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*"Este libro es una pequeña ofrenda que deposito en el altar sagrado de mi patria."
History textbooks in Costa Rica, Guatemala and El Salvador, 1884-1927*

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Notas

Liberals and education

The Liberals were in office in the decade of 1870 in Guatemala, El Salvador and Costa Rica. Their perception of modernization and progress led them to reinforce the State through the development of an adequate infrastructure for the production and exportation of coffee. The accomplishments were also used as a mean to communicate and promote their worldview, and to achieve social control. These actions included the creation of a banking system and the construction of ports, railroads, roads and communication (telegraph and telephone). Liberals also promoted reforms that led to new legislation, the creation of national institutions, and a centralization process and most important for the development of capitalism, and a new set of property rights. However reforms did not change the basic social structures in Guatemala nor El Salvador. Indigenous communities were overexploited, and in these countries the economy depended completely upon exportation and the elites had the economic and politic power. Coffee financed infrastructure, bureaucracy and education as well as defined the social structure of these societies. Furthermore material progress was well experienced in the cities, but not in the rural areas, thus modernization was an unequal experience.¹

The construction of the national identities in the three countries must be understood in a broader project in which the Liberal states meant to modernize and "civilize" its population in a secular, sovereign, and independent state, and complemented it by promoting the creation of a public sphere and civic culture.² Ideologically, this meant prohibiting and limiting the intervention of the Church in society and in education. The "modern" education was free, secular and compulsory thus, religion was excluded from the official educational programs. Culturally, nationalism was promoted through the understanding and valorization of that defined as "national". Their basic concepts, "order, progress and civilization" were identified with modernization in the political, economic, social and cultural areas.

To understand the role that history textbooks played in Costa Rica, Guatemala and El Salvador during the liberal period we must try to answer the question: what type of meanings these texts try to create? And, we must also ask, what type of alliances did intellectuals made? To answer these questions we study the liberal project in these Central American countries, and we examine the textbooks written by Francisco Gavidia (El Salvador), José Antonio Villacorta (Guatemala), Leopoldo Zarragoitia (Costa Rica), and Agustín Gómez Carrillo (Central America).

The liberal project

The liberal project of modernization was urban based, the impact of the education reforms can also be perceived through a comparison with the literacy rate in the three capital cities, San José, Costa Rica in 1927; San Salvador, El Salvador in 1929; Guatemala, Guatemala in 1921. The differences in the literacy rates are significant: in San José 87.3 percent of the population could read and write, 68 percent of the inhabitants in San Salvador over eight years and only 43.7 percent in Guatemala over age seven.³

Despite the fact that Liberals sought to incorporate the population in the construction of the nation state they marginalized different ethnic groups and reproduced patriarchy. In El Salvador indigenous peoples were expected to give up their identity and community, and efforts were made to integrate them into the "nation" as individuals. This also was the case for Guatemala and Nicaragua where indigenous communities were disarticulated and disintegrated.⁴ This national project rejected indigenous communities and their culture, and their defiance was understood as an obstacle to progress and was perceived as dangerous because of their capacity to articulate resistance to the hegemonic process. Many questions arise and must wait for further research, such as how did the subaltern groups recreate nationhood? How were loyalties constructed? Were they created in the local or ethnic level?

In Guatemala the dictator Manuel Estrada Cabrera (1898-1920) endorsed liberal reforms in the area of education. Estrada Cabrera intended to use education as another element to achieve the integration of the indigenous communities to the work force of a "developed" nation, and also as one element to construct a homogeneous nation. He promoted the creation of "escuelas nocturnas", commercial institutes, a national university (Universidad Nacional Estrada Cabrera), a veterinarian school and agricultural schools to enhance progress through exportation by means of innovation and agricultural diversification. Some of these institutions did not survive in the long run because of lack of financial support. For Estrada Cabrera education was a mean to consolidate the nation and create nationalism. Teaching civics, nationalism and citizenship was a wide spread ideal for the modern states worldwide, this is why the effort of these governments to educate their citizens must be contextualized in the "modernization" ideology.⁵ But low investment in education and an exclusionary citizenship did not permit the education of the majorities. As Table 1 shows literacy rate was 11.37 percent in 1893 and 13.18 percent in 1921, these figures demonstrate the limited impact of education in Guatemala.⁶

Table 1
Literacy in Guatemala and Costa Rica in percent
1892-1927

Guatemala*

Costa Rica*

Year	1893	1923	1892	1927
Population	1,364,678	2,004,900	243,205	471,524
Illiteracy rate	88.63	86.82	68.58	23.60

* Not included children under 7 years.

Source: República de Guatemala. Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección General de Estadística. *Censo de Población de la República levantado el 28 de agosto de 1921* (Guatemala: Taller Gutenberg, 1924), pp. 12, 67. Oficina Nacional de Censo. *Alfabetismo y analfabetismo en Costa Rica según el Censo General de Población de 11 de mayo de 1927*. Publicación No. 3 (San José: Imprenta Alsina, 1928), p. 13, 15. Ministerio de Economía y Hacienda. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos. *Censo de Población de Costa Rica, 11 de mayo de 1927* (San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1960), pp. 41, 44. Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Comercio. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos. *Censo de Población 1892* (San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1974), pp. xiv, xv.

The Liberal Republic (1870-1914) in Costa Rica was characterized by the search for a greater autonomy of the State.⁷ In the economic scope, the liberals defended capitalism, restricted their interference in the economic area, and promoted foreign investment. The ideal of progress was associated with material development that in the short run could provide a link with the international markets. The commercialization of the coffee and the banana afterwards produced the "miracle". Politically, they tried to create an electoral democratic regime. Socially, these governments were characterized by an increasing control whose objective was to "civilize" the popular sectors. Order was considered a necessary condition to obtain material and economic progress; this explains the necessity to fortify the presence of the State in all the territory, which the end allowed greater social control.⁸ The liberal discourse of "civilidad" was related to cultural development, -as in the case of the all Central America-, to the promotion of new forms of behavior and moral values, as well as to the diversification of consumption patterns. These ideals were supported by the educative reform of 1885.⁹

