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Disease and Democracy: The Practice of Governance and the Cholera Epidemics of Northwestern Argentina, 1865-1905

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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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by

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Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History
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Dr. James P. Brennan, Chairperson

This dissertation looks at the effect of the arrival of cholera to the far northwestern province of Tucumán. This project participates in a relatively new historigraphical approach that has emerged within Latin American studies in the last decade: "sociocultural history of disease." I study the interaction between politics and culture, within the epidemics, in order to foreground the political agency of marginalized people and regions. The project determines the role that provincial politicians and public health played in center-periphery relations and the place of disease and health within the state-building project. I deviate from the literature on state-formation, which overemphasizes the role of the nation's capital and coercion, by highlighting the work of Tucumán in forming the Argentine state.

"Disease and Democracy" analyzes the relationship between province and state through the study of two cholera epidemics in 1868 and 1886. Through an analysis of

medical dissertations, newspapers, government reports, memoirs, traveler reports, private correspondence, songs, tales and stories examined in libraries and archives in Buenos Aires, La Plata, Córdoba and Tucumán, I utilize the epidemics as a lens through which I explore the fractious relationship between politics and health. Studying epidemics is especially productive because the stress that epidemics place on society illuminates areas of the social fabric that would otherwise go unnoticed. My research reveals multiple instances in which the provinces took the lead in creating services and institutions that established the presence of the state in the interior, and created a balance between the needs of the state and provincial autonomy.

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Introduction

This dissertation began with looking at studying the relationship between province and state. Examining the state of the literature, the glaring exclusion of public health as a viable vantage point to investigate the modes in which center and periphery interacted became obvious. I utilize the epidemics as an exploratory lens into the fractious relationship between politics and health and within the larger framework of region and state during Argentina's national period. I do this by stressing the effect of two cholera epidemics (1868 and 1886-1887) in Tucumán. [1] My project participates in a relatively new historiographical approach that has emerged within Latin American studies in the last decade: "sociocultural history of disease." Like others employing this approach, I study the interaction between politics and culture in order to foreground the political agency of marginalized people and regions. For me, that means determining the role that provincial politicians and public health played in center-periphery relations, the role of provincial elites in creating a national public health infrastructure, and the place of disease and health within the state-building project. Thus, epidemics are studied as multi-layered events that permeated the areas of politics, crime, rural life, consumption, and war.

The traditional approach in Argentines political history has examined the role of elites in forming governmental institutions, dictating the contours of the national

[1] The province was the site of the meetings where the nation's future national heroes would declare their independence from Spain. It was the birthplace of the architect of the national constitution Juan B. Alberdi, and of Nicolás Avellaneda and Julio Roca, Tucumanos who were presidents of Argentina from 1876-1886. Tucumán was also hailed as one of the jewels in Argentina's economic modernization projects and became the center of the Argentine sugar industry from the mid1870s until the late 1890s.

economy and establishing a monopoly on state power. This has assisted in the maintenance of viewing the state as a coercive institution, whose power is based on intervention into local politics and removal of non-complying political actors. [2] These factors have become enshrined, leading to incomplete descriptions of the state formation process in Argentina that solely emanated from Buenos Aires. I argue that national politics cannot be understood without including local provincial politics and their interaction with the federal government. Scholars have demonstrated the emergence of an open and organic political culture in the public sphere of Buenos Aires through an analysis of newspapers, political parties and organized protests. [3] This study asks: how did the peripheral regions conceive of the state? How did state power manifest itself in the more distant areas of the nation-state? What role did provincial actors play in the process of establishing the state in their zones and, thereby, assist in the formation of the state from the outside? The epidemics and the place of Tucumán within the national political and economic scene provide fertile ground for these queries.

Tucumán has yet to receive a detailed analysis of its role in the formation and building of the Argentine state. The literature has sustained that political culture in the

[2] Natalio R. Botana, El orden conservador: la política argentina entre 1880 y 1916. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1977); Tulio Halperín Donghi. *Proyecto y construcción de una nación: 1846-1880*. (Buenos Aires: Compañia Editora Espasa Calpe Argentina, 1995); Tulio Halperín Donghi *Vida y muerte de la república verdadera*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Planeta Argentina S.A.I.C., 2000); David Rock, State Building and Political Movements in Argentina, 1860-1916. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2002.)

[3] Hilda Sábato *The Many and the Few: Political Participation in Republican Buenos Aires*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2001): David Rock *The Origins of the Argentine Radical Party in the 1890s*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press) 2000.

interior merely replicated the one formed in Buenos Aires in the nineteenth century.[4] In assessing the epidemics, I demonstrate that within the provinces politics were exercised in a way in which local actors sought to create a balance between local, regional and national needs that simultaneously intended to curb state power that overstepped its constitutional boundaries.[5] These questions became more pressing as the state developed from an absentee prescence in the interior during the first epidemic to a more robust, expansive and financial entity in the second epidemic. In moments of epidemiological crises, how did this quick development play out in terms of state action?

Departing from more established studies, I argue that the state is not a strong-willed coercive entity, but a "negotiated space." Under this approach, I see the state as an organization and institution formed from cooperation, compliance and a bilateral relationship between periphery and center.

War

The 1860s and 1870s witnessed the waning of uprisings in the interior provinces: the War of the Triple Alliance; the end of the Argentine Confederation with the Battle of Pavon and establishment of Argentina's first presidency under Bartolome Mitre (1862) and the extension of centralized power at the national and provincial level through territorial integrity. In the case of Tucumán agriculture and artisanal trade would evolve laid the solid foundation for the blossoming of the sugar industry that grew after 1876

[4] Paula Alonso *Between Revolution and the Ballot Box: The Origins of the Argentine Radical Party in the 1890s*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and Hilda Sábato *The Many and the Few*

[5] Patrick Carroll, *Science, Culture, and Modern State Formation*. (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2006) p. 14

with the arrival of the railroad.[6] In 1867, cholera arrived to River Plate region and moved into the Argentine territory. Moving with the wounded soldiers coming from the Paraguayan front, by 1868 it had arrived to to the far Northern provinces.[7] Medical reports from the Paraguayan war discuss in detail the poor living conditions for soldiers and in the disease-ridden army camps. Soldiers that were too sick or wounded to continue fighting were sent to hospitals in Rosario and Buenos Aires. Eventually, cholera worked its way into the interior regions.

I argue that this outbreak reveals certain aspects of Argentine state-formation. Although the country had been somewhat unified with end of the Argentine confederation, this was a period in which the young nation was slowly consolidating. The war-indebted national government found it difficult to offer aid, while it simply lacked the institutions or protocol at a national level to combat disease in a region that was in the grips of uprising with no direct form of transportation and political rivalries. In response to the epidemic, the provinces put a moratorium on these divisions and assisted each other when a limited state could not fulfill its duties in providing for its constituents. Upon its arrival, the interior provinces pressed the state for some assistance, but the war had sapped resources and personnel. In the end, the far provinces were told to go it alone. In response to this, the provinces began establishing regional responses to the disease.

[6] For a more in-depth study of the pre-1876 period and the immediate years after the railroad see Daniel. Campi, *Estudios sobre la historia de la industria azucarera argentina*. (San Salvador de Jujuy, República Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Jujuy, 1991) and, José Antonio Sánchez Román *La dulce crisis: estado, empresarios e industria azucarera en Tucumán, Argentina (1853-1914)*. (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 2005.)

[7] Adrían Carbonetti, "Los Caminos del Cólera en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XIX" Trabajo presentado en el III Congreso de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Población, ALAP, realizado en Córdoba –Argentina, del 24 al 26 de Septiembre de 2008. and Armando Pérez de Nucci, *Historia Médica de Tucumán, Siglo XIX* (Tucumán: University of Tucumán.1984)

Doctors from Córdoba traveled to Rosario to learn of techniques that had given the city positive results. Catamarca, a federalist stronghold, received aid from Unitarian Tucumán and Santiago del Estero.[8] I hold that these events offer alternative ideas of a centralized state and demonstrate how the provinces could also be representative of the state. This offers a new form of studying state-formation in that it did not result from violence or occupation that was controlled from the center. Instead, provincial doctors and the grassroots health systems exhibit a state built from the bottom-up.

Outside of the political effects of the epidemic, the dissertation analyzes the manner in which the epidemic altered local lifestyles and culture. I focus on folk medicine, the politics of burial rights and the government supervision of food consumption through the various hygienic commissions that arose at the time. Establishing uniformity, the province used the epidemic to integrate rural regions into a provincial project. Moreover, it employed the assistance of rural doctors, *curanderos* that heavily outnumbered traditional doctors in the countryside and did not advance the common medical practice of outlawing fruit. For Tucumán, this was especially important since fruit dominated the caloric intake of the popular classes.

Governance

The 1880s were the beginning of a *Belle Époque* for Argentina. The rapid growth of the nation's railroad was only paralleled by the massive growth of the population, the upsurge in the country's agro-pastoral industry, the expansion and beautification of

[8] The Ministry of Interior records in the AGN show that the government sent a large amount of funds to Córdoba since in order to combat the disease in the hinterlands, the province had exhausted its budget allocted for 1868. During this period, Córdoba was in the midst of constructing the national railroad, the FC Central Argentino.

Buenos Aires and the consolidation of the state. In addition, the forced pacification of the indigenous populations in corners of the nation-state under the fortified military extended the national borders to the south. In the political spectrum, the formation of the first political coalition, the oligarchic *Partido Autonomista Nacional* began its control of national politics. [9] The PAN sought "unifying nationalism" that would convert localism to nationalism.[10] "Our work is to maintain a union of men in every province," Roca stated to his successor Miguel Juárez Celman, "We must not impose new governors but use those who already rule. Even more, we must depend on that representative and whoever will be a friend."[11]

The study of the cholera epidemic 1886-1887 examines the politics of quarantines, the judicial ramifications of an epidemic, the evolution of political discourse and centralization of duties. The epidemic offered the incoming president Miguel Juárez Celman his first test at the helm of the nation. Popular throughout the nation through his various personal connections, the new president had gained support from all the

[9] The PAN would hold power from 1874 until 1916, but lost significant power in 1890 with the Revolution in the Park and the formation of the Radical Party in 1890. See Paula Alonso *Between Revolution and the Ballot Box for* this process in the period from 1890-1916. Paula Alonso and David Rock are the two preeminent scholars on the UCR. They, however, disagree on which decade the UCR became prominent in Argentine politics. Rock has held that 1916 with election of Hipolito Yrigoyen and the incorporation of the middle classes into the Argentine political process. Conversely, Alonso asserts that the conservative UCR of the 1890's gave the impetus for the party of 1916. The 1890 version did not seek radical social, institutional and political change and did not seek to politicize the lower and middle strata of society. For the UCR, ideas of "revolution" consisted of restoring Argentina back to a period and form of governance that was based on the 1853 constitution. The Radicals argued that national projects such as industrialization, export-oriented economy and foreign investment to the railroads had undermined Argentina and was, overall, unconstitutional. Alonso states that the Radicals of the 1890s were the foundation for the Radicals of Hipolito Yrigoyen in 1916. This counter's David Rocks older assessment of the UCR in 1916.

[10] Natalio Botana and Ezequiel Gallo. *De la república posible a la república verdadera: 1880-1910.* (Buenos Aires: Compañía Editora Espasa Calpe Argentina, 1997.) p. 45

[11] Lee Bruce Kress,. *Julio A. Roca and Argentina, 1880-1886: A Political and Economic Study*. Thesis—(Columbia, 1978.) p. 36

provinces except Buenos Aires and Tucumán. In the northwest, Juárez Celman had been unable to break down the support for Bernardo de Irigoyen and remained unpopular among the ruling political class of the Posse and Gallo families. In breaking away from the political praxis Roca advanced, Juárez Celman sought to create his own political national league, known as the *Unicato* and install loyal governors. [12] Problems in incorporating the northwest into *juarismo's* cohorts arose during the northwest's creation of sanitary cordons. The government worked through the Ministry of Interior to suspend and curb provincial autonomy by outlawing the construction of cordons. Building on the steps taken in 1868, the provinces held it was within their right to act when the state could not.

During the epidemic, national, regional and local interests continually clashed over the management of supplies, quarantines, funds and assistance. Interaction between the province and capital is also seen in the politics of quarantines and divisions between "constitutionalists" favoring national orders to outlaw quarantines and "anti-constitutionalists" who favored provincial autonomy permitting quarantines. For Tucumán this would culminate a few months after the contagion with the 1887 federal intervention that ousted the provincial government, and placed local Juaristas into power. This dissertation holds that in order to properly understand the 1887 federal intervention it is important to look at the moments leading up to and the period during the epidemic.

Yet for all these moments of contention, there are numerous undercurrents of cohesion present during the epidemic. While, the executive branch was hesitant in its

[12] For a detailed account of the *unicato* see, Duncan, Tim. *Government by Audacity: Politics and the Argentine Economy, 1885-1892*. Thesis (Ph. D.)--University of Melbourne, 1982,

dealings with the interior, networks among mid-level political actors across the expansive geography assisted the province. *Tucumano* doctors studying at the University Of Buenos Aires School of Medicine returned to the province to work with local doctors and in hospitals. Moreover, *Tucumano* senators in the national congress worked with public assistance groups such as *Sub-Comision de Auxillos a Tucumán*, to have supplies and funds sent to the northwest. This epidemic differs from the first in that it concluded with the Ministry of Interior seeking to create compromise between province and nation in the areas of health.

The state of medical studies

The traditional approach to studying epidemics has been to tell the story of their arrival, dissemination, a call to arms by doctors and scientists and their end.[13] This body of literature has centered on the development of medical practices and systems of knowledge. It has given readers detailed biographical overviews of key doctors. Factions of this cohort of medical historians have demonstrated that epidemics continually revealed the limitations of state power and inconsistent medical practices. Public health initiatives and doctors are portrayed as class or racially oriented and mired in administrative incompetence.

This method of study does not place disease, health, medicine and death within the social, political, cultural and intellectual milieu in which they exist. Charles E.

[13] The literature of this type is enormous. Some works that are representative of this corpus are Frederick Fox Cartwright, and Michael D. Biddiss. *Disease & History*. (Stroud: Sutton Pub, 2000); Lois N. Magner, *A History of Medicine*. (New York: M. Dekker, 1992.); Douglas Guthrie, *A History of Medicine*. (Philadelphia, London [etc.]: J. B. Lippincott company, 1946) and John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History*. (New York: Viking, 2004)

Rosenberg notes that "disease is an elusive entity".[14] Further arguing that disease is more than biological event, he holds that disease is framed by the political, social, cultural and economic discourse revolving around it. The most graphic contemporary example is the development of public awareness on smoking, obesity and heart disease within the last twenty years in comparison to the mid-twentieth century when ailments such as tuberculosis, influenza and polio occupied public awareness. Disease and health are understood within their local cultural context, since they do not have universal meanings. The Foucauldian approach to disease holds that definitions and perceptions of disease are not fixed, but redefined by "generation specific repertoire of verbal constructs."[15]

Due to recent wave of medical scholars[16], three interrelated approaches within the history of disease and medicine have been established: the history of public health, the "new" medical history and the socio-cultural history of disease. These approaches seek to create a connection between the physiological and biological state of disease within its social interpretation. The history of public health centers on notions of power, the extension and limitations of state authority, the formation of public health policy, the medicalization[17] of society and the institutionalization of public health ministries as an appendage of the state. Public health scholars look at the creation of health polices through the interaction between external powers and government bureaucracy.

[14] Charles E. Rosenberg, and Janet Lynne Golden. *Framing Disease: Studies in Cultural History*. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992) p. xiii

[15] *Ibid*.,

[16] I primarily look to Charles Rosenberg, Diego Armus and Michel Foucault.

[17] Medicalization refers to the process of an increasing range of human behavior that became assigned to medical control.

Examining multiple diseases, this approach seeks, as Marcos Cueto notes, "to establish recurring individual, social and governmental response patterns." [18]

Since the late 1990s, the "new" medical body of literature places biographies of doctors, the progress of medical knowledge within larger social, political and intellectual contexts. The most exciting facet of this approach has been the work done by scholars assessing the production of medical knowledge within Latin America. This body of work argues that Latin America was not only a consumer of international medical knowledge systems but actively produced its own forms and adapted international practices to local circumstances. This approach looks at how the peripheral regions assisted in the creation and practice of medical knowledge.[19] Scholars such as Marcus Cueto and Nancy Lays Stepan have demonstrated how Latin American doctors assisted in the creation of medical knowledge; especially in the field of tropical diseases. [20]

In an effort to expand the scope of medical history, scholars across disciplines have revisited epidemics since they are, "a problem in themselves but also as excuses or tools for discussing other topics." [21] The socio-cultural history of disease does not engage in a conversation with the biomedical sciences but looks at how conceptions of disease were formed, processed and reformed within society. Scholars utilize this analysis to study the formation of disease cultures, such as "cholera culture", "tuberculosis culture"

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[18] Marcos Cueto. *The Return of Epidemics: Health and Society in Peru During the Twentieth Century*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.)p. 2

[19] Nancy Lays Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991.); Marcos Cueto *Cold War, Deadly Fevers: Malaria Eradication in Mexico, 1955-1975*. (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2007.)

[20] Adrián López Denis, *Disease and Society in Colonial Cuba, 1790-1840*. Thesis (Ph. D.)--UCLA, 2007, 2007.

[21] Diego Armus *Disease in the History of Modern Latin America* p.5

and so on. Works such as Catherine J. Kudlick[22] and Diego Armus have looked at how disease became a mediated space and driving force behind non-medical aspects; for example political discourse, urban planning, gender politics, media, advertisement and race have all been areas in which health formed how states practiced regulation.

The state of Argentine medical history is still in its growing stages. Most works have looked at the medical history of Buenos Aires. Kristin Ruggiero and Julia C. Rodriguez have looked the interplay between nineteenth century liberalism and social control in Buenos Aires as the basis for a national project.[23] Julia Rodriguez examines how European medical ideas were reassembled in Argentine scientific circles. Kristin Ruggiero's utilizes court cases to understand how Argentine lawmakers understood ideas of "cuerpo" and "carne" to regulate the body and create proper citizens. [24] However, social, cultural and economic structures in the capital differed greatly in the interior. Unlike Buenos Aires, the interior was more rural, Indian, agricultural and had a greater racial variety. Moreover, the economic gap between elite and peon was smaller in comparison to the one found in the pampas. [25] The changes, and the grist for Ruggiero and Rodriguez's studies, were more overt in the capital.

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[22] Catherine Jean Kudlick. *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris A Cultural History*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.)

[23] Julia Rodríguez, *Civilizing Argentina: Science, Medicine, and the Modern State*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).;Kristin Ruggiero, *Modernity in the Flesh: Medicine, Law, and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2004.)

[24] Kristin Ruggiero *Modernity in the Flesh*

[25] See Arield de la Fuente. *Children of Facundo: Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency During the Argentine State-Formation Process (La Rioja, 1853-1870*). (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000)

Medical works on the interior are scarce, with scholars offering short descriptions of cholera outbreaks in the provinces of Córdoba and Rosario.[26] Tucumán does have Armando Perez de Nucci's descriptive work, while the most recent scholarship to tackle disease in Tucumán is Eric Carter's work on to malaria eradication in early to mid twentieth century northwest Argentina in order to understand the interplay between demography, the environment, regional development, agro-industrialism and national politics. Carter notes, the improvement of the sanitary infrastructure of the urban and rural zones were not parallel. The lack of sanitary development in the rural sugar zone of Tucumán aided malaria in remaining endemic to the region. [27] Following a modernization approach, Carter looks at how malaria became a tool to modernize the interior and a way for the populist government of President General Juan D. Perón to affix Argentina to "modern" nations and as a break from the conservative nineteenth-century. This work continues the trend predominant within Argentine studies of a dichotomy between Buenos Aires and the interior within a modern/anti-modern, progressive/backward and developed/underdeveloped framework. In terms of local medical knowledge, Carter shows that although peripheral doctors were slow to incorporate internal knowledge on malaria control, they eventually were able to eradicate the disease in the 1950s.

"Decentering" Argentina

The predominant tendency within the Argentine scholarship has been to utilize Buenos Aires as the site to tell the national story. The Argentinean historian Antonio

[26] Mirta Zaida Lobato, and Adriana Alvarez. *Política, médicos y enfermedades: lecturas de la historia de la salud en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 1996. Adrian Carbonetti, *Historias de enfermedad en Córdoba*

[27] Eric D. Carter *Enemy in the Blood: Malaria, Environment, and Development in Argentina*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012)

Perez Amuchategui succinctly states, "History was made and written in Buenos Aires, from Buenos Aires for Buenos Aires. So much, that the (problems) between academics and revisionists that began in the 1930's, were still centralized on the Porteño-centric model and focused on the actions, thoughts, defects and virtues of the governor of Buenos Aires."[28]

How has this approach cemented itself into Argentine scholarship? Nicolas Shumway argues that this divide is deeply embedded within Argentine history and culture. This division is evident in Argentina's colonial and immediate post-Independence history. Prior to the Bourbon reforms and the creation of Viceroyalty of Rio de La Plata, the settlement of Buenos Aires was a post on the edge of the Spanish empire. Attempts at establishing a hold on the area had failed twice. Spanish limitations on trade required that all trade to the New World go through New Spain or Peru. Products from Lima would travel through the regional trade hubs of San Miguel de Tucumán, Salta, Santiago del Estero and Córdoba before reaching the Buenos Aires settlement. The long arduous journey raised the prices of all goods arriving to the Atlantic coast. Outside of trade from Upper Peru, Buenos Aires received goods from English and Portuguese traders and smugglers.

The increase in pirated trade and waning control in the colonies forced the Spanish monarchy to reassert power through the Bourbon reforms; permitting Buenos Aires to receive trade for the southern cone region and making it a bureaucratic center

[28] Cited in Armando Raúl Bazán *Historia del Noroeste Argentino* . (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra, 1986) p. 10. *Porteño*: is a person from Buenos Aires.

that drastically altered the economic and political structures of the River Plate region. [29] As a result of this, the northwest became the receiver and not supplier of goods from Europe.[30] In cultural, social and intellectual terms, the littoral region became a cosmopolitan outpost of peoples, ideas and customs emanating from Europe, while the interior looked inward. José Luis Romero, Armando Raúl Bazan and Halperín Donghi note that the region maintained shared commonalities with its colonial past and Upper Peru.

The call for independence came from Buenos Aires. Social thinkers and political intellectuals based in Buenos Aires, such as Mariano Moreno, Juan B. Alberdi, Esteban Echevarria and other members of *La Primera Junta* sought to give Buenos Aires hegemony over the rest of the River Plate region. This rankled regional leaders of the interior and created a separation between both regions that culminated in a fifty year civil war between the interior and the creation of the Argentine Confederation and an independent province of Buenos Aires. Political factions divided the fledgling nation between Unitarians and Federalists. Unitarians were not solely found in Buenos Aires and Federalists in the interior. Moreover, each faction did not have a hard-line platform. In the interior, the provinces of Tucumán and Santiago del Estero shifted back and forth between localism and national consolidation, while the provinces of La Rioja, Catamarca and San Juan were federalist strongholds.

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[29] Susan Midge Socolow has written extensively on the after effects of the Bourbon Reforms in the creation of a bureaucrat and merchant class and their ultimate effects on the independence movement. See *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778-1810: Family and Commerce*. (Cambridge [Eng.]: Cambridge University Press, 1978.) And *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires, 1769-1810: Amor Al Real Servicio*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987)

[30] Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Proyecto y construcción de una nación: 1846-1880* chp 1-2

Nevertheless, historians have sought to establish a more balanced assessment between the interior and national government during the 1890s. Natalio Botana measures this through the slow degradation of the PAN and provincial leaders' control of the national congress. [31] Working within the province, Raquel Lanzetti, reveals that the interventions in Tucumán in 1887, 1893 and 1905 were due to political and non-political causes within the province. [32]

I do not dispute the role of Buenos Aires as a central actor in the nation's history. The region is home to a significant portion of the population; it is the national capital and was the first area to strive towards independence. Nevertheless, Argentine "national" history is skewed. This work brings to the forefront a peripheral province to simultaneously understand regional and national politics through a reciprocal relationship in which the province affected national change and vice versa.

