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RHETORIC OF INDEPENDENCE

Bicentennial: Colombia 1810 - 2010

Fernando Estrada

Introduction

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Abstract

This paper develops a hypothesis of the economist Albert Hirschman in: *The Rhetoric of Reaction, Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy* (Harvard 1991) regarding the history of the Independence of Colombia. The Rhetoric of Independence extended the geographical worldview of the people of Spanish American. Finally, the paper develops a dispute with the explanations given by the conventional Colombian historiography

Keywords: Albert Hirschman, Colombia, Spanish American, Independence, political rhetoric, history, social sciences.

Introduction

Germán Colmenares, one of the *grand absent* in celebrating the Bicentennial of Independence, Colombia 1810 - 2010, noted that the study of ways of referring to the past is not a purely formal task, a kind of *deconstructionist* adventure. It is more in the examination of ideologies and values implicit in a text and deliberate in his confrontation with our ideological assumptions and the inevitability of our values. For that reason says, "... must resist the temptation, which falls almost always summarily abrogate the results of the historiography work of the nineteenth century".

This article seeks to support this purpose. Its aim is to study the rhetoric of independence, understanding rhetoric, figurative language, but logical units of discourse that accompanied the reactionary actions of the nineteenth century¹. Rhetorical codes played a vital role in the events of Independence, the more so as the explanation of these causal links can relate about events confronted, not with other facts, but with other texts and performances of a revolution in the entire New Granada². As noted Margarita Garrido, the celebration of Independence was also celebration of the power of words³.

¹ Albert Hirschman *The Rhetoric of Reaction, Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy*, Harvard College, 1991.

² Walter Benjamin historicism has indicated it is content to establish a causal link between different moments in history, more "no fact is, as a cause, and because of that history. It has become such posthumously, with the use of data that could be separated from it by millennia. The historian who is nonetheless part of allowing a

The division of our paper is as follows: (1) addressed the relations between explanation and rhetoric in history (2) described the rhetoric of independence, (3) observed the links between rhetoric and geographical imagination, (4) highlights the conflict between centralization and decentralization, (5) are distinguished rhetorical social class conflict, and finally, (6) concludes with some comments of historiographical theory.

Explanation and rhetoric in history

The Independence is part of revolutionary movements throughout Spain America, next to which different forms of argument and representation, also characterize the reactions between those who were his principal agents⁴. In this article the aim is to discuss such rhetoric from a historical perspective and analytical⁵. During this transition, it would be that the speech is set not so much because the fundamental characteristics of personality, but simply by what the economist Albert Hirschman called: *imperatives of the argument*, almost regardless of the desires, the character or belief participants⁶. Moreover, the reactionary rhetoric of Independence holds a special place in all social changes Hispanic. However, after two centuries of republican life, the mentality of the people of the countries in Hispanic America turns on itself, including the varieties of progressive liberalism that has been achieved⁷.

It is important to consider the relevance for historiography presents an explanation similar to the one just mentioned. The commemoration of the Independence is historically significant in several ways, such as, because of how this circumstance affected the cultural, economic or political regions in Colombia. We should to keep track of these “effects”⁸.

mere succession of data is through his fingers like a rosary” *Walter Benjamin*, “Sobre el concepto de historia”, Edición de Rolf Tiedeman y Hermann Schweppenhäuser, con la colaboración de Theodor W. Adorno y Gerhom Scholem (Edición española al cuidado de Juan Barja, Félix Duque y Fernando Guerrero, Madrid, Abada Editores, pp. 303 – 318.).

³ Margarita Garrido, *Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango del Banco de la República*. “Palabras que nos cambiaron, lenguaje y poder en la Independencia”, publicación digital en la página web de la *Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango del Banco de la República*. <<http://www.lablaa.org/palabras-que-nos-cambiaron/index.html>>. Búsqueda realizada el 15 de mayo de 2010.

⁴ Bailey W. Diffie, “The Ideology of Hispanidad”: *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Aug., 1943), pp. 457-482.

⁵ A purpose similar to the type of reconstruction proposed Germán Colmenares. The term "rhetoric" is used within a tradition that comes from Aristotle's understanding, and to rediscover Ch. Perelman y L. Olbrechts-Tyteca en su notable: *Traité de l'Argumentation. La Nouvelle Rhétorique*, édition de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1998; A historical reconstruction also related to the temporal structure chosen by the historian. The particular time structure you are interested in the historian often determine what is the right narrative of a given event. In this perspective, rhetoric reproduces conditions of historical knowledge that they deserve a specific study, the same way as the maps in a geographical description.

⁶ Albert O. Hirschman, *Óp. Cit.*, p. 9.

⁷ Rafael Rojas, *Las Repúblicas del Aire. Utopía y desencanto en la Revolución Hispanoamericana*, México, Editorial Taurus, 2009.

⁸ Germán Colmenares: “If the problem of state formation in the Spanish American nations is defined by internal tensions, what sociologists call the dependency and uneven development like contrast, it seems clear that the efforts of historians who want to confront it must concentrate on significance of the regions and

Similarly, it may be important to go back to the circumstances of New Granada's economy to understand how accumulated "causes" of resistance of Creole and mestizo artisans face of power in the New Kingdom of Granada⁹. The scandal of the base of the Llorente vase has represented or not, a major cause for acts of independence is not itself, i.e. as a cause of revolutions, particularly interesting. But in fact, has led historians to find out the reasons (causes in a non-humean) of the revolution in 1810¹⁰. The results of small efforts to advance these curiosities, eventually clarify the role of markets in the provinces, and conflicts between different social classes that made up the New Granada¹¹. Expressing a widely held simplification might notice something like the following: the causal *explanations* that serve sufficient conditions are not directly relevant to historical research¹². First, if we are on the side of empirical historiography as a discipline¹³. Although indirectly may be relevant in two ways typical. Some take place when their explananda have interesting "effects" on human events that followed. The other, when their *explanantia* offer "causes" interesting based on human actions and conditions interesting. The role of causal explanation is no less typical often no link between the causes of its *explanans* and the Humean effects of *explanandum*¹⁴.

particular ways of organizing a space changes radically at each historical stage. Ultimately, the question is that difference gets a host of new rural and semi-urban settlements during the nineteenth century", in: "La nación y la historia regional en los países andinos, 1870 – 1930, Germán Colmenares, *Obra Completa, Varia. Selección de textos*, Tercer Mundo / Universidad del Valle / Banco de la República, Colciencias, 1998, pp. 143 – 168.

⁹ Hermes Tovar Pinzón, "La lenta ruptura con el pasado colonial (1810 – 1850), en *Historia económica de Colombia*, Revised and updated edition José Antonio Ocampo Gaviria (compilador), Bogotá, Planeta / Fedesarrollo, pp. 101 – 133.