The issue of statehood in Central America is complex. Scholars discuss the difficulty of its creation in Guatemala, and conclude that it was caused by the ambiguities of conceiving nationhood in terms of Central America rather than merely Guatemala.¹⁰ This is also the case for El Salvador. Despite efforts to create a national identity, intellectuals and political elites kept contradicting themselves trying to promote a national identity and at the same time longing for the Central American union.¹¹ In Costa Rica, by the turn of the twentieth century its inhabitants knew they formed a unique nation.¹²

Education was centralized via the creation or consolidation of a Secretary of Education, and changes in the educational system endorsed a unified vision and version of national history taught in different courses through texts that were written for that purpose. In the civics and "moral" education curriculum a "new" concept of citizenship was reproduced, and History was the complement to mold citizens to their norms, discipline and modernization project, and to construct a national and historical image of the self.¹³ A set of education reforms started in Costa Rica between 1884 and 1889, in Guatemala in the 1880's, and in El Salvador during the 1880's and 1890's, by doing so, education became a formal system by which national identity was reproduced.¹⁴ They believed that the historical past was to be reformulated to fit national interests rather than local or regional ones. Also, folklore, national literature and painting were promoted. Then we must ask, how many had access to education? Was it effective?

Changes in the economic reality of Central America were reflected in society. The distribution of the income and social policies created an acute social inequality in the three countries. The difference of the investment in education in Costa Rica, Guatemala and El Salvador can be noticed in Table 2. Data found for Guatemala in 1892, states that only 3.82 percent of the population attended school, and although in Costa Rica and El Salvador there was an increase in literacy rates, in urban and rural areas there is inequality in the achievements of their literacy goals.

Table 2
Number of Schools and students in Guatemala, Costa
Rica and El Salvador, 1892

Country	Schools	Students	Students per school	Population
Guatemala	1252	57386	45.83	1,500,000
El Salvador*	585	29427	50.30	703,800
Costa Rica*	237	16815	70.94	243,205

* Only primary schools.

Source: *Boletín de la Dirección General de Estadística No. 2* Guatemala, 1922, p. 234. Oficina Nacional de Censo. *Alfabetismo y analfabetismo en Costa Rica según el Censo General de Población de 11 de mayo de 1927*. Publicación No. 3 (San José: Imprenta Alsina, 1928), p. 15. Hermógenes Hernández, *Costa Rica: Evolución territorial y principales censos de población, 1502-1984* (San José: EUNED, 1984). Todd Little Siebold "Guatemala y el Anhelado de Modernización: Estrada Cabrera y el Desarrollo del Estado, 1898-1920", in *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos* 20(1): 25-41, 1994. Héctor Lindo Fuentes, "Las primeras etapas del sistema escolar salvadoreño en el siglo XIX", pp. 143-144, in Margarita Vannini and Frances Kinloch, eds., *Política, cultura y sociedad en Centroamérica. Siglos XVIII-XX* (Managua, Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica, 1998), pp. 135-148. Mario Lungo and Sonia Baires, "Población y economía en la consolidación de la capital salvadoreña", p. 137, in Rodrigo Fernández and Mario Lungo, comp., *La estructuración de las capitales en Centroamérica* (San José: EDUCA, 1988), 131-159.

One explanation for this difference in El Salvador was that coffee export provided the necessary funds to consolidate the oligarchic state but there was not enough investment in education as there was in the army. At the end the transmission of the legitimizing discourse and national identity was through the military instead through education.¹⁵ The Salvadorian state promoted education as a way to consolidate the elites, and only enforced literacy in the armed forces; forty-five percent of the army was literate by 1926.¹⁶ Salvadorian intellectuals limited the definition of "pueblo" to members of upper classes, and this definition excluded women and "el populacho" or popular/lower classes. As a consequence the government believed that their education was unnecessary.¹⁷ Secondary schools were elitist, and those children who went to school attended only two or three years, for them the role of informal education, family, community and the Church was important. A similar experience is noticed in the study of the Spanish educational system where each "nationalist group enlisted its version of national history in defense of its political and cultural project: all viewed secondary schooling as an opportunity to enlist the allegiance of elites and the primary schools as a mold for shaping the pueblo into a 'nation' it desired."¹⁸ The result was the creation of a centralized and elitist educational system.¹⁹

The number of schools in Costa Rica, comparing 1906 to 1915 had increased eight percent; teachers increased by 38.2 percent and students 47 percent.²⁰ For the same period Costa Rican public investment in education was higher than countries like Mexico, Uruguay and Argentina.²¹ Liberal governments had a commitment with education that reflected in their politics and achievements. Table 1 shows how effective education was when literacy rates increased from 31.42 percent in 1892 to 76.4 percent by 1927. These figures also provide the information to conclude that in Costa Rica popular and rural sectors had access, studied and grew with these textbooks, but how they appropriated and re-construct nationhood is another story.

Another important difference in the educational system is the emphasis on male over female education. Popular sectors valued education and the advantages that literacy gave them, especially when opportunities due to changes in the economic system opened for women. For example in Costa Rica just 25.22 percent of the female population was illiterate in 1927 and 70.06 percent in Guatemala by 1921, and many of them were integrated to the work force.²² Another interesting aspect of the discourse of ignorance is its link with the "populacho" in El Salvador,²³ indigenous communities in Guatemala, and to peasants and artisans in Costa Rica.²⁴ The literacy project produced different responses throughout the region; Indigenous communities offered resistance towards education, especially parents who were worried about changes in the relations of power and cultural patterns,²⁵ for instance, in 1853 parents in the indigenous community of Nahuizalco, El Salvador did not send their children to school as a strategy to value their ethnic identity.²⁶ By the turn of the nineteenth century in Nicaragua the indigenous community of Jinotega and Matagalpa used education as a means to revindicate their communal interests.²⁷

Many scholars argue that education was a way to achieve and broaden the social base for the liberal reforms, but as Table 1 shows this argument is not reliable for the region as a whole because of the gendered and ethical illiteracy rates. Yet more studies have to be done especially when we try to analyze how popular classes recreated the liberal ideology and reconstructed a new reality based upon their own interpretation of it. Another element to take into consideration is the exposition to mass culture because it also provided new values, discipline, and interests. The impact of informal education through music, theatre and cinema, civic rituals, sports, periodicals and popular literature is still to be studied in depth.²⁸

Textbooks and Intellectuals

One question commonly asked is how through texts language constructs social meaning. Joan W. Scott analyzes how meaning and value are created through language, and recognizes that language is part of systems of meaning and value that can lead to the understanding of the way people recognize and perceive the world. As Scott argues, class and gender differentiate the social construction of meaning,²⁹ and we must add ethnicity as another element that affects the way people imagine and relate. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century intellectuals played an important role in the construction of social meaning and in the creation of a set of ideas and images of the nation that could be recognized and appropriate by the newly conceived citizens. In this way examining history textbooks as cultural productions provides material for understanding the set of ideas that Liberal ideology tried to promote in society.