In order to accomplish this, I reorient the body of literature for Tucumán away from solely examining the sugar industry. Scholars of the province have used sugar as a trope to understand the province and its place within the region and nation. Embedded within these discussions there have been two frameworks. One group advocates Tucuman operating relatively free from national authority.[33] Conversely, the other group has

[31] Natalio Botana *El orden conservador*

[32] Lanzetti, Raquel, Norma L. Pavoni, and Norma Dolores Riquelme de Lobos. *Aportes para el estudio de algunas intervenciones federales a la provincia de Tucumán (1887-1893-1905).* (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Cordoba, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, 1968.)

[33] Patricia Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled*; José Antonio Sánchez Román, *La dulce crisis: estado, empresarios e industria azucarera en Tucumán, Argentina (1853-1914).* (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 2005.) and Mary Ann Lizondo, *The Impact of the Sugar Industry on the Middle Class of an Argentine City San Miguel De Tucumán, 1869-1895*. (Washington: George Washington University, 1982.)

argued that Tucuman was dependent on the central government.[34] Non-sugar related inquiries are examined from the perspective of the agro-industry. For example, Carter's work on malaria eradication centers on the ecological and aquatic impact of the growing sugar production in the province's hinterland. The increase in irrigation created new marshes for malaria carrying mosquitoes to spawn. The sugar industry was the lifeblood of the province, but my project treats the sugar industry as a given. Indeed, by beginning in the period before the suagr boom, the commodity takes on a secondary role.

A look at neglected regions to revise national histories is not exclusive to Argentina. Italianist scholars have tackled the "Southern Question". Within the Italian scholarship, the southern regions have been depicted as rural, conservative, separatist, "a graveyard for political ambition"[35] and economically stagnant. Like Buenos Aires and Buenos Aires-based leaders, northern Italy has been the site for writing the national history.[36] The actions of northern leaders such as Giuseppe Garibaldi, Giuseppe Mazzini, Camillo Benso Count of Cavour and King Victor Emanuel II have been depicted as initiators of national unification and the central figures in Italian national history.[37] New revisions within the Italian literature have sought to analyze the nation and political

[34] Donna Guy *Argentine Sugar Politics* and Daniel Campi *Estudios sobre la historia de la industria azucarera argentina*. (San Salvador de Jujuy, República Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Jujuy, 1991.)

[35] Lucy Riall, *Sicily and the Unification of Italy: Liberal Policy and Local Power, 1859-1866*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) p. 1

[36] Denis Mack Smith, John Anthony Davis, and Paul Ginsborg. *Society and Politics in the Age of the Risorgimento: Essays in Honour of Denis Mack Smith*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. Lucy Riall in *The Italian Risorgimento: State, Society, and National Unification*. (London: Routledge, 1994.) offers a preliminary overview of the historigraphical trend. Her own work revises these contentions.

[37] Dennis Mack Smith *Italy; A Modern History*.(Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959); *Victor Emanuel, Cavour and the Risorgimento*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1971.) and *Cavour and Garibaldi, 1860: A Study in Political Conflict*. (Cambridge, Eng.: University Press, 1954.)

thought from Sicily and a region that was in communication with the north, that bargained the terms of unification.[38]

For Argentina, James Socbie's work on the social and urban history of the interior cites of Corrientes, Mendoza and Salta was an attempt at giving preference to local factors and at the formation of culture in the interior. Stepping away from studies on the tea, wine and sugar/timber industries Scobie focuses on the social composition of the cities, internal economic relations, urban growth, work patterns, amusement, immigration, class structure and local reactions to technological innovations. Through this, Scobie alluded to the formation of the state through the everyday life of the provincial cities. [39] I look at the provincial reaction to disease to understand the process of state-formation, state-building and the practice of democracy.

Discussing the state and its formation

The "state", in its most simplistic terms, is the organization of bureaucratic institutions and organized force that offer services, such as protection and public organization, to constituents in exchange for loyalty. Sociologists have understood the state, "as a social relationship a bureaucratic or technically rationalized organization."[40] This understanding can be acknowledged through a variety of ways: taxes, citizenship, incorporation into the mechanisms of management, education and health. For others, the state serves as an institution that standardizes local practices and culture and re-fashioned them into a national quality. In order to discuss the state it is important to establish a

[38] Lucy Riall, *Sicily and the Unification of Italy*

[39] James R. Scobie and Samuel L. Baily. *Secondary Cities of Argentina: The Social History of Corrientes, Salta, and Mendoza, 1850-1910*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1988.)

[40] Patrick Carroll *Science, Culture, and Modern State Formation* p. 1

multi-disciplinary definition of the state and where this work agrees and disagrees with these approaches. Definitions of the state have evolved from Marxist viewing the state as the omnipresent coefficient of capitalism. The cultural turn saw the rise of the state as a practice of domination. Following the ideas of Foucault, the state became a non-coefficient, since conflict, resistance and domination took place in areas below, above or away from the reaches of the state. The transition on definitions of the state was in tandem with the blossoming of subaltern studies, in that the lower stratum of society were impervious to the state.[41]

Various works have established differing definitions of the state, with the consensus that it is a coercive entity that holds a monopoly on force through executive authority that overlooks local factors, needs and customs. Force and coercion are advanced through armies, taxation, police, prisons and national projects.

Marx holds that the modern-state is part of the historical development of the bourgeoisie and its political advancement. He notes the state is simply an entity since "the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."[42] For Marx, the state became an area where the bourgeoisies formalized common interests into laws and where "private interest of the dominant class finds the means to pass itself off as the common will…under an illusion of generality."[43]. Weber held that the modern-state is "a human community that (successfully) claims the *monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force* within a given territory that is ascribed to

[41] Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent. *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*.(Durham: Duke University Press, 1994) p. 3

[42] Karl Marx Communist Manifesto (Vintage Books, 2010.) chp 1

[43] Vicente Lull, and Rafael Micó Pérez. *Archaeology of the origin of the state: the theories*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.) p. 115

institutions or individuals only to the extent which the state permits."[44] For Weber, the purpose of the state was the practice of politics, domination and violence completely devoid from the interests of capital accumulation.[45] Politics was defined as the steps taken in order to influence the distribution of power, among states, or groups within the state. Similar to Marx, Weber understood the state as an entity separated from society, but developed and controlled by the nation's elites in order maintain its legitimacy. He further argued that the will of the state is separate from the will of the governed, since individuals only have limited participation in politics (e.g. elections, political rallies and trade unions).[46] Marx and Weber viewed the state as a coercive institution that developed a framework to benefit a select few, but Weber departs from Marx in that domination is not along class lines. Conversely, states are controlled by three forms of leadership: charisma, legal and traditional. For this study, Weber's points on the legal domination through the creation of modern bureaucracies are the most relevant. However this study departs from Weber in that it does not see bureaucracy and administrative staffs tied to the leader through obedience and social honor. Indeed, as *Disease and Democracy* will show, mid-level national politicians and provincial politicians repeatedly contradicted official actions of the state.[47]

In looking at the development of modern European states over a millennium Charles Tilly viewed states as "coercion-wielding organizations" that facilitated their continued existence through revenue extraction and the creation of state-institutions to

[44] Max Weber *Politics as a Vocation*, in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Translated and edited), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, pp. 77-128, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946) p.78

[45] Patrick Carroll *Science, Culture, and Modern State Formation* p. 2

[46] *Ibid*., .p. 82

[47] *Ibid*., pp.80-83

further coerce and create war. [48] James Scott sees the difference between a pre-modern and modern state is that the modern state—through the work of administrative staffs and elites— collects, standardizes and rationalizes subjects and their environment in order to create a grid of society to extend control.[49] For Scott, the most common qualities of the state are the relative autonomy from society and the continual creation of new systems to give the force of law. [50] Examining case studies, such as the construction of the city of Brasilia, collectivization in the Soviet Union and the Great Leap Forward, Scott argues that the state has repeatedly created administrative and natural disasters as a result of the massive void between state and society. Thus, societies have attempted throughout time to passively resist the state or move away from the extent of state power. [51]

The Italians Benedetto Croce and Antonio Gramsci offered two approaches to the study of the state and its development. Croce argued that as state formalized relations with society, society evolved from rural to urban-centered and feudal economic relations gave way to capitalistic economic structures. In social and cultural terms, Croce holds that this process witnessed the transformation from localism and regionalist sentiment to ardent nationalism. Employing a Marxist approach, Gramsci assessed national unification as an aspect of class conflicts and held that elites outmaneuvered each other to gain control and further widened the gap between state and society.

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[48] Charles Tilly, and Gabriel Ardant. *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.) p.1

[49] James C. Scott *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.) p. 2

[50] *Ibid*., p. 3

[51] James C. Scott *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985. And *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.)

Scholars of state-formation contend that the cultural and institutional building of the nation is an on-going process that adapts to national events. Derek Sayer and Phlip Corrigan hold that the formation of the English state was a multi-century development in the transition from feudal and mercantilist economies to capitalism. On the other hand, Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent hold that the Mexican state has been rebuilt multiple times: 1810, 1850, 1860 and 1910s. In each instance, socio-political movements destroyed all aspects of the state and formed a new one that was separated from the reality lived in the rural regions. [52]

The previous scholars have seen the state as an institution that standardizes society through coercion. Patrick Caroll sees the practice of standardization through science and technology (e.g. maps, mathematical equations, public health, census and data collection).[53] What Caroll offers is a definition of the state that is a *plexus* of science (public health), society (people and bodies) and statecraft.[54] In this work, Caroll's definition of the state serves as the foundation for a scholarship that looks to science and medicine as important facets of the state.

Applying a Foucaludian interpretation of the state with Carroll's insights, I hold that, "the state develops as an *administration of life*, with government constantly seeking to arrest disease and extend longevity…a positive power, productive to health, safety, and population security…that scop[es] out people and integrates them into engineered spaces."[55]

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[52] Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent. *Everyday Forms of State Formation* pp. -4
[53] Patrick Carroll *Culture, and Modern State Formation*.
[54] *Ibid*., p. 25
[55] Patrick Carroll *Culture, and Modern State Formation*. p . l 9

Sources

In the provincial archives of Tucumán, I examined administrative records, civil and criminal judicial records, notary collections, municipal reports, provincial public health reports, tax records and newspapers. During my stay I was fortunate enough to work at CONICET (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas) which granted me access to their database of recently digitized newspapers once thought to be destroyed. The material for this made the third and fourth chapters possible.

In Buenos Aires, I worked at National Library's newspaper collection where I consulted national newspapers. I also explored the Historical Collections section of the library and examined various medical journals from the period and a variety of nineteenth century medical dissertations from the University of Buenos Aires. In the collection there were multiple government reports completed during the 1886-1887 epidemic. I consulted both locations of the Archivo General de la Nación. At the Leandro Alem location I consulted the Miguel Juárez Celman, Julio A. Roca and Dardo Rocha private correspondences and the various political leagues that formed around their electoral parties. In addition, their photo library provided numerous photos from the *Tucumano* countryside. The Paseo Colon location contained the archive of the Ministry of Interior and inter-office memos.

The Center for Research Libraries held the *Encuesta de Folklore de 1921* for Tucumán and Catamarca, and *El Orden*, the main newspapers for Tucumán from 1881-1887 on microfilm. The University of Toronto's Internet Archive provided me with PDF formats of *El Mosquito* and volume 5 of Eduardo Wilde's *Obras Completas*. The

remaining volumes were acquired at the Special Collections of the Argentine National Library.

Chapter 1: Tucuman, 1850-1900

As one enters the province of Tucumán, one cannot help but notice the lush green vegetation of the countryside. As far as the eye can see fields of tightly matted sugar cane are only briefly interrupted by a small hamlet or road that cuts through the greenery. Railroad lines run along roads and occasionally one can see lemon or orange groves. As you travel the highway, you are greeted with the sight of trucks carrying chopped cane or trailers filled with lemon, oranges or grapefruits. The smoke filled sky serves as a time piece for the province. The burning of the cane is a reminder to people that the *zafra* is coming to a close. In the northern areas of the province the sugar cane gives way to citrus and pastures that are prime for the cultivation of wheat or soy. Small rivers and streams speckle the province offering water to farmers that have worked the land similar to their ancestors. The small homes of the farmers seem almost untouched by time. The highways are commonly dotted with small red shrines to unofficial patron saint of the rural people: Gauchito Gil. The three hundred year old weekly fair in the town of Simoca continues to attract people throughout Tucumán and the northwest. Here one can sample foods and buy artisanal goods that are part of the northwestern culture. Dissecting the province horizontally, the sierras of San Javier act as a buffer between the more humid east, with the semi-arid western region of the Calchaquí valley that extends into Catamarca and Salta. It is no wonder that the province has been dubbed "The Garden of the Republic."

In many ways, outside of the paved roads and occasional cell phone towers throughout the countryside, the province has hardly changed in the last 150 years. San Miguel, the capital of the province but referred to as Tucumán, contains the narrow

streets from the colonial period and nineteenth-century. The architecture of the homes is in classic Latin American fashion of flat exteriors with ornate roofing. The numerous churches in San Miguel and other cities reveal the importance of Catholicism to Tucumános. The *Mercado del Norte* still serves as a trading hub, gastronomical center and a meeting point.

Tucumán: people and daily life

The serenity and beauty of the province has captured the eyes of those that visited and written on the province. In 1859 the German natural German Burgmeister noted that after his stay of six months in the province, Tucumán possessed the most beautiful, agreeable and prime location in the northwest, and that it was home to an industrious people.[1] It was in stark contrast from the uncultivated and open space found in the neighboring province of Santiago del Estero. A venerable oasis, the naturalist noted the abundance of creeks, waterways, hills, fruit trees, and "well worked and maintained lands."[2] Echoing Burmeister's sentiments, in 1869 Julio Roca called his home province a, "wonder without equal in all the American continent," and possessing the "blessings of climate," making the province a "a paradise where life slips by in the midst of prodigious natural beauty."[3] Burgmeister extended the positive sentiments to San Miguel. The city was decorated with illustrious patios filled with orange trees and foliage, while the San Javier Mountains to the east offered a picturesque backdrop.

[1] Hermann Burmeister, *Descripción de Tucumán. (*Tucumán: Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, 1916.) p. 39

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 37

[3] Julio Roca to his brother Ataliva Roca. November 19, 1869. Taken from Donna Guy *Argentine Sugar Politics: Tucumán and the Generation of Eighty*. (Tempe, Ariz: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1980.) p.9

In 1869, the province had a population of 108,953.[4] The population was primarily concentrated in the areas surrounding San Miguel. The city was divided into three areas: the urban center, suburbs and countryside. The urban center was home to multiple stores and warehouses, the surrounding areas of the city were dedicated to small time production, with the houses and small farms to the north and west of the city. [5] The sparsely populated countryside was more indicative of the entire province. The western and northern areas of the province were the least populated regions of the province. Each held 1 and 8 percent of the total population respectively. Thus, people were concentrated in the central region of the province.

During the nineteenth century the northern and western departments of the province were primarily composed of subsistence level farmers and livestock. While the province further cemented its investment and transformation into the sugar economy, these areas dedicated themselves to modest sized animal husbandry. Most cattle ranches never had more than five thousand head of cattle. The meat procured from these cattle

[4] The census information for 1869 differs differently from the current departmental division of the province of Tucumán. Up until 1977 the province was divided into 11 departments. Currently it is 18. For the southern region, the department of Graneros covered modern-day Ganeros and La Cocha. Chicligasta, Chicligasta and half of Simoca. The northern portion of Simoca fell into Monteros, along with the current department of Monteors. Famallia also included Lules. The departments with the most division were Tafí which was separated into Tafí de Valle, Yerba Buena and Tafí Viejo. The capital of San Miguel was cut down to city and its surroundings, while a large portion of its northern administrative area went to Tafí Viejo. Information taken from Alfredo S.C. Bolsi *El Complejo Azucarero en Tucumán: Dinámica y Articulaciones* Instituto de Estudios Geográficos. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Tucumán. CONICET-Clint, 2000. The census material for the province also differs from the numbers the national census reported. For 1869 the national census concluded that 108,953 inhabitants, a difference of 202 people between the 109,155 the province reported in its official books. For the sake of continuity, and abundance of material I will primarily rely on the numbers given in the national census. The numbers also discuss the breakdown by region, sex, occupation, longevity and spatial distribution.

[5] Hermann Burmeister, *Descripción de Tucumán.* Pp.39-41

was primarily used for self-consumption and localized trade. [6] The skins acquired from the cattle helped spur Tucumán's leather industry concentrated in San Miguel, while cattle and mules for transport were directly tied to the ox cart industry that transported goods as far as Bolivia, Chile and Buenos Aires. The extent of the leather industry is seen in the amount of cobblers accounted for in the 1869 census, with the province totaling at 1,224.[7] During periods of high labor demands in the more populated areas of the province, people from these areas would travel to fulfill labor requirements.

In contrast to the more green pastures of the central Tucumán region, the northern and western areas were more arid and desert like. The Calchaquí valley, which stretched into the provinces of Catamarca and Salta, was the zone of the region's indigenous population. The mountains of San Javier acted a as a buffer from the more mestizo population of San Miguel. Outside of natural barriers, the region was further isolated due to the lack of smaller rail lines that extended from the major trunk lines entering Tucumán from the east and southeast. Although bordering two other provinces, the major trade routes into its regional neighbors exited Tucumán from the north and south through Burruyacú and Graneros. It was a highly racially mixed society that was both extremely isolated and directly connected to farther areas of the country.

[6] Patricia I. Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled: Economy and Society in Northwestern Argentina, Tucumán, 1876-1916*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010.) P.18

[7] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (Argentina). *Historia demográfica Argentina 1869-1914 versión digital de los tres primeros censos nacionales*. Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 2000. 1869. P. 512

Of the total population in 1869, 76 percent lived in rural areas. The departments of Burruyacú, Leales, Rio Chico, Lules and Encalilla[8] lacked any urban areas. Of the urban areas, the capital city of San Miguel held 17,438 of the provinces 26,688 urban dwellers. The gap between this and the secondary urban centers of Graneros and Monteros was significant at 1,000 and 1,432 dwellers respectively. Since the colonial period the central region of Tucumán had been the most populated. In 1778, the area had a population of around twenty thousand. This region alone, consumed more than half of the province's goods. [9] Unlike other areas of the province, the central area around the Capital benefited from high employment as a result of a diversified economy. The city of San Miguel had a bustling warehouse sector and commercial trade industry with workers also involved in the cart industry. [10] While other areas were dedicated to purely subsistence level production, the city had a booming service and commercial sector that complemented agricultural and artisanal industries. The region would further grow due to the sugar industry that attracted regional laborers that made San Miguel and the surrounding areas their home. A look into what *Tucumanos* consumed and traded further shows the importance of Tucumán as trade hub. Wine was part of the daily diet due to its supposed health benefits and ease to acquire in all stores, yet the province lacked a wine industry. Amongst elites, wines from France that came via Buenos Aires were preferred, while the lower sectors of society consumed affordable wine from the provinces of Salta and Mendoza.

[8] This area is not mentioned in any sources outside of the census, but it is located in the Valle Calchaquí

[9] Patricia I. Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled* p. 20

[10] Hermann Burmeister, *Descripción de Tucumán. P*.42

Although sugar production grew throughout the province in the mid-1800s, sugar was also grown along-side other crops in the central region of Tucumán. During the 1850s and 1860s the primary function of small family-owned single-hectare ranches was food production and livestock maintenance. Farmers grew wheat, maize, rice, sugarcane, alfalfa and oranges. The ease of growing maize and the abundance it yielded made it a popular crop to grow, while wheat production blossomed in the 1880s. Most farms, or *huertas*, were never more than a few hectares large and agriculture was dedicated to foodstuffs for local consumption and small-time trade that reached as far as the surrounding provinces.[11] The small town of Lules and its farmers, for example, provided San Miguel with most of its food and produce.[12]

The orange in particular was central to Tucumán society. Orange groves circled the capital city, while streets were lined with the smaller and bitter Seville orange variety. No solid evidence gives explicit numbers on the extent of orange production in the province. Data for the early twentieth century when the sugar industry still dominated the agricultural landscape show the amount of oranges sharing space in sugar and non-sugar regions. In 1918, statistics for the province reported that over 25,000 trees were present in the capital's sugar zone, while similar numbers were present in the non-sugar region of Tafí. The cane fields of Monteros possessed over 17,000 and Chicligasta a little under at 16,100 orange trees.[13] The southern department of Graneros, the epicenter of the 1868 epidemic, only reported 5,070 trees. As late 1921, the traveler Harry Franck noted that

[11] Patricia I. Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled* pp. 15-16
[12] Arsenio Granillo *Provincia de Tucuman*. Tucuman: Impr. de la "Razon", 1872. 64
[13] Alfredo S.C. Bolsi *El Complejo Azucarero en Tucumán: Dinámica y Articulaciones* Instituto de Estudios Geográficos

the entire province was covered with sugar and cane and orange groves, but not until recently had sugarcane decimated the orange groves significantly. [14]

Outside of sugar, citrus and wheat production, tobacco was a major crop that dated back to the colonial period. The low investment, high profit margin made the cash crop popular among farmers of the southern regions of the province. Yet land for the crop never exceeded 5 percent for the entire province. Observers at the time noted that tobacco from the region could rival foreign tobacco producers, but local producers lacked the ability to properly care for the plant. This created a very low quality tobacco. By the 1870s when sugar was beginning its spectacular growth, investors were hesitant to invest in tobacco. Instead, diversified portfolios were dedicated to wheat, commerce and livestock. The 1870s can serve as a dividing line between the diversified agricultural period in Tucumán and the post 1870s when sugar was the primary export of the province.

In comparison to other provinces in the region, *Tucumanos* did enjoy some prosperity due to its location as a trade hub. This had permitted small artisans and farmers to have their goods reach larger markets. Following independence, the Rio de la Plata region fell into a period of turmoil between factions promoting a unified nation and other fighting for autonomy from a centralized state. In Argentina, elites and politicians wrestled with the place Buenos Aires should have in the emerging nation and balance with the interior provinces. What followed was an outright civil war and the division of

[14] Harry Alverson Franck. *Working North from Patagonia; Being the Narrative of a Journey, Earned on the Way, Through Southern and Eastern South America*. (New York: The Century co, 1921) p. 58

the nation between the province of Buenos Aires, under the dictator Juan Manuel Rosas and the Argentine Confederation of Justo Urquiza. The breakdown of trade and farmers leaving to fight in the *caudillo* wars of the interior was especially damaging to a province that relied on trade and produce for income. The trickle-down effect had resulted in a drop in land prices, resulting in lower taxes and reduced income from provincial tariffs.

The defeat and fall of Rosas in 1852 at the Battle of Caseros by Urquiza and the implementation of the 1853 constitution had a significant impact on Tucumán for the next decade. Prior to its creation, Tucumán gained income from provincial tariffs that taxed any goods coming into the province. Part of the compromise between Unitarians and Federalists in the creation of the constitution had been for the port to share its income from the international tariffs and the elimination of provincial tariffs. Instead, resources would be gained from taxes at the port of Buenos Aires through monthly subsidies, while new taxes were applied to the production of goods, such as sugar. This drastic change in the fiscal policy required a period of gestation.

Positive images of the province were not only exclusive to travelers and local investors, but also characterized foreign bankers and railway companies. Working on behalf of the British-owned Ferrocarril Central Argentino Railway (FCCA), engineer Pompeyo Moneta surveyed the land between Córdoba and Jujuy for the construction of the most direct way of reaching the upper northwest. During his time in the region, Moneta noted in his report that of the three provinces—Catamarca, Salta and Tucumán—

the sugar province had the largest capacity for output and the one with the potential of returning high profits to railway investors. [15]

Internal events also assisted in the growth of Tucumán. Extensive landowning and a progressively minded provincial government assisted in the development of the agricultural and small industries throughout the province. In the 1860s taxes on sugar ranged in the 15-18 percent, a significant decrease from the previous years in which taxes stayed in the area of 35 percent. [16] These complemented new patterns of income acquisition through subsidies from Buenos Aires' customs house and national subsidies to education (The department of Public Instruction was under the auspice of the Ministry of Treasury), while the sugar industry began to slowly develop on a larger scale.[17]

In 1869 the province contained 15,872 homes. 85 percent of *Tucumanos* lived in small straw dwellings while 1 percent lived in single room mud tile homes. The remaining housing consisted of one or two room flat-roof homes, mud tile and mud homes. Of the straw homes, they were evenly distributed throughout the entire province with the lowest percentage found in the northern department of Trancas where mud homes dominated the landscape. These homes lacked the basic amenities of potable water, sewage lines or flooring. Trash was piled outside where it was burnt. Inhabitants of San Miguel either burned their trash or threw it into the Salí River.