¹⁰ D. Hume, D. (EHU) (1777). *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*. Nidditch, P. N. (ed.), 3rd. ed. (1975), Clarendon Press, Oxford.

¹¹ Germán Colmenares, "Sobre fuentes, temporalidad y escritura de la historia", en: *Germán Colmenares, Obra Completa, Ensayos sobre historiografía*, TM editores, Universidad del Valle, Banco de la República, Colciencias, 1997, pp. 73 – 95.

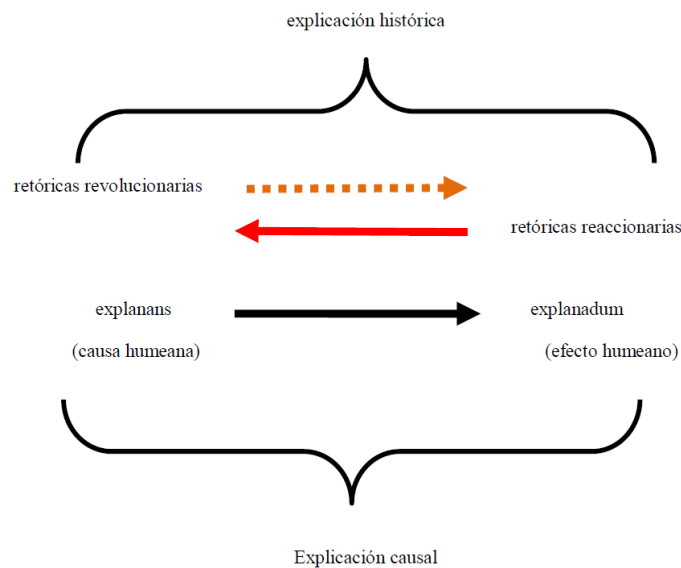
¹² If the term "causal explanation" in history at large, not involved in the theory of legal cover (Hempel, Nagel), then sufficient conditions are indeed "directly" relevant to the search for historical explanations. The explanatory analysis in terms of conditional relations is so important, and the distinction between different types of condition is just as useful in the study of scientific revolutions (Kuhn) as in the case of political revolutions (Tilly). The difference is that the conditional relations that reveal humean causal nomic ties usually come in the explanations made by historians in an oblique manner, suggesting that the explanation does not rely on the nomic connection involved. The metaphorical language of natural sciences Bartolomé Mitre, is an apt illustration.

¹³ Germán Colmenares, "La razón filosófica y la razón filológica: El debate Bello-Lastarria (1844-1848)": *Las convenciones contra la cultura. Ensayos sobre la historiografía hispanoamericana del siglo XIX*, Medellín, La Carreta Editores, E. U., pp. 33 – 59.

¹⁴ This characterization of historiography split one of the principles of historicism, namely, the causal explanation as necessary and sufficient facts. In the words of Karl R. Popper: "(1) the course of history is influenced by the growth of knowledge, (2) we cannot predict, by rational methods future growth of our knowledge, (3) we cannot therefore predict the future course human history, (4) this means rejecting a theoretical history of the same nature as theoretical physics, (5) historicist methods are misconceived" in: Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, .2006, 179 pp.). A retrospective conversion of the Popperian view, place the relations of explanation in terms relating to the practical rationality that we have been sustaining. See also: Georg Henrik von Wright, *Explanatian and Understanding*, Cornell University Press, 1971.

In this perspective, if the events of Independence constituted a premeditated act of revenge by conflicting social classes, and if this act in turn caused social transformations reach to our time, we have established a connection between the rivalry of classes social and later changes in the economic and political life in Colombia. And I think, this is a kind of connection that if you are interested in the historian. In this sense, the phenomena that spread with the speed of Spanish American Independence were part of ways to organize and represent new realities inhabiting different populations. Then, the resources revolutionary rhetoric found itself opposed to the proposed change, which defended a federal government, clashed with rhetoric proclaiming the national unity government from forcibly imposed centralization¹⁵.

The outline of the figure below could be used to illustrate this. The rhetoric deployed at independence, varied in the different provincial governments. Population mobility caused by these rhetoric's also presented a discontinuous geographic¹⁶. By contrast, reactionary rhetoric, were supported with conventional mechanisms that appealed to tradition, authority and symbolic rituals of colonial vassalage. A standard causal explanation simplifies the linear order, from the explanation of certain facts about *h*, toward explaining other facts *h'* such as effects on humean sense.



¹⁵ Germán Colmenares: “The regions of the Andean world can not be defined historically through equilibrium relationships, but rather in terms of permanent conflicts, civil wars and rural violence. Normalization of the market, its size and the way it shapes the space, they seem to imply that spreads a peculiar sort of ideology, more akin to that of western industrialized countries. This was at least the expectation of an elite in the nineteenth century throughout the continent, for which the opening to the outside world had to bring civilization”, *Óp. Cit. Varia. Selección de textos*, p. 167.

¹⁶ David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*; Edinburgh University Press, 2001.

A different view is offered by explanations such as *how was it possible to Independence?*¹⁷ In the field of historical science, can be raised once again the importance of rhetoric in causal explanations, which have been dominant narrative, and why other narratives were excluded. If the rhetoric is to have their *explananda* should seem to be the result of an action-individual or collective. When this condition is satisfied, the relevance of the explanation is an answer to the question about how they were possible *actions* or *rhetoric* in question (not why they were taken).



Base del florero del 20 de julio de 1810, siglo XVIII. Fabricación española. Colección Museo de la Independencia - Casa del Florero, Mincultura

An example is capable of generalization. The *explanation* that historiography has been on Llorente vase and called "contributing cause of Independence"¹⁸. If one considers the background *explanantia* then *Explanation* and *explananda* in this *explanation* are logically independent historical undoubtedly. The connection between the two does not lay however, a list of general laws, but in a unique set of arguments that

combine the premises of a rhetorical discourse. The conclusion drawn from the reasoning in the arguments is often not the *explanandum* itself but some other event or action in between. Camilo Torres wrote in November 1809 in the document: *Representing the most illustrious Cabildo de Santafe to the Supreme Junta of Spain (Memorial of Grievances)*:

Equality, Holy right of **equality**, justice lies in this, and giving to each what is theirs; European Spain inspires feelings of the American Spain: close links this union, that it is lasting forever, and that our children, giving each other hands, one to another continent, bless the happy times that brought so much good¹⁹.

¹⁷ A dominant explanation for the 70s: Charles W. Arnade, Arthur P. Whitaker, Bailey W. Diffie, "Causes of Spanish-American Wars of Independence", in *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Apr., 1960), pp. 125-144.