Intellectuals throughout the region agreed with the liberal creed in many ways. This is why it is not surprising to find the intelligentsia working side by side with the State. We can use Rama's argument to understand Central American reality; intellectuals helped liberals create "two cities –the real one and the ideal one– as entities quite distinct yet also inescapably joined. One could not exist without the other, but the nature and functions of each were different. While the lettered city operated by preference in a field of signifiers, constituting an autonomous system, the city of social realities operated in a field of people, actions, and objects provisionally isolated from the letrados' chains of logical and grammatical signification".³⁰ Definitely we are in the presence of a creative and negotiated construction of the nation-state and nationhood and not in the presence of a process disseminated from top to bottom, we suggest that the states not always personify a centralized totalizing power. One way to understand the importance of cooption, and collaboration of the intelligentsia is by acknowledging their ability to manipulate largely illiterate societies. These "letrados" occupied important positions in the bureaucracy, so they could complement their work as teachers or bureaucrats with the production of textbooks, novels, poetry and collaboration in journals and periodicals.

Through the promotion and control over the cultural production of textbooks the Liberal state created an intellectual group that circulated around it. This intelligentsia was in charged to fulfill the needs of the curriculums of each course; this is also true for the history textbooks. The texts that we are to refer were written in the Liberal period, therefore the use of these texts, and the discourses they reflect were important for the reproduction of this ideology. Liberal governments viewed history as an important element to create national solidarity and a homogeneous perception of a common past. The next section will discuss the intellectual context in which the following history textbooks were written: Francisco Gavidia, *Historia Moderna de El Salvador* Tomo I (El Salvador: Imprenta Meléndez, 1918 and El Salvador: Ministerio de Cultura, 1958); José Antonio Villacorta, *Elementos de Historia Patria*, 4th edition (Guatemala: Tipografía Sánchez & De Guise, 1929); Leopoldo Zarragoitia Barón, *República de Costa Rica. Compendio de Historia* (San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1894); Agustín Gómez Carrillo, *Elementos de la Historia de Centro-América*, 4th edition (San José: Imprenta Española, 1927).

Each of the texts discussed above explain history in a chronological order, first they discussed the indigenous populations, "discovery" and conquest, colonial period, independence, and modern history. After and during the Independence period they develop an ideal that associates the liberals as progressives, modern, rational and patriots, and basically present their counterparts, the conservatives as a burden. Francisco Morazán (1792-1842) is idealized in the histories of Guatemala, El Salvador and Central America, but not in the Costa Rican version of the history. Another important difference is sense of longing for a "Patria Grande" in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Central American history. The construction of national history and identity based upon unionism is not present in the Costa Rican textbook.

Francisco Gavidia (1864-1955) was an influential Salvadorian intellectual. Gavidia wrote both history and literature.³¹ In 1885 he traveled to Paris sent by the government, and in 1898 he became the Secretary of Public Instruction and afterwards became the Director of the Salvadorian National Library. He also gave classes at the university. As was the case for many other intellectuals, Gavidia used his bureaucratic job to write. Six of his publications are considered literature; seven can be put into the categories of history and politics, there are also two different publications of his complete works, one in his early years and the other after his death, and two different anthologies. Two editions of the *Historia Moderna de El Salvador* are known, the first one in 1918 and the second one in 1958 (El Salvador: Ministerio de Cultura).³²

The Subsecretary of Public Instruction, in 1912 invited three of the most important intellectuals to participate in a project: to write the history of El Salvador, from its beginnings until independence. These intellectuals were Santiago I. Barberena, Alberto Luna and Francisco Gavidia.³³ Gavidia's book, *Historia Moderna de El Salvador* was published in 1918. From the first page he recognizes his affiliation with the government and writes, "This book was written by disposition and commission of the President of the Republic Don Carlos Meléndez".³⁴ It was intended for the school system.

Gavidia has a particular idea of what history must be. He believes that "[we] can not confuse History with a theoretical science, because the narration and series of facts constitutes its exterior form, we must look for those facts in the problems or concerns of every specie that mix and are present in the soul of every human act."³⁵ Since his approach to history was thought as literature, Gavidia imagined many of the passages he describes throughout the book, especially those related with the indigenous population for whom he created a mythical past.³⁶ In chapter VI Gavidia explains why he believes that history is a narrative, therefore *Historia Moderna* is written like a story. As Gavidia is not interested in the genealogy and continuity of the indigenous communities, after he discusses the Spanish conquest the myth is broken and loses interest in them. Basically there is no reference to the indigenous communities afterwards, and keeps on discussing the politics in El Salvador and Central America.

Historia Moderna has Gavidia's insights and opinions of what he is narrating, and continuously asks questions which are answered by his own arguments and perceptions. On some pages he transcribes complete documents, which are arranged according to Gavidia's own interest.³⁷ In this early edition there are no objectives or sources. It is not didactic in a contemporary logic. It does not guide students nor does it have any images. Gavidia ends this volume by summarizing his work as follows: "In this first part of Volume I, we gave an idea of the parliamentary battle in favor of the rights of different social classes. During the second part we gave an idea of the same struggle throughout Latin America".³⁸ He emphasizes the importance of the Court of Cadiz and continues his arguments stating that it was through that process that democratization started in El Salvador, since "this 'Magna Corte'... taught us to vote, to elect Alcaldes de Barrio [governors]: Municipalities, Deputies... in other words it taught us democracy..."³⁹

Elementos de Historia Patria by Jose Antonio Villacorta (1879-1962) explicitly says that this history textbook is adjusted to the curriculum of the primary schools of Guatemala. To confirm his competence and knowledge he points out his credentials.⁴⁰ "J. Antonio Villacorta C. De la Facultad de Derecho, notariado y Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala y correspondiente de la Academia Americana de la Historia de Buenos Aires." In 1928 he became the Ministry of Public Education of Guatemala and his textbook was distributed throughout Guatemala. Villacorta has 17 publications; sixteen of them are historical studies. The exception is the significant *Bibliografía guatemalteca* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1944).⁴¹

Villacorta claims this "librito" for all Guatemalan children, because he noticed that there was a lack of this type of texts. He strongly believes that it is a duty of those who love their "patria" (motherland) to cooperate with primary education, as it is a duty to inculcate that love, by exposing the children in a simple way to the outcomes of our historical life.⁴² In this textbook history is understood as "a real science, because it does not only tells us how things happened, but it gathers, classifies and studies them to know why things happen and to learn from them."⁴³ His understanding of history is a rational and modern one history is a science.

