the poverty of his life and the comparative opulence of the urban upper class. With the closing of Australian and Californian grain markets, agriculture suffered a serious crisis and the *inquilinos'* sons, no longer able to join the agricultural activities like their fathers, began to look for new opportunities.

A second element that sharpened the agriculture crisis was the destruction of rural craftsmanship that had been developed during the nineteenth century. Palacios Navarro explains such phenomenon in the following terms:

... the countrywoman could help her husband in the daily task of making a living. While the husband was working outdoors, she did spinning, knitting, embroidery... and several other things were manufactured by feminine hands in the Chilean countryside. All these small industries have nowadays been destroyed by foreign competition, and the only resources available to the Chilean labourer's home are the wages earned by the father of the family.<sup>108</sup>

The advance of communications opened alternative sources of work to the rural worker, for instance, in the construction of railways, in public works and in nitrate extraction. An important migratory move began towards the cities and other regions, a move that accelerated as communications improved.

The landholder, too, felt the attraction of urban life as a consequence of the value he conferred on a leisurely and wealthy way of living. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, landowners lived in the countryside. Yet towards the end of the century we find them settled in the main cities. This phenomenon was described as "landlord absenteeism", and according to Encina, it had serious detrimental repercussions on agricultural production and on the quality of the rural labour force, because of the lack of the master's good example: "The rural worker not only ceased to follow the way towards nobler aims and an easier and more regular life, but he also went backwards morally. He became lazier, drank and lied more, and even became a thief or a bandit."<sup>109</sup>

McIver mentioned another factor that stimulated migration towards populated centres:

The small farmers sold their land at the lowest prices, and searched for shelter in populated centres, because of the lack of security with regard to their property and life. Banditry drives away labourers, the main agent of agricultural production.<sup>110</sup>

Thus the nomadic workers began to appear, moving across the country in search of jobs.

That vagabond class (wrote Orrego Luco) is the very expression of the economic and social regime to which our *haciendas* have been submitted, a regime that could only maintain itself for as long as the difficulty of communications would separate the urban from the rural population, and it would naturally fall to pieces once the flow between cities and fields became established.<sup>111</sup>

One part of this vagabond mass settled in the cities, another began to wander in search of jobs, and the rest emigrated to other South American republics, mainly towards neighbouring ones. The *Sociedad de Fomento Fabril* referred to this problem in the following terms:

They (the *inquilinos'* sons) began to emigrate from the *fundos* to highway or railway works, or else to the closest city with the aim of getting near the coast, finally joining the uninterrupted human stream which, during 30 or 40 years, has taken away the best of Chilean labour to the mines and nitrate works in the north, to the fields of Cuzco and, in some cases, all along the Pacific coast and the rest of the world... hundreds of Chileans thus carry on their desolate life between Pisagua and the Calle-Calle River, between San Juan and Neuquén.<sup>112</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The primacy of Buenos Aires and the need to promote alternative centres in Argentina was one of Alvarez's great themes. The submission of both national culture and national capital to foreign pressures, and its impact on social inequalities and territorial organization was a topic common to all of the writers mentioned in this essay. The imbalance in development between country and city and the impact of new technologies in national life was one of the great themes of Encina, Palacios Navarro and McIver. Almost all of the authors mentioned were concerned about the future of cities. Social underdevelopment and social inequalities were examined by Valdés Cange and Orrego Luco, by Biale Massé and the novelists of the time. Finally, Alvarez and Encina wrote passages about regional inequalities that are still valid today. What has happened in the seventy years since Alvarez wrote that "school overestimates the advantages of the locality," hiding its defects and necessities," and since Valdés Cange criticised "the utterly bad administration of local and sanitary services which has been felt in every corner of the country, in the main cities and even in the capital"? How are we to attract new immigrants when the large estates denounced by Encina and Valdés Cange and condemned by Sarmiento and Alberdi — despite their contrary positions on other themes — attain new dimensions today? How does one surmount the increasing centralism, commented on by Encina and Alvarez, without falling into the exaggerated localism feared by Moreno and the members of the 1813 Assembly? How do we unite countries between which, in the words of Mallea "all was a matter of division, the art, the idea of nationalism...?"<sup>113</sup>