¹⁸ The details added, for example, which was not itself the "vase", but "the base" Llorente vase, have no greater significance in assessing the explanans used by historians. Has a role in another context, one of which corresponds to the curator of the historical.

¹⁹ "De los pasquines a la Revolución", en *Revista Credencial Historia, Bicentenario Independencia 1810 – 2010*, p. 7.

In the presence of the **facts**, criticism can only accept and prove this **truth**: that the revolution was in the **logic of time** and history, the needs of the situation, in all minds and the very organization of colonies, it was **inevitable**, forced, much more social than political, that was an **evolution of civilization** and not the work of people incommunicado and stagnant, it was more **instinctive** than premeditated, it was, in short, a **supreme fact** for set up and enforce the responsibility of the Spanish republic, for his faults than three centuries, and profound change, while social and political situation of the world through new elements of strength and balance and the inauguration of a public right of freedom²².

This rhetorical unit has unique elements: (1) a causal nexus of events, conditioned by natural laws: the revolution of Independence appears as the result of a need to illustrate to Spanish American for its obligations, (2) a comprehensive structure of human destiny as the progress of evolution, and therefore a freedom march "correcting and teaching" savage peoples, (3) the relationship of Independence as a founding event. The argument based on the real and supported by value judgments prevail. A historicist conception of events planned this from law like conditionals the past. The historian notes compliance events as assigned by the values of civilization²³.



Postcard commemorating the centennial of the Independence of Colombia, 1910 Source: Special Edition Alfredo M. Torres (2008)

José M. Samper writes as if he were witnessing the beginnings of history, at the precise moment that the action will seem able to translate it. Furthermore, among the lines we notice a justification for the events to join them into a superior narrative scope: the French Revolution and its aftermath throughout Europe. Independence, propaganda presented as a self-fulfilling prophecy²⁴. In sum the providential nature of history

soaring announcing destinations. This rhetoric has all the variations according to Spanish

²² José M. Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas y la condición social de las repúblicas colombianas (hispano – americanas) con un apéndice sobre la geografía y la población de la confederación granadina*, Paris, Imprenta de E. Thunot y C, Calle Racine, 26, 1864, p. 166. [Las negrillas son nuestras].

²³ While the arguments correspond extensively Samper defense revolutions of Independence from a conventionally minded liberal, reactionary nature of his rhetoric gives the facts as a result of hidden forces within the same nature. The entire cast shares, regional conflicts and differences have evenly within a unified explanation tailored to the requirements of European historiography. An extension of this type rhetoric: Rebecca Earle, "Padres de la Patria" and the Ancestral Past: Commemorations of Independence in Nineteenth, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Nov., 2002), pp. 775-805.

²⁴ Thomas S. Schelling, *Macromotivos y microconducta*, México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1986.

American Independence conflicts within an explanatory framework consistent with the changes wrought by modernity in Europe. Samper describes the revolution as own original narrative of Western civilization.

However, the relations in the later historiography findings will stress less ideal aspects. The petty bourgeoisie feared not only the collapse of public order, but the horror unleashed the emotions, passions unbridled, prostitutes, the explosion of evil from the city's underground sewers, the lair of the dangerous classes. The fear of disorder was excessive. Never mind that the party of the royalists took a repressive and violent way, by first creating a republic without republicans, then sink back into the monarchical centralism as the only hope.

However, the viceroyalty was anything but orderly, and had to stand by active surveillance and police repression²⁵. So, what or whom to blame for the mess? Had they been allowed to speak, the artisans had been brought to the undue extension of the tax, with its periodic bouts of speculation, the collapse of the payments system and widespread poverty, greed and passion unleashed by the wealth of the new world, its erosion of job security, trades and human dignity, his fierce dispute in the class struggle for the general good. However, he also blamed the migrants, unfair competition, slavery, and the indifference of a viceroyalty that offered them no rights. The elites of the colony enjoyed, however, all the privileges that gave them access to public office; in particular, these elites used their information advantage of consulates and economic societies to keep their positions and to promote reforms that they retained the *L'Ancien Régime*²⁶.

These elites of New Granada also blamed the local governments and aimless, subversives, bohemians, perverted women, free thinkers, utopian, at the slightest provocation, the vile mob incited to revolt and revolution. Both sides could unite in the defense of order, but "order" had in mind was different for the artisans, who were defending their traditions through the association, which for the owners, who were defending their kinds of property rights. An English visitor in the early twentieth century was surprised to find that "society" that his hosts had so threatened, it referred only to the circles in which they moved²⁷. The same words had different meanings²⁸.

²⁵ Kennet J. Andrien, "The Politics of Reform in Spain's Atlantic Empire during the Late Bourbon Period: The Visit of Jose Garcia de León y Pizarro in Quito", *J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 41, 637–662 f Cambridge University Press 2009.

²⁶ Gabriel B. Paquette, *State-Civil Society Cooperation and Conflict in the Spanish Empire: J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 39, 263–298, 2007, Cambridge University Press.

²⁷ "People who depend on the government to live and looking to be well with the party of government, whatever it is." This defines the Colombian political class of the early twentieth century, a report sent to the Foreign Office in London by the British Legation established in Colombia in 1908. A review of the notes and reports of British diplomats on the Colombia of the early twentieth century Marco Palacios serves to sketch a profile of the Colombian political culture, and its actors. How has been formed, the political culture in Colombia since independence, what factors influenced the actions of the leadership who created the Republic and defined characteristics of Colombian political history, politicians who have been in this country and what interests represent are some of the issues that touch these trials in the light of historical analysis of specific

The rhetoric of independence, organize small demonstration in front of great challenges of history, without being aware of its consequences. This task was more difficult because of the censorship and repression. Political discourse was replete with all sorts of allegory and hidden meanings of hidden forces and subtle hints that seemed to reach a broad understanding. Catholicism had left a legacy that he appreciated the symbolism and allegory, and that could be used politically (as indeed did the viceroyalty itself), once formed the very nature of the colonizing power²⁹. Moreover, the corporatist traditions among the workers and the Masonic movement with all its initiation rituals provided all sorts of codes and languages to model the popular imagination. The censors were aware of such problems, rejected a simple song to mention a wreath, because it could be interpreted as a reference republican liberty. But what could the authorities do when the criticism became viceroy funerals, parties and other public events on occasion for spontaneous demonstrations?³⁰ The problem was not only that, in twenty-four hours, thousands of artisans, mulattoes, blacks and indigenous, are clustered, but any insignificant reason for the independence movement representatives, provocative speeches were getting a political demonstration³¹.