The large divide in living conditions for the entire province assisted in creating a relatively short life expectancy. The numbers are evident in death records and census

[15] Patricia I. Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled* pp 24

[16] Daniel Campi. *Estudios sobre la historia de la industria azucarera argentina*. (San Salvador de Jujuy, República Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Jujuy, 1991.) pp. 46-47

[17] José Antonio Sánchez Román. *La dulce crisis: estado, empresarios e industria azucarera en Tucumán, Argentina (1853-1914).* (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 2005.) p. 49

data. In the distribution of age, the majority fell between ages 2-15 and 21-30. The number of people over 40 years old significantly dropped, with 11,735 between the ages of 31 and 40, and 6,353 between 41 and 50, revealing that life expectancy for the province was quite low. [18] Studies on living conditions and church death records show that living conditions deteriorated as the sugar industry took off.

Death records from San Miguel's principle churches show that stable death rates increased along the major periods of production of the sugar industry. The Church of *La Matriz* and *La Victoria* covered the city of San Miguel in four quadrants, with the latter covering the southern and eastern regions were sugar laborers of the La Esperanza and Concepción ingenios were concentrated hugging the River Salí.[19] Compiling data from 1860-the end of the 1880s, the average number of deaths reported to both churches grew. The 1860s had an average 296.5 death per year reported. The 1870s and 1880s saw these numbers rise to 490.3 and 631.6 per year in each decade. In the 1870s and 1880s, the majority of causes of deaths that were reported were from smallpox (twenty-two percent) or fever (fourteen percent). However, 27 percent of cases did not give a cause of death. [20] The limited extent of medical knowledge during this period meant that many diseases or ailments lacked a name or were simply confused with others. Thus, for the years of 1886 and 1887 did not list cholera as a cause of death even though 1,887 people died in the city. The stigma of certain diseases could have further hindered people from reporting the

[18] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (Argentina). *Historia demográfica Argentina 1869-1914* 496-497. Ages 2-5 14822; 6-10 17735; 11-15 14229; 21-30 19198.

[19] In 1880, La Esperanza employed 600 laboreres and Concepción 400 during the zafra.

[20] Data compiled from material in María Paula Parolo, Daniel Campi and María Estela Fernández's "Auge Azucarero, mortalidad y políticas de salud en San Miguel de Tucumán en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX" in Estudios Socialies vol 38, 2010. P. 66

cause or the death in general. Further insight into the data shows that of the 14,488 deaths registered from 1859 through 1892, children[21] made up the majority of the deaths. 1882 and 1884 were the two years with the most deaths registered. For those years infants made up of an average of 68 percent of the deaths compiled, while for the entire period the average was 59 percent.

The high infant mortality rate was due to multiple reasons. First, taxes acquired from sugar were only invested in certain areas of the province. In the center of the city, investment was made in paved roads, kerosene lined streets, a hospital under the Society of Beneficence, schools and a beautification of the central plaza. Yet, for all this beauty, growth and development, the rest of the province and blocks away from the central plaza remained unchanged. Burgmeister noted the poverty that encircled the city. Small mud and straw houses were far cry from the more solidly built, tiled homes that were more common in the center of the city. In terms of government funded sanitation, the municipality of San Miguel did provide street sweeping in the 1860s, but there are no records of how often the streets were cleaned. [22] Further, Burgmeister's description of the city notes that the central area where elites lived, and where the street cleaning most often occurred was only an area of roughly four square blocks. Thus, the one sanitation service did not extend too far out, only a tiny minority of the entire population received any form of sanitation service. The center of the city was where elites made their homes and the

[21] Children constitute the ages of 0-14. Within this age group, children under the age of four 84.53 percent of the deaths

[22] Ramón Cordeiro, Carlos Dalmiro Viale, Horacio Sánchez Loria, Ernesto M. del Moral, and Samuel Eichelbaum. *Compilación ordenada de leyes, decretos y mensajes del periodo constitucional de la provincia de Tucumán, que comienza en el año 1852*. (Tucumán: Imprenta de la Càreel Penitenciaría [etc.], 1915.) pp. 418-420

old cabildo still stood. The area immediately east of the city in between the city and the Salí River where small industrial areas intermixed with housing created an overall insalubrious region of the city. Investment in the city followed an erratic pace. Elites were willing to invest in the modernization of the sugar industry, but the improvement of the city was slow. As the city's population grew, the government lacked the sufficient funds and supplies to build potable water. Following the 1886 epidemic, Tucumán's request to Buenos Aires for machinery to build sewers was denied. Instead, water continued to be brought in daily from the rural regions, while those with more funds built wells in their homes. This process had changed very little since the colonial period. [23] The city would not possess potable water or a sewer system until the late 1890s, rural regions not until much later and some areas still do not have them to this day.

Living conditions lacked basic necessities and malnutrition was rampant. Provincial reports on public health primarily concentrated on San Miguel de Tucumán. Reports on the countryside do not exist. Yet, it is safe to assume that living conditions in the rural regions of the province were much worse. Julio P. Avila's report on the working conditions of sugar workers stated that, "Workers in Tucumán are worked in excess; poorly paid; eat poorly; live in miserable little makeshift homes. The houses are built of reeds, dirt, hay or sugarcane leaves, with no rest, even for holidays."[24] The province would not make major leaps in improving health conditions until the opening decades of the twentieth century when the Radical party came to power. In 1882, Paul Groussace noted that the province was in a state of poor hygiene since, "hygiene, to this day, has

[23] Hermann Burmeister, *Descripción de Tucumán. P* 57
[24] María Paula Parolo, Daniel Campi and María Estela Fernández's "Auge Azucarero" 45

been one of the areas public administration has more often overlooked."[25] Groussac further points out that the center of the city had made attempts to keep up appearances of hygiene, but that the life style and living conditions outside in the perimeters of the city were in poor condition.

Outside of purely hygienic reasons, more miasmatic forms of disease etiology were blamed. Writers of the period often bemoaned the harsh and poor weather conditions of the province. For Groussac the significant changes between the rainy and humid summer months, and the dry winter months were a constant source of poor health. This change was further exacerbated with the short to non-existent spring and fall. The dry months of winter created an overall pleasant time in the province with clean air that was thought to be beneficial to the respiratory functions. [26] Contrasted with the winter, the summer months were humid and rainy. To contemporaries this created a drop in air quality, due to an exorbitant amount of moisture in the air and, according to ideas of the time, damaged the lungs. For contemporaries, poor air quality was seen as the main culprit behind respiratory disease, cardiovascular maladies, ailments of the nervous system and epidemics of smallpox and cholera. The brackish water that formed after the rain created areas that attracted mosquitoes and further cemented malaria in the province.

Nevertheless, it would be hasty to judge the lack of investment in public health for the province. First, the nation in general lacked the necessary means to create any form of national administration to oversee public health. During the 1860s period of

[25] Paul Groussac *Memoria histórica y descriptiva de la provincia de Tucumán*. (Buenos Aires: Impr. de M. Biedma, 1882.)

[26] *Ibid p.* 704

national organization, the only things that could remotely be considered "national" were the railroads and the forming military. Instead it came down to the provinces and municipalities to form their own health commissions. In 1863, the province formed the Medical Tribunal to oversee the public health, doctors, pharmacists and cleanliness of the city. The philanthropic group, Society of Beneficence oversaw the running of the hospital. Thus, the management of health was divided between private and public responsibility. The Society of Beneficence was created in 1858. This same year it was given its first hospital, with a second one built in 1878. Twenty-five women managed the society. Most of its funds came from donations and subsidies from the municipality. Outside of managing a hospital, its principle role was to educate and regulate women on proper behavior, such as how to maintain the home and ensure they did not commit actions that would call into question their honor. In 1875, its duties were extended to men. Although the municipality funded the hospitals, the society took on, "all charges the province or municipality set forth."[27] Nevertheless, its jurisdiction and management was rather limited. It only served the city and many times subsidies from the municipality and/or province were late or never arrived. The lack of funds was a constant hindrance for the society to erect new hospitals or lazarettos. [28]

In the absence of formal medical care, folk medicine through *curanderos* was the main form of health care in the countryside. Oral reports from the *Encuesta de Folklore de 1921*, note that that folk medicine relied on a balance between nature and the human

[27]Marcos A. Maicez Digesto Municiapl: compliaciones de ordenaas resoluciones memorias y decretos de la municipalidad de Tucuman a partir del año 1868. Tomo I Comprende la documentación relativa a la corporación municipal Municipal años 1868 a 1882(.Edicion Oficial: Tucumán, 1924.)

[28] Archivo Historico Tucumán Seccion Administrativa 1865-1887

body. Herbs, fruits, teas, exercise, the positioning of the body, superstition on the weather were all intimately tied to a person's health. For example, one concoction that was thought to cure alcoholism was to mix three drops of sweat from a black horse in a glass of wine. This would be then consumed. For rural people, who were the majority, the multiple tools in a *curanderos* arsenal were local goods, such as ants, squash and basil that were thought to cure anything from fever to tuberculosis.[29]

Census records for 1869 show that the province was home to fifty-five *curanderos*. Of these, only six were located in San Miguel. Instead, the capital had the majority of the province's doctors. The number of doctors was more weighted towards the Capital, with six of eight located in San Miguel. Two doctors served all of the countryside. [30] The sources do not indicate where exactly in the countryside they were located. The possibility of them being in one of the secondary cities, such as Monteros or Graneros over the completely rural areas of Trancas or Rio Chico, for example, is more of a possibility. The countryside was also home to the majority of the midwives, *Parteras,* with twenty of the twenty-three. Lastly, all of the fifteen pharmacists for the province made their home in San Miguel. [31]Census data for 1895 does not have the number of doctors, *curanderos* and pharmacists broken down between those in the capital and the countryside. The influx of European immigration into the littoral and overall more urban society had transformed the census into collecting data based on origin: Argentine or non-Argentine. However, important data can be collected from the 1895

[29] *Colección Enceusta de Folklore de 1921*; Tucumán, roll 98

[30] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (Argentina). *Historia demográfica Argentina 1869-1914* 1869 506-509

[31] *ibid* pp.506-512

census. Divided into "Sanitary Professions", the province had increased its number of doctors to thrifty-three. Twenty-two were Argentines. Similar patterns were seen in the number of pharmacists, which doubled from fifteen to thirty. The field of informal medical care, *curanderismo*, narrowed down to only six for the entire province.[32] The medical field had skewed gender patterns. All doctors were men and women comprised all the midwives. Women were also the majority of nurses, with only one man, a foreigner, found among the twenty-eight accounted for. The most balanced of the professions was *curanderos* that made up half of the category. Yet if the medical field is taken as a whole women were the majority, standing at 61 percent of all medical professions. This further demonstrates the fact that at the end of the nineteenth century, most *Tucumanos* only came into contact with health care in the secondary and informal areas of nurses, *curanderos*, pharmacists, midwives and dentists. Moreover, it verifies that significant divide between center and hinterland found in the mid-century was still present on the eve of the twentieth century.

In comparison to other areas of Argentina, Tucumán stood in the middle of available medical professionals. At four times larger a population than Tucumán, during the first census the city and province of Buenos Aires had 243 doctors, with 154 being in the city. The majority of the remaining doctors were in the southern regions of the province. Doctors outnumbered *curanderos*. The countryside had 118, with 66 alone practicing in the southern regions. The city, on the other hand, only possessed 9. The second largest medical profession was midwives at a total of 168 for the province. At the

[32] *ibid* p. 555

end of the century, the number of available doctors grew exponentially to 413 in the city and 158 in the province. *Curanderos* dwindled to only 14 in both areas. This increase was due to the arrival of foreign doctors entering Argentina during high periods of immigration and more local doctors graduating from the University Of Buenos Aires School Of Medicine, which had began educating students in earnest following the fall of Rosas in 1852. Nevertheless these changes were not felt throughout all of Argentina.

In the more remote areas of the nation, the western province of La Rioja reported five doctors, with only one being in the city, during the first census. With a population of 48,742 that translated into 1 doctor for every 9,748 people. The number of *curanderos*, however, was much higher. Forty-seven were spread throughout the countryside, while only one resided in the capital. During the second census, the province did not see the same growth in population as other provinces. The amount of available health care witnessed a drop. The number of doctors doubled, but the amount of *curanderos* decreased to six. It is important to note, that all six were women and Argentine. These two areas serve as proper end points. La Rioja, like Tucumán, was a rural society that never received the wave of European immigration like the littoral. This created a stable if somewhat static society with connections with its colonial past. The province differed from Tucumán and Buenos Aires in that it never developed any form of widespread agro industry. Like the northern parts of Tucumán the majority of the local economy was dedicated to livestock, with pockets of wheat sporadically spread throughout the province. Unlike Buenos Aires and Tucumán, La Rioja did not possess a corpus of elites that actively invested in the local economy. As will be explained further in the remaining

chapters Tucumán, did not rely as heavily on the national subsidies as other provinces did, one being La Rioja.[33]

In the breakdown of gender for the population, women were fifty-one percent of the population. Women constituted the majority of laborers working animal skins to be traded to Bolivia and Chile, and the production of needlework and ponchos. [34] Throughout the country, Tucumán's ponchos became the standard of quality. This contributed to the textile industry constituting 18 percent of the province's taxable output. This industry would see an almost total collapse through the introduction of the cheaper British goods that began to arrive more frequently in the late 1870s. While the cigarette rolling sector shifted to Buenos Aires, Patricia Juárez Dappe notes, that this change dealt a significant blow to the province's manufacturing sector. This required investors to further assist the growth of the sugar industry in order to maintain returns. The secondary sector—manufacturing of goods— saw a significant drop between 1869 and 1895. By 1895 people involved in some area of the manufacturing sector only comprised 21.5 percent. The hardest hit was the female labor force that was too large to make a transition into the sugar labor force. The ones that did find employment moved to the service sector, becoming laundresses, seamstresses and cooks. Yet, by 1895 79 percent of women were classified as unemployed. [35]

[33] Ariel de la Fuente's work on La Rioja during the 1850s and 1870s demonstrates that the gap between elite and peon was not as significant as in other parts of the republic. While land was abundant, the true measure of wealth came through the accesibilty to water in La Rioja's semi-arid environment. Moreover, land ownership was not as common as in Tucumán. This created sparse land tax collection and overall poor provincial government. Lastly, La Rioja's location did not make it privy to high amounts of trade or commerce like Tucumán. In many ways La Rioja was isolated.

[34] Hermann Burmeister, *Descripción de Tucumán.* pp.45-50

[35] Patricia I. Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled* pp.52-53

In 1895, the population for Tucumán had grown to 215,742. Like 1869, most of the population was found in the city of San Miguel with 49,388. In the countryside, most *Tucumanos*, whether Argentine or foreign were located in Cruz Alta at 28,821, Famallía with 26,991, Monteros at 25,511and lastly Chicligasta with 22,978. All of these departments constituted the province's sugar region. In the distribution of ages, more than half of all *Tucumanos* were somewhere in the age of 18-50, the largest confined age-group in the census. Like 1869 the elderly group of over 50 years of age comprised only 11,063 of the population, or about 5 percent.

Unlike the littoral region of Argentina, the northwest never received the massive influx of immigrants that came to characterize Argentina. In 1869, only 351 are reported. Of the immigrant population present in 1869, Tucumán received people primarily from Bolivia, France, Chile, Italy and Spain. Census data reveals that those that did make the trek to the northwest in 1869, 210 made their home in the city of San Miguel. Of these 210, only 30 were women. The gender breakdown for the rural area is more even with 87 men and 54 women. The numbers show that the rural population was almost evenly divided throughout the province. [36]

By 1895, the number of immigrants entering Tucumán increased along with other areas of Argentina. While in 1869 the number was small, by 1895 the number had grown to 10,607. Of these, 7,000 were Spaniards and Italians. Unlike 1868, the groups of immigrants arriving prior to 1895 were more willing to leave San Miguel. A little more than half (5,578) remained in San Miguel, There was a sizeable number found in Cruz

[36] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (Argentina). *Historia demográfica Argentina 1869-1914* pp.500-501

Alta at 1,872 and Famallía with 833. This can be attributed to two reasons. The first was the connection of Tucumán to Buenos Aires through rail in 1876. Prior to the railroad, the trip between Buenos Aires to the northwest was somewhere in the area of 3 to 4 months. After 1876 the amount of time decreased to only a few days.[37]

With regards to regional migration to Tucumán, the province received its greatest share from the surrounding provinces. In 1869, Tucumán received a total of 9,677 Argentines from all other provinces. Of this total 9,112 came from the northwestern province. In 1895 the number of non-*Tucumáno* Argentines living in the province was 40,792, with 35,821 coming from the northwestern region.[38] The spatial distribution of northwesterners in Tucumán between 1869 and 1895 significantly changed as result of a few things connected to the sugar industry. By 1895 the sugar industry was in full swing. The continued growth led to a moment of overproduction in 1896, with sugar prices precipitously falling, while land dedicated to cultivation grew in areas outside of the capital region.

The most significant period of migration was during the *zafra* period in Tucumán when ingenios and cane planters required a large labor force to cut, collect and transport the freshly cut cane to the mill. Since sugarcane begins to lose its sucrose content within twenty-four hours of being cut this required a fast moving and flexible labor system. During these months, the province transformed into a, "hive of activity" with men, women and children cutting the cane and laying it on the road for mule drawn carts to

[37] James R. Scobie *Revolution on the Pampas; A Social History of Argentine Wheat, 1860-1910*. Austin: Published for the Institute of Latin American Studies by the University of Texas Press, 196411

[38] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (Argentina). *Historia demográfica Argentina 1869-1914*

come and collect the cane.[39] In addition to their pay, some migrants would be given housing in the community built around the mill. [40]

Taking the largest group, *cartamarqueños,* between both periods we find similar patterns. In 1868, over 1,000 lived in San Miguel, possibly as *jornaleros* in the sugar, tannery, animal skin, brick or agricultural industries. First-hand accounts on the Capital as early as 1850 noted the general poverty and shanty housing encircling the city, which occupied the same area as the tannery, brick and sugar industries.[41] Of the remaining Catamarcans, 40 percent lived in the Rio Chico and Graneros regions, the areas that straddled the Catamarcan border. Of the two, Rio Chico was the only one that had portions of the department dedicated to sugar production. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the percentage of those inhabiting the capital had drastically declined from roughly 30 percent in 1869 to a little over half at 17 percent (2,983) in 1895. By the end of the century the majority of Catamarcans were found in the southern sugar departments of Rio Chico, Chicligasta, and Famallía for combined total of 9,080. [42] Areas such as the bordering department of Graneros, whose sugar production was concentrated in a small northwestern pocket bordering Rio Chico, only accounted for roughly 4 percent of the Catamarcan population.[43]

This demonstrates that most labor followed the general upsurge of the sugar industry. The areas in which the epidemics took place also followed this pattern. The first

[39] Harry Alverson Franck. *Working North from Patagonia* p. 59

[40] For a discussion of ingenios as Socio-cultural spaces, see Daniel Campi, "Los Ingenios del Norte: un mundo de contrastes".

[41] Hermann Burmeister, *Descripción de Tucumán. P* 39

[42] Rio Chico 3591; Chicligasta 2691; Famallía 2798

[43] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (Argentina). *Historia demográfica Argentina 1869-1914*

outbreak was concentrated in the southern departments of Graneros and Rio Chico, while the concluding ones were in the central area, with witness accounts stating that the Capital was hit the worse. A breakdown of occupation for those inflicted for the 1886 epidemic show that most came from the *jornaleros* and peon sector.

Northwestern population in Tucumán in 1868

Table 1.1

Province	**Amount**	**percent of total**
Catamarca	3754	41
Jujuy	58	Less than 1
La Rioja	265	2
Salta	1246	14
Santiago del Estero	3789	42

Northwestern population in Tucumán in 1895

Table 1.2

Province	**Amount**	**percent of total**
Catamarca	16565	41
Jujuy	150	Less than 1
La Rioja	3527	8
Salta	3201	9
Santiago del Estero	12378	30

Table 1.2

What can be surmised from the census material is that Tucumán had a sizeable urban area, but was primarily a rural society. The abundance of land meant that land holding either through ownership or tenancy was common. Within these small plots a variety of goods were produced, for example grains being up to 80 percent of the cultivated land.[44] In 1869 19,932 people were involved some way or another in a form of agricultural work with 13,202 of these being in an occupation that had direct access to land either through tenancy or propriety status, such as the *agricultores* (farmers) who

[44] Patricia I. Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled* p. 16

were 833.[45] In 1895, the number of *tucumanos* in the primary activities of agriculture only rose to 23,802, but within this growth the greatest expansion was among *agricultores* at 19,987. Argentine-born women constituted 2,012 of these women, while male and female foreigners were 893. [46] This trend demonstrates the extent of land concentration amongst smaller land owners, a general trend that will be examined more closely in the overview of the sugar industry. This abundance of workers was noted as early as the 1850s when Herman Burmeister remarked that during the 6 months in Tucumán, he came to see that Tucumán possessed not only a prime location for industry but an industrious and mobile people with who the province would only continue to grow and develop. [47]

The low number of foreigners entering and establishing homes in Tucumán indicates that similar to the region, division amongst race or nationality was not as pervasive. Most *Tucumanos* were descendants of Spanish stock dating back to the colonial period. Over time, contact and eventual mixture with Africans and Indians had forged a mixture now known as *criollo*. Like the gaucho of the pampas, most rural Argentines constituted some form of a criollo mixture. A British mine owner in the period following independence, noted that gauchos[48] were, "all colors, black, white and red." [49]

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[45] *Ibid* p.15

[46] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (Argentina). *Historia demográfica Argentina 1869-1914* 552

[47]Hermann Burmeister, *Descripción de Tucumán. P*.39

[48] Here I use the term in its more broadest term of rural worker.

[49] Richard W. Slatta *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983. 15

As more Europeans moved into the province, the majority never left the city of San Miguel or the surrounding departments. Data from the 1895 giving the breakdown by profession shows that most foreigners in Tucumán were in the commercial sector such as *comerciantes* (1,385) and *empleados* (296). Just these two professions outnumbered all male and female foreigners in the agricultural profession (1,019).[50] The population was overall concentrated in the central region of the province while the southern, western and northern edges of the province were the least populated. The province, unlike other interior provinces lacked the isolation that came to characterize many others such as the far north. A healthy and varied commercial and agriculture industry meant that the province regularly attracted Argentines from the surrounding provinces, whose number grew parallel to the growth of the entire region's population.

The rural areas of Tucumán remained relatively untouched. Oscar Chamosa's work on Tucumán's Calcahqui Valley during the 1920s shows how in many ways the daily routine of life and living conditions had changed very little from the nineteenth century and possibly earlier.[51] Small rural dwellings continued, *curanderismo* was still prominent, even though the number of doctors had increased throughout the province, and lastly how rural *tucumános* viewed the environment, work, social relations and death were still formed by practices dating back to the colonial period. The similarities of life

[50] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (Argentina). *Historia demográfica Argentina 1869-1914* 552-556

[51] Oscar Chamosa *The Argentine Folklore Movement: Sugar Elites, Criollo Workers, and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism, 1900-1955*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010.

styles within the region can be traced in the similarities of stories and songs early anthropologists found in Catamarca, Tucumán and Salta. [52]

The Sugar Industry

Imbued with the ideas of Darwinian evolution, the Enlightenment and Spencerian positivism, nineteenth century elites began to see progress in material change over moral and philosophical matters. The works of Sarmiento in *Civilización y Barbarie: Vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga* and Francisco Bilbao's *Sociabilidad Chilena* became manifestos of elite's attempts at forcibly applying ideas of evolution to modernization. As a result of this change, a dichotomy formed between the urban i.e. modern, and the rural i.e. untamed world. In order to bring the rural into the fold of modernity, elites invested in the interior, quashed rebellious *caudillos* and built railroads to further connect the European-minded littoral with the Hispanic interior. In Argentina, Domingo Sarmiento and Juan B. Alberdi, both men from the interior, and the Generation of 1837 championed the cause of modernizing Argentina through industrialization and railroads, and to make Argentina an edifice of "progress."[53]

In Argentina, the contentious post-Independence period had impeded plans of regional unification. In between 1810 and 1816 dreams of a united River Plate had collapsed as Paraguay, the eastern River Plate and Upper Peru broke away. This resulted in Buenos Aires looking to its interior provinces as the building blocks with which to

[52] See Juan Alfonso Carrizo's collection on "Cancioneros Populares" of Salta, Jujuy, Catamarca and Tucumám

[53] Bradford E. Burns *The Poverty of Progress: Latin America in the Nineteenth Century*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.)18-19

form a nation. On July 9th 1816 Argentine leaders pushing for a unified nation, convened in the province of Tucumán and declared their independence from Spain.