Villacorta divides the history of Guatemala in periods, "pre-Columbian", colonial (divided in three, discovery and conquest, the "Capitanía General" under the house of Austria, and the last one under the house of Bourbon, 1700-1921) and national (divided in two different periods, the Federation, and the "Unitarismo", 1842-). The textbook is organized by lessons, so after each one of them there is a summary of what was taught. Especially interesting is the way Villacorta thinks of the Quiches. He considers the Quiche the most civilized group in Central America and states that their language was well developed, as were its literary "monuments": Popol-Vuh and the drama Rabinal-Achí. When referring to architecture he stresses their advances and compares their religion with Catholicism. "the [Quiche] trinity is formed by: Tojil, Jacarawits y Jagüilitz ... and the Priests believe in one Superior Being."⁴⁴ Villacorta also compares Quiche organization with

the European courts. Quiche society was "divided by classes: nobles and common people. They knew the institution of marriage, baptized their children and celebrated funerals. They had judges who applied sentences."⁴⁵ He also describes and compares Quiche economy as similar to contemporary forms, "they had markets or tiangués, they had currency, roads and even a calendar of 365 days."⁴⁶

In lesson V, Villacorta explains how the Spaniards defeated the Quiches, and argues that Tecún-Umán was a brave soldier that defended the independence of his "patria".⁴⁷ This is appealing since suggests that Guatemala, the motherland, was created by the Quiches. Throughout his argument he critiques severely the abuses of the Spaniards over the indigenous people. Interesting is his final words "subscribed this act [the act of independence], "próceres" whose names we must not forget, because they bequeath us a motherland autonomous and independent".⁴⁸ And, Villacorta tries to interpret the rivalry between liberals and conservatives and their battle to create the "Patria Grande". In his analysis of the colonial period he does not mention the indigenous communities, as if they were dead, this pattern shows during the rest of the textbook where he totally omits the presence of the indigenous culture disrupting the historic process and neglecting the link between the pre-Columbian indigenous communities and the modern ones. With this omission Villacorta reproduced the liberal thought where indigenous communities were seen as a problem for the development of the country.⁴⁹

Villacorta is considered one of the most important members of the liberal intelligentsia. He was convinced that history was a mean to present facts and true statements that had rational consequences. Villacorta thought of himself as someone that had to promote the past, and his life objective was to teach what he knew, without any further interpretation or explication of the events.⁵⁰

Leopoldo Zarragoitia Barón wrote the Compendio de Historia de Costa Rica in March 1894.⁵¹ The intended audience for this textbook is the children and it is based upon another history textbook printed two years earlier. In February 1892, the President of Costa Rica emitted a resolution in which *Elementos de Historia de Costa Rica*,⁵² written by Francisco Montero Barrantes (1864-1925), could be used as a textbook in elementary and high school. Three thousand copies were printed and Montero was paid 500 pesos for the text.⁵³ In the first volume the book began with the discovery of Costa Rica in 1502 and ended with the "Campaña Nacional" of 1856. The second volume starts in 1856 and ends with the social movements product of the 1889 elections. As we can notice, no "pre-Columbian" history is acknowledged. This reflects the perceptions of the local intelligentsia: a past without Indians.

It is fascinating the way Montero Barrantes refers to his experience as a cultural producer. He states that although Geografía de Costa Rica has gone through four editions by 1892, he has not earned the respect of his fellow citizens.⁵⁴ Montero declares, "History can not be produced as a novel. This [novels] are a product of the imagination of the author, and they do not require previous knowledge, sources and comparison of documents, etc..."⁵⁵ With this argument he made a strong point by acknowledging history as a science. Montero keeps arguing, "this book is a small present that he deposited in the sacred altar of the motherland... [and] that heaven will permit that it will be beneficial for Costa Rica: where the youth can inspire in the examples of these noble citizens [exposed in the book] so they can imitate them always, and love liberty and progress, and regret vices, fanaticism, tyranny that are infamous and represent the death of the nations."⁵⁶ We can infer that Costa Rican origins as a racially homogeneous society where liberty and progress are present can be found in the Spanish origins.

Montero Barrantes statements referring to the difference between history and literature were answered back in the prologue of his second volume in 1894. Three important Costa Rican intellectuals, Valeriano Fernández Ferraz, Rafael Machado and José Adán Montes de Oca, reminded Montero that history "will never be more than an essay as one genre of literary composition to which history belongs".⁵⁷ But they all shared a believe: "a nation without history is like a being without memory or individual identity, a nation without consciousness, without the knowledge of their life and personality, can be "joyful" but it can not be civilized, nor can it progress as it should".⁵⁸

In this context Zarragoitia writes his compendium, which in fact he dedicated to the influential Juan Fernández Ferraz. Basically this textbook follows the chronology and thematic organization that Montero Barrantes gave to his. The Compendio de Historia looks as annals and does not have any interpretation of the historical events. Each entry is numbered. The most interesting part is his "Advertencia" (warning/preface). In this preface Zarragoitia remembers that as human beings we have two mothers, the one that gives us birth and the other one that will take care of his children/citizens, the motherland. Afterwards he asks a rhetorical question, ¿Y qué es la patria? (And what is motherland?), and the answer is written and read as used when praying the Rosary, and responding the litany, it even has the same rhythm and cadency.⁵⁹ Especially wonderful is his eloquence to the Costa Ricans, Zarragoitia finishes giving his gratitude to the land that received him (he likely must be Spaniard) and finishes saying "the privilege it has [Costa Rica] is that its population belongs almost exclusively to the white race".⁶⁰