The media and representation multiplied rapidly. The explosion of the movement of the press was accompanied by a political diversification and the emergence of skilled speakers who knew how to get around censorship. Others preferred to confrontation, and suffer his proclamation to the closure and fire heroic early nineteenth century opened newspapers throughout Spanish American³². There is a growing literature of passengers, with interest in short stories that led to the imagination to forested landscapes, high mountains and glacial peaks. The rag would take his place in the unfolding of events that led to political

periods - like the liberal radicalism of the nineteenth century (1863 - 1878) and the conservative response, known as the Regeneration (1878 - 1900) - and particular processes of Colombian history - such as regional fragmentation of the ruling classes, the movement of settlement and development of Colombian exports in the second half of the nineteenth century". Marco Palacios, *La clase más ruidosa*, Bogotá, Norma, 2002.

²⁸ Deas, Malcom, *Del poder y la gramática y otros ensayos sobre historia, política y literatura colombianas*, Prólogo de Alfonso López Michelsen, Bogotá, Taurus, 2006.

²⁹ J. Lloyd Mechem, "The Papacy and Spanish-American Independence", *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, , Duke University Press Vol. 9, No. 2 (May, 1929), pp. 154-175.

³⁰ Steinar A. Saether, explores the meaning of the variable during the Indian Independence. Focusing on six towns around Santa Marta, discusses why the Indians were considered Indians in the late colonial period, why support the Royalist cause during the struggle for independence and how its inhabitants were no longer identified as Indians for a few decades of Republican rule .Although 'citizens' subordinates. Studies have emphasized the indigenous resistance against the liberal and republican states were formed in the early nineteenth century in Latin America. Some indigenous communities opted for joining the citizens republic as "non-indigenous".

³¹ Renan Silva Olarte, *Saber, cultura y sociedad en el Nuevo Reino de Granada. Siglos XVII Y XVIII*, Medellín: La Carreta Editores, 2004. 240 pp.

³² Eduardo Posada e Ibáñez, Pedro María (editores). *El precursor, documentos sobre la vida pública y privada del general Antonio Nariño*, Bogotá, 1903.

demonstrations. With the war of Independence were broadcast also the reasons for the cartoon and the novel³³.

The rhetoric of independence marked a daunting journey. With the development of social struggles, speeches extended the expressiveness of excluded social classes³⁴. The market places and public exhibitions were grounds for extension of political causes, the disclosure of human rights with satirical propaganda on the *L'Ancien Régime*, expanding with passion for civil liberties³⁵. Moreover, these forms of political discourse among historians were finding heroic record disclosure³⁶. It is impossible to imagine a dominant theme among the swirl of images that represent reality. However, there are few that stand out and demand an explanation. In each of them we will express the tensions between order and disorder, keep up to maintain the conditions of the *L'Ancien Régime*, or, as in the case of the radicals, to move forward with the revolution to its *logical conclusion*³⁷.

Rhetoric and geographical imagination

Independence conditions exhibited an imaginative expansion of the geography. The rhetoric was accompanied by a description of space as a determinant of social mobility for the cause of independence:

Also noted was a marked **difference** between populations **depending** on the topography and climate: in the plains and hot regions, the revolutionary spark spread ever faster and more tenaciously persisted in cold mountainous regions and, more rigorously sequestered the contact of civilization, almost cut off from social centers where they had focused on illustration. This phenomenon is easily understood and obvious explanation, taking into account **the influence of geography on people's character**³⁸.

In European cities, the changing supply of goods in the market, from basic foodstuffs, snuff, or crafts, testified to the changes in spatial relationships. A thriving press received the news by telegraph, placed on the lunch table all topics, from foreign investment, the movement of prices and profits, confrontations and conflicts in different parts of Spanish

³³ Vicente Pérez Silva, "Los Derechos del Hombre, sociedades secretas y conspiración de los pasquines", *Revista Credencial Historia*, 241, 2010.

³⁴ The concept of "social class" in nineteenth-century Colombian historiography, see: Germán Colmenares, *Partidos políticos y clases sociales*, Medellín, La Carreta, Editores E. U. 2008.

³⁵ Rebecca Earle, "Information and Disinformation in Late Colonial New Granada", [Censorship and disinformation]: 1997, pp. 177 - 183.

³⁶ Germán Colmenares, "Invención del héroe" en la historiografía hispanoamericana del siglo XIX, en *Las convenciones contra la cultura. Ensayos sobre la historiografía hispanoamericana del siglo XIX*, Medellín, La Carreta Editores E. U. 2008, pp. 83 – 97.

³⁷ Vicente Pérez Silva, "Los Derechos del Hombre, sociedades secretas y conspiración de los pasquines", *Revista Credencial Historia*, 241, 2010.

³⁸ José M. Samper, *Óp. Cit.*, pp. 158, 159. [Las negrillas son nuestras]

American. In the case of New Granada, the determination of a space enclosed by mountains and mountain ranges surrounding provinces, contributing to a closed representation of attitudes, as reflected in the political discourse of José M. Samper has assessed the revolution³⁹.



1810 MAPA 2 Carta que representa la división política del Virreinato de Santafé en 1810. Atlas geográfico e histórico de la República de Colombia (Antigua Nueva Granada), con arreglo a los trabajos geográficos del General de ingenieros Agustín Codazzi. Grabado por Erhard Hermanos, París, Imprenta Lahure, 1889.

Santafé was not necessary to leave to experience the shock of spatial relationships transformed. The mental geography of Independence had to adapt to the geographies of otherness that the new spaces were now discovered by the troops in campaigns to cut the power of Spain. This meant accepting challenges to the unprecedented nature of events. But also adopt a new attitude towards social and spatial relationships hidden in the exchange of things⁴⁰. If the conditions of time and place were suddenly transformed, how was meant to

³⁹ The political rhetoric of temporality is also used for them. As highlighted by Colmenares, the choice of independence as a moment of epiphany relay that affects the lives of generations to come, placing them in a time sequence that had been marked by a new beginning. See: Germán Colmenares, “La temporalidad del siglo XIX”, en *Las convenciones contra la cultura, ensayos sobre historiografía hispanoamericana del siglo XIX*. Óp. Cit., p. 62.

⁴⁰ Comment Foucault, with respect to the late Middle Ages transitions to modernity, the changes in the geography space correspond to changes that occur also in the mental geography, the revolutions cause

outline the existence of this "other"? The question is important because, as we shall see, the construction of the "other" in a generally racist and exclusion would have a disastrous effect on the politics of New Granada, as well as the colonial empire which Spain had imposed⁴¹.

The geographical imagination of historians of Independence was, after half a century, full of large doses of heroism. Samper Ospina had shown agree that freedom was not a fruit of all climates and therefore was not available to all people. Spaces distributed geography of exclusion: Indigenous, mulattoes, blacks and mestizos, were placed in a lower range of demographic and cultural values. The "wild" describing Rousseau and Montesquieu, it is for shared maps to find populations in other continents to share the forests and animals. They could not compare to the human condition, therefore, were excluded from any form of civilization⁴².