In between 1820-1860 the country oscillated between unification and division. The dictatorship of Juan Manuel Rosas in Buenos Aires and the Argentine Confederation under Justo José Urquiza escalated caudillo warfare. The beginning of the end came when Unitarain forces in conjunction with Uruguayan and Brazilian forces routed Rosas' *caudillos* in the Battle of Caseros. Following the battle, the *Acuerdo of San Nicolas* set forth plans to draft a new constitution, build a strong central government, and initiate a process to federalize the city of Buenos Aires to weaken the estanciero class that had controlled the province under Rosas. All provinces except Buenos Aires accepted the 1853 constitution. The new city-state remained independent until the Battle of Pavón in 1861, where Mitré defeated Urquiza. The battle signaled the end of the Argentine confederation and the unification of the provinces under one nation. [54] Mitré served as Argentina's first president until 1868 when Domingo F. Sarmiento was elected. Under Mitré and Sarmiento the country tackled the wars of the distant interior and the eradication of the final remnants of Federalist *caudillos* in the interior. Unification was also implemented through foreign warfare. There were various goals of the War of the Triple Alliance (1865-1870) against Paraguay. In geo-political terms, the goal would be to regain lost land. On the other hand, provincial federalists viewed Paraguay as the socio-political embodiment of the Federalist cause. Thus, it was imperative for the new

[54] David Rock *Argentina, 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.) pp. 90-125

nation to maintain its order through the removal of external threats. Lastly, ideas of the national space occupied by Paraguay assisted in the creation of an imaginary territory.[55]

Federalist factions were primarily concentrated in the poorer and peripheral provinces. Catamarca, La Rioja, San Juan and San Luis were the areas where the famous gauchos Felipe Varela, Facundo Quiroga, Juan Saá and Angel Vicente "Chacho" Peñaloza had fought against the centralization of government under Rosas and Mitré. Tucumán did have periods of Federalism. Under Celedonio Gutierrez in the early 1850s the province was a hot bed of federalists. Following the fall of Rosas, the province became a central area of the Unitarian cause. With the help of Santiago del Estero, the two provinces became the financial and military wings of National Organization in the north. Under the leaderships of Anselmo Rojo, Wenceslao Paunero, Antonio and Manuel Taboada and Wenceslao Posse, the two provinces initiated military campaigns into Salta, La Rioja and Catamarca to remove federalist threats and establish local governments loyal to the Unitarian cause. David Rock notes that during Mitré's term (1862-1868) there were around 117 changes of power in local governments. [56]

The close association between the two provinces would eventually come to an end with the election of Sarmiento in 1868. Santiago del Estero gave its full support to a second Mitré presidency. Tucumán, on the other hand, under the control of the Posse family had given its full support to Sarmiento.[57] Following the loss, Sarmiento enacted

[55]Ariel de la Fuente *Children of Facundo: Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency During the Argentine State-Formation Process (La Rioja, 1853-1870).* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.) p. 176

[56] David Rock *Argentina, 1516-1987 p.*126

[57] It is important to note that Tucumán's electoral votes arrived late to Buenos Aires and were therefore not included in the final tally. Nevertheless, in the letters between Juan Posse and Domingo Sarmiento it becomes clear that the Posse family and Tucumán were supporters of Sarmiento's plans for

plans to improve the interior, through mining companies in San Juan and farming colonies throughout the littoral region. Provinces that were not loyal to him, such as Santiago del Estero, were excluded from development. Under Sarmiento, the state, and not the provinces, was to be the initiator of balance and order. Although Santiago del Estero fought for the cause of unification, under this new order the national army was to be the enforcer of unification.

Some areas of Sarmiento's presidency were a resounding success, such as education reform and the *coup de grace* to all *caudillos* in the interior; however, the overall administration was a failure in modernizing and ushering in an economic revolution in the interior. The most significant act of Sarmiento's presidency was winning the election. Following his victory, a new era of presidents from the interior began. Elites in the interior loosely grouped together under the League of Governors, to consolidate their vote for a singular candidate. Between 1868 and 1904, only two presidents were not from the interior: Carlos Pellegrini 1890-1892 and Luis Sáenz Peña 1892 and 1895, whose governments together did not even consist of one term. Nevertheless, the League of Governors sought out candidates that had direct connection to the interior provinces, but were also heavily enmeshed in *porteño* circles. For example Avellaneda's family was closely involved in the politics of Tucumán and the development of the sugar industry. As a student in Córdoba, a senator for the province of Buenos Aires, and the Minister of Justice and Education under Sarmiento, Avellaneda

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modernizing the interior, especially in the field of education. For a further discussion of Sarmiento see the edited volume Tulio Halperín Donghi,. *Sarmiento, Author of a Nation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

was able to cultivate relationships throughout the nation. For the League of Governors, this made him an ideal candidate that could further solidify the ties between the capital and the provinces. For the provinces of the interior, this association was crucial, since it facilitated the implementation of national policies beneficial to them. For Tucumán, it was seen through protectionist policies and a direct rail connection.

Tucumán, along with other provinces, became a site for the state to modernize and advance the nation by finding a balance between the industrialization taking place in Europe and the United States, and making use of the rich soil the country naturally possessed and the open land that had yet to be conquered. The growth of the sugar industry was due to investment and assistance from local and national interests. These interests had their economic motives, but they also constituted the state's direct attempt at extending its presence throughout the Argentine territory. Under Juan Manuel Rosas, the province of Buenos Aires forcibly pacified the southern regions of the province, thereby extending its borders. Confiscated land was then portioned to soldiers or sold to buyers in order to populate the newly acquired territory. One of the final, but most decisive, pushes came in 1879 under Gen. Julio Argentino Roca in what is now referred to as The Conquest of the Desert. Although not a desert, but closer to a fertile region of southern region, "desert" came to symbolize the blank uncivilized region that had yet to come under "modern" control. The arrival of modernity would usher in a new period of modernity, growth, attract foreign investment, populate with immigrants and incorporate "uncivilized" people into the nation. [58]

[58] David Rock *Argentina, 1516-1987 p.*119

The nation heavily invested in the construction of the railroad. In 1865 all of Argentina only contained 160 miles of rail line. By 1876, when it arrived in Tucumán, it was at 1,280 miles. At the end of the nineteenth century the railroad network stood at 8,760 miles, which connected almost all corners of the nation with Buenos Aires. British financiers built the majority of the rail lines in Argentina. In the 1870s the closest rail connection between Buenos Aires and the north was the Ferrocarril Central Argentino (FCCA) that had its last stop in Córdoba. During the mid-1870s, in the midst of a global recession and austerity plans, Argentina, under the direction of *Tucumano* president Nicolás Avellaneda, undertook the construction of the Ferrocarril Central Norte (FCCN) from Córdoba to San Miguel. The lack of sufficient funds mired the line with deficient construction from mismatching line gauges and negligent management of construction under the Telfner Company. The different gauges between the FCCN and FCCA required an extra stop in order to move the carts from one rail to another while poor surveying meant that the line did not properly compensate for the multiple rivers and streams the line crossed, and the more rolling topography found after Córdoba. The line was in deplorable condition. Government reports from the period noted that over 1 million pesos would be needed to improve the state of the line. The report stated that nails, which held the rail to the wooden beams, were missing, while the ballast beams had been misplaced. This important oversight had caused some of the lines to warp.[59] In 1879, the Telfner Company had been unable to acquire funds in London to repair the rails and the state took complete control of the management of the line. At first, the costs to

[59] José Antonio Sánchez Román. *La dulce crisis:* pp. 89-90

manage and construct the lines were high. Following a period of maturation, found in all Argentine rail lines, the FCCN began to turn profits and shrink its debt after 1883. [60] Within the interim period, patterns of growth were evident. In between 1877 and 1880, the number of passengers making use of the rail increased from 20,000 to 37,000, while the amount of cargo transported double from 24,000 tons to 49,000 tons.[61]

Local elites in tandem with the national government assisted the development of the industry through an almost complete control of provincial powers. The political structure of the province was a closed system, with positions being handed down within families and extended relatives. The "handing down" of positions was common. Upon the exit of Federico Helguera from the governorship in 1873, he received a letter from President Avellaneda stating that, "We have just received word of the nomination of [Belisario] López for governor. Your administration was useful because it has made it possible for the nomination of a friendly governor to succeed yours."[62] In 1917 Radical governor Juan Bautista Bascary noted that, "When I assumed the governorship…The right of being governor was never in the hands of the electorate. Legislators were chosen in closed family enclaves…Pedigree, economic bonds and dependency were the

[60] The historiography on the Argentine railroads is vast. The earliest works, emanating from nationalist and dependency theory circles argued that the foreign-owned railroads maintained Argentina in a state of foreign dependency. Moreover, this literature, such as the classic works of Raúl Scalabrini Oritz further argued that the railroads were not immediately beneficial to Argentina as a result of high guarantees for investment. The work of Colin M. Lewis revised this body of work. In his work, Lewis argued that all railroads, foreign and domestically owned, went through a period of maturation before returning profits. Some of the largest lines, FCCA did not see positive profits for many years. See Colin M. Lewis *British Railways in Argentina, 1857-1914: A Case Study of Foreign Investment*. (London: Athlone, 1983.) Raúl Scalabrini Ortiz *Historia de los ferrocarriles argentinos*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Reconquista, 1940.)

[61] José Antonio Sánchez Román. *La dulce crisis:* 98

[62] Daniel Campi and Maria Cecilia. "Elite y poder en Tucuman" p. 95. Taken from Archivo Federico Helguera I, letter number 55

determining factors of political participation within the older order."[63] Indeed, elites in Tucumán had an absolute hold on local politics and an even stronger one on the local economy. Unlike other parts of the northwest, elites in Tucumán had consolidated their position as early as the 18th century through investments in commercial trade, agriculture and livestock. By the nineteenth century, elites held a complete control over the province.[64]

With the arrival of the sugar industry on a larger scale in the 1860s, Tucumán's elites were in a position to assist in its development through investing in the sugar industry, but also receiving income through commercial trade. For example, José Antonio Sánchez Roman notes that prior to the sugar boom two of Tucumán's major sugar families the Nouges and Padilla families had investments in sugar, wheat and tannery, and exported tobacco and livestock to Bolivia and Chile. [65] As noted earlier besides the Andean market, Tucumán also sent goods to Buenos Aires. With the arrival of the railroad its economy shifted towards the littoral. In response to this, Tucumán required a solidified and united nation in order to carry out its trade. As the nation grew and became inner-connected, Tucumán found new markets. This complemented the national governments needs for establishing control throughout the nation and maintaining territorial integrity. The economic linkages built between Tucumán and Buenos Aires elites around the development and protection of the sugar industry assisted in the creation of an organized political faction.

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[63] *ibid* 77-78
[64] Daniel Campi. *Estudios sobre la historia de la industria azucarera argentina* pp. 84-85
[65] José Antonio Sánchez Román. *La dulce crisis:* p. 41

During the 1860s and 1870s, important families in Tucumán emerged. The Posse family, which had members in the provincial legislature, the governorship and owned sugar *ingenios* had cultivated lasting ties with the national government. Through varied investments and its close ties with the national government during the period of National Organization, the Posse family came to acquire great wealth. The newspaper *La Razón* noted that, "Outside of their involvement in the industrial sector, the Posse family has a considerable amount of allies in politics, among them: *cañeros*, merchants of the first order and strong capitalists. If they were to disappear with their riches, the province of Tucumán would lay in ruins."[66] Yet, elite wealth was heavily dependent on small time sugar growers and a large labor pool to assist in the manufacturing of sugar,

The province's abundance of small farmers and their accessibility to land created significant labor shortages during the zafra. The areas of the Calchaqui Valley were able to provide some relief during these periods; nevertheless, this was one of the least populated regions of the province. Besides a general shortage, the province was plagued with workers running away. This problem was not exclusive to the sugar period, but had been evident since the colonial period. During the sugar boom, the labor shortage was further complicated by the general lack of Europeans willing to migrate to the province. In response to this, the province enacted laws to limit the movement of day laborers.

The very first attempts at controlling the movement of laborers came in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. San Miguel's cabildo established laws requiring all workers to present certificates of employment in order to avoid being drafted

[66] Daniel Campi and Maria Cecilia. "Elite y poder en Tucuman " p. 93. Taken from La razon Ocotber 7, 1873

into the military that, at the time, was fighting in the wars of independence and the civil wars of the interior, or face incarceration. Workers that were caught escaping their site of employment were sent to jail. The provincial police were then given the task of placing incarcerated vagrants in an occupation. [67]This program ultimately failed since the provincial government had a tenuous hold on the countryside where most laborers escaped to and successfully hid. While San Miguel had an administrative and military presence through the *cabildo*, the provincial legislature, the municipal council, the police chief and the provincial militia, the countryside, or *campaña*, was more of a military zone with provincial authority being represented in the rural regions through San Miguel appointed military generals. As late as 1868 administrative sources noted the difficulty in maintaining the presence of centralized provincial power in regions furthest away from San Miguel. While, military personnel were able to rely on the assistance of the local church, local merchants and prosperous citizens, the task of establishing a government presence was hampered due to the lack of funds and personnel.

In 1856, the province enacted a new police code, with a section devoted entirely to the control of laborers. Like the earlier labor laws, laborers were required to have an employment certificate or face incarceration and then be placed in an occupation. The most significant change was that employers were given judicial and police authority. Unruly and disobedient workers were allowed to be punished and held for twenty-four hours. Following this period, workers were handed over to police. Placed within the context of the incipient sugar industry, the law demonstrates the overlap between the

[67] Patricia I. Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled* p.13

private sector and the province that would come to dominate the province for the remainder of the century. Yet, labor shortages still daunted local mills. [68]

By the mid 1860s a push began to find labor outside of the province. Industrialists employed agents to procure Indian families from neighboring Santiago del Estero and Catamarca. In order to keep this labor in the province, guards were placed at the roads exiting Tucumán to force laborers to stay in the province. Yet, indigenous labor was not always under contract. In 1878, Governor Martínez Muñecas ordered 500 pampas Indians from the Conquest of the Desert to work in the local mills. Prior to that,Tucumán had acquired labor from the Mataco people in the Chaco, but they had been unable to satisfy the labor requirment. Roca responded negatively towards the Mataco Indians in preference of his conquered Indians, "I think you will find obvious advantages in substituting these stupid, good for nothing Indians with those from the Pampas and Ranqueles."[69] The trade of Indians only lasted from 1879-1885. A year after the close of the trade all had died due to overwork, disease and starvation, or had escaped.

The national state facilitated growth through the adoption of laws to protect Tucumán from foreign competition. Protectionism constituted an overt practice of helping industry grow, but also attempts by the national government to foster positive relationships and create allies with landowning elites of the interior. The importance of cultivating this relationship is further evident in that the practice of protectionism, which ran against the grain of liberal minded "*librecambio*." Within the literature on Tucumán's sugar industry, this has been a point of contention. Earlier works asserted that

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 13
[69] Donna Guy *Argentine Sugar Politics* p.35

Argentina's export oriented economy stifled the development of industry. During this process Buenos Aires-based investors wrestled control of the industry away from provincial investors.[70] Revisionists have placed the sugar boom within the development of Argentina's export-oriented economy. Investment, protectionism, railroads, modernization of technology and a growing national market were all steps the state and Tucumán took in the creation of an agroindustry. As Sánchez Roman notes, "the State and Argentine elites were convinced that the development of an open economy connected to the global market was not incompatible (quite the opposite) with state intervention."[71] Politicians held that protectionism functioned with free-trade as long as tariffs did not affect the cost of living in a negative way, impede the arrival of immigrants from Europe and jeopardize trade agreements with countries that received Argentinean exports.[72] Attempts at eradicating the protectionist tariffs arose in the 1890s. In 1894, income from the Argentine custom houses dropped from 1,750, 497 pesos gold to 874,602 pesos gold. In the senate, anti-protectionists held that this had been as a result of the privileged position the smaller industries of wine and sugar had been given, and were holding back the larger more productive pampas industries of wheat and meat. On behalf of Tucumán, Eliseo Canton, doctor during the 1886 epidemic, argued that the drop in revenue had been due to the depreciation of the currency since 1890. This had led to an upsurge in prices that would eventually level out. Tucumán further countered that the sugar industry was a

[70] *Ibid*
[71] José Antonio Sánchez Román. *La dulce crisis* p. 26
[72] Daniel Campi. *Estudios sobre la historia de la industria azucarera argentina*. p.107

national industry that required the positive intervention of the state in order to cultivate positive growth, similar to the extended to the pampas industries.

By 1895, Tucumán accounted for ninety-three percent for all cultivated land dedicated to sugar in Argentina, while the province singlehandedly provided 80 percent of Argentina's sugar.[73] But for most of its history, the province had produced modest amounts of sugar that was only traded within the northwest region. Technology had been lacking, but soon local investors began to see the potential profits in the production of the sweet commodity. Sugar began in the late sixteenth century on small plots in the Chicligasta and San Miguel region. It was not until the Jesuits began to produce sugar in larger scale that the commodity took off. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, local investors began investing into more advanced forms of extracting the sucrose from the cane and the production process. By the eve of the sugar boom of the late 1870s the industry began to hit its stride with investments coming in and the area dedicated to the crop being expanded. This change is evident in the share sugar had in the province's total output. In 1853, sugar only constituted 10 percent of agricultural production, falling far behind other consumable crops. By 1866 the tables had turned quite a bit with sugar being the overall majority at 36 percent, only corn came a distant second with 17 percent of the total provincial production.[74] Patricia Juárez Dappe and Jose Antonio Sanchez Roman argue that this trend demonstrates the central role sugar began to have in the

[73] While sugar industries were found in Santiago del Estero, Salta and Jujuy none ever came in these years to eclipsing the place Tucumán had in the production of the sweet commodity. The strongest competition in sugar production came from Jujuy, a large indigenous labor pool that rarely went to Tucumán assisted in its development. Once established, Tucumán's industry saw drop.

[74] José Antonio Sánchez Román. *La dulce crisis* 40 and Patricia I. Juárez Dappe. "Cañeros and Colonos" p. 124

process, but also the flexibility in investments elites made into other areas. This came to characterize Tucumán's sugar investors. [75]

This process can be accounted for two reasons: technology and the government's, both national and provincial, active role in expanding the industry. Moreover, unlike other areas of Latin America and the Caribbean, Tucumán's production was sold to domestic markets. Local investment fostered rapid technological modernization, similar to the foreign investment seen in the Cuban and Puerto Rican industry. [76] The *tucumano* sugar industry differed from most of its Latin American counterparts in other ways. The province lacked the large plantations that came to dominate Eastern Cuba, Peru, Salta and Jujuy. Instead it made of use of small and medium landholdings from which to acquire its raw materials. In Tucumán, new planters did not solely consist of new large plantation owners, on the contrary multiple small farmers switched to sugar production. What developed was a unique labor agreement between the *ingenio* owner and the *colonos*(plot owners) and *cañeros* (planters that owned leased mill lands). [77]

In between 1872 and 1895, the amount of hectares dedicated to sugar grew from 2,453 to 61,273 hectares, while the production in tons went from 13,000 to 163,000.[78] Yet, these numbers do not fully reflect land tenure patterns and diversified food production. In an examination of 1895 census manuscripts, Juárez Dappe uncovers that the province was home to 10,470 agricultural land plots. 70 percent were owner

[75] Roy Hora's work on Las Pampas, *Los terratenientes de la pampa argentina: una historia social y política, 1860-1945*. (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno de Argentina Editores, 2002.) argues that investment was primarily made into land in order to increase rural production.

[76] Patricia I. Juárez Dappe. "Cañeros and Colonos" p. 124

[77] *Ibid*

[78] Daniel Campi. *Estudios sobre la historia de la industria azucarera argentina* pp.13-15

occupied. While *colonos* only constituted 1.5 percent. The remaining portion was for tenants and sharecroppers. Large landholding was not as common. Three-fourths of the land plots were between less than 1 and 10 hectares. These smaller plots did not make a massive change to sugar. Instead, 67.8 percent of their land was dedicated to corn growing. Only 12 percent was for sugar growing. As seen in the per-sugar boom period, smaller farmers still dedicated their land to a variety of foods that were for local and regional trade.

The majority of sugar production took place on lands between 11 and 100 hectares large that made of 22.5 percent of the land plots. Yet, they did not differ from their smaller counterparts, since this middle sector also provided a one-third of the province's alfalfa and corn production. Tucumán lacked the large estancia evident in the littoral's wheat fields due to a lack of size and geography. Land plots between 101 and 500 hectares were only 2 percent of those surveyed, with 500 and above falling to half of a percent. While the middle sector dedicated 52 percent of the land to sugar, the larger growers devoted over 80 percent of their land to sugar, with the rest for corn and alfalfa.[79] The connection of the railroads permitted sugar prices to drop, new markets were found, while new technologies entered into the region. The division of labor between sugar cultivation and sugar production permitted agro-industrialists to improve the production of sugar. In terms of technology, the earliest forms of sugar extraction were done through wooden rollers, known as *trapiches,* and by the 1830s wooden rollers and copper pans were introduced into the production line. By 1870, rising returns on initial investments

[79] Patricia I. Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled* pp. 50 -51

permitted mills to modernize their machinery. As Patricia Juárez Dappe notes, at this time 60 percent of the *ingenios* utilized hydraulic power for iron-roller mills, while 25 percent utilized steam power and centrifugal machines. Each of these types of ingenios owned plots of land for sugar cultivation over forty-one hectares. [80]

The centrality of sugar is further evident in the quantity of sugar machinery the tiny province had in comparison to other provinces. Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century Tucumán was home to near 80 percent of all sugar producing machinery in the nation. This machinery was capable of producing up to 4,250 tons of sugar through the consumption of 63,000 tons of sugar cane. [81] The upsurge in production took place during a period, in which the number of *ingenios* decreased. Indeed, in between 1876 and 1881 the number of mills fell from 82 to 34. This growth of the sugar industry, however, came at a price. Wheat production dropped from 14,000 hectares in 1874 to a paltry 670 in 1914. Although on a much smaller scale, similar patterns were seen in tobacco. These once profitable crops for the province had made way for the province's specialization in sugar, while the littoral concentrated on wheat and the northeast expanded tobacco production. Only corn and alfalfa were able to avoid this massive drop. [82]

Similar patterns were seen in the growth of the wheat industry in the Pampas. In only a decade, the region went from exporting zero to 25,669 tons of wheat, while imports petered out from 3,903 tons to only 6 by the end of the decade.[83] Next to wheat, Argentina became a major exporter of wool, refrigerated beef and corn. Profits from corn,

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 36
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 41
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 48
[83] James R. Scobie *Revolution on the Pampas* 170 for 1870s

for example, grew from 288 thousand pesos in 1881 to 3,957 thousand pesos in 1885.This massive growth had secondary effects in a variety of areas.[84] This led to a drastic increase in the price of land per hectare for the area. In 1888, a hectare in the Pampas was at 19.35 gold pieces; this would more than double at 44.70 in 1911. Yet, the interior saw similar changes in some areas and not in others. Numbers for the province of Córdoba saw gains from 4.19 to 18.20 pesos gold during the same period. In Tucumán land prices remained at an affordable price due to agricultural plots remaining under 10 hectares. In 1890, the province's Office of Statistics reported that the land was especially subdivided in the agricultural zones, maintaining land prices relatively low at 100 pesos a hectare. This low cost land was prime real estate for sugar, corn, cotton and tobacco. The further away from the capital, the price of land decreased.[85] Tucuman's growth can also be measured in the collection of provincial taxes. Tucumán only constituted .84 percent of the national territory, but for the year of 1897, collected 6,033,587 pesos; while the province of Buenos Aires collected 6,156,701.[86]

During the period under study, the sugar industry made great strides. This growth however came to an eventual end. Beginning with the crash of 1890 the littoral pampas region saw a fall in export prices and supplies of imports, while wages fell. Tucumán, on the other hand was still going through a boom period. But this soon ended when the roles reversed around 1895 and the sugar industry in the north went into a period of atrophy as

[84] Rocci article in history of argen

[85] Paulio Rodriguez Marquina. La Provincia de Tucuman: Breves Apuntes .(Tucuman. El Orden 1890.) p. 4

[86] Daniel Campi. *Estudios sobre la historia de la industria azucarera argentina*. 56

a result of over-production.[87] While investors, industrialists and the provincial government looked for financial stability, prices dropped. In between 1876 and 1896 raw sugar prices dropped from 9 cents to 5 cents. Adding further pressure on Tucumán, other provinces began producing the sweet commodity, etching away at Tucumán's hold over supply. Indeed, sugar consumption had grown from 20,000 to 75,000 tons between 1876 and 1894, but production met it and surpassed. In 1895, the province alone produced 109,253 tons of the 130,000 tons produced in all of Argentina, resulting in roughly 55,000 tons of over production. [88] This was especially significant for a province such as Tucumán whose taxed income came primarily from sugar production and had failed to diversify. In order to ameliorate the situation sugar producers looked into modernizing their production, pressuring national authorities to instate laws that would further protect the industry from foreign producers.