Our exploration of regional and urban thought at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century uncovers problems which, far from being solved, have become more acute. Those writers we have examined lived in hard times. Many of them spent long years in exile and political ostracism. A few were born in obscure provincial cities, others in capital cities. Some of them, as Encina, came from latifundist families. Others, such as Palacios Navarro and Sarmiento, were of simple origin. But beyond the advantages and disadvantages

\* Alvarez uses the word "pago" whose meaning in Argentina is related to a small and generally homogenous geographical area with a common history and common heritage.

of class difference, facing life with or without the privileges of a more or less favourable birth, of access to regular learning or to self-education, all combined with action. We are amazed by their integrated social and territorial vision of great national problems and by their unselfish and positive attitudes. They did more than simply examine and criticise. Many — almost all — of them included precise suggestions for surmounting specific situations, and those among them who reached high positions tried, sometimes tentatively, sometimes in a contradictory way, to implement what they were supporting with their writings.

## NOTES

- Luis Unikel, and Andrés Necochea, eds *Desarrollo urbano y regional en América Latina* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1975).
- Jorge E. Hardoy, and María Elena Langdon, *Desigualdades regionales en Hispanoamérica* (1850-1930). "Análisis histórico y estudios nacionales" in *Revista de Indias*, Nos. 151-152, 1978, pp. 11-133. Three countries were reviewed in this study: Argentina, Costa Rica and Chile; population census were used as data sources. In case of Argentina, the census were those of 1869, 1895 and 1919, for Costa Rica, those of 1864, 1892 and 1927 and for Chile, those of 1865, 1895 and 1920. We began the study on Venezuela but could not complete it due to lack of information. These four countries were studied because they represented for the period (1850-1930), average rates comparatively high (3.09%), fairly high (2.00%), fairly low (1.50%) and low (0.94%), respectively, of their national population growth. Cf. Jorge E. Hardoy and María Elena Langdon, "Análisis estadístico preliminar de la urbanización de América Latina entre 1850 y 1930", in *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología*, Year 15, No. 42/43, May-December 1978, pp. 115-173.
- Jorge E. Hardoy, and María Elena Langdon, "Análisis estadístico . . .", Table 7a-7w, pp. 151-173.
- James Fred Rippy, *British Investment in Latin America, 1822-1949*, Tables 3 and 5, pp. 25 and 34, (Hamden, Archon Books, 1966). First published in 1959.
- James Fred Rippy, *ibid.*, table 23, p. 78 and p. 75 and following.
- The information that would best reveal the difference in standards of life between provinces and/or regions would be their income and income distribution in relation with the national income; the level of actual wages, the pattern of consumption and, most particularly, life expectancy at birth which is an indicator of material standard of life in each district. Such information cannot be obtained directly from the censuses employed in our study on regional imbalances (see note 2), and a prolonged effort at regional and local levels would be necessary to reveal the diversity of situations that prevailed in each country.
- During the presidential term of General José Joaquín Prieto (1831-1841).
- Richard, A. Seymour, *Un poblador de las Pampas*, (Buenos Aires: Editore y Distribuidora del Plata, 1947), p. 47. Originally published in London in 1869.
- Ibid.*, p. 49.