Agustín Gómez Carrillo (1842-1915) *Elementos de historia de Centroamerica, escrita por encargo del gobierno Guatemalteco en 1884*.⁶¹ The version we are working with is the fourth edition printed in Costa Rica. Its different editions were used as the textbook for the study of Central American history at least in Guatemala, El Salvador and Costa Rica. The 1927 Costa Rican edition states that it is a revised version. *Elementos de historia de Centroamerica* was published in different countries in Central America: 1884 (El Salvador), 1885 (Guatemala), 1887 (Guatemala), 1892 (Madrid), 1893 (Guatemala), 1895 (Guatemala), 1899 (3rd edition, Costa Rica), 1916 (Barcelona), 1927 (4th edition, Costa Rica).⁶² There is a previous version that was started by José Milla, and Gómez Carrillo wrote the volumes 3-5.⁶³ In the prologue to the 1887 edition Gómez Carrillo, gave history a moral meaning when arguing that history "elevates the soul and fortifies with its good set of examples" and continues to affirm that the study of history will enable the people to sympathize with good and hate the bad.⁶⁴

The prologue written by Fernando Cruz in the 1889 version says that this work provides "abundant and curious notices that, to [his] knowledge, have never been published before, thus gives the book value and novelty... a summary like this one, does not provide the traits of a national history... But a manual as this one is valuable to instruct in issues that some do not know or know little about..."⁶⁵ This discourse agreed with a broader one that seek a Central America united in a "patria grande".

Methodologically a numbered chapter divides the book, and each number provided specific information. In this sense it is also written like the annals. At the bottom of each page the students have questions that they must be able to answer. The first chapter studies the "discovery by the Spaniards and the culture of the indigenous people". The next four chapters provide lessons of the colonial period. Chapter seven discusses the independence process. Two whole chapters are dedicated to Central American unionist leader, Francisco Morazán. Chapter X discusses Guatemalan history and, chapter XI El Salvador. The next three chapters are dedicated to Costa Rica (because this one is the Costa Rican version), and the last chapter is the history of Nicaragua. So the division stresses common history, and indigenous population to Morazán. That means that the 64.28 percent of the book (63 pages) is dedicated to Central America, only five pages talk about Guatemala, five about El Salvador, fourteen to Costa Rica and ten of Nicaragua. Obviously Nicaragua was of interest for Costa Ricans. But, how can we measure the impact of the eleven known versions of the *Elementos de la Historia de Centro-América* throughout the region? The answer is, very limited in Guatemala and El Salvador while extensive in Costa Rica.

Conclusions

Our interest to examine the intellectual context in which these textbooks were written is to try to elucidate the political specificities and the way in which the intelligentsia articulated to the dominant discourse. New approaches, research and the revision of the literature will provide a different version of the relation created between the Liberal state and their "citizens". Gramsci is useful to approach the cultural production as an element of the human condition, and to elucidate not the "intrinsic nature of intellectual activities [but the way in which] the ensemble of the system of relations in which these activities have their place within the general complex of social relations".⁶⁶ This will help understand the role of the intellectuals and their alliances with political leaders,⁶⁷ and their subsequent recognition of their expertise⁶⁸, and new studies will disclose the social meanings embedded in the confrontation between discourse of modernity and popular culture.

Liberalism is a shared experience in Central America, and liberals thought that they belonged to an enlightened minority that knew what was "civilización" and tried to disseminate their conception of civilization by different ways. This also meant an exclusion of the majority of the population, women, Indians, blacks, artisans and peasants, which were to be incorporated by different methods. Their objectives lead liberals to make alliances with the intellectuals so to write a biased version of the national history as this textbooks were intend to legitimate the liberal discourse of modernization and progress, and to explain socioeconomic and political changes. Therefore History textbooks were a complement in the efforts to create a nation-state, but we must not forget that by 1920's a great majority was kept illiterate throughout the region and that these textbooks were studied by the privileged few. History textbooks must be understood as another of the multiple

cultural elements used to promote their ideology, and that in Guatemala and El Salvador its usefulness, as a mean of communication of values and ideals was limited, while in Costa Rica they reached the majority of the population, specially popular, urban and rural groups.

In these three countries coffee promoted economic growth, the consolidation of the state, investments in infrastructure, and to a certain extend economic growth promoted political stability throughout the region. New social groups were created through the promotion of education, as were teachers, lawyers, doctors and others that helped the development and reproduction of the "modern" state. But economic growth and political stability did not promote economic development and a national identity in countries whose reality was dependency, ethnic division and class struggle.

Notas

Arriba

vuelve 1. To study the impact of the Liberal States in other Latin American countries see, Gabriel L. Negretto, and José Antonio Aguilar-Rivera, "Rethinking the Legacy of the Liberal State in Latin America: The Cases of Argentina (1853-1916) and Mexico (1857-1910), *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32 (2000), pp. 361-397.

vuelve 2. For a discussion of the creation of a public sphere in Latin America see Francois-Xavier Guerra and Annick Lempierre. *Los espacios público en Iberoamérica. Ambigüedades y problemas. Siglos XVIII-XIX* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1998).

vuelve 3. Oficial. Censo de Poblacion del Municipio de San Salvador levantado el 15 de octubre de 1929 (San Salvador: Talleres Tipográficos La Unión, 1929), pp. 47, 53. República de Guatemala. Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección General de Estadística. Censo de Población de la República levantado el 28 de agosto de 1921. Tomo I (Guatemala: Taller Gutenberg, 1924), p. 72. Tegucigalpa, Honduras has 28.2 percent of literacy in 1926.

vuelve 4. Cf. Grandin, *The Blood if Guatemala*. Gould, *To Lead as Equal*. Carlos Gregorio López Bernal, "El proyecto liberal de la nación en El Salvador: 1876-1932". M.Sc. Dissertation, University of Costa Rica, 1998, p. 33.

vuelve 5. To analyze history and civics courses in Guatemala see, Mayra Valladares de Ruiz, "La enseñanza de la historia y la formación cívica en el sistema educativo formal en Guatemala (1871-1944)", in *Estudios* (April 1994), pp. 1-94, 103-121. For a methodological approach to the study of civic textbooks see, Luis Alarcón Meneses y Jorge Conde Calderón . "Elementos conceptuales para el estudio de catecismos cívicos desde la perspectiva de la historia de la educación y la cultura política". *Revista Historia Caribe* Vol. II No. 6 (2001).