This scheme of interpretation could be applied both on the New Granada: Santafe, Quito, Lima, Mexico, and on their own Provincial Governments of Colombia: Pamplona, Tunja, Antioquia, Cartagena, Popayán, Mariquita, Neiva. The feudal lords, nobles and landowners, see and describe the inhabitants of this world as wild. After all, the very structure of cities distributed forms of sacred power and earthly power⁴³. In the name of "order" the reactionary forces of Independence could bring torture and persecution of native wildlife, Indians and blacks. Trying to revolutionaries like rabid dogs who deserved the death penalty. These representations of the "other" as wild, form the general stigmatization found throughout Spanish American, and account for a progressive class struggle that lasted until the twentieth century. Moreover revolution then acquired levels of singular ferocity and extreme violence. It is not uncommon monarchists realistic and justified their right to rule on the basis of alleged racial superiority over the Indians, farmers. Nor was it a coincidence

fundamental mismatch between words and things, the order behaves as a goal wrong, because the disorder is dominant. What does not indicate those inhabit another world, but the meanings we called the things of this world, have gone astray. Michel Foucault, *Las palabras y las cosas, una arqueología de las ciencias humanas*, México, Editorial Siglo XXI, 1967.

⁴¹ Joanne Rappaport, "Mythic Images, Historical Thought, and Printed Texts: The Páez and the Written Word", University of New Mexico, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (Spring, 1987), pp. 43-61.

⁴² Or as described Ospina, the nature of the men who has given Spanish American is not for the generosity of geography: "The prosperity, greatness and strength of a nation come from the productive power and morality of its inhabitants. An enviable location between the two great oceans, climate, delicious foods that provide a more varied crops, cheap land and secure markets for the products, benefits are almost useless with a population sunk in a lethargy of idleness and inaction, which repudiate the work, and through which the crop trials are stopped, and the crops are lost due to lack of arms. To transform this sleepy population in active and industrious population, is the great social problem that the government and thinking men are called to settle in this country". Artículos escogidos del doctor Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, coleccionados por Juan José Molina, Medellín, Imprenta Republicana, 1884, pp. 18 – 38.

⁴³ Manuel Lucena Giraldo, *A los cuatro vientos: Las ciudades de la América Hispánica*, Madrid: Fundación Carolina; Centro de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos; Marcial Pons Historia, 2006, pp. 245; también, Fernando Estrada, "La ciudad, formas de construir mundos", *Revista Credencial Historia*, Edición 221, Mayo de 2008.

that Morillo, an officer who had learned his trade, which would lead was the ruthless and violent repression of 1816⁴⁴.

Michelet, one of the most influential historians in Europe during this time, considered to civilization as the product of the "fight of the reason for the spirit of the West and the male to separate and set up their authority over their origins in nature, matter, Middle and women". An erotic and racist imagery conceived in these terms, reinforced by romantic writers, was shared public representations. Moved reactionary rhetoric toward reality primitive forms and practices: erotic and irrational. Moreover, these representations were integrated into the New World. And sustained during the New Granada, the wild nature of their populations required a prevailing violence⁴⁵.

It would however be too simple to close the analysis on this point. As noted by Colmenares, Spanish American accounted for other threats in addition to the licentious fantasies Dorado, however disturbing they were for the fantasy of families from Santa Fe and later cult of domesticity of women. A geographical rationality and capitalist European identity faced a savage race, inhuman beauty at a distance without limits. As the discovery was surrounded by metaphors of penetration (sexuality is obvious), the developments of the conquest during the colonial period, prolonged these metaphors for the Catholic religion. The rhetoric during the New Granada helped to subdue the natives by means of religion and values of Western civilization⁴⁶.

But such modes of representation were not universal, the *Catechism and Popular Education*, parent Dr. Juan Fernandez, for example, had sought a sort of geographical understanding of the world, very different from that intended Michelet. The humanist view of Juan Fernandez, spoke of the harmony potential, not only of man with nature, but "all the different cultures that inhabited the earth". Free of psychodrama "progressive" Michelet,

⁴⁴ "Reigned in the city while the greatest consternation, as if the pain had spread over it and over the surrounding savannah black wings. Sadness is painted on every countenance, and the dialogues that are stuck in the well-known, were reduced to saying: "Yesterday Villavicencio beheaded! "Yes, and now say they shoot Arrubla. She knew the names of those who had come down to the grave did not know how many and when they had to catch other patriotic palm of martyrdom in the Huerta de Jaime, place of execution. In that place they call garden benches were planted. He died Francisco Caldas, Camilo Torres, Joaquín Camacho, José Gregorio & Tree Gutierrez, Crisanto Valenzuela, Miguel Pombo, Jorge Lozano, Francisco Antonio Ulloa, Manuel Torices, José María Dávila, José María Cabal, Antonio Baraya, Custodian Rovira Liborio Mejía; all, one hundred twenty-five, as listed in bringing Restrepo Volume X of his History of Colombia, edition of 1827, and of these, fifty-five in the city of Santa Fe, including Policarpa Salabarrieta, which lies to save the country, as expressed in its logo, and many others...egregias animas, que sanguine nobis Hanc patriam peperere suo ... AENEIDOS, Lib, xi, *Reminiscencias* de D. Juan Francisco Ortiz (*Opúsculo autobiográfico*, 1808 a 1851) con prólogo de D. J. Manuel Marroquín, Bogotá, Librería Americana, 1907, pp. 26, 27.

⁴⁵ David Sowell, "Repertoires of Contention in Urban Colombia, 1760s-1940s: An Inquiry into Latin American Social Violence", *Journal of Urban History* 1998; 24; 302.

⁴⁶ During this period must be noted, however, remarkable changes in the participation of religious orders, as highlighted Luis Carlos Mantilla, "El ideario de las órdenes religiosas en la independencia de Colombia", Bogotá, *Revista Credencial Historia*, p. 5

this was a notable Christian geographic vision that had all the aroma of optimism community of artisans. Its geographical thought provides a different way to understand the "other" with the full splendor of personal dignity and harmony potential.

Either way, the Independence illustrates a general fact. The same processes that increase awareness of the world, in the same way produce distortion. In a spatial economy in national transformation, the images of the relationship between city and countryside, between Santafe and the provinces, were confused by prejudice and class interests. As highlighted by Colmenares, although it was usually show certain contempt for rural and provincial life in the circles of power the country was the most secure basis for many of the unearned income through work that circulated throughout the provinces⁴⁷. The field also appeared sometimes wrongly, as a peaceful refuge for submission and response, compared with the incoherent rebellion of Santafe⁴⁸. This was where patriots thinkers fleeing as the situation slipping away, and was where the Spanish troops were mobilized to crush the riots caused in 1810. The Colombia of the (provincial) was safe and invisible rock where sat the life of the capital and political independence⁴⁹.