- Ibid.*, p. 53. This description of Argentina's geographic centre, towards the midst of Mitre's presidential term, was not quite different from others made before. In his book *Del Plata a los Andes* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Huarpes, 1944), p. 41, originally published Santiago de Chile in 1852, Mayer Arnold made a description in the following terms: "The desolate plains (south) of Santa Fe present hardly more than some wandering ostrich or doe; one never sees a colt or a bull." P. Scarlett Campbell referred to the same phenomenon when he depicted, towards 1834, "the unlimited plain showing no sign whatsoever that would guide our route" which they crossed "as if guided by the mere instinct of the gaucho;" and he adds: "the landscape is interrupted now and then by a lonesome rancho." P. Scarlett Campbell, *Viajes por América*, (Buenos Aires: Ed. Claridad, 1957), pp. 74 and 78. Originally published in London in 1838.
- For instance, the decree of the First Triumvirate of September 4, 1812, offering guarantees to the inhabitants of all the Nations who may wish to settle in Argentina, and Rivadavia's report to Pueyrredon of September 9, 1818.
- Cf. Sergio Bagí's preface to the work of J.A.B. Beaumont, *Viajes por Buenos Aires, Entre Ríos y la Banda Oriental* (1826-1827), (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1957). The Beaumonts tried unsuccessfully to organize a colony of English immigrants in the north of Buenos Aires province.
- The thought of the "1837's generation" is expressed in the *Fragmento Preliminar al estudio del derecho* of J.B. Alberdi and in *Dogma Socialista* by Esteban Echeverría, among other works. Cf. José Luis Romero, *Las ideas políticas en Argentina*, chapter V, 5th revised edition, (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1975), pp. 129-165.
- Juan B. Alberdi, *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización de la República Argentina*, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1966), pp. 67 and 68. Alberdi wrote *Bases . . .* in Valparaíso. It was first published in 1862.
- J.B. Alberdi, *Bases . . .*, p. 79.
- J.B. Alberdi, *Bases . . .*, p. 68 and following. A few years after Alberdi wrote these lines, the first railway was inaugurated in Argentina on August 29, 1857. In 1874 the extension of the railroad network reached 1331 km, 2,516 in 1879, 5,836 in 1885, 13,682 in 1892 and in 1907, 19,430 km.
- J.B. Alberdi, *Bases . . .*, p. 83.
- J.B. Alberdi, *Bases . . .*, see chapters 14, 15 and 16. The "1837 generation" considered French and Anglo-Saxon culture as the fundamental inspiration for the institutional and cultural development of the country and rejected the Spanish inheritance.
- The topic is treated contemporarily by Robert Schopflocher, *Historia de la colonización agrícola en Argentina*, (Buenos Aires: Raigal, 1955), and by Gastón Gori, *El pan nuestro*, (Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión, 1958).
- Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Mensaje Presidencial*, 1868. Sarmiento used the same phrase in a speech delivered in Chivilcoy a few weeks earlier, as elected president.
- Letter to Victorino Lastarria dated January 7, 1870, in *Epistolario Intimo*, p. 94. The situation prevailing in the 1860s and 1870s during which many of the Constituents of 1853 remained active, was undoubtedly antagonistic to the spirit of the Constitution of 1853 when it says in its article 25: "The Federal Government will promote European immigration and will not restrict, limit or encumber with any tax whatever, the entry to Argentine territory of aliens coming with the purpose of cultivating the land . . ."