vuelve 6. In 1920 Nicaragua illiteracy rate age 10 and above was 40.49 percent (461.198 on a population of 638.119). Oficial. Censo General de 1920. Administración del General Chamorro (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1920), 10.

vuelve 7. The liberal period in Costa Rica is studied by Orlando Salazar, *El apogeo de La República, Liberal en Costa Rica, 1870-1914*, (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1990).

vuelve 8. For a discussion of the importance of the local police agencies in the provinces refer to José Daniel Gil, "Controlaron el espacio hombres, mujeres y almas. Costa Rica: 1880-1920". Paper presented in the "Tercer Congreso Centroamericano de Historia", Universidad de Costa Rica, July 1996.

vuelve 9. An analysis of the impact of the education reform in Costa Rica can be found in Iván Molina. *El que quiera divertirse*, (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1995). Molina, "Explorando las bases de la cultura impresa en Costa Rica: la alfabetización popular (1821-1950) ", in *Comunicación y construcción de lo cotidiano*, ed. Patricia Vega (San José: EUCR, 1999), pp. 23-64. Astrid Fischel, *Consenso y represión. Una interpretación socio-política de la educación costarricense* (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1987), Fischel, *El uso ingenioso de la ideología en Costa Rica* (San José: Editorial Universidad Estatal a Distancia, 1992).

vuelve 10. Steven Palmer, "A Liberal Discipline: Inventing Nations in Guatemala and Costa Rica, 1870-1900". Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1990, p. 3. Racism and intellectuals is discussed by Steven Palmer, "Racismo intelectual en Costa Rica y Guatemala, 1870-1920". *Mesoamérica*. 17: 31 (June 1996), pp. 99-121. Victor Hugo Acuña makes a systematic critique to Steven Palmer's main arguments without providing enough information, and understands the nation-state and nationhood process as a top-bottom instead of a dynamic process, cf. Victor Hugo Acuña, "Comunidad política e identidad política en Costa Rica en el siglo XIX". *Istmo*. *Revista virtual de estudios literarios y culturales centroamericanos* No.2 (July-Dec 2001) ISSN: 1535-2315 <http://www.wooster.edu/istmo/proyectos/comunidad.html>.

vuelve 11. López, "El proyecto liberal", pp. 127-154. Héctor Lindo-Fuentes, "Los límites del poder en la era de Barrios", in *Identidades nacionales y Estado moderno en Centroamérica*, comp. Arturo Taracena and Jean Piel (San José: FLACSO-EUCR, 1995), pp. 87-114.

vuelve 12. Iván Molina, *Costarricense, por dicha. Identidad nacional, etnicidad y cuestión social en Costa Rica (1880-2000)* (San José: EUCR, forthcoming). Patricia Fumero, "Vida Cotidiana en el Valle Central: 1850-1914. Los cambios asociados con la expansión del café", in *Cátedra de Historia de las Instituciones* (San José: EUCR, 2000) pp. 303-337. Fumero, "La celebración del santo de la patria: la develización de la estatua al héroe nacional costarricense, Juan Santamaría, el 15 de setiembre de 1891", in *Fin de Siglo XIX e identidad Nacional* comp. Francisco Enriquez and Iván Molina (Alajuela, Museo Histórico-Cultural Juan Santamaría, 2000), pp. 403-435. Fumero, "El partido de la batea. Las elecciones presidenciales de 1913, análisis de un caso de la cultura política costarricense", in *Montalbán* (2001) No. 34, 123-146. (Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, Venezuela).

vuelve 13. The role of educators as "civilizers" or "modernizers" of society and complement for nation building, and the emphasis on education as an interactive process between agents of the state and social subjects is examined in Mary Kay Vaughan, "The Educational Project of the Mexican Revolution: The Response of Local Societies (1934-1940)," in John A. Britton, ed. *Molding the Hearts and Minds. Education, Communications, and Social Change in Latin America* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1994).

vuelve 14. Iván Molina and Steven Palmer, *Educando a Costa Rica. Alfabetización popular, formación docente y género (1880-1950)* (San José: Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies-Editorial Porvenir, 2000). Héctor Lindo Fuentes, "Las primeras etapas del sistema escolar salvadoreño en el siglo XIX", pp. 143-144, in *Política, cultura y sociedad en Centroamérica. Siglos XVIII-XX* ed. Margarita Vannini and Frances Kinloch (Managua: Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica, 1998), pp. 135-148. López, "El proyecto liberal", pp. 78-84.

vuelve 15. Alvarenga, *Cultura y ética de la violencia*, p. 146-147. Similar conclusions for Brazil are provided by Peter Beattie, "The House, the Street, and the Barracks: Reform and Honorable Masculine Social Space in Brazil, 1864-1945", in *HAHR* 76:3 (1996), pp. 436-473.

vuelve 16. Oficina Nacional de Censo. *Alfabetismo y analfabetismo en Costa Rica según el Censo General de Población de 11 de mayo de 1927*. Publicación No. 3 (San José: Imprenta Alsina, 1928), p. 13.

vuelve 17. Lindo-Fuentes, "Las primeras etapas", p. 144.

vuelve 18. Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria. Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 302.

vuelve 19. Lindo-Fuentes, "Las primeras etapas", p. 146.

vuelve 20. Oficial, Censo de población de Costa Rica 11 de mayo de 1927 (San José: Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1960), p. 83.

vuelve 21. Oficina Nacional de Censo. *Alfabetismo y analfabetismo en Costa Rica*, p. 13. Carlos Newland, "The Estado Docente and its Expansion: Spanish American Elementary Education, 1900-1950". *Journal of Latin American Studies*. 26: 2 (May, 1994), pp. 449-467.