Up until the eve of the First World War, Tucumán responded to overproduction through a strengthening of the industry and corporate structural reorganization that left behind the cloistered family structured companies whose business dealing and ventures ran along kinship ties amongst provincial elites.[89] Companies such as Compañia Azucarera Tucumán developed with board members have influence in the sugar refineries of Rosario and cultivating close relationships with politicians in Buenos Aires. In the region's production, this resulted in an increase in sugar production and cane

[87] José Antonio Sánchez Román. *La dulce crisis* p. 266 and Patricia I. Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled* p. 45

[88] Patricia I. Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled* p. 45

[89] For a study on the role elite families in the provinces see Beatriz Bragoni's work *Los hijos de la revolución: familia, negocios y poder en Mendoza en el siglo XIX*. (Buenos Aires: Taurus, 1999.)

dedicated land doubled between 1895 and 1914.[90] Yet, there were direct benefits from this stage. The taxes collected from the industry were used to create the Capital's first sewer system, a new government palace that is the center of the city to this day, hospitals and health care facilities, and education. [91]

The role of the sugar industry cannot be excluded from any study of the province. Sugar, was the engine by which the province functioned and moved. Regulating the lives of region, the ebbs and flows of the industry directly correlated with moments of growth or stagnation. For elites, the sugar industry offered a new area of investment that would come to dominate resources for the province and provide an avenue to build cross-regional and national ties around business to further assist in its growth. For non-elites, the sugar industry provided seasonal labor for people from areas such as the Calchaquí Valley that were not directly connected to the sugar industry or produced surplus material for trade through the growing national rail system. For the small farmer, sugar became a potential crop to grow alongside other ones or to completely switch over to in order to sell to the ingenios. As the epidemics took place and the province and state worked together in establishing a centralized decision-making process to arrest disease, the sugar industry informed many of these discussions. This is especially evident for the 1886 and 1895 epidemics when the province was making large gains from the industry due to protective tariffs and eventually began producing sugar at a higher rate than consumption in the 1890s. The 1868 epidemic, on the other hand, spread during a period when the sugar industry was in its initial stages and more of a local affair, the extension of state

[90] Patricia I. Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled* p. 46
[91] *Ibid.*, chp 5

powers was very limited and the province acted as the military liaison to consolidate the northern region into the folds of the state. The epidemics became moments to either counteract or co-opt state power at the provincial level.

Conclusion

The development of the sugar field reveals the abundant changes that took place during the province. With the increase in sugar production and development of monoculture, Tucumán became "sugar crazy." The increase in land acquisition for the sugar minimized the small *huertas* that provided families with their daily food and sustenance. The increase in production also transformed the province into a seasonal destination for labor from throughout the northwest and central regions. While there were benefits to the development of the agro-industry, the province also saw the increase in infant mortality and a rise in deaths associated with insalubrities. Moreover, the growth of the provincial coffers did not trickle down into the realm of public health until close to the end of the century. While *higienismo* became a common and popular term among bureaucrats and social reformers in other regions of Argentina, primarily Buenos Aires, it lacked the centralized force in Tucumán to truly inspire improvements. A closer examination of the sugar industry reveals that it was for the most part, unstable. The 1895 crisis of overproduction predated periods of technological inadequacy, foreign competition and the slow movement of goods out of Tucumán. Outside of this, the sugar industry dominated the social, political and economic landscape. An overview of the governors in the period under study, show that only one, Federico Helguera, a merchant by trade, was not directly or indirectly involved in the sugar business. Although sugar

assisted in opening the province to commerce, people and funds, like a cavity, it rotted the province from within.

Chapter 2: Argentina in the Time of Cholera

On January 14, 1887 a peon, a seamstress, and a maid were brought into the Monteagudo Hospital in San Miguel, Tucumán with symptoms related to cholera. The peon, Niousio Diaz, was Argentine, single and forty-five years old. The seamstress was a thirty-year old woman Maloina Varsena. Like other seamstresses from the city, she most likely worked from her home making clothes. Her husband could have owned a small store or been a peon. Lastly, there was Fidel Palomina, Argentine. At only eight years old, he more likely than not plied his trade as a servant in one of the many elite houses in the center of the city. Fidel could have been an orphan, or poverty could have forced his parents to give him away to a home, where he would most likely spend the rest of his life under the employment of a family. Maloina and Fidel's stories end here. Similar to other *tucumanos* during this period, their hospital entrance record diagnosed them with cholera. For many people of this period, this surviving document is the only visible proof that they existed. Unfortunately, for them what could possibly be their first documentation was definitely their last. On January 15, 1887 both were listed as dead. The cause of death: cholera. [1]

Under a microscope cholera resembles a swarm of balloons vying to reach the top. Their pleasant form contrasts heavily from the havoc the bacterium unleashes upon entering a host. When a person contracts the disease it attaches itself to the intestine of the person. The extent of damage varies. Contraction does not automatically lead to

[1] Archivo Historico Tucumán. Sección Administrativa Book 173, 1887. Folios 161-162 Hereinafter AHT-SA

death. Mild forms of disease exist that can resemble a very bad case of food poisoning. Following an incubation period ranging from five hours to fourteen days, the bacterium begins to multiply and impedes the intestine from absorbing nutritional salts, water and electrolytes.[2]

Cholera works in two stages. For Niousio, the first inclination of cholera in his system began with abdominal spasms and a stiffening of his legs, back and arm. Muscular pain was only briefly interrupted for Niousio to vomit and discharge vast amounts of liquids rectally. After a day or two of repeated vomiting, the second stage begins. Vomiting may still be present, but the body begins to break down from within. Dehydration in combination with the rupture of capillaries brings on the onset of darkish blue skin; the lack of water in the blood coagulates it to the point where it moves sluggishly through the veins, allowing for body temperature to drop. The slowing of the blood creates an almost absent heartbeat, while the body ceases to produce urine. The kidneys begin to shut down. Death in the second stage is the most common from kidney failure or dehydration.

If a person can survive the second stage, the third stage is more manageable with occasional vomiting, but a slow improvement. The added pain of this disease is that the afflicted person is fully aware of their surroundings while their body is purging itself from within. Unlike other diseases, such as Yellow Fever, there is no high fever that sends the person into a state of delirium. It is not known in what stage, the deaths of Maloina and Fidel took place. Niousio's name no longer appears in the hospital records

[2] Myron J. Echenberg *Africa in the Time of Cholera: A History of Pandemics from 1817 to the Present*. (Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011)p.7

as either a death or being released. If he were to have been released, for the two weeks after his discharge he would have been susceptible to kidney or circulatory failure. Outside of physical ailments, however, he would have also carried the social stigma attached to cholera in the nineteenth-century.

The discharge that a cholera patient repeatedly releases permits the disease to reach epidemic proportions. The most direct way of contracting the disease is through the ingestion of contaminated water. In a single day, Niousio possibly produced twenty liters of stool that contained over ten million vibrios, the lack of an organized sewer system until the late 1890s meant that this infested secretion could have possibly thrown into the street or seeped into water ways. Taking Niousio's profession and location into consideration it is possible to determine that he came into contact with infested water from the Salí River. In the mid-nineteenth century, the river ran along the eastern edges of the city. Some of the poorest citizens of the city inhabited both banks of the river. The western bank in particular stood in between the river and the city. Laborers would walk the few blocks from the river area into the city or walk north or east to find employment in the sugar fields and *ingenios* encircling the city. Niousio, most likely lived in a tiny makeshift home, possibly alone, or with extended family or rented a bed in a home with other single peons. He more than probably slept on the floor, with a blanket the only thing between him and the dirt ground. A blanket served as the front door to the small housing unit, where bathroom, kitchen and sleeping area all overlapped.

For the people of the area and the city, the river served two purposes. Besides being an area to wash clothes and utensils, the river also functioned as a bathroom,

somewhere to discard trash and a source of drinking water. Data compiled from the second epidemic corroborates the importance of the river. Looking at daily death tolls for the 1886 epidemic, sharp spikes are seen in the days following rain. Since the city sits at a higher altitude than the river banks, rain could have swept infected waste into the river. From the city, the disease could have spread over land from infected people or through the water system that passed through San Miguel and spread to all corners of the province. Like the city, rural people also had multiple uses for the river. Dr. Jose Avila's report from the same epidemic notes high amount of infections near rivers. [3]

Cholera and the global epidemics

Cholera originated in the Bengal region of India. For many centuries the disease remained in the area. Sources from the sixth century BCE mention a disease that manifested itself through acute diarrhea. European traders skimming the areas of the Ganges Delta in the fifteenth and sixteenth century also noted the existence of a disease causing vomiting, diarrhea and death. [4] The first epidemic was reported in 1781 in the southern area of India. The movement of Bengali and British soldiers assisted in spreading the disease from here to Calcutta, Madras and the island of Sri Lanka.

Yet, an exact term for cholera did not develop until the early nineteenth century. Cholera, like all diseases has developed as a social construction that differentiates it from simply being "old friendly diarrhea" or a scourge specific to South Asia.[5] For Christopher Hamlin and Myron Echenberg the evolution from *cholera asiatica* to *cholrea nostras*

[3] Jose Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera en la Provincia de Tucumán.* Thesis (Buenos Aires, University of Buenos Aires, School of Medicine, 1887.)

[4] Myron J Echenberg *Africa in the Time of Cholera* p. 17

[5] Christopher Hamlin (*Cholera: The Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.) p. 20

(Asian cholera to "our" cholera) came about as the connection between India and Britain became more concrete through the British East India Company's defeat of the Mogul Empire. This, in combination with, Middle Eastern dependency on the European powers created a direct connection between India and the distant British Isles. From Britain, the world became connected to each other. Tea from India would arrive in England then make its way to either the United States or British possessions in the Caribbean. Thus, the age of "cholera" does not truly begin until 1817, when modern versions of record keeping develop to understand human's interaction with a disease that caused heavy forms of diarrhea, turned the skin blue and more often than not resulted in death.

The exact number of cholera deaths is unknown. Outside of spotty record keeping, the lack of organized hospitals or ones in rural regions meant that many people were never able to receive some form of health care. We do not know how many people died of cholera in secluded regions of an epidemic area. But how did cholera reach such epidemic proportions? How did cholera manage to connect people with no possible direct connection, such as Charles X of France, Niousio, Maloina and Fidel. Since 1817, the world has witnessed seven global epidemics that have reached every corner of the globe.

The very first global cholera epidemic took place in 1817. Leaving the Indian subcontinent, cases were reported throughout the Indian Ocean basin, from eastern Africa to Southeast Asia. As Myron Echenberg notes, the spread of cholera followed in the footsteps of military and trade expeditions. A British military envoy spread cholera from India to the southern Arabian Peninsula. Persian soldiers then infected Ottoman soldiers

when they battled near modern-day Yerevan, Armenia. [6] Yet, information on this epidemic is sparse and at time conflicting. Medical science still lacked a proper definition of what constituted cholera. The medical sciences debated whether this was a new disease or it was a form of hyper diarrhea. Secluded to a remote region of the Indian subcontinent, British penetration into the Indian interior created a funnel in which to permit the disease to find new susceptible victims. However, the 1817 epidemic chain did offer a window to what cholera in epidemic proportions could unleash. Limited data on outbreaks in Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay note that about 8 percent of the population was affected, with entire rural villages being engulfed.[7] Yet, this percentage might be a conservative number when the social weight of the disease is taken into account. We can deduce that a higher portion of Indians did not report the disease or were not accounted for. Outbreaks were reported around the Indian Ocean basin, but this strain never entered the Americas or Europe. It was through the increased penetration of the English into India that the disease would easily spread throughout the globe. This, combined with England's free trade policy to international public health policy meant that with each epidemic the extent of choleras web slowly expanded.

The second (1828-1836) and the third (1839-1861) epidemic saw cholera expand to new areas. By 1830 the Ottomans had spread cholera to Morocco on Africa's Atlantic coast, while a Polish insurrection against Russia assisted in the disease disseminating right through the Baltic region. Technological innovation, primarily the railroad, assisted microbes to move the disease much quicker into further regions. The second epidemic

[6] Myron J Echenberg *Africa in the Time of Cholera* p. 17-18
[7] *ibid*

was the first time that cholera was reported throughout the Northern Atlantic zone. The second epidemic, unlike the first, became a sobering moment for the western world. Previously confined to Asia, cholera spread throughout Europe. For Europeans, cholera had been a sign of Asia's underdevelopment and as an obstacle to the high trade taking place between Europe and the Far East.

The third epidemic of 1839-1861 has received the most attention from European and North American scholars. Investigations into etiology, public response, the political ramifications of cholera and contagion, and demographic impact have been numerous. With Britain's growing domination in global trade, discussions over free trade and quarantines became more prominent. This period also saw the groundbreaking work of John Snow and the Broad Street water pump during the London epidemic of 1853-1854, that called into question discussions over the origin of cholera and its transmission. Doctors, scientists, sanitationists and public officials began to quarrel over the different methods in which disease came to fruition, moved and passed from one person to another. Indeed, Snow's work on the Broad Street pump was ignored and questioned over poor methodology. Snow himself, concluded that he had not truly demonstrated a clear connection between water and cholera, and furthermore, not debunked or advanced a new theory on disease.[8] The increased global trade also opened the disease to new areas. Epidemics broke out in the eastern coast of the United States, Mecca, China and Japan. These were areas of the globe that had been able to point to contact with the "scourge from the Ganges." New York would be hit with two epidemics during this period, one in

[8] Tom Koch *Cartographies of Disease: Maps, Mapping, and Medicine*. (Redlands, Calif: ESRI Press, 2005.)pp. 105-106

1832 and the other in 1849 Outside of increased disease vectors through global trade, this period also saw the increase in urban living. Poor sanitation in the city, compact housing, poor salubrious infrastructure and minimal health institutions assisted in exposing more peoples to the potential of coming to contact with disease. As Charles Rosenberg's work on New York demonstrates, disease became to be closely associated with cleanliness, nourishment and temperance within an urban setting. The city and its many benefits and ills came to characterize the best and worst of society. For many scholars, the city has become the site to study disease. Within broader terms, these studies have predominantly looked at disease to study the interplay between the larger issues of the state formation, the extension of state powers and the interaction between politics and etiological theory. Thus they have looked at such themes as the emergence of the liberal state and the state's attempts at forming proper citizens or civilizing the population. [9]

Depending on the area being examined, similar approaches are found during the final epidemics of the nineteenth century. Between 1863 and 1896 (1863-1875 and 1881-1896)the globe was struck with the fourth and fifth epidemics. By the end of the nineteenth century the disease was no longer the foe that it had been fifty years earlier. Dedicated improvements, scientific advances through the solidification of germ based disease and robust medical circles dedicated to specific diseases, and far reaching casual improvements assisted in the overall end of the disease. Following this period, cholera would never regain the dark place in society's imagination. During this epidemic, new

[9] Buenos Aires, Hamburg, New York, Paris and London. For Argentina, Julia Rodríguez, *Civilizing Argentina: Science, Medicine, and the Modern State*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) is the most poignant

areas would witness their worst interaction with the disease. Japan, central Asia and South America saw significant losses due to cholera. Medical and war reports during the War of the Triple Alliance in Paraguay in 1867 and 1868 mention the repeated cases of cholera among soldiers in the Brazilian, Argentinean and Paraguayan barracks. The 1886-1887 epidemic would reach almost all corners of the nation. Finally, a small epidemic in 1895 was short lived. This dissertation will focus on the fourth and fifth global epidemics and their advancements in Argentina.

The spread of cholera in Argentina
1868

In Europe and North America, the story of cholera begins within the first decades of the nineteenth century. Argentina's interaction does not begin until the 1860s. The South American nation's late incorporation into cholera vectors is due to multiple reasons. Following independence in 1816 and until 1865, Argentina faced a series of internal conflicts over the formation of the nation-state. These conflicts had debilitated internal trade and slowed down the nation's development of export crops. Limited rail construction translated into numerous areas of the interior being completely landlocked. While North American cities of New York and Philadelphia saw large booms in foreign population in the mid 1800s, Argentina would not see this growth until the close of the century and until the period prior to World War I. Immigration, rail connection and export economy in need of labor allowed for Argentina to connect itself to international disease chains.

Nevertheless, in 1867 when cholera first struck Argentina, the nation still lacked the coefficients to properly fit into the theory of disease following trade. Instead, war

became the means for the expansion of cholera into the Argentine territory. In 1862 Bartolomé Mitre became Argentina's first president through the unification of the country between autonomist and nationalist forces. Cholera, instead, would arrive to Argentina through warfare as a result of the War of the Triple Alliance on the Paraguayan front.

In the 1860s the Southern Cone was a contentious region. Expansionist Brazil and Argentina, collided with the more secluded war-mongering Paraguay and the war rattled Uruguay. Following the Cisplatine War, the Uruguayan republic had been established as an independent region, but also as buffer zone between Brazil and Argentina. The years following had resulted in each side continually looking for the area's incorporation into Brazil or Argentina. Paraguay, weary of Argentine and Brazilian expansion had promoted an independent Uruguay. In the aftermath of the war, Uruguay was plunged into a conflict between the nationalist, *Partido Blanco*, and the liberal Montevideo-based *Partido Colorado.* Through Buenos Aires' and Brazil's support of the *Colorados,* they were able to defeat the *Blancos* in the siege of Montevideo. In fear of a complete loss of the civil war, the *Blancos* called on Paraguay for support. Similar nationalist tendencies and rejection of foreign intervention created a natural alliance between Paraguay, *Blancos* and the now defunct Argentine Confederation. Coming to aid of the *Blancos* who were now in control of Uruguay, the Paraguayan ship, the *Tacuarí* , captured the Brazilian ship *Marquês de Olinda*. Paraguay then declared war on Brazil. Although neutral at this point, Argentina secretly supported Brazil and Uruguay while it was under control by the *Blancos*. Needing to cross Argentine land to cross into Uruguay,

Paraguay requested Argentina's permission to cross Corrientes. When this request was denied, Paraguay invaded Corrientes and declared war on Argentina. With this, Paraguay was pitted against Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. From here, the war escalated. At the beginning of the war in 1865, Argentine governments felt with confidence that the war would came to come to a conclusion quickly. The war came to drag on for five years. The high loss of soldiers and fiscal resources destroyed Argentina which all but translated in Argentina formally stepped away from the conflict in the final two years of the war.

Scholars disagree on the exact number of lives lost in the conflict.[10] The literature does agree on the heavy psychological toll the war had, the defining moment it became in the international politics of the Rio Plata region and within each nation-state, and the formation of standing armies in each nation. The war left a significant number of casualties. Yet, open warfare was not the major debilitation of forces. Instead, disease, more than open warfare caused more fatalities. Medical military reports from the front discuss the poor living conditions of soldiers and the insalubrious nature of the Paraguayan landscape. Enmeshed within miasmatic understanding of disease etiology, doctors noted that brackish water, high humidity—in contrast to the more temperate weather of the Argentine pampas—, rotting bodies, and the harsh living conditions of the army encampments assisted in the spread of cholera to Argentine forces. While medical students from the University of Buenos Aires did volunteer for the army medical corps, a

[10] Whigham, Thomas, and Barbara Potthast-Jutkeit. *The Paraguayan Rosetta Stone: New Insights into the Demographics of the Paraguayan War, 1864-1870*. Latin American Research Review. 34, no. 1. Austin, Tex: Latin American Studies Association], 1999.; Reber, Vera Blinn. 1988. "The Demographics of Paraguay: A Reinterpretation of the Great War, 1864-70". *The Hispanic American Historical Review.* 68, no. 2: 289-319 and Reber, Bera Blinn, Thomas L. Whigham, and Barbara Potthast. 1990. "Some Strong Reservations: A Critique of Vera Blinn Reber's "The Demographics of Paraguay: A Reinterpretation of the Great War, 1864-70". *The Hispanic American Historical Review.*70, no. 4: 667-675.

significant portion of wounded and sick soldiers were sent to Buenos Aires hospitals. Rotting bodies in the River Plate extended cholera to the river-side cites of Corrientes, Rosario, Entre Rios and Buenos Aires. By 1868, cholera cases were found in Córdoba, San Juan, Catamarca and Tucumán.

Adrian Carbonetti notes that the exact origin of 1867-1868 epidemic is unknown. Numerous theories on its origin exist. José Penna's work *El Cólera en la República Argentina* contends that there were four possible ways in which cholera came to Argentina through the troops. One possible form of contraction was from Brazil. From Brazil, soldiers passed it to both Paraguayan and Argentine soldiers. Another possibility was its direct arrival to Montevideo and traveling up the River Plate. Any of these potential theories are possible. Since 1866, cholera had been reported in Brazil and Uruguay. Argentina's involvement in this global pandemic can be divided in two phases. The first, in 1867, was primarily concentrated along the River Plate and Paraná River. On March 18, 1867 cases were reported in the city of Rosario. By the end of March, the epidemic had spread to the city of Buenos Aires and Corrientes, thus simultaneously moving north and south from Rosario. Cases were reported at the Argentine frontline in April and crossed the front within the same month. Towards the end of 1867, the epidemic began to make headway into the Argentine interior. In December it was in Córdoba, and in January it had arrived to Tucumán.

In comparison to Córdoba and Buenos Aires, the epidemic's damage in Tucumán was minimal. While deaths in the former provinces were in the hundreds and affected their major cities, Tucumán's exposure to cholera was confined to the very southern

departments of the province that bordered with Catamarca. Quarantines at the border, ensured the minimal contact between both provinces. Córdoba, on the other hand, was exposed to the full brunt of the disease.[11] In a letter from the province's governor to the Ministry of Interior stated that monetary assistance was needed quickly since the province had spent its entire budget for 1868 on medical supplies combating outbreaks in the province's countryside. [12] Tucumán's minimal exposure to cholera can be attributed to its limited connection to the Atlantic coast. In 1868 the Ferrocarril Central Argentino (FCCA), which would eventually connect Tucumán to Buenos Aires in 1876, ran up to the city of Villa Maria situated 137 km southeast of the city of Córdoba. Connected directly to the port of Rosario, the railroad exposed the province to cases from the riverways and the Paraguayan War. The distance between Córdoba and Tucumán still needed to be crossed over land. Travelers entering Tucumán would need to cross Catamarca and Santiago del Estero.

How did cholera enter Tucumán? Two possible explanations can be posited. One cause might be the movement of supplies and trade due to the bourgeoning sugar industry and the other in the movement of troops. As mentioned in the previous chapter, towards the end of the 1860s Tucumán's sugar industry began to increase its production of sugar. This expansion translated into increased trade to the surrounding provinces, reaching as far Buenos Aires. Like Córdoba, Tucumán was a major trading hub for the entire region. The roads that connected Tucumán to the south ran primarily through Catamarca to

[11] Carbonetti, Adrián, and María Laura Rodríguez. 2007. "Las epidemias de cólera en Córdoba a través del periodismo: la oferta de productos preservativos y curativos durante la epidemia de 1867--1868". *História, Ciências, Saúde---Manguinhos.* 14: 405-419.