- Immigration, between 1886 and 1889, brought up 260,000 new inhabitants, a record for the time in the country. Between 1892 and 1904, immigration rendered a positive result of 47,783 people per year, and between 1905 and 1913, of 155,280 persons per year. This process went together with the creation of new colonies. Between 1860 and 1869, sixteen colonies were created in the province of Santa Fe, with a total of 552,402 hectares, and it went up again to 160 colonies and a total of 1,688,341 hectares between 1880 and 1889. See Gabriel Carrasco, *La colonización agrícola de la provincia de Santa Fe*, (Santa Fe, 1893), p. 24.
- D. Torino, *El problema del inmigrante y el problema agrario en la Argentina*, (Buenos Aires: Impr de "La Baskonia," 1912), p. 79.
- José L. Romero, *op. cit.*, p. 175. Romero sets the beginning of the alluvial Argentina between the presidencies of Avellaneda (1874-1880) and Roca (1880-86). It first sign was, "in the social political field, a new divorce between masses and minorities" (p. 167).
- Antonio J. Perez Amuchastegui, *Mentalidades argentinas 1860-1930*, (Buenos Aires: EUDERA, 4th edition, 1977). See mainly chapter III, "Mentalidad del gaucho," (the mentality of the gaucho), pp. 213-379.
- Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 429.
- Ibid.*, p. 430.
- Juan Alvarez, *Las guerras civiles argentinas*, (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1966). The first edition is dated in 1912.
- Ibid.*, p. 17.
- Ibid.*, p. 22.
- Those years saw an important growth of the areas cultivated with grains — from 114,522 hs. in 1875 (63.15% of them in the littoral provinces) to 815,438 hs. in the middle 1880s (87% in the littoral); of agrarian colonies foundation, of livestock consolidation, of swift expansion of exports and of greater industrial activity. The exchange grew from 104 million pesos in 1880 to 254 millions in 1889; then it was affected by the 1890s crisis but recovered almost immediately.
- Juan Alvarez, *Las guerras . . .*, p. 31.
- Ibid.*, p. 32.
- Joaquín V. González, *El juicio del siglo*, (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1979). The first edition is dated 1910.
- Alejandro Bunge, *Una nueva Argentina*, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Guillermo Kraft Ltda., 1940). In his preface, Bunge writes that he began with his first social studies in 1909. This book constitutes a synthesis of the author's work and thought.
- Ibid.*, Introducción, pp. 21-25.
- Ibid.*, p. 225.
- Ibid.*, p. 423. Based on the electoral poll for the 1916 election.
- Ibid.*, p. 85.
- Rerum Novarum* Encyclical, given at St. Peter's on May 15, 1891, during the pontificat of Leon XIII, and the *Quadragesimo Anno* Encyclical, given at Rome on May 15, 1931 during the pontificat of Pius XI.
- A.E. Bunge, *Una Inuova Argentina*, p. 337.
- Ibid.*, p. 339.
- His real name was Silverio Domínguez, author of *Palomas y Gavilanes* (1886).
- Juan Biale y Massé, *El estado de las clases obreras argentinas a comienzos del siglo*, (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1968), pp. 96 to 98. The work was published for the first time in 1904.
- Ibid.*, p. 69.
- Ibid.*, p. 163.
- Ibid.*, p. 205.
- The Constitution of 1853 did not define which would be the capital of the country. The article 3 left the whole issue undecided. "The authorities exerting the Federal Government have their residence in the city that will be declared the Capital of the Republic by an special law of Congress, after the territory which is to be federalized is ceded by one or more provincial legislatures.
- Juan B. Alberdi, *Bases . . .*, p. 47.
- Ibid.*, p. 155.
- Constitution of the Argentine Nation*, 1853, art. 105.
- Ibid.*, art. 107.
- Already in the 1850s, Great Britain did not produce enough food for its population and some of its key industries depended on imported raw