Therefore, the large rural resistance to the coup of Independence in 1810 produces an impression with readers curious, laid bare the class relations, discontent and revolutionary sentiments among the royalists, contrasted with what was happening in the field. Jairo Gutierrez emphasizes the participation of the Indian reactionary realism: "... when faced with the dilemma of choosing between their oppressors Creole revolution led to war, and a paternalistic monarchy that had produced a profuse legislation in their favor, the indigenous had chosen the party realistic"⁵⁰. However, it was from this rural, rich in ambiguities in their own classroom experiences, from which new workers stormed the capital of the

⁴⁷ Germán Colmenares, "La formación de la economía colonial (1500 – 1740)", en: *Historia Económica de Colombia*, revised and updated edition, José Antonio Ocampo Gaviria (Compilador), Bogotá, Planeta & Fedesarrollo, 2007, pp. 21 – 60.

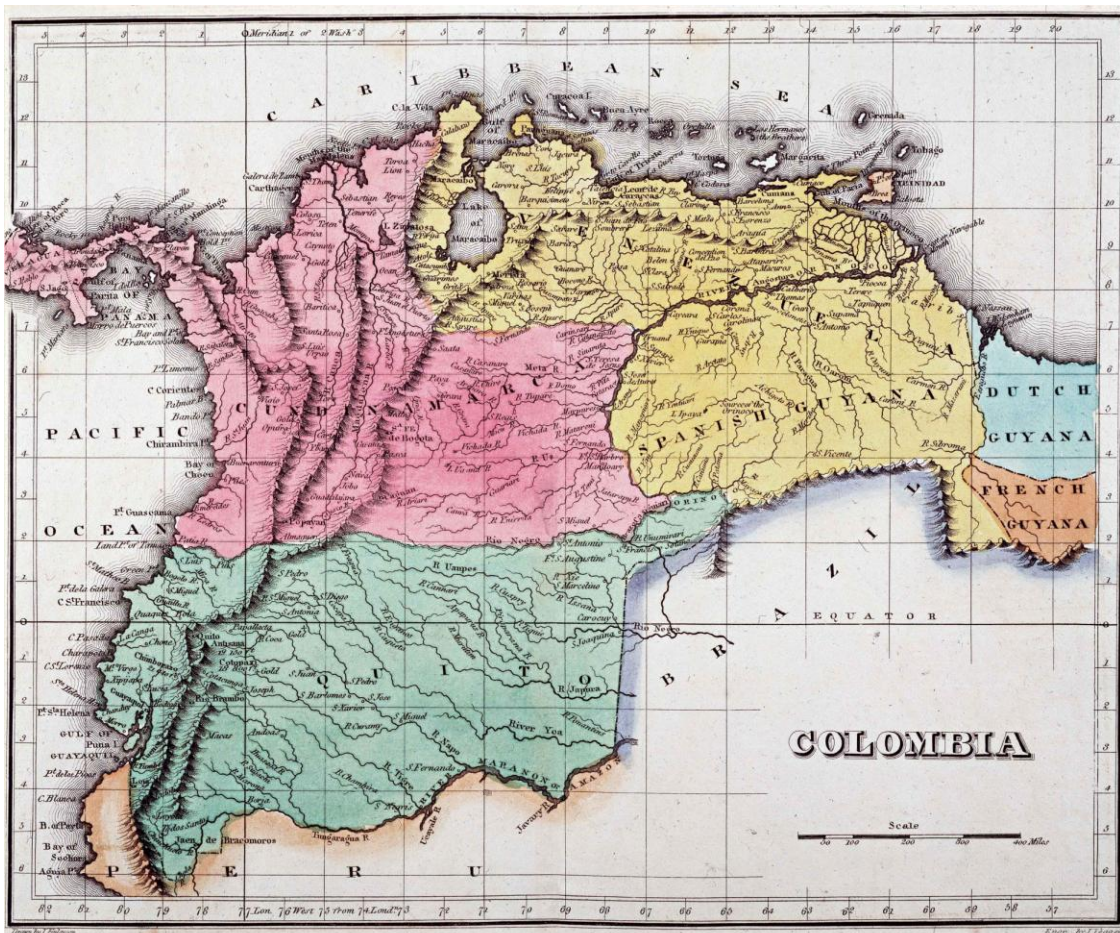
⁴⁸ A general explanatory reactionary rhetoric, we find the author of *Reminiscences*: "Meanwhile the people lived in peace, and virtue and piety flourished in all areas of the viceroyalty: the heinous crimes, now common, were rare then : the property was respected; distinction was made of people, however they are no degrees in the social scale, and is not himself who has received a good education that the barbarian wandering in the woods, the Indians, whose race will ending with the iniquitous laws passed to deprive them of the land, then had to eat today die of hunger, authority was respected, and people, which was devoured by the monopoly of the rich, lived happy and contented. But midway through the year 1810, the example of the French Revolution on the one hand, and the other consequences of the scandalous invasion of Napoleon's troops in the Peninsula, in 1808, set foot in these regions democratic, fever that revolution has brought us a revolution, for the space of forty years, because if at the date of this writing (Tunja, January, 1859) we are not in arms, we are in anarchy that is much worse" Óp. Cit., pp. 18, 19. [Las negrillas son nuestras]

⁴⁹ Malcom Deas has highlighted the political contrasts and distinctions between urban and rural styles during the first phase of independence. Deas's hypothesis is that, in effect, concentrated rural modes of political participation, speeches and rhetoric, partly inherited by direct influence, partly achieved through the "presence" management of the state. See: *Del poder y la gramática, y otros ensayos sobre la historia, política, literatura colombianas*. En especial: "La presencia de la política nacional en la vida provinciana, pueblerina y rural de Colombia en el primer siglo de la República", pp. 177 -207.

⁵⁰ Jairo Gutiérrez Ramos, "Los indígenas en la independencia"

Kingdom of Granada, taking with them, some with their own revolutionary sentiments particular traits.

Reactionary elites did not enjoy the encounters with "others" with the working classes, artisans and dangerous people, as described in *Reminiscences* of Ospina, or *Essay on Political Revolutions* of Samper⁵¹. They also had another fear: the crowd or subversives could hide a mob suddenly become difficult to control. Those fears were well justified. If the gentry wanted to keep his power and place had to controlling the spaces and crowds. The dilemma of the confederation of the United Provinces of New Granada (1810 and 1815), was formed that classes had to open their space to make their own revolution.