- vuelve 22. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos. Censo de Población de Costa Rica, 11 de mayo de 1927 (San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1960), p. 44. Dirección General de Estadística. Censo de Población de la República levantado el 28 de agosto de 1921 (Guatemala: Taller Gutenberg, 1924), pp. 71.
- vuelve 23. Lindo Fuentes, "Las primeras etapas", pp. 143-144.
- vuelve 24. Fischel, Consenso y represión, p. 195. A critique to Fischel argument is in Iván Molina, "Clase, género y etnia van a la escuela. El alfabetismo en Costa Rica y Nicaragua", in Educando a Costa Rica. Alfabetización popular, formación docente y género (1880-1950) Iván Molina and Steven Palmer (San José: Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies-Editorial Porvenir, 2000), pp. 19-55.
- vuelve 25. Cf. Ivan Molina, "La alfabetización popular en El Salvador, Nicaragua y Costa Rica (1885-1950): niveles, tendencias y desfases". Revista de Educación, Madrid, No. 327 (January-April 2002), forthcoming.
- vuelve 26. Lindo-Fuentes, "Las primeras etapas", p. 145.
- vuelve 27. Gould, Jeffrey L., El mito de "la Nicaragua mestiza" y la resistencia indígena, 1880-1980 (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1997), pp. 104-105.
- vuelve 28. For an analysis of the impact of informal education as a mean to promote Liberal ideology in Costa Rica see, Gilbert Acuña, et al., "Exhibiciones cinematográficas en Costa Rica (1897-1950)" (Memoria de Licenciatura en Historia, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1996). Chester Urbina, "El fútbol en San José. Un estudio histórico social acerca de su origen (1892-1921)" (Memoria de Licenciatura en Historia, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1996). Juan José Marín, "Melodías de perversión y subversión: una aproximación a la música popular en Costa Rica, 1932-1949", paper presented at the "Tercer Congreso Centroamericano de Historia", University of Costa Rica, July 1996. Patricia Fumero, Teatro, público y Estado en San José, 1880-1914 (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1996). Francisco Enriquez, "Diversión pública y sociabilidad en las comunidades cafetaleras de San José: el caso de Moravia (1890-1930)" (M.Sc. Dissertation in History, University of Costa Rica, 1998). For México see, William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin and William E. French, Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance. Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in México (Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc. Imprint, 1994).
- vuelve 29. Joan W. Scott, "On Language, Gender and Working-Class History". International Labor and Working-Class History (Spring 1987) 31, 1-13.
- vuelve 30. Ángel Rama, The Lettered City, edited and translated by John Charles Chasteen (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), p.26.
- vuelve 31. López, "El proyecto liberal", pp. 90-92.
- vuelve 32. Information from the Library of the Congress and Watson Library, The University of Kansas.
- vuelve 33. López, "El proyecto liberal", p. 91.
- vuelve 34. Francisco Gavidia, Historia Moderna de El Salvador (El Salvador: Imprenta Meléndez, 1918). Idem Historia Moderna de El Salvador (El Salvador: Ministerio de Cultura, 1958).
- vuelve 35. "Pero no pudiéndose confundir la Historia con una ciencia teórica pues la narración y sucesión de los hechos constituyen su forma exterior, debemos buscar hechos en que los problemas o asuntos de toda especie palpitan mezclados y como resorte y alma de los actos humanos", Gavidia, Historia Moderna, p. 53.
- vuelve 36. For a broader explanation and critique see López, "El proyecto liberal".
- vuelve 37. For example see Gavidia, Historia Moderna, p. 68. For an analysis of the role of contemporary history text in El Salvador see Héctor Lindo-Fuentes, "Escribiendo la historia después de la Guerra civil en El Salvador," paper presented in the Colloquium Konfliktive Geschichte Die Erinnerung an Diktaturen und Bürgerkriege in Lateinamerika. Unpublished paper cited with permission by the author.
- vuelve 38. "En la Parte I del Tomo I se ha dado idea de la lucha parlamentaria a favor de los derechos de varias clases sociales; en esta II, de los de la América Latinoamericana", Gavidia, Historia Moderna, p. 191.
- vuelve 39. "No por esto esta Magna Corte [Corte de Cádiz] dejó de producir óptimos frutos. Ella enseñó a votar, a elegir Alcaldes de barrio, Municipios, y Diputados Provinciales y a Cortes; es decir, la práctica de la Democracia," Gavidia, Historia Moderna, p. 192.
- vuelve 40. José Antonio Villacorta C., Elementos de historia patria: ajustados al programa vigente para los alumnos de las escuelas elementales de la República de Guatemala (Centro América: Tipografía Sánchez & De Guise, 1929). For an intellectual history on Villacorta see Enrique Gordillo, "Hacia la Formación del 'Alma Nacional': José Villacorta Calderón y la Historia de Guatemala (1915-1962)," in Marta Elena Casaus Arzu and Oscar Guillermo Peláez Almengor, eds., Historia Intelectual de Guatemala (Guatemala: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid-Universidad de San Carlos-AECI, 2001), 119-157.
- vuelve 41. Information from the Library of the Congress and Watson Library, The University of Kansas.
- vuelve 42. Villacorta C., Elementos de Historia Patria, p. 3.
- vuelve 43. "Ahora la historia es una verdadera ciencia, porque no se contenta con relatar cómo se verificaron los sucesos, sino que los recoge, estudia, clasifica y expone, para averiguar por qué se verificaron y qué enseñanzas obtendremos de ellos. Este es el concepto moderno de la Historia", Villacorta C., Elementos de historia patria, p. 6.
- vuelve 44. Villacorta C., Elementos de historia patria, p. 33.
- vuelve 45. Villacorta C., Elementos de historia patria, p. 37.
- vuelve 46. Villacorta C., Elementos de historia patria, p. 38.
- vuelve 47. Villacorta C., Elementos de historia patria, p. 61.
- vuelve 48. Villacorta C., Elementos de historia patria, p. 109.
- vuelve 49. For a discussion on the "Indian problem" see Edgar Barrillas, El 'problema del indio' durante la época liberal, edición corregida y aumentada (Guatemala: Escuela de Historia, USAC, 1997).
- vuelve 50. Cf. Valladares de Ruiz, "La enseñanza de la historia y la formación cívica".
- vuelve 51. There are two books known by Leopoldo Zarragoitia Barón, Compendio de Historia de Costa Rica (San José: Tipografía Nacional, 1894), Zarragoitia Barón, Compendio geográfico y estadístico de la república de Costa Rica, para uso de las escuelas de primera enseñanza (San José de Costa Rica: Tipografía Nacional, 1894). Both of them are extracted from previous work done by Francisco Montero Barrantes. The first one is based upon Francisco Montero Barrantes, Elementos de historia de Costa Rica Vol. I (San José: Tipografía Nacional, 1892) and Francisco Montero Barrantes, Geografía de Costa Rica. Obra escrita por comisión del gobierno de la república para las exposiciones Histórico-americana de Madrid y Universal de Chicago (Barcelona Tipografía y litografía de J. Cunill Sala, 1892).
- vuelve 52. Montero Barrantes, Elementos de historia, Vol. I, Montero Barrantes, Elementos de historia de Costa Rica Vol. II (San José: Tipografía Nacional, 1894).