- materials. But soon, in the 1870s, the international food trade became considerably increased when new countries, Argentina among them, incorporated to what Hobsbawm called "honorary" domains of the economic British empire. E.J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, chapter 7, 7th edition, (London: Pelican Books, 1976), pp. 134-153.
54. Between 1930 and 1960 the principal criticisms against Buenos Aires' centralism come from Martínez Estrada Ezequiel *La cabeza de Goliat*, (Buenos Aires: Club de libro A.L.A., 1940); del Carril Bonifacio *Buenos Aires frente al país*, (Buenos Aires, Distribución: Emede editores, 1944); José María Sarobe, *Política económica argentina*, 1946; Leopoldo Velasco, *La cuestión capital de la República*, 1942; Bernardo Canal Feijóo, *De la estructura mediterránea argentina*, (Buenos Aires, 1948); F. Suaiter Martínez, *Buenos Aires, ciudad y provincia*, (Buenos Aires, Biblioteca nueva, 1942); and Alcides Greca, *Una nueva capital para la Nación Argentina*, (Rosario: Editorial "Ciencia", 1950).
  55. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Obras Completas*, tomo XIII, p. 47.
  56. In 1869, 1871 and 1873, the locations suggested were Rosario, Villa María, and Rosario again.
  57. Juan B. Alberdi, *Bases* . . . , pp. 155.
  58. Juan B. Alberdi, *Bases* . . . , pp. 155.
  59. Juan Alvarez, *El problema de Buenos Aires en la República Argentina*, Biblioteca de la Sociedad de Historia Argentina, I. (Buenos Aires: Librería y Editora La Facultad, 1936). This edition includes the two quoted essays. The first edition of *El problema de Buenos Aires* . . . appeared in the *Anales de la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales*, (Buenos Aires, 1917).
  60. Juan Alvarez, *El problema de Buenos Aires* . . . , 1936 ed., p. 158.
  61. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-166.
  62. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
  63. Juan Alvarez, "El gran puerto de ultramar", chapter II, *El problema de Buenos Aires* . . . , II, pp. 177-207. The author refers to the monopoly exercised by Buenos Aires over Customs.
  64. Juan Alvarez, "La ciudad fabril", chapter III, *El problema de Buenos Aires* . . . , pp. 209-240.
  65. Juan Alvarez, "El asiento de las autoridades nacionales", chapter IV, *El problema de Buenos Aires*, pp. 241-267. This chapter contains a good synthesis of the efforts made since 1810 to consolidate or move the site of the federal capital.
  66. Juan Alvarez, "Proyecto de colución", chapter V, *El problema de Buenos Aires* . . . , pp. 269-298.
  67. These intellectual personalities came from different social strata and upheld diverse ideologies. They all coincided, however, in thinking that the country was living a crisis.
  68. Enrique McIver, "Discurso sobre la crisis moral de la República" (Santiago: Imprenta Moderna, 1900). Years later, another Chilean writer, Alberto Cabero, expressed himself in similar terms: " . . . the unusual wealth degenerated the race's austerity and everything was changed since then . . . " Alberto Cabero, *Chile y los chilenos*, (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1929), p. 45.
  69. Vicente Pérez Rosales, *Recuerdos del pasado: 1814-1860*, Chapter XXIII, vol. 2, (Buenos Aires: Angel Estrada y Cía., 1944), pp. 228-245. The first edition was published in Santiago in 1882 by Imprenta La Epoca, and edited again in Santiago in 1886, the year of the author's death, and in 1910. In 1854 Pérez Rosales published in Santiago *Memoria sobre emigración, inmigración y colonización*, and in 1876, a work on *La colonia de Llanquihue*.
  70. Vicente Pérez Rosales, *Recuerdos* . . . , vol. 2, p. 231.
  71. *Ibid.*, p. 239.
  72. Nicolás Palacios *Raza Chilena*, (Valparaíso: Imprenta y Litografía Alemana de G. Schafer, 1904).
  73. *Ibid.*, p. 586.
  74. Encina, Francisco, *Nuestra inferioridad económica*, (Santiago: Imprenta universitaria, 1912), and *Educación económica y el liceo*. In the first of these works there is a remarkable influence of Palacios.
  75. Carl Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890-1944*, (Austin, 1970), pp. 65-92 and pp. 93-116.
  76. Julio Valdés Cange, *Sinceridad. Chile íntimo en 1910*, (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1910), pp. 178-179.
  77. *Ibid.*
  78. *Ibid.*
  79. Nicolás Palacios, *Raza Chilena*, p. 363.
  80. *Ibid.*
  81. Francisco Antonio Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad económica*, (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Universitarias S.A., 1955). Originally published in 1911. The author was a member of the National Congress during several periods.
  82. *Ibid.*, p. 75. The position of the Sociedad de Fomento Fabril is significant. In its Bulletin of 1885, it denounced the transfer to trade to ships of other nationalities ending up with the building of ships.