1822 MAPA 3 Mapa Geográfico, Estadístico e Histórico de Colombia.
 Dibujo de J. Finlayson, grabado de J. Yeager.
 Archivo General de la Nación-Colombia, Mapoteca 4, X-68. Bogotá, D.C.

⁵¹ The complex relationships of conflict within an immediate time to the events of Independence, in: Robert L. Gilmore, "The Imperial Crisis, Rebellion, and the Viceroy: Nueva Granada in 1809": *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1, Duke University Press, (Feb., 1960), pp. 1-24.

An elite weakened, could not resist the growing pressures of the working classes of the revolutionary movements. For this reason, recovery from downtown Santafé and the provincial to the head of the Independence movement became an important symbol. Occurred in a context where the poor and workers were being expelled, real and symbolic, of strategic areas. The more space is created, more had to be closed and divided by social practices, by racial exclusion and marginalization, Ospina writing in retrospect, has closed the same spaces that Samper is open. Thus the geographical imagination of the revolution of independence, sought to broaden the inclusion of hitherto marginalized sectors, while at the other end, the classes hit by new powers sociospatial exclusion imposed and order in areas of the provinces of New Granada⁵².

Centralization and des-centralization

The relationship between a traditionally centralized power and a system of commissions and taxes overwhelmed, have long been one of the axes of submission and political resistance⁵³. The viceroyalty and religion made common cause around the idea of respect for authority within the colony and a relatively orderly class society. The royalists were looking for a strong centralized power, but wanted to set up its legitimacy in the sovereign want of a people liberated. They attacked the trade associations that restricted the freedom to work with the same vehemence with which they attacked the submission of illiterate people. The enemies of the viceroyalty authorities increasingly focused their attacks on its excessive centralization, which has in any way dependent on the type of centralization of power (economic, political or territorial) which was the subject of complaint⁵⁴.

The geographical and political decentralization contributed to the ardor of local governments. In fact, the confederation of the United Provinces of New Granada was a response to the hierarchy of power of the Constitution of the State of Cundinamarca. However, disputes between centralization and decentralization, have been conditioned also by land disputes and property rights⁵⁵. And in this case, transport systems and communications, which had often been a need of local elites, had the effect of making it easier for central government control with a consequent reduction of local autonomy.

⁵² For a discussion of the geographical changes and transformations of population demography, see the special report Robert Blake White, "Notes on the Central Provinces of Colombia", *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, New Monthly Series*, Vol. 5, No. 5 (May, 1883), pp. 249-267. Blackwell Publishing on behalf of The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers).

⁵³ Germán Colmenares, *Óp. Cit.*, pp. 21 – 60.

⁵⁴ Robert L. Gilmore, *The Imperial Crisis, Rebellion, and the Viceroy: Nueva Granada in 1809: The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Feb., 1960), pp. 1-24 Published by: Duke University Press.

⁵⁵ Fabio Sánchez, Antonella Fazio y María del Pilar López, "Los conflictos de tierras, derechos de propiedad y la economía exportadora durante el siglo XIX en Colombia, Bogotá, Universidad de los Andes, *Documentos Cede*, 2007.

It is complex to distinguish between opportunistic speeches of those who were away from power and assumed deep beliefs of those who sought the removal of the viceroyalty by the Confederation of United Provinces of New Granada, and in any event, the reorganization politics irrelevant in the absence of a radical reorganization of social organization against retention of the old forms of colonial power. But apart from the base to have, the struggle of the Federalists was sufficiently supported, and placed in the foreground the differences between the provinces and their populations.

The sharp dispute posed another problem. Do not represented the same form of centralism inherited cultural organization? Fearful of the vast centralization of economic, political, administrative and cultural life in SantaFe, much of the population of the provinces that supported the federalist movement, found fault when it came in the form of a (self-) government in the hands of a so influential class, cities from which they had developed radical political leanings or directly revolutionary. However, the training records of meetings and declarations of independence set out sufficient grounds to understand the differences⁵⁶.

Clearly there was one area in which independence was an uprising by the provincial liberties. But limited only to those freedoms, as stated Samper, or those they were exclusively of a survey of community and no way to classes, are approaches that are outside of belief. It is true that the various factions were differently Independence. For patriots' radical, reorganization meant to make more rational economic governance in their provincial governments, ensuring also alliances with rebel movements in Quito and Caracas.

Comparing to the centralist was the first step in the political liberation of New Granada, for Republicans was the first step to integrate the Grenadine Confederation in a republican system of government, and if necessary, a defensive weapon against monarchic reaction⁵⁷. For them, it was easier to define what independence is opposed by what roads they could go. And of course, the paradox was that the strong sense of decentralization in the provinces could so easily mobilized to crush a movement of decentralization within cities where such power was centralized in the viceroyalty.

⁵⁶ Also memory of Samper: "I was therefore in the nature of the things that made the revolution phalanx loosen its liberalism to be in power, which in turn were born of the new generation of the lower classes and parties as much more advanced (that demand new freedoms and reforms; subject to be fought by the second generation also Republican, decidedly radical, hence the logical sequence of four games in Hispanic-Colombia have marked the footprints in the institutions: first the Spanish, or realistic, then the independent, which in turn was conservative then liberal, and later the radical-parties, following the logic of its doctrines and its origin, have argued, on the political form, causes enemies centralization and federation". J.M. Samper, *Óp. Cit.* p. 168.

⁵⁷ Para una discusión de los mitos republicanos: Marixa Lazzo, "Un mito republicano de armonía racial: raza y patriotismo en Colombia, 1820-1812", *Revista de Estudios Sociales No. 27*, agosto de 2007: Bogotá, Pp.32-45.

Two political rhetoric two peoples

For quite a complex that is the adoption of the concept of class, structure and division of social space are crucial to understanding the Independence. The rhetoric and representations of the peoples of the New Granada has a long history. Prior to 1810, the "other world" was seen in terms of "dangerous classes" whose full penalty misery sometimes inspired, but more often horror, disgust, aversion. Terms such as "savage", "barbaric" and epithets such as "animal" were racist overtones to the imaginary target, justifying the murderous violence with which the Spanish were coming to the artisans, peasants and Indigenous⁵⁸. "Equality is said triumphantly" Camilo Torres wrote in the *Manifesto of the Supreme Board of Santafe* on 25 September, 1810.