[12] Archivo Ministerio del Interior Box 1, 1868

Córdoba. Prior to the epidemic, the new roads were being constructed and older ones being renovated. [13] Outside of trade, the late 1860s also witnessed the movement of troops from the interior to the coast and within the interior. During the epidemic, Tucumán forces in the Northern Army, under the command of Antonio Taboada and Anselmo Rojo, were put into service to intervene on behalf of the national government in La Rioja and Catamarca. While in Catamarca, Taboada and forces from Santiago del Estero and Tucumán came into contact with cholera in the province's capital.[14] In response to this, Taboada removed his forces to outside of the city. Following Paraguay's declaration of war, troops in the provinces were mobilized. Returning soldiers from the front, passing through Rosario and Córdoba possibly introduced the disease to the northwest. As the ties between province and nation became further strengthened, it would further expose the province to disease.. In 1867 and 1868, the number of Argentine forces fighting the war was reduced, thus more returned to the interior. It is difficult to conclude how the disease arrived to Tucumán. Nevertheless what can be concluded is that through warfare and small time trade, the province became connected to the fourth global cholera pandemic.

The exact introduction of cholera into the northwest became a point of contention between province and nation. 1868 marked the end of Mitre's administration and in the beginning of Sarmiento's term. Mitre, unpopular in all of the provinces except Santiago del Estero and Buenos Aires, had not cultivated political relations in the northwest. [15]

[13] Archivo Historico de Tucumán Seccion Adminstrativa 1865 Book 97 Folio 124

[14] AHT and M of I, both mention this.

[15] David Rock Argentina Under Mitre: Porteño Liberalism in the 1860s". *The Americas.* 56, no. 1: 31-63. 1999.p 32

Although Mitre did form relations with some of the wealthiest families throughout the nation, their exclusion from offices had built a rather tepid sympathy for the president. The rampant disapproval for Mitre stemmed from inability to diversify his support. During the 1860s, Tucumán was under control of the Posse family, Sarmiento supporters, due to his championing of the interior. "In Buenos Aires many saw him [Mitre] as an untrustworthy supporter of a national union that ran counter to the interests of the province,' states David Rock, 'but in the other provinces he was regarded as the archetype of *porteño* arrogance, exploitation, and imperialism." [16] This antagonism was subtly intertwined in the politics of the epidemic. While the provinces connected the disease to returning soldiers from the Paraguayan front, the national government held that *caudillos* and the uprisings in the interior were the prime disseminators of the cholrae vibrio.

The connection between war and disease also exposed other deficiencies in the lives of tucumanos. Fears of cholera at the front, led many young tucumanos in the provincial militia to invoke the constitution to forego military duty. Tucumán's constitution held that age, economic hardship, familial obligations and health could all limit a person's ability to partake in military exercises. Numerous soldiers cited age, financial burden and family obligations to demonstrate their inability to take part in the military campaign. The epidemic also offered the provincial government the means to wrangle the peripheral regions of the province into its orbit of control. Weak national and provincial governmental institutions resulted in areas distant from provincial metropolis

[16] *ibid*

and allowed them to exist and operate almost autonomously. In the 1860s, military rather bureaucratic presence represented the provincial authority in far off distances such as the southern department of La Cocha or the northern department of Trancas. This played out in the form of public health initiatives that sought to regulate people's consumption and movement. Although the epidemic was short lived, it never entered San Miguel and the exact number of deaths are unknown, the ripple effects of the epidemic were far reaching.

1886-1887

The eighteen years between the first and second epidemics were extremely transformative for Argentina. Economically, the country had developed into a high volume producer of wheat, meat and wool. In addition to this, regional economies such as Mendozan wine, tucumano sugar, northeastern mate were past the stage of initial development with investors seeing returns. Socially, the nation's physiognomy began to change with the increased arrival of immigrants from Italy, Spain, France and other European nations. Their arrival translated into the further growth of the city of Buenos Aires and farming communities throughout the littoral. Long gone, were the fears of Indian raids and federalist caudillo raids. Following the Paraguayan War, Argentina developed a standing army under future leaders such as Julio A. Roca. The Army became a new national strucuture that connected Argentines from all corners in a shared experience. Slowly, connections to local *caudillos* and military forces were eclipsed. In the 1870s under the leadership Roca, the national army had pushed the Mapuche Indian frontier further south to the Colorado River in the province of Neuquén. In later campaigns, in the early years of the 1880s with Roca as president, the Mapuche people

were forcibly moved as far south as Chubut. Besides military encroachment into the area, ranchers and recently arrived immigrants looking for land took hold of large tracts to establish bovine ranches. Foreign investment assisted in the development of industries. This was seen most vividly in the construction of an expansive rail system. British, French and Argentine investors had built a rail system that connected almost every corner of the nation. This created a crunch in space and time, the long distances that maintained areas isolated no longer exsisted. Supplies, peoples and information could now move from the Atlantic coast to the interior and vice versa. Military force, agriculture and livestock had combined to increase the presence of the state into all areas of daily life.

In the political realm, the 1880s saw the establishment of Buenos Aires as a federalized capital for the nation. The quelling of the 1880 militia uprising of the province of Buenos Aires contesting the election of Roca had led to the eradication of local militias.[17] The period also witnessed the beginning of oligarchic conservative control of the executive branch of government. With the involvement of politicians from the interior and Buenos Aires, Argentina entered into a period of political consolidation promoting liberal capitalism and limited state intervention into the economy. This dissertation, however, will argue that a consolidated national politics was in many ways rather limited, and that fissures between province and state continued on through until 1916. As Kristin Ruggiero notes in her work on the legal medical field during the closing

[17] For a study on the numerous interpretations of the significant episode in the political consolidation of Argentina, see Paula Alonso "La Tribuna Nacional y Sud-América: tensiones ideológicas en la construcción de la 'Argentina moderna' en la década de 1880" in *Construcciones impresas: panfletos, diarios y revistas en la formación de los estados nacionales en América Latina, 1820-1920*. Edited by Paula Alonso and José Antonio Aguilar Rivera(.Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004.) 203-243

quarter of the nineteenth century, politics were a balance between a hands off approach and a state that sought to regulate the daily aspects of everyday life. Areas such public health, disease, medicine and hygiene became new areas for the state to intervene. This was seen through the development of new institutions such as the National Department of Hygiene that functioned within the Ministry of Interior. Although not an independent organization, its connection with the Ministry of Interior was important. The ministry was in charge of handling security, maintenance and health regulation at the port of Buenos Aires and was the mediator between the national executive branch and the provinces. Outside of the port, the Ministry oversaw the construction of the railroads, regulated the trade from the province to the port and maintained the peace in the interior. Thus the Minister of Interior immediately handled any disturbance through federal intervention. As with other ministry positions, the president hand-picked this position, thus it was a very lucrative one. The establishment of public health section within the ministry demonstrates the state's inclusion of health as a responsibility of the state and a slow transition from the decentralized form found prior to the 1880s. In numerous areas, for nineteenth century positivist modernizers, Argentina became a prime example of the possibilities that modernization and progress could achieve.

The increased waves of immigrants arriving from Spain and Italy to Buenos Aires, exposed Argentina to the fourth global pandemic. Cases in the Middle East and Europe made the Mediterranean region a crossway for disease. Since 1883, cholera had

been ravaging multiple areas of Italy. [18] Cholera arrived to the port of Buenos Aires on November 1st and November 4th and cases were reported in the port of Rosario that served as the main port for the northwest. Newspapers in Tucumán immediately began releasing information on the impending epidemic. As in other provinces, Tucumán prepared its public health organizations for the arrival of the epidemic. In combination with fellow northwestern provinces, sanitary cordons were implemented. The national government, through the Ministry of Interior, outlawed quarantines. Opponents of the quarantines cited that impeding the movement of railroads, supplies and peoples undermined the 5th and 6th articles of the Argentine constitution. Outbreaks were not exclusive to the northwest. Western and northeastern provinces also reported cases. With the introduction of the telegraph, a higher level, and more instantaneous, form of communication was possible between all afflicted provinces and Buenos Aires. Unlike the more localized events of the previous epidemic, the second epidemic was more of a national event.

On December 3, 1886 the epidemic formally arrived to the province aboard a train loaded with soldiers from the 5th regiment cavalry headed to Salta to suppress a small uprising. Unlike the 1867 epidemic, cholera did enter the city of San Miguel through the train station at the borders of the city. The growth of the city and its population created a greater strain on an already deficient sanitary system. Although cholera spread throughout the provinces, those that were not directly connected to the railroad suffered significantly less deaths than those that had a train station. The capital of Jujuy, San

[18] Adrián Carbonetti. *Historias de enfermedad en Córdoba desde la colonia hasta el siglo XX.* Córdoba: CONICET. 2007.p. 13

Salvador, suffered 82 deaths. This number falls short of the 1,887 deaths that were recorded in the hospitals. The low numbers can be attributed to the slow arrival of disease arriving on foot to the northwestern tip of the nation or the limited funds Jujuy possessed in establishing hospitals where deaths could be recorded. This sudden onslaught of the disease created an immediate need to reform the public health infrastructure in the province. Following the first epidemic and broader changes at the national and provincial level, the province began investing more into the areas of public health. By 1876 an increase in tax revenues from the sugar industry had permitted government officials to invest in the maintenance of the city and operate more freely from national subsidies.[19] Funds were invested in the areas of public health, education and a larger police force. Nevertheless, public health received the least amount of assistance, at less than 1 percent of the yearly budget for 1886.[20]

During the closing years of the Paraguayan War, as numerous provinces were economically strained, the provincial government had maintained the province financially solvent. Rents and backlogged taxes from each of the province's regions meant that only a nominal deficit existed. In 1867, the province only had around 511.22 Bolivian Pesos in its holdings. However, the national government still owed the Tucumán 2,218.69 pesos from payments over the war in Paraguay and salaries for soldiers who had fought in the battles in the countryside and had intervened on the national government's behalf in La Rioja. Adding to this was unpaid national subsidies

[19] Patricia Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled: Economy and Society in Northwestern Argentina, Tucumán, 1876-1916*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010) chp 5 120-121

[20] Archivo Histórico de Tucumán Seccion Adminstrativa Book 173, folios 337-338

between June and November 1867, totaling at 9,941.24 pesos. While rents and taxes closed deficit gaps, private citizens also made loans to the government, totaling, 4,266At the end of 1867, the province was owed a total of 12,159.93 pesos from the national government. While public health continued receiving a smaller portion of the yearly budget, the province invested in weapons. In 1868, two battalions were created each with 600 men, with 2,600 rifles, 90,000 bullets and 110,000 fuses were purchased and transported to the province. [21]

The city of San Miguel Tucumán built four hospitals in response to the epidemic: Monteagudo, Buenos Aires, Rivadavia, San Roque and sources mention the existence of hospitals in the towns of Monteros, Lules and Burruyacú .[22] In addition, numerous unnamed *lazarettos*(convalescent homes) were established in the city as part of post-cholera rehabilitation or quarantine areas for travelers to Tucumán. Lazarettos were also set up along provincial borders. [23] The Monetagudo hospital was located in the northwestern quadrant of the city and Rivadavia hospital was in the southwestern portion of the city near the main plaza of the city and only served women. Monteagudo was the hospital closest to the epicenter. The area was locally known as *La Tablada.* Here the city's slaughterhouses and meat distribution centers were housed. Blood would collect in small pools; rain spread the contaminated water throughout the area. The houses in the area were single room makeshift homes in small confined areas with dirt floors and tin

[21] Data compiled from Ramon Cordeiro y Carlos Dalmiro Viale, *Compilación Ordenada de Leyes, Decretos y Mensajes del Periodo Constitucional de la Provincia de Tucumán, que comienza en el año 1852,* 1867

[22] AHT-SA-libro 172 1886 folio 135

[23] The province of Salta set a few along its border with Tucumán please see Abraham Becerra

roofs. [24] The amount of deaths and sudden change it brought into the province assisted in creating the epidemic to be an edifying moment in the history of the province. Following the epidemic, President Miguel Júarez Celman initiated federal intervention into the province, deposing Gov. Juan Posse. The national government cited the imprisonment of *juaristas* in the province and the limitation of the constitutional rights.

In December of 1936, Tucumán's newspaper *La Gaceta* published a series of articles on the fiftieth anniversary of the 1886 cholera epidemic unleashing itself on the province. Combining political intrigue with epidemiological uncertainty, *La Gaceta* wrote, "All senses they were on the eve of momentous events, since ours was the only province whose leaders did not follow the inspirations of the national politics of the period."[25] Scholars have examined the the 1886 epidemic more than the previosu conflagration in 1868. Carlos Paez de la Torre, has attempted to connect the history of the epidemic with the federal intervention and place it within the larger context of the national conservative oligarchic order that began with the presidency of Julio A. Roca. For him, the epidemic and intervention simply coincided within the same time span. [26]

A closer look into the interaction between province and state, and the recent election of Juárez Celman reveal that the antagonistic relationship between both parties had been present since 1885, when Tucumán threw its support behind future Radical leader Bernardo Irigoyen. Already with no chance at remotely winning, Tucumán and the province of Buenos Aires were the only two to not give their votes to the *Partido*

[24] Jose Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera en la Provincia de Tucumán* p.21
[25] *La Gaceta* , San Miguel de Tucumán December 3, 1936.
[26] Carlos. Páez de la Torre, *Historia de Tucumán*. (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra. 1987.)

Autonomista Nacional's candidate. Debates over provincial autonomy, sanitation code, and federal oversight into epidemiological catastrophes exacerbated an already tense situation. Further compounding this, were competing medical theories over contagion ranging from miasmatic, environmental and germ-based forms of disease contraction. The interplay between political practice and medical knowledge were consistently in a contentious relationship over the proper way in which to deal with epidemiological catastrophe. The 1886 epidemic provided further problems in that, unlike Europe and North America, this conflagration was the first full scale cholera epidemic. 1868 had been primarily confined to the war front and sporadic cases throughout the nation did not create a mass disturbance.

The Development of Cholera as a Global and Local Problem

In the span of a hundred years the views on cholera, disease, public health, science and treatment went through significant changes. The period between 1850 and 1890 witnessed a rapid transformation of disease and contagion control at the national and international level. During this time, cholera's rise from social stigma slowly gave way to diseases that would plague the twentieth century. By the close of the 1890's cholera no longer carried the weight it once had, Diego Armus's work on tuberculosis in Buenos Aires and Eric Carter's on malaria in Tucumán reveal how new diseases within emerging contexts eclipsed the place of older diseases. Tuberculosis, with the growth of the city and the rise of consumerism, came to enter into the discourse of numerous areas directly outside of the purview of disease. For Armus, tuberculosis came to alter and

formed the urban reality of *porteños.* [27]At the turn of the century, malaria became a symbol and a space to raise the northwest province to the level of the littoral. Projects to remove brackish water and permanently eradicate the disease from the countryside were to instill modernization in a region that had reached its zenith in the 1880s and 1890s. [28] In the nineteenth century, cholera created responses in the multiple areas of society. As Charles Rosenberg notes, discussions of science, politics, religion, traditionalism all come together in an epidemic. [29] One of the areas that disease, contagion, public health and society came together, were the ten international sanitary conferences that took place from 1851 to 1897. These conferences, which took place throughout Europe, discussed medical definitions of cholera and the politics of disease management. The rise in global trade and the incorporation into distant colonial possessions had led to increased commercial profits. With this expansion, however, Europe opened itself to the invasion of disease.

Cholera, in its own right, challenged all the benefits of modernization. The extension of trade through ship and rail connected distant regions to global disease chains. The growth of the city translated into overcrowding, poor sanitation, poverty and the erosion of family life. Indeed, cholera undermined, "the optimism of progress and modernity."[30]Nevertheless, if one were to search for the exact legislation or changes

[27] Diego Armus. *The Ailing City: Health, Tuberculosis, and Culture in Buenos Aires, 1870-1950.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

[28] Eric D. Carter *Enemy in the Blood Malaria, Environment, and Development in Argentina*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012)

[29] Charles E. Rosenberg, 1966. Cholera in nineteenth-century Europe:A tool for social and economic analysis. Comparative Studies in Society and History 8(4): 452-463

[30] Valeska Huber. "The Unification of the Globe by Disease? The International Sanitary Conferences, 1851-1894". *The Historical Journal.* 49, no. 2: 453-476.

cholera produced in the non-medical field, it would be in vain. Instead, what cholera accomplished was that it, "focused public fear and resolve in a way no endemic illness could."[31] The true test of cholera is to search for the alternative areas of society when the "attitudinal, economic and technological means were at hand."[32] The work of Pamela K. Gilbert notes that in Victorian England cholera assisted in the institutionalization of public health and medical scientists as an appendage of the emerging state and national community that regulated the populace next to the clergy.[33]

With the extension of trade routes and a crunch in space and time, cholera moved from being a local problem to a truly global problem. As stated previously, cholera was initially localized in India, but with European expansion into the region, the movement of Islam from the Middle East into South and Southeast Asia, new disease vectors were created. In response to this, Europe began creating international sanitary conferences. The conferences were mired with differences and disagreements over how to properly limit the entrance of disease into Europe, but it also presented a "unification by disease and against disease" that fit within larger events of weights, time and travel standardization.[34] There were a total of ten conferences, with the first held in Paris. The conferences were initially medical in purpose, but became political in practice. Three important factors that arose from the initial conferences were that Internationalism was synonymous with Europeanism, thus it was the duty of the civilized European nations to inject modernization into the coves where cholera was endemic. Further, health went beyond

[31] Pamela K. Gilbert *Cholera and Nation: Doctoring the Social Body in Victorian England*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008.) p. 8

[32] Valeska Huber. "The Unification of the Globe by Disease?

[33] Pamela K. Gilbert *Cholera and Nation* pp. 6-7

[34] Valeska Huber. "The Unification of the Globe by Disease? p.454

the medical, but was also a political concern. The first conferences housed equal amounts of doctors and ambassadors. Lastly, quarantines were impractical and anachronistic. The growth in human population, the speed at which news and people traveled meant that governments could not possibly cover all areas of the nation-state.[35] Peter Baldwin notes that with the growth of the European city and sanitationist movements, improvement trumped out the creation of cordons. Nevertheless, quarantines were more suited and practiced in rural areas and small urban centers that had smaller population densities and lower possibilities of having visitors. [36]

The meaning of cholera: the social body

For the period under study, cholera as a "thing" witnessed a development. Between 1817 and 1860 disease was primarily connected to ideas of religion and morality. Disease came to symbolize a failure in personal morality. Conditions such as alcoholism, gluttony and sexual deviance made the individual privy to the contagion of diseases. Moreover, racial and religious difference made some people more prone to contracting disease. The connection between disease and the sin of the individual was broadened out to ideas of a sinful nation. In England, the clergy preached to the growing middle class to feel social responsibility over the plight of the poor.[37]But the fervor of religiosity in England was between competing religious factions. England's Protestant base often blamed the nation's acceptance of Catholicism as advancing the sin of the nation. Thus, the correlation between sin, nation, filth and disease operated within the

[35] *Ibid., p.* 460

[36] Peter Baldwin. *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830-1930*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.) p. 61

[37] Pamela K. Gilbert *Cholera and Nation* p. 23

context of class and religious differences. Christopher Hamlin notes that the religious fervor in response to cholera was more subdued than perceived. Providence and divine intervention was sought out, there was no expectation that God would end the epidemics. [38]In addition, religious fanaticism, whether Christian or not were seen as creating centers of disease. Americans at the close of the eighteenth century held that cholera and typhoid did not have medical origins but rather divine origins that sought to punish Americans for, "the individual sins of vicious immigrant and slothful poor."[39]Disease, however, could also be a therapeutic religious experience. The pustules that smallpox produced could be secretions of sin, choleric diarrhea the forcible expunging of internal impurities. Under this practice, doctors' attempts at curing or stopping the disease could, possibly, work against for the moral health of the individual. Injection and inoculations were modern sciences methods of infiltrating the body that removed the delicate balance between humans, the environment and disease. [40]The 1860s were a transitional decade. The rise of secularism, the formalization of the global medical field and initial discoveries of bacteria under Filipo Pancini slowly eclipsed the connection between morality, religion and disease. The medical sciences became further independent from poltical affiliation in the period after the 1860s when fewer delegates began attending the International Sanitary conferences. Instead, hygienists, doctors and medical scientist all became representatives of their nations.[41] The creator of disease would transfer from God, the environment, the individual and lastly to bacteria. The biggest change in the

[38] Christopher Hamlin *Cholera The Biography*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.) p. 73

[39] Martin S. Pernick. 1972. "Politics, Parties, and Pestilence: Epidemic Yellow Fever in Philadelphia and the Rise of the First Party System". *The William and Mary Quarterly.* 29, no. 4: 559-586.

[40] Peter Baldwin. *Contagion and the State in Europe* pp. 17-18

[41] Valeska Huber. "The Unification of the Globe by Disease?

treatment would be from an evolution of the individual caring for themselves or through an intermediary from a religious figure, a healer or doctor, to the role of the state as a guarantor of health.

Etiology

Outside of the moralistic notions of disease and purity, cholera also created a vast body of scientific literature. In the nineteenth century, the global medical community sought to understand the method in which cholera traveled from its home in India and infested new areas. How did cholera spread within a city? Why did it attack so violently for short periods of times then mysteriously disappear, to only appear again a few years later. Moreover, why were some cities spared, while others felt the full brunt? The varied queries naturally led to multiple schools of thought on to the etiology, methods to avoid disease, its spread and treatment. The etiology of disease can be divided into three areas. An environmental, or localist, approach held that environment and things such as gases, lights, the atmosphere and things generally outside of human control were the culprits for disease. Sanitationist, on the other hand, recognized the role the predisposition a person's health or surroundings could play in making a person or populace open to disease. Lastly, contagionist argued that disease was spread from human to human, animal to human or object to human. [42]Yet, anticontagionism dominated science in the nineteenth century. Anti-contagionist argued that there was no mechanism by which disease moved from person to another. Moreover, anticontagionist lambasted contagionist on their inability to explain why and when epidemics began and ended or why cholera usually arrived in the

[42] Peter Baldwin. *Contagion and the State in Europe* pp. 4-5

summer but ended as soon as the weather became colder. For anti-contagionist, this verified the importance of the atmosphere. The debate further ensued with the abundant material each side produced.

In 1849 John Snow, an avid contagionist" wrote in *On the Mode of Communication of Cholera* that cholera's ability to move from India to Europe demonstrated that in order for it to appear it must be passed from person-to-person. He further argued that the form in which the disease attacked body called into question arguments of gases entering the body. The method of contagion had to be more than mere air. Epidemiological mapping at the Broad Street pump in Albion Terrace has directly demonstrated that water source was directly connected to cholera outbreaks. In Albion Terrace Snow had noted that the water source for the afflicted area was near the bathroom drainages of each house where cesspools formed and infiltrated the local water sources that then connected to other houses in the neighborhood. [43]Max Von Pettenkorf countered from the anti-contagionist side with his study on the city of Lyon during the 1854 epidemic. Lyon, like Paris was a trade hub, contained a body of water bisecting the city, yet it did not report any cases of cholera. Von Pettenkorf countered with his Groundwater Theory, which took into consideration vibrio, but placed it within a miasmatic context. Within this theory neither miasmas nor bacteria could solely make you sick, but in tandem they explained why cholera was a summer disease. Filth and excrement served to "germinate" the disease.

[43] John Snow, "On the Mode of Communication of Cholera"(September 1849)Printed by Wilson and Ogilvy, 57 Skinner Street, London. The essay is dated 29 August 1849; a review of the published pamphlet appeared in LMG 44 (14 September 1849): 466-70

X (presence of vibrio) + Y (infestation of soil/filth) = cholera.
Von Pettenkorf Groundwater Theory

The firm limestone found underneath Lyon had acted as a natural barrier between noxious gases emanating from below and served as a natural filter for underground water. Paris, on the other hand, had a loose soil that allowed miasmas to permeate into the atmosphere.

The differing etiological theories created an array of methods to explain disease. Moreover, further complicating the matter is that fact that none are clear cut. Many doctors easily fell into more than one school of thought. The contagionist approach sought to reduce the potential of individuals coming into contact with the sick or animals thought to carry disease. Pre-dating germ theory, contagionist held that disease moved from person, but could not explain the exact method of transition and contraction. Emanating from anti-leprosy campaigns, quarantines, cordons and lazarettos were the main arsenal quaranitist employed to create space between the healthy and the unhealthy. Sanitationist and environmentalist initially disagreed but had similar conclusions. At first environmentalists contended that illness was due to factors outside of a person's control. Nevertheless, if a supposed culprit could be identified, steps were then taken to eradicate said threat. Thus, the draining of brackish water, cleaning of streets, the removal of property and the removal of potential foods that could cause harm were the steps sanitationist and environmentalist took. The nineteenth century physician and hygienist, Eduardo Wilde stated that tall buildings, which blocked out the sun for smaller buildings posed a health hazard to smaller buildings, since light was natural to maintain the body

healthy. The sun, however, could also be harmful if it penetrated an area for too long and assisted in the decomposition of organic matter, which then released miasmatic gases into the atmosphere. Environmentalist and sanitationist further differed from quaranitist in their belief of predisposition. Alcoholism, sexual deviance, gluttony, poor housing, malnutrition and a host of other factors they asserted made disease possible for larger populations.[44] For these groups, hygiene both at national and personal level became imperative to improving the general health of the people. Temperance movements, City Beautiful projects, public diversion, urban environments, sewer systems, private bathrooms and hygienic reform created new areas for the state to exercise over a population.