  83. Enrique McIver, *Discurso sobre* . . .
  84. Francisco A. Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad económica*, p. 82. This fact is opposed to that derived of the foreign presence in the cultivation of the land. Here capital and work remain incorporated to the land, even if the alien leaves the country. Bialek Massé used similar terms in Argentina: "The foreign capitalist has seen the country just as a transient and usurious field of exploitation . . . . He has done nothing to improve the country, not even his own industries." Juan Bialek y Massé, *El estado de las clases obreras argentinas a comienzos del siglo*, (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1968), p. 38. The work was first published in 1904).
  85. Augusto Orrego Luco, *La cuestión social en Chile*, (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1971), p. 127. The work was first published in 1884.
  86. Cruchaga Montt, M., *Estudio sobre la organización económica y la hacienda pública de Chile*, (Santiago: Impr. de 'Los Tempos', 1878-1880).
  87. Onofre Avendaño, *Examen de conciencia*, (Santiago, 1908).
  88. Valdés Cange, Julio, *Sinceridad* . . .
  89. N. Palacios, *Raza Chilena*, p. 459.
  90. The foreign colonizer was given a better deal of land, tools, board and lodging for one year; he was exempted from taxes for 20 years. The native, on the other hand, only received the land and at the same time he had to fill a series of requirements, among them, to be literate and to have children. Bialek y Massé thus expressed himself on the situation of the worker in Argentina: " . . . the native worker, despised, accused of being incompetent, feels as a pariah in his country, working more, making jobs for which he is irreplaceable, and receiving a salary just for keeping him from dying of hunger and suffers for receiving an inferior salary just because he is a native . . . ." Bialek y Massé, *El estado* . . . , p. 39.
  91. Palacios says that between 1895 and 1899, 320 families arrived in Llanquihue. In 1899 there were only 153 left. The reason is that a certain percentage of them ran away; 9% were thrown away as criminals and 25% for being completely useless. Palacios, *Raza Chilena*, p. 616. This position differs from that of Pérez Rosales, as it was noticed in a previous section of this work. Pérez Rosales must be considered as a representative of the official policy of colonization in the first years of the second half of the XIXth Century.
  92. Palacios, *Raza Chilena*, p. 614.
  93. *Ibid.*, p. 668.
  94. Solberg considers this theme with amplitude and good references; see chapter III, pp. 65-92. The German influence in engineering and education sciences was very important until the First World War and particularly during Balmaceda's Administration (1886-1890). The German cultural influence was criticized by Eduardo de la Barra in *La vida nacional*, (Santiago, 1899).
  95. F.A. Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad* . . . , p. 95. One of the most important exponents of cultural nationalism in Argentina was Manuel Galvez, Cf. *El diario de Gabriel Quiroga. Opiniones sobre la vida argentina*, (Buenos Aires: Arnoldo Moen y Hno., 1910).
  96. F.A. Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad* . . . , p. 102.
  97. *Ibid.*, p. 6
  98. Valdés Cange, *Sinceridad* . . . , p. 205. Luis Orrego Luco, in his book *Casa grande*, published for the first time in Santiago in 1980, presents a picture of the Chilean high class at the beginning of the XXth Century.
  99. F.A. Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad* . . . , p. 57.
  100. Valdés Cange, *Sinceridad* . . . , p. 250.
  101. Víctor Celis, "Discurso de presentación a Armando Labra Carvajal", in Armando Labra Carvajal, *La política radical*, (Santiago: Imprenta Eyzaguirre, 1915), p. 7.
  102. Carl Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism* . . . , p. 102.
  103. A. Orrego Luco, *La cuestión social* . . . , p. 223.
  104. J. Valdés Cange, *Sinceridad* . . . , p. 206.
  105. A. Orrego Luco, *La cuestión social* . . . , p. 55.
  106. J. Valdés Cange, *Sinceridad* . . . , p. 209-210.
  107. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
  108. N. Palacios, *Raza Chilena* . . . , p. 371.
  109. F.A. Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad* . . . , p. 107.
  110. Enrique McIver, "Discurso sobre la crisis moral de la República", in H. Godoy, ed., *Estructura social de Chile*, (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1971), p. 284. Lecture made by McIver on August 1st, 1900.
  111. A. Orrego Luco, *La cuestión social* . . . , p. 226.
  112. SOFOFA, Year IX, No. 5, (March, 1892).
  113. Eduardo Mallea, "Conocimiento y expresión de la Argentina", in Leopoldo Zea, ed., *Precursores del pensamiento latinoamericano contemporáneo*, (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública 1971), p. 240.