vuelve 53. Montero Barrantes, Elementos de historia, Vol. I, p. vii.

vuelve 54. Montero expresses that "El libro de geografía se publicó debido a los esfuerzos del señor Ferraz; pero lejos de producirme satisfacción alguna, moral o pecuniariamente, no obstante haberselo agotado ya tres ediciones, ha dado pie a que los zoilos se hayan ensañado contra mí para perjudicarme con toda clase de bajezas de que solo ellos son capaces". Montero Barrantes, Elementos de historia, Vol. I, p. ix. Montero Barrantes was a professor at the Instituto Nacional in San José, Costa Rica. The Instituto Nacional was created as public and dependent of the University of Santo Tomás in 1874, afterwards it became a private school and was closed in 1883. Cf. Patricia Fumero, Colegio de Abogados de Costa Rica. Ciento veinte años de historia (1881-2001) (San José: Instituto Costarricense de Ciencias Jurídicas, 2001), pp. 26-27.

vuelve 55. "Una historia no se hace como una novela. Esta, producto de la imaginación de un autor, no requiere estudios previos, registro y comparación de documentos, extractos indispensables, etc.", Montero Barrantes, Elementos de historia, Vol. I, p. xi.

vuelve 56. "Este libro es una pequeña ofrenda que deposito en el altar sagrado de mi patria, -a la cual consagro siempre todos mis pensamientos y acciones... Permita el cielo que algún provecho reporte Costa Rica de él: que la juventud se inspire en el ejemplo de los verdaderos patriotas para imitarlos siempre y amar la libertad y el progreso, execrando el vicio, el fanatismo y la tiranía, que son la infamia y la muerte moral de los pueblos", Montero Barrantes, Elementos de historia, Vol. I, p. xii-xiii.

vuelve 57. "...en un primer bosquejo de historia nacional, que nunca pasaría de ser un ensayo en el grave asunto y género de composición literaria a que pertenece", Montero Barrantes, Elementos de historia, Vol. II, p. ii.

vuelve 58. "Porque una Nación sin historia es como un sér desmemoriado y sin identidad individual, un pueblo sin conciencia de su propia vida y personalidad: sera todo lo "feliz" que se quiera, pero no puede civilizarse ni progresar como se debe: porque es imposible adelantar un paso, a sabiendas de lo que se hace, sin apoyarse de firme en lo presente que a su vez se funda y relaciona con lo pasado", Montero Barrantes, Elementos de historia, Vol. II, p. iv.

vuelve 59. Zarragoitia Barón, Compendio de Historia de Costa Rica, pp i-ii.

vuelve 60. "La benévola acogida que debo a personas ilustradas de Costa Rica obliga mi gratitud, y esta se muestra a vulgarizar en la niñez costarricense el conocimiento de este país hospitalario y fecundo, que tiene el privilegio de que la población pertenezca casi exclusivamente a la raza blanca", Zarragoitia Barón, Compendio de Historia de Costa Rica, p. iii.

vuelve 61. Agustín Gomez Carrillo Elementos de historia de Centroamerica, escrita por encargo del gobierno Guatemalteco en 1884, 4th edition (San José: Imprenta Española, 1927). Valladares de Ruiz notes that Gomez Carrillo was a lawyer, and was an important public figure. Gomez Carrillo was Congressman, and Municipal Mayor (Alcalde Primero Municipal). He also taught History and Philosophy in public schools. I found ten works of Gomez Carrillo nine of them are different editions of the Elementos de la Historia de Centroamérica (San José: Imprenta Lines, 1927).

vuelve 62. Information from the Library of the Congress and Watson Library, The University of Kansas.

vuelve 63. *Historia de la America central, desde el descubrimiento del país por los españoles (1502) hasta su independencia de la España (1821). Precedida de una "Noticia histórica" relativa á las naciones que habitaban la América central á la llegada de los españoles*, por don Jose Milla ... Work commenced by José Milla, at the instance of the government of Guatemala. Antonio Machado edits the second volume, published after the death of Milla in 1882. Cf. Introduction, v.2. Vols. 3-5 have title: *Historia de la América Central ... Obra continuada ... en virtud de encargo oficial por Agustín Gómez Carrillo ...* (Guatemala, Establecimiento Tipográfico de "El Progreso", 1879-1905)..

vuelve 64. Gomez Carrillo Elementos de historia de Centroamerica, 1887, p iii.

vuelve 65. "El resultado de su tarea [de Gómez Carrillo] se refleja en abundantes y curiosas noticias que, a mi entender, no han sido hasta hoy publicadas por otro alguno, y comunican al libro verdadero valor y atractiva novedad"... "Un resumen, como éste, compréndese bien, no encierra más que los rasgos capitales de la historia patria...Pero si un manual de la índole del presente sirve para instruir en la material a los que poco o nada saben, también permite a los más versados recordar un dato caído en el olvido, o resolver una duda que ocurra..." Fernando Cruz, "Prologo", Agustín Gómez Carrillo, Elementos de la Historia de Centroamérica, pp. 7-8.

vuelve 66. Antonio Gramsci, Selection From the Prison Notes. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London: International Publishers, 1971), p. 8.

vuelve 67. Nicola Miller argues that Latin American intellectuals in the twentieth century circulated around the state therefore were not capable to critique or be independent from the state. Nicola Miller. In the Shadow of the State. Intellectuals and the Quest for National Identity in Twentieth-Century Spanish America (London: Verso, 1999).

vuelve 68. For an interesting discussion about the articulation of expertise and disciplinary discourses see, Karin Roseblatt, Gendered Compromises. Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920-1950 (The University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

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