While environmentalism and sanitationism became the most popular forms of prophylactic practice to combat disease within the emerging nation-states, contagionism remained a popular option of hygienists. Germ theorist, such as Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch, championed quarantines during the "bacteriological revolution". Moving beyond a focus on filth, squalor and noxious gases, germ quaranitist advocated the separation of sick and un-sick in response to possibility of germs being passed between both parties. Cholera proved a viable candidate for doctors to question the correlation between predisposition, filth and disease. Although seen as a disease of the poor, cholera did not confine itself to lower sectors of society. John Snow's work on an outbreak in Albion Terrace discussed the extent to which the disease was primarily concentrated on, "the

[44] Peter Baldwin. *Contagion and the State in Europe* pp. 4-7

genteel suburban dwellings of a number of professional and trades people."[45] An overview of hospital records for the 1886-1887 epidemic of Tucumán does confirm that the epidemic was primarily concentrated among peons, *lavanderas* and *jornaleros,* yet there were also significant number of seamstresses and shopkeepers. Moreover, the spatial distribution of the epidemic demonstrates that it infiltrated both the center plaza and the peripheral areas of San Miguel. [46]

As the Argentine doctor Francisco Canessa noted in his work *Cólera Asiatico*, "cholera does not solely wear down humanity with death, but also causes damages in other areas."[47]The other areas that Canessa discusses can be multiple ones, an overview of the literature on disease essentially boils them down to infiltrations into politics, religion, society, culture, the economy, nationalism, urban life, familial and personal relations and immigration. The overarching division within the scholarship has been over how much influence disease has in determining the above mentioned areas. One faction, following the work of Erwin Ackerknecht, has argued that due to the multiple forms of understanding disease etiology and contagion, the socio-economic position of the physician/doctor/hygienist determined which form was practiced. [48] Thus, politics, religion, society and economic reality influenced medical practice; medicine is second to

[45] John Snow, "On the Mode of Communication of Cholera"(September 1849)Printed by Wilson and Ogilvy, 57 Skinner Street, London. The essay is dated 29 August 1849; a review of the published pamphlet appeared in LMG 44 (14 September 1849): 466-70

[46] AHT-SA Book 172 various folios that have lists of names and professions of those admitted into the hospitals in 1886 and 1887.

[47] Francisco Canessa. *Cólera Asiático*. Imprenta, Litografía y Fundición de Tipos, de la Sociedad Anónima.(Buenos Aires. 1871.)

[48] Erwin Heinz Ackerknecht. 1948. "Anticontagionism between 1821 and 1867". *Bulletin of the History of Medicine.* 22. and Alexandra Minna Stern and Howard Markel. 2009. "Commentary: Disease Etiology and Political Ideology: Revisiting Erwin H Ackerknecht's Classic 1948 Essay, 'Anticontagionism between 1821 and 1867'". *International Journal of Epidemiology.* 38, no. 1: 31-3.

larger processes. The Ackernechtian School further asserts that due to the fragmented medical community found in Europe during the nineteenth century, doctors followed patterns of prophylactic responses to diseases within national models. Martin Pernick's work on the Philadelphia's Yellow Fever of 1793 illustrates the connection between political affiliation and medical practice the most poignantly within the discussion so federalism and centralization. [49]

British doctors preferred a more anti-contagionist approach that was firmly against quarantines and any form of public health action that impeded or restricted the movement of peoples. This stance aligned itself perfectly with British economic and political liberalism. As Valeska Huber notes, the British stance could be attributed to two reasons: first, quarantines had proved futile to the epidemics of 1830. Criticisms of the quarantines were widespread, going as far to label them as "useless, a nuisance to trade, obnoxious and immoral."[50] In addition to this, Britain's unparalleled control of global trade between Europe, India and Middle East translated into quarantines impeding trade and commerce. An economy based on trade cannot properly function when goods and peoples are held for weeks at international quarantines.

Germany demonstrates the influence politics had on medical practice. Berlin, home to Robert Koch, preferred a centralized form that promoted contagionist prophylactic responses that were directly under the control of a tightly knit bureaucracy and strong central state. This method collided with the more laissez-faire approach of the port city of Hamburg and the provincial autonomy of Von Pettenkorf's home of Bavaria.

[49] Martin S. Pernick. 1972. "Politics, Parties, and Pestilence:
[50] Valeska Huber "The Unification of the Globe by Disease?"

In 1832 the French Academy of medicine stated that the cholera "will discredit the use of quarantines as a sanitary response."[51] Instead the French model exercised a sanitationist approach that saw filth, excrement and poor housing as the initiators of disease. In more political terms, France was a balance between the liberal British state and the more robust German state. France, unlike the British and German, looked at local environmental and salubrious matters. It was the responsibility of the state, but also of the municipality and individual to create forms to oppose disease. It did not, however, join German practices of limiting interaction between people under a contagionist platform as Germany had utilized in Berlin. France, like Britain and the United States, championed individual rights. [52]

Yet, the Ackernechtian model does pose certain limitations. First, it establishes a false binary of anti-contagionism vs. contagionism, sanitationism vs. quarantism or localist vs. contagionist. "Contagionism and localism," states Peter Baldwin, "were thus two poles in a field of intellectual tension within which any individual position took its stance."[53] Medical officials often sought to bridge the gap between the multiple medical theories. "Contingent contagionism" was a form used that combined hygiene with quarantines. One such example was Von Pettenkorf's groundwater theory. Indeed, miasmas could be adapted to fit into any form medical theory. Thus, miasmas could be the cause of disease (localist) or could be the form in which disease spread (contagionist). Secondly, it assumes "national" schools when doctors in each nation-state were as

[51] Erwin Heinz Ackerknecht. 1948. "Anticontagionism between 1821 and 186719
[52] Peter Baldwin *Contagion and the State in Europe*. Pp. 46-50
[53] Ibid., 9

divided as the global medical community. Koch and Von Pettenkrof, both Germans, were at the opposite poles of the etiological spectrum. Division was also evident in the British corps of medical officials. The British Board of Health under Edwin Chadwick expoused a policy of anti-contagionism and sanitationism. Countering this stance, the Royal College of Physicians held that humans passed disease amongst themselves. Thirdly, this model stresses the predominance of non-medical motives in determining medical practice. An examination of epidemics is replete with structuralist examples of society informing practice. Nevertheless, an overview of the epidemics under discussion reveals that the multiple etiologies, prophylactic practices and treatments in turn inspired a wide ranging debate that permeated into the political arena. To assume that society large informs the method to battle disease would create a singular national public health pattern. Instead, politics and prophylactic response are mutually dependent on each other.

Argentina

Similar to global medical debates, theories on hygiene in Argentina witnessed a transformation in the late 1850s and early 1860s. During the 1850s hygiene was primarily informational. Public and private hygiene were published in newspapers or were reacting to bouts of typhus, yellow fever or cholera. In the 1860s the medical profession and its dissemination into society began to grow. Outside of medicine, doctors developed in the fields of criminology, botany, hygiene and law. The establishment of the medical field is evident in numerous ways. First, the establishment of medical journals such as *Anales del Circulo Medico Argentino, Anales de Higiene Pública, Anales del Departamento Nacional de Higiene, Anales de la Sociedad Scientifica Argentina, Revista Farmacéutica*

and *Revista Médico Quirúrgica*. Medical journals and the personal writings of their contributors continually pressed for the government to have a more active role and responsibility in public hygiene and guaranteeing the health of its citizens. Journals such as *Revista Farmacéutica* and *Revista Médico Quirúrgica*, began to collect, configure and process information on the public health of Buenos Aires.[54] Temperature, humidity, barometric pressure, locations and causes of deaths were all reported in each journal. In addition to this, reviews were given on medical literature published in Germany, England and France, while medical dissertations from the University of Buenos Aires were published in serials. Portions from the journal were re-published in numerous newspaper in Buenos Aires, such as *La Nación* and *La Prensa.* Outside of Buenos Aires, the journals were sent out to provincial doctors, hygienists, politicians and elites. In Tucumán, elites complied medical, geographical, scientific, historical and literature works at the *Biblioteca Sarmiento* and *Biblioteca Alberdi*. Another sign of the rise of professional medicine was the growth of the University of Buenos Aires' School of Medicine in the mid-nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1870s Public Health and Hygiene under the guise of Guillermo Rawson began to be introduced into the medical curriculum. In Buenos Aires, students from all corners of the republic came and were trained in the ever changing medical field. From Tucumán, Eliseo Canton and Benjamin Araóz were graduates who then served both province and nation in political capacities. From Catamrcarca, Dr. Carlos G. Malbran wrote his medical thesis *Patogenia del Cólera* and

[54] Kindon T. Meik. *Disease and Hygiene in the Construction of a Nation: The Public Sphere, Public Space, and the Private Domain in Buenos Aires, 1871-1910*. FIU Digital Commons, 2011.

later served in the 1886-1887 epidemic in Mendoza. [55]These doctors served as agents of the medical field. Similar to Europe, the gap between politician and medico was vague. Numerous *higienistas* worked in hospitals, served on city councils, provided public service and taught courses at the University. For example, Dr. Guillermo Rawson the first chair of the school of hygiene at the School of Medicine at the University of Buenos Aires served as the Minister of the Interior. His students Dr. Eduardo Wilde also served as the Minister of the Interior and Dr. Eliseo Canton, who spearheaded the public health initiative during the 1886 epidemic, also served as a member of the national assembly representing his home province of Tucumán and his adopted home of Buenos Aires. [56] Yet, in the interplay between politics and medical practice, the Ackernachtian model does not fully apply in the Argentine model. Responses to the 1886-1887 epidemic show the multitude of prophylactic responses that existed which undermined or promoted governmental policy.

The works of Krisitn Ruggiero, Donna Guy, Diego Armus and Julia Rodriguez demonstrate in vivid detail the extent to which medical officials were able to shape public policy, municipal management and influence the national government in enacting laws to address issues of hygiene, limiting the public and private sphere, and controlling women. For Argentine doctors, the work of French doctors and Italian criminologists became the basis for theoretical practices. Ideas of hygiene were intermixed within broader contexts of positivism of the state's role to measure the progress of modernization. Ruggiero

[55] José Penna *El cólera en la República Argentina*. (Buenos Aires: Peuser, 1897.)

[56] Donna J. Guy *Sex & Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.) p. 77

reveals this in her study of medico-legal cases in late nineteenth-century Buenos Aires. For state officials, *carne*, or the body, served as a *tabula rosa* where ideas of nationalism, properness, citizenship and hygiene could be properly formed. In short, the body and medical responses offered the state an area for nation building. This collided, yet, intertwined perfectly with the Argentina's liberal government in the latter half of the nineteenth-century that sought to uphold the natural free state of the individual.

Within the medical literature, Latin America has often been portrayed as consumer of medical knowledge, rather than producers. [57] The field, however, has begun to make strides in demonstrating the extent to which Latin American nations developed medical knowledge. Nancy Lays Stepan and Julia Rodriguez reveal that while European medical practices crossed the Atlantic, the experience and reality of Latin America required these doctors and scientists to adapt and change concepts of disease etiology, prevention and curing. In Argentina, doctors at the close of the nineteenth century, debated over how to balance the forming nation's Hispanic heritage with its progressing future. In relation to cholera, Argentina developed a mixture of numerous medical theories that took into consideration its geographical distance from epidemiological centers, its political, social, cultural and economic development, its ethnic and historical past, the development of the medical scientific field, the growth of the state as an overseer of public health, and finally, European medical officials who did not see Argentine doctors as equivalent. [58]Sanitationist movements from France and England

[57] Diego Armus *Disease in the History of Modern Latin America: From Malaria to AIDS*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.)

[58] Julia Rodríguez *Civilizing Argentina*

received a healthy reception from city planners in Buenos Aires where parks served both salubrious and visual purposes. In the late 1860s, the *Revista Médico Quirúrgica* noted that parks and plazas served "large repositories where the air is purified" later to be carried by "those arteries called streets" to the inhabitants of the city.[59]The work of Charles Thays, the French-Argentine landscape architect is seen not only in the design of Buenos Aires' botanical gardens, but in the 9th of July park in Tucumán, Sarmiento park in Córdoba and the San Martin park in Mendoza to name a few. In line with the political and economic liberal model from England, Argentina formally opposed all forms of internal and international sanitary cordons. Disagreements within the Argentine community existed over contagion and cordons that were formed by geographical location and period of medical education.

As in Europe, Argentine doctors debated over the proper steps needed to battle cholera. Debates over its etiology and dissemination were debated in medical journals, newspapers and medical classes. Comparing the works of Francsico Canessa and Eduardo Wilde, the interplay between multiple factors and disease became evident. Published in 1871, Francisco Canessa's work *Cólera Asiatico*, argued that cholera's arrival to Argentina and proliferation was due to miasmatic gases traveling on passengers and their cargo, but transformed into a contagious material that then moved from person to person. [60]As a living organism, miasmatic gases became weakened as they traveled from their disease centers. For Argentine doctors, this resulted in different species of cholera. *Cólera Asiatico*, *colerina* and *cólera nostras* where all forms that were labeled in

[59] Kindon T. Meik, *Disease and Hygiene in the Construction of a Nation:*.
[60] Francisco Canessa. *Cólera Asiático*

the medical literature from the period. Moreover, doctors were initially unsure what to consider cholera, rather than basic diarrhea or dysentery, typhus, gastritis, colitis and astroenteritis. This was further complicated over the negative religious, moral and hygienic connotations cholera carried. Human contagion was further advanced through miasmatic forces of humidity, heat and barometric pressure. For Canessa the prime form of disease prevention was complete isolation from afflicted people. Lazarettos and holding areas would only work if they were away from land. Like the Austrian delegates at the international sanitary conferences, both held that land could not be completely covered. Moreover, localizing disease people in a small area only served to create foci of disease. Yet, Canessa advocated for a limited state. For Canessa, the state lacked the sufficient knowledge on disease and its prevention. Instead, health came down to the physician and the individual. Moderation, avoidance of insalubrious places, foods and temperatures guaranteed a person could avoid the possibility of contracting a disease.

Eduardo Wilde's course on public health emphasized that the division was private and public hygiene was non-existent. While hygiene was dependent on the individual, the ultimate arbitrator was the state. Comparing them to children, Wilde held that "The public is an adolescent, whose whims we must compromise with multiple times."[61] The state had to be the driving force behind "social development." For Wilde disease and poor hygiene where ways in which underdevelopment festered, it was in the hands of the government to oversee all matters directly or indirectly related to health: housing, food, sanitation, safety, laws and equality. Within the context of the positivist liberal

[61] Eduardo Wilde, Obras Completas Cientificas

government of the period, the creation of laws created a contract between citizen and state that closed the gap between private and public hygiene. In relation to contagion and prophylactic response Wilde differed from Canessa. "Quarantines," stated Wilde, "are fictitious preservative measures. They are applied to situations where there is no real danger."[62] The state's policy of improving hygiene and sanitation rather than erecting quarantines and sanitary cordons came from a contagionist theory where disease was seen as a living entity that could attach itself to person, thing or animal. Collecting diseased people together merely assisted in spreading the diseases amongst those who were possibly not sick. Since the disease is miasmatic in origin and attaches itself, clean air and movement are natural remedies to subdue noxious gases.

The region's further inclusion in global trade routes and further expanded to its internal borders, the competing medical theories on etiology, contagion and prophylaxis all clashed during a period in which the global medical community was in disagreement within and outside the medical sciences. As in other areas of the world, Argentine doctors and hygienists battled over the relationship that medicine and the state should practice. With the growth of the state, questions over the social body, citizenship and law permeated into the medical field. Within the Ackernachtian model, politics influences medical practice, if viewed from an expanding bureaucratic force in Buenos Aires a unanimous medical protocol would have existed. However, the continued balance of province and state created an area where competing forms of medical practice and

[62] *ibid*

different political bases were forced to interact and mutually transformed both medicine and politics.

Chapter 3: The Importance of Being Folk: Rural Medicine and Urban Politics

In 1865, the citizens of the city of Medinas in the department of Chicligasta and the citizens of Rio Chico in Graneros came together to write a letter to Tucumán's governor, Bernabe Piedrabuena, requesting that local doctor, Dr. Felipe Bernan be permitted to resume his medical practice in their region of the province.[1]Dr. Bernan was originally from the United States, but had somehow arrived to the area six years earlier and immediately enmeshed himself in the local community through his medical practice. Lacking a medical degree from an Argentine university, the provincial government and the province's recently-formed Medical Tribunal initiated a process to bar Dr. Bernan from practicing medicine in Tucumán. The government responded that upon completion of an oral examination from the Medical Tribunal, Dr. Bernan could reassume his profession. Nevertheless, there is no remaining evidence that states whether or not Dr. Bernan met with the Medical Tribunal and if he was approved to continue practicing medicine in the southern region. The letters between the three parties reveal numerous important aspects of the state of the medical field in Tucumán during the years preceding the 1868 epidemic. Moreover, it offers a glimpse into the role of medicine and health as part of the government's task of guaranteeing the well being of its inhabitants. The extent of the provincial governments control into the rural regions was limited. Thus, through the letters we see the limited presence of the executive provincial branch in the peripheries.

[1] Archivo Historico de la Provincia de Tucumán: Sección Administrativa Book 97 1865 Folio 108-110. Here on after referred to as AHT-SA

In 1865, national and provincial engineers submitted plans to create serviceable roads that bisected the province south to north. Running through the capital city of San Miguel, the road would connect the province to its northern neighbor Salta, and southern neighbor Catamarca. The road was destined to serve as a way to facilitate the trade within and outside the province, and also a means to facilitate the movement of troops throughout the region.

The southern region of Tucumán is riddled with arroyos and is prone to flooding during the rainy winter season. [2]In his travels from San Miguel to Catamarca, the German naturalist, German Burmeister commented on the difficulty he faced in crossing the multiple streams and flooded paths in southern Tucuman. The marshy lands and rivers created a natural barrier between provincial capital and southern hinterland. An engineer's report from the plans of the southern road to Catamarca stated the 50km walk from San Miguel to Monteros was roughly a nineteen day journey. Narrow, destroyed roads made it a treacherous journey.[3]

The south was not the only isolated region. The San Javier Mountains separated the western fringes of the province. More desert and arid in nature, the west was a stark contrast from the lush vegetation and humidity of the central areas of Tucumán. More closely connected to Catamarca through trade, the western region of the province, Calcahagui Valley, had farmers and merchants moving back and forth between the provinces. The sparsely populated region had farmers grazing their sheep on both sides of

[2] Ricardo Rojas *Encuesta de folklore de 1921*. Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Pensamiento Latinoamericano: Buenos Aires, 1921. and Juan Alfonso Carrizo. *Cancionero popular de Tucumán*. Buenos Aires: A. Baiocco y cía, 1937. Encuesta will be referred to as CEFA

[3] AHT-SA Book 97 1865 Folio 124

the borders. The low lying rivers were used for trade between the ruins of Quilmes and the border villages with Catamarca. The Sierras of San Javier created a buffer zone between Tucumán and Catamarca. The sparsely populated region created no incentive to construct roads through this region.[4]

The difficulty in moving from one area to another and the province's topography of flat valleys giving way to jungles, mountains and then deserts created numerous levels of isolation. Isolation and space further operated at the national level. Tucumán was the smallest but fifth most populated province of the nation. It had a sizeable urban population. Following the 1869 census, the province had the seventh largest city in the nation. It had the fifth largest rural population. In the province, the population was heavily skewed towards the rural population. Eighty percent of the entire population lived outside of the city of San Miguel.

In the 1860s, the public health infrastructure in the province was a combination of private and public oversight. The provincial government appointed private citizens to manage the Medical Tribunal, the Society of Beneficence and its subsidiaries of *Comision de Caridad* and *Comision de Siñes*. In a letter to Minister of Government, a new member to the *Comision de Siñes*, wrote in response to her appointment in the organization that, "we work for the service and assistance of the hospital, who will come to an understanding with the government to facilitate the methods in which to provide the necessities of health."[5] On the surface, this demonstrated a highly organized public health sector that was vertically organized, funded, expansive and capable of providing

[4] Collecion Enceusta de Folklore ArgentinoTucuman Roll 56, hereinafter CEFA
[5] AHT-SA Book 98 1865 Folio 345. Name unreadable at the bottom of document

resources to those afflicted. A closer examination of the correspondence between the Society of Beneficence and the provincial government, and the case of Dr. Bernan reveal that medical treatment in Tucumán was concentrated in the areas surrounding San Miguel. All the preceding organizations were based in the city. Hospitals, apothecaries, pharmacies and communication links to Buenos Aires were housed in the city. Although the provincial government acted as authoritative supervisor for the medical societies and envisioned them as serving all corners of the province, the reality of the situation was that the province lacked the funds to extend them elsewhere and many of the rural areas were secluded and isolated.

The presence of medical attention outside of the city was limited due to the lack of bureaucratic infrastructures that permitted their extension of assistance. One such example is seen in the northern regions of Tucumán, primarily in the department of Trancas and Burruyacú. The areas continually oscillated between Tucumán and Salta's claim of jurisdiction. In a letter to the provincial government, one small town stated that they had been paying taxes to Salta for numerous years, to only later find out that it was actually located in Tucumán. The mistake had only been discovered when the Tucumán, not Salta's, military requested the town to provide soldiers for the Paraguayan War.

The government's presence in the countryside came in the form of the military and elected and government appointed administrative officials. Each district, or department, was appointed a military commander and a small battalion of provincial guards, either from the surrounding region or sent from San Miguel. Elections were a closed system. Only men who had registered and taken part in the militia were permitted

to vote. Moreover, voting was done in public. Often militia generals led infantry soldiers to the voting tables, where they were ordered to vote the approved candidate.[6] The votes, however, were not for local and regional elections. Instead, militias voted for departmental representatives in the provincial chamber of representatives.

Departmental commanders were given almost autonomous military, financial, administrative and political rule in the hinterlands. Their duties were to recruit militias, collect taxes, lead military regiments into local or regional battles, inspect any disturbances, oversee elections, arrest any evader or delinquents. Due to their personal appointment by the governor, this system created a loyalty based in the capital and extending into the rural areas. Personal and professional disputes could, and did, routinely break down these relations. The introduction of newly elected or militarily backed governors created an entirely new military political order throughout the province. Repeated threats from Indians and federalists crossing over from Bolivia, Chile, Salta and the western areas along the Catamarcan border further solidified the rural region into a military zone.

Continual upheavals, the changing of provincial leaders through military conflict and a weak centralized state were not unique to Tucumán. Following the fall of Juan Manuel Rosas and Buenos Aires' refusal to initially adopt the national constitution of 1853, the nascent nation fell into a period of internal and military conflict. During this time, interprovincial conflicts between elites with opposing political ideologies and wars

[6] Hilda Sabato *The Many and the Few: Political Participation in Republican Buenos Aires*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2001.)

between governors were common place.[7] During the late 1850s and early 1860s, forces from Salta, Santiago del Estero, Catamarca and La Rioja had attempted to invade Tucumán. The province had responded by sending forces to the province in the northwest and Cuyo regions on different occasions. It was not until 1861 and 1862, following the province of Buenos Aires's adoption of the 1853 constitution, the first national election and the province of Buenos Aires' defeat of Urquiza's Argentine confederation that the central state began to take the initial steps towards formation. Although a central state existed, there still remained the problem of what Juan B. Alberdi viewed as the, "the two great coefficients of Argentina's problem: the nation and the province." [8] The nation's limited resources fostered military response as the nation's primary means of subjugating a rogue province or caudillo leadership. The need to maintain a strong military presence in the nation and province overshadowed funding for public health. For state builders, peace and by any means necessary would have to be secured before the state could expand into new areas.