Even after Jose Maria Samper (1864) described that there were differences among workers, artisans and the dangerous classes, had also stated, then denied, real political power for workers and artisans. Power is directed, relatively permanent as it turned out, the reactionary side of Independence. However, during the successive changes between 1810 and 1815, many Spanish people felt free to deal with the same standard to all those who had been on the other side. Political discourse and the representations that had been made about the dangerous classes, now hung, not only of the classes of artisans and laborers, but also Spanish defenders of the revolutionary cause⁵⁹. Everyone knew where it had lifted the barricades, some of the provinces belonged to the "other." A barricade was erected as a simple line. In short, the revolutionary experience of 1810 occurred on polarized rhetoric that simplified a heterogeneous physical and social space.

Reactionary rhetoric of what existed in the "other side" had been colored by the nature of their contacts. The majorities of Spanish whites was economically inactive or were in government service, and those who were economically active tended to focus on trade. The

⁵⁸ Caroline A. Williams, "Adaptation and Appropriation on the Colonial Frontier: Indigenous Leadership in the Colombian Chocó, 1670 – 1808", *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 181–199, 2007. This article tests the forms of organization of power in the indigenous communities of Chocó during a key period for understanding the facts of Independence. In particular, the role of mediator played by the "bosses", "Indians bossy" or "core" inside and outside the communities. These Indian authorities played a central work in the forms of government and decentralized processes that were set up during the Spanish colonization. Williams notes how these relationships disappeared with the dominance established by the forms of the Spanish central government.

⁵⁹ Juan Camilo Rodriguez pointed out in his essay: "The independence of Socorro in the genesis of Colombian emancipation", the original nature of the patriotic resistance Relief from the epic commoner, and his continuing involvement in the campaign to liberate. Rodriguez's argument is based on a growing trend of pre-revolutionary federalist spirit of Independence: "This tradition of freedom that came from the villagers continue and find another moment of special significance when, as the capital of the Sovereign State of Santander, would Relief key center of the radical movement in the second half of the nineteenth century", [I] Las provincias heroicas: Socorro, Mompox y Cartagena, *Revista Credencial Historia, Bicentenario Independencia 1810 – 2010*, Edición 242, Febrero de 2010.

imagination of what existed in the "other world" was not built on human contact, which was limited to casual encounters on the street usually unfortunate⁶⁰. The reports of the judges, regardless of their political tendencies on the working class in the provinces, and not than dissipated fed the imagination to dwell too much on the misery and degradation. If they lived in such conditions, could they be anything other than animals? This kind of racial reasoning was not very close to the surface of the influential circles and filtered easily in literary rhetoric.

The poisonous reactionary rhetoric was widespread. It is difficult to read the most influential authors of the second half of the nineteenth century without experiencing wonder. Reactionary rhetoric and take a curious quality as if he had a longing to exorcise the demon within, to burn the atrocious calls on society to seek a final showdown, a catharsis. Recalling the events with fear, J Manuel Marroquín, provides narrative with images and representations that prove the unleashing of his own fear preventive against the "other Independence." In his brief preface to the book *Reminiscences* of D. Juan Francisco Ortiz:

It is well known, like us know Mr. Ortiz, who at the time of Independence, there were those who without being Spanish or a devotee of Fernando VII, take care of **our population was not then ripe for independence**; or who foresaw what was to happen once we had shaken off the yoke⁶¹.

The rhetoric of the revolutionaries, especially those coming from the heirs of the deeds provincial commoner in states like Socorro, invest these representations. Artisans, farmers, Indians, mulattos and mestizos, appeared as generous and able to give battle. His "other world" was populated by speculators, investors, parasites that suck the life of the people by destroying their dignity and self esteem. Crushed under the weight of Spanish loafers, the working class in the towns of New Granada had every right to the revolutionary uprising. The radical patriots felt that, as in the events of Caracas or Quito, Independence had to be extended to every corner of the new republic. Not everyone was so caught up in a polarized rhetoric, but even those who sought to mend fences, often end up reinforcing the general arguments.

⁶⁰ Ricardo del Molino García, "El Imperio Colonial Español", Yo, el Rey, tres siglos del Imperio Colonial Español, *Revista Credencial Historia, Bicentenario de Independencia 1810 – 2010*, Edición 239, Noviembre de 2009.

⁶¹ *Reminiscencias*, Óp. Cit., p. XV. [The bold are our]

Conclusion: rhetorical historiography

Germán Colmenares highlighted two decades ago that the problem of tradition in the Spanish American historiography with regard to the productions of the nineteenth century "is not whether we refer to the same reality, but rather whether we speak the same language". This observation is inspired by the work of Colmenares similar problems addressed by Thomas Kuhn, the approach to changes that produced the Ptolemaic cosmology and the Copernican astronomy in the sixteenth century. Both the Copernican revolution, as in the revolution of independence, comparison units and concepts are inevitably linked to language.

To Colmenares our understanding of independence does not depend on the facts, but their reconstruction. The implementation depends on the conceptual tools and language itself available to express such images. It is not a matter of translation, simply. Because the language does not give exact copies of what happened, how then the dimension of this is contained in the representations of the past? This question reverses the order of the discourse of conventional historiography on the nineteenth century.

His approach to narratives of Independence comes from critical thinking about the idea of continuity and permanence in the identity of the referent (revolution, nation, social class). For example, frequent design has been the emergence of Spanish American nations as homogeneous units during the last third of the nineteenth century. However, the rhetoric of national identities precedes much to this development goal. The representations of the nation state or symbols appeared almost at the same time that political institutions.

These distinctive details of political rhetoric can assess how the historiography of Independence, was forged based on symbolic representations of his early and heroic narratives. However, these representations were not intended to describe a reality, but to foreshadow. Colmenares taught how these representations came from European historiography conventions. The frameworks were borrowed observation. Which would explain why the first constructions produced by a foundation language. In other words, the events of Independence, thanks to the intervention succeeded causal externalist. A higher authority: "God," "History", "Civilization" or "Nature".

The loan of the frameworks to test both the evolution and scope of Independence comes from a lack of suitable models of discourse, poverty and other forms of representation. The narratives found among the first generations of historians (with exceptions) were influenced by the use of manners. But the uses of lifestyle tend to show isolated from social types, according to Colmenares: "dissolves ethnic and social tensions". Again, the historiography frameworks should be able to say the conflicts inherited, and the prevailing dichotomy between independence movements.

Is it possible to regain a sense of the historiography tradition in the interpretation of these languages? Some of the works to celebrate the Bicentennial of Independence seem to respond positively, others prefer to stay in a rhetorical ambiguity of surface representations. The histories that celebrate the heroes or the homelands, they keep the apparently deep substrate national identities. But a poor end up doing a disservice to the historical discipline, to keep it away from the progress in the social sciences. One of the rigorous challenges to the Colombian historiography is to abandon the language versions built on drama. Changes in the frames were designed by Germán Colmenares.

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