A microcosm of the nation-state, the province gave minimal support to public health in its yearly budgets. In 1865 the president of the Society of Benefice repeatedly wrote the executive branch complained of backlogged subsidies and the need to raise the monthly subsidy. That same year the province made budgets cuts across the board. The most significant cuts were made in public works, the hospital's subsidy and public instruction. The lowest cuts were made in the administration of justice and the provincial

[7] Maria Celia Bravo "Guerra, militarización y organización del Estado en la Argentina. Las provincias del norte en la década de 1850." Unpublished work p. 1

[8] Juan B. Alberdi. *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina,* (Argentina, Edit. Sopena, 1957, pp. 15, 95.) In Maria Celia Bravo "Guerra, militarización y organización del Estado en la Argentina." p. 2

police. Public instruction initial allotment of 5,370 *Pesos Bolivianos* was reduced to 375. Of the 1,500 originally portion planned for to the hospital, the finalized budget cut it down to 120. [9]In July of 1865, the subsidy was three months behind, in another letter to Governor Juan Posse, the Society of Beneficence stated that it no longer had the funds to keep the capital's hospital running. In lieu of provincial funds, private donations and the pensions of retired citizens were utilized. These funds, however, were insufficient to maintain the hospital. In 1867 another letter points out the continued financial difficulties in the management of the hospital. The president of the hospital's council, Feofamia L. De Espejo, wrote to Governor Octavio Luna, stating that, "We currently find ourselves without the funds or resources to continue offering assistance. I have personally had to ask my acquaintances for personal loans to pay for the demands of the hospital." De Espejo held that the good charity of the executive power coalesced with the need to advance the province.[10] The instability of the subsidy and the sparring donations impeded the Society of Beneficence from extending outside of the city.

The letter from the citizens of Medinas and Rio Chico also reveals the pervasiveness of *curanderismo* throughout the region. *Curanderismo* is a medical practice that operates outside of western medical practices. Modern germ-based medical practice looks to the infiltration of viruses and bacteria into the body as the basis for poor health. Folk medicine incorporates the infiltration of foreign bodies, but adds non-medical factors to disease. Thus, strong emotional states, environmental imbalance, malevolent forces, the loss of one's soul and the mixture of the natural and supernatural

[9] AHT-SA Book 98 1865 Folio 345
[10] AHT-SA Book 102 1867 Folio 387

world can cause a person to become sick. Western medicine utilizes a closed doctor-patient relationship. In folk medical practices, the healing of the individual is a community affair, through the collection of medicinal plants and the prayers required to spare the sick from death.[11] In the areas of folk medicine, the Hispanic forms of hot/cold dichotomy, the extent of religious iconography coalesced with the pre-Columbian medical practices that emphasized the use of animals, plants, the environment to cure and understand the causes of disease. Animals, such as owls, were seen as the bearers of death while dogs and smaller critters were positive signs or familial protectors. The lack of dominant indigenous cultures in the region of Tucumán removes the spiritual or personalisitic causation of disease, that disease emanates from a human or supernatural being, where the sick person is a victim of another person's evildoings. Instead, the form of curing employed in Tucumán in the middle of the nineteenth-century, and throughout much of Latin America, was a naturalistic-humoral-colonial based form of understanding disease etiology. Under this form of curing, the body is understood to be in an equilibrium of hot, cold, dry and wet, which are based on Spanish practices disseminated to the educated classes that included physicians and clergy.[12] The remoteness of certain regions permitted these practices to continue in tandem with other medical practices, or colasced neatly, into other such as miasmatic.

The medical and historical base of *curanderismo* depends on the region. The, *curandero* practice in the southwestern region of the United States and central to north

[11] Irwin Press. 1971. "The Urban *Curandero*". *American Anthropologist.* 73, no. 3: 741-756.

[12] George McClelland Foster. 1987. "On the Origin of Humoral Medicine in Latin America"*Medical Anthropology Quarterly : International Journal for the Cultural and Social Analysis of Health.*

Mexico is based on medical practices that incorporate aspects equally from "Aztec, Spanish, spiritistic, spiritualistic, homeopathic and modern scientific medicine that is based on empirical observation and shared scientific concepts and procedures with western medical practice."[13] Northwestern Argentina is situated in the very southern fringes of the area that Quechua and Aymara speaking people inhabited. Early twentieth century anthropologists investigating the northwest determined that the region had strong vestiges of its Spanish past that had neatly merged with indigenous culture. Language, food, medicine and agriculture were still present. For the twentieth century nationalist intellectual, Joaquín V. González, the people of Tucumán maintained a connection to their indigenous past through the, "traditions, celebrations and external aspects of their lives."[14]While Catholicism was firmly enrooted as the local religion, folk religion had intermixed Andean mythology into the practice of Catholic rites. The continuation of customs and practices can be applied to folk medicine. *Curanderismo* as a medical practice had roots in the pre-colonial period. The arrival of the Spanish and African slaves into the region added an entire new element to local medicine. As late as the 1920s, researchers were observing its healthy survival in the rural zones. The arrival of immigrants and more doctors after 1876 had diluted the "folkness" of San Miguel. However, I hold that in the 1860s rural folk medicine extended to all areas of the province. It was for many, the only available method with which to cure the sick. While

[13] Irwin Press "The Urban *Curandero*"

[14] Oscar Chamosa *The Argentine Folklore Movement: Sugar Elites, Criollo Workers, and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism, 1900-1955*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010.)

there were small pockets that wanted to do away with such "backwardness," folk medicine was prominent in the region.

Curanderismo picks and chooses aspects from all areas of newly introduced medical theories. The epidemic of 1868 created a space where folk and western medicine came into contact. The differences in medical officials created a further divide between the rural and urban areas of the province. As the citizens of Medinas and Rio Chico argued, the region's *curanderos* inhabited were "rude", "ignorant" and "poor." They held that if the government permitted the spread of *curanderismo*, poverty and ignorance would become synonymous with the province, while university-trained doctors would lead to the advancement of the rural zones. The elites of Medinas and Rio Chico were fighting a losing battle. Data collected for the province during Argentina's first census of 1869 shows that the medical profession in Tucumán was primarily in the hands of midwives and *curanderos*. Doctors were a minority, and their numbers dwindled even more once outside of the San Miguel region.

Scholars have examined cases of elites battling rural backwardness as part of modernizing the nation-state during the formative years of the nineteenth-century. The creation of modern politicized citizens, development of large scale agricultural capitalism, scientific advancement, the consolidation of national borders,[15] national banking systems and communication became totems of the modern nation-state in the nineteenth century. While earlier literature viewed modernization projects as attempts by

[15] For a closer look into the process of creating borders and the occupation of land, also known as "Territorialty", see Ch.S. Maier , "Cosigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era.", American Historical Review, June 2000, pp. 807-831.

elites to "reform" non-elites; thereby, creating a "dichotomy in which rulers and subjects are neatly divided," [16] recent scholarship is moving away from a purely top-down analysis and into a more complex understanding of state power and its formation. The relation between elites and the popular classes is seen as a political process that permitted the extension of state power.[17] Public health, healing and epidemics offer a view in to this cooperation.

This chapter argues that the epidemic of 1868 created spaces for negotiation between formal and informal medical officials during a formative period of Argentina and assisted in the integration of peripheral regions into the national project of extending the state into the provincial hinterlands. Administrative disputes between the province and the recently formed municipality over the management of maintaining the health of the province, created an impetus for the province to solidify its position outside of a purely military presence in the rural regions. Furthermore, I argue that the epidemics, brought into contention central aspects of *tucumano* culture, such as the practice of folk healing, and the medical, cultural, economic purpose of fruit. It does not, however, reveal an antagonistic relationship between "informal" and "formal" medical officials. Instead, I argue that individuals began to understand the multiple medical options available to them and moved freely between both sides. To place them in a dichotomy would imply the eradication of one form. Renaldo Maduro's work on *curanderismo* in southwestern United States among Latino peoples, describes a process of health services. Treatment

[16] Pablo Piccato *City of Suspects Crime in Mexico City, 1900-1931*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.) pp. 9-10

[17] *Ibid*

will begin with home treatments, either provided from a local *señora* or physician. If the sickness continues, a folk healer is engaged. Madruo states, "It is not unusual for the family to then decide that a particular illness has both natural and supernatural causes requiring simultaneous treatment by a *curandero*s and a physician."[18] In rural Tucumán, this was complicated due to the scarcity of doctors in the rural areas. Two doctors covered all regions outside of the city of San Miguel. Quite possibly one could have been Dr. Bernan. In an area of 8,697 sq. miles, over 4,300 would have comprised the area that he could have covered. Of the fifty-five *curandero*s, forty-nine practiced in the rural regions. This translated into one per one hundred and seventy-seven per square miles.[19]

In conjunction with the following chapter, this one holds that the epidemic offered provincial officials a new area in which to integrate the peripheral hinterlands into the larger project of state-formation. This process of nation-state building departs from the more military, violent and top-down process the literature has asserted. [20]Moreover, it places peripheral agents at the head of this process. José Antonio Sanchez Roman has analyzed this process with the extension of the sugar industry from the areas immediately outside of San Miguel into the formation of the *tucumano* sugar belt bisecting the province southwest to northeast. As capital moved into these areas, workers, merchants, entrepreneurs became connected to larger economic structures within and outside of Tucumán. The literature has predominantly looked at integration in economic terms, such as the national states' eradication of the Bolivian peso in the northwest for the state-

[18] Irwin Press "The Urban *Curandero*"

[19] For a more explicit discussion, see Chp 1.

[20] Oscar Oszlak *La formación del estado argentino*. (Buenos Aires, República Argentina: Editorial de Belgrano, 1982.)

backed *peso fuerte* beginning in 1876 and concluding in the early 1880s. This change permitted the establishment of National Bank branches throughout the interior. At the ground level, it permitted local elites and entrepreneurs to switch their portfolios from more stable diversified trade-based investments into the riskier, yet high-yielding, sugar cultivation and processing. The development of the sugar industry reoriented Tucumán away from an Andean oriented market to a littoral based market. [21] This chapter demonstrates that the epidemic, although small in nature, created connections between the hinterland, the provincial capital and the nation.

In order to establish this interaction, this chapter makes use of the bourgeoning medical literature beginning in the early 1860s from Buenos Aires and the medical school of the University of Buenos Aires. Journals such as the *Revista Medica Quirurgica* and *La Revista Faramceutica* published field reports, medical dissertations, and critiques of medical works, and translations of foreign medical essays that were then disseminated to the national medical community. By the 1880s this literature had expanded to include *Anales del Circulo Medico Argentino, Anales del Departamento de Higiene, Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina*.

This source base is paralleled by the *Colección de Folklore de Encuesta Docente*.This collection is comprised of files divided by province. School teachers gathered information on local healing practices, superstitions, games, songs, rhymes, riddles, local and national history and proverbs. Undertaken in 1921, a large sample of

[21] José Antonio Sánchez Román. "Integración territorial y especialización económica" in Beatriz Bragoni, and Eduardo José Míguez. *Un nuevo orden político: provincias y estado nacional, 1852-1880*. (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2010.)

the collection contains participants falling between the ages of thirty and sixty and with some as old as ninety, placing them squarely in the period understudy. Photo evidence from the early twentieth century compared to that of the nineteenth century shows that the participants of the *Encuesta* developed and continued living in a nineteenth-century experience. The small *huerta* alongside and mud-hut ranch still dominated the rural landscape.

In order to track the level of interaction between people and the state, I examine the percentage of students enrolled in school and the level of illiteracy rates among the population. In 1869, of the 26,693 children of age only 3,219 attended school, thus 88 percent did not attend school. Illiteracy was even more common, with 91 percent of the population unable to read or write. By 1914 the number of children in public education had risen in the province, yet large portions still functioned outside of the purview of the provincial government. Of 68,302 children in the province, 46.4 percent did not attend any school. The battle against illiteracy had greatly improved with only 26,210 illiterates in the entire province. The rural nature of the province had diminished, but only slightly. In 1914 fifty-six percent of the province was based in the rural regions.[22] Lastly, *cantores*, those that passed on songs and stories along, were as José Antonio Carrizo described, "the spokesmen of tradition and the true divulgers of popular songs."[23] Moreover, many came to have an almost celebrity status in San Miguel at the close of the nineteenth-century. Their public status and practice of compiling songs converted them

[22] Data collected from Argentina National Census, 1869-1914 Tucumán. Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (Argentina). *Historia demográfica Argentina 1869-1914 versión digital de los tres primeros censos nacionales*. Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 2000.

[23] Juan Alfonso Carrizo. *Cancionero popular de Tucumán* p. 338

into databases of popular culture. Their wanderings across the regions assisted the spread of songs and the creation of a national repertoire of music, ideals and emotions. [24] The *Encuesta* collectively serves as an excellent twentieth-century source to examine the nineteenth-century.

Juan Antonio Carrizo, Ariel De La Fuente and Oscar Chamosa have demonstrated in their studies of folklore movements in northwestern Argentina, La Rioja and Tucumán, the centrality of oral culture in Argentina is central to the continued practices and understandings of people. The high level of illiteracy and poverty amongst the rural peoples of Argentina transformed oral culture into a main form of entertainment, news and the passing on of lineage. [25] A closer look at the collection of proverbs reveals the widespread use of them, but also the subtleties that changed as they traveled through the rural zones. For example, the following versions for the proverb of "The Egg" were collected in Catamarca, Buenos Aires, La Rioja, Santa Fe and Uruguay. The following examples show the Buenos Aires (A) and Catamarca (B) versions.

El Huevo(A)
Un barrilito de Samborombón
Que no tiene tapa ni tapón

El Huevo(B)
Poronguito bombón
No tiene tapa ni tapón

Natural variations occurred over the transition time and the movement of the songs through various locations. The general rhythmic structure and purpose of identifying an

[24] *Ibid* p.339
[25] Ariel de la Fuente *Children of Facundo: Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency During the Argentine State-Formation Process (La Rioja, 1853-1870).* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.) p.115

egg, however, exist in both versions. In the Tucumán adaptation (C) of the proverb, the structure and length change, but the description of the egg as round and its ability to open, but unable to close remain.

El Huevo(C)[26]
Una cajita redonda,
Blanca como el azahar,
Se abre muy fácilmente,
Pero no se puede cerrar.

While the songs show variations, they reveal how far they spread among the people. Games, homeopathic remedies, songs and poems served to strengthen the interconnectedness of Argentines during a period where travel was rather limited due to the lack of structures, such as railroads, to easily transport people. Oral traditions are one area where the nation is evident. The interaction between western and non-western medical knowledge reveals one of these prime areas of interaction.

The "Eden Envenando"

In 1895, in front of Tucumán' legislature a speech was delivered on the state of the province's health in the last year. "It is a common truth in Tucumán,' stated the orator, 'that the province has the worst hygienic conditions. It has been said so much that is has come to be known as the 'Poisoned Eden.'"[27] By 1895 the province had began a process of improving the state of health in the province through the funds collected form taxes levied on the sugar industry. The speaker stated that the moniker given to the province and the city were misleading since in comparison to the other major cities of the

[26] All three taken from, Robert Lehmann-Nitsche *Folklore Argentino. I*, (Buenos Aires, Coni Hermanos, 1911.) pp. 210-211 Songs 489-490

[27] Digesto Municipales, San Miguel de Tucumán 1868-1895.

republic—Buenos Aires, Rosario and Córdoba— the mortality rate was lower. Moreover, San Miguel's mortality rate was only partially representative. Indeed, many sick came to the city in search of medical assistance, but died. The taxes collected from the sugar industry were also used to build a sewer system and lines to deliver potable water to each home. It was believed that these services would help ameliorate the insalubrious conditions of the city and its surrounding inhabitants. In addition to a water system, public baths, hospitals, a public assistance organization, medical inspections at schools, cemeteries and increased budgets for street cleaning and lighting were initiated to improve the city. Outside of taxes, the Department of Engineering and Topography sold water water rations to ingenious. These funds were used in public works projects. For example, for the construction of the Cementerio del Oeste almost twelve thousand of the forty-three thousand pesos proposed to build the cemetery came from taxes from, and water rations sold to, the suagr industry.[28] The 1890s were a formative period in Argentina. Similar to other cities, leaders in the province saw health and cleanliness as a way to transform San Miguel into a modern city.[29] This period of growth expanded health construction into the rural zones. Between 1900 and 1940, the national government worked to eradicate malaria from the Tucumano countryside. [30]

In the closing days of December 1867, the newspaper *El Pueblo* reported to the people of San Miguel that cholera was threatening the province. The disease emanating

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] For discussions on creating the "modern and healthy city", see Diego Armus' *The Ailing City: Health, Tuberculosis, and Culture in Buenos Aires, 1870-1950*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011 chps 9 and 10

[30] For a more detailed work on the process of modernizing the province and eradicating malaria, see Eric D. Carter. *Enemy in the Blood Malaria, Environment, and Development in Argentina*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012.)

from the littoral provinces was moving along the trade routes and among the soldiers returning from the Paraguayan War. The epidemic took place during a time of growth and optimism in Tucumán due to the financial stability and the expansion of the sugar industry. "We owe much to heaven and the active industry of the province,' stated Governor Octavio Luna, 'over all the maladies at the national level. Products and industry grow; labor and land prices are on the rise. Prosperity is felt in all parts."[31]

On the eve of the epidemic, the archdiocese and province worked together to prepare the province for cholera. Leaders wielded sanitationist, environmentalist and contagionist theories to combat disease. The ideal form of evading the disease did not rely on the hygiene of the individual, but the exterior of the person. Cleanliness and the purification of the city and province offered potential cures to curtail the growth of disease. Rotting bodies, fruit, trash and meat secreted noxious gases that were damaging to general health of the population. Within San Miguel, a faction of the elites held that the province's regulations were limited and only postponed the eventual date cholera would enter the city. In response, elites from San Miguel formed a municipal corporation, under the goal of avoiding of the, "lamentable visitor."[32] Under President Juan Manuel Teran, secretary, Jose Maria Rojas, and Treasurer Emiliano Gonzalez, the municipality immediately began working towards preparing the city for a potential invasion. At the time the municipality was not part of any singular department, as it is now; instead, it fell on the border between Tafí and Cruz Alta. Each department extended towards the neighboring province with varying distances and natural barriers. From San Miguel, Santiago del Estero was

[31] *El Pueblo* January 2, 1868
[32] *El Pueblo* January 9, 1868

directly west. Multiple roads connected the city to the neighboring province. The western trail to Catamarca crossed the sierras of San Javier and the desert of the Calcahquí Valley. Combining medicine with civic duty, the municipality helped reform the Medical Tribunal. In a series of meetings between the municipality, archdiocese and the provincial government, attempts were made to establish the parameters of jurisdiction of the municipality and the province. The archdiocese served as an arbitrator. The exact outcome from the meetings is unknown, but it became clear that the municipality and Medical Tribunal were opposed to the province and archdiocese.

The Medical Tribunal and Municipality created over fifteen quaranitist and sanitationist regulations in hopes of impeding cholera from entering the city. The first was to completely close off the city from Catamarca, and Santiago del Estero. For administrative and medical officials, a sanitary cordon would create space between the healthy and unhealthy. Fumigation stations and quarantine holds were created in the small southeastern towns of Favorina and Tacanas. After medical approval the decontaminated mail was delivered. In San Miguel and Favorina, lazarettos to quarantine and hold the sick were constructed. As the epidemic developed, the municipalities influence began to extend outside of this jurisdiction. Due to this proximity, the municipality stationed guards at the Santiago border. Writing to the provincial government, Garcia stated, "you have shut down the borders, with both provinces. But the municipality does not feel it has enough men to cover that border, we ask that the provincial government do its part."[33] In the same letter similar demands were made for

[33] AHT-SA Book 104 1868 Folio 259

the Catamarca borders, which wrapped from south to west around Tucumán. In addition to a guarded border, the duty of fumigating all correspondence entering San Miguel was given to the provincial powers. While the province was able to install two national guards on small roads and contingents of up to six soldiers on the major roads, the sanitary cordon and the epidemic created tensions between the municipality and the province.

The capital was divided into districts, each with a hygienic commissioner that oversaw the enforcement of hygienic laws. The commissioner ensured that citizens did not store trash or any building materials in front of houses. Trash was to be sealed and only permitted to be exposed on the days in which trash was collected. Citizens were prohibited from impeding trash collectors. Any construction projects required approval from the municipality. Street peddlers were forbidden from traversing the streets of the city selling their wares. The sale, consumption and growth of fruits were strictly outlawed. Crops not harvested were destroyed. Large gatherings were outlawed in order to avoid people spreading cholera amongst themselves. Lastly, the municipality created a two block circumference around the Plaza Libertad[34]where no mud, clay and open flames were allowed. Municipal appointed citizens patrolled the streets handing citations to infractions. [35]Letters and reports in *El Pueblo* offer a glimpse to what level the hygienic laws were followed and supported. One story related to the readers on how the people of La Merced district had reported French immigrant Mr. Tranchat to the municipality for leaving trash in front of his house and dumping refuse into the construction site next to La Merced Church. Letters to the newspaper praised the municipality's initiatives for,

[34] Today known as Plaza 9 de Julio
[35] *El Pueblo* February 23, 1868

"serving as a stimulus, to those deaf and in a deep trance against the sentiment of philanthropy, who rather promote human suffering."[36] The initiatives also sought to consolidate the medical profession in San Miguel. The city compiled lists of all doctors and placed one in each district. Under the Medical Tribunal, each district doctor worked with local pharmacists to provide the poor with free medication. The medical tribunal and municipality extended their jurisdiction into the domestic space and the control of dead bodies. Potential cholerics were not permitted to be admitted to hospitals unless their district doctor had confirmed the disease. If a person died in their home, the body was tagged and removed within two hours. In the burial spot, bodies were covered in large amounts of lime to suppress any miasmatic gases bodies could release.[37]

Popular gatherings, religious processions, carnivals and public markets were closed while the threat of disease persisted. The municipality had requested to the archdiocese that all religious processions and masses be suspended during the epidemic. The city commission did not receive support from the province or archdiocese on the banning of religious exercises. In the beginning weeks of the epidemic the provincial government requested a procession from the city's bishop for the curing the province. On January 9th, the bishop met with the governor over the threat of disease. Following the meeting, a procession was held in honor the city's patron saint, the Archangel St. Michael and erects a crucifix for the health of the province. [38] The banning of public gatherings was based on the notion that, "large reunions and the commotion created from events

[36] *El Pueblo* February 6, 1868
[37] *El Pueblo* no date visible
[38] AHT-SA Book 104 1868 Folio 83

such as the carnival, will most definitely bring disease quickly and with force."[39] During the initial weeks of the epidemic, the municipality and province did not work together to stop the epidemic. While both groups agreed that steps should be taken to stop cholera. The two differed on when those steps should be taken.

In a letter from the municipality to the provincial government, municipal president, Juan Manuel Teran, wrote to the Minster of Government David Zavalia stating that the city was in a state of panic over news that the disease was growing exponentially in Santiago and Catamarca. [40] The Justice Tribunal pushed the executive and Municipality to work together to relieve the province of cholera. Information from rural justices of the peace noted the high amount of cases in the region. Justice Tribunal reported to the executive branch that reports from rural justices had observed that cholera had entered the province. Siding with the municipality, the Justice Tribunal pushed the province to enforce the municipal hygienic laws throughout the entire province.[41]

By the middle of January, the province implemented the banning on fruit and the creation of a sanitary cordon along the borders with Santiago del Estero, Salta and Catamarca. In central Tucumán, the province possessed more personnel to ensure the hygienic laws were followed. The areas furthest away from the capital had limited provincial presence. In the greater San Miguel area known as El Rectoral, which covered San Miguel as far Chicligasta region, the chief of police commissaries ensured the laws

[39] Ramón Cordeiro, Carlos Dalmiro Viale, Horacio Sánchez Loria, Ernesto M. del Moral, Samuel Eichelbaum, Felin Linares Alurralde, and Martin Manso. *Compilación ordenada de leyes, decretos y mensajes del periodo constitucional de la Provincia de Tucumán que comienza en la año 1852*. (Tucumán: Imprenta de la Càrcel Penitenciaría, 1916.) pp. 22-23.

[40] AHT-SA Book 104 1868 Folios 216 and 259

[41] *Ibid* Folio 256

in place were enforced. In the countryside, a military and administrative coalition imposed the laws. The city, divided into eight sectors had twelve commissaries. In the suburbs of El Rectoral each larger town was given one for a total of eighteen.[42]The majority of the departments had two commissaries.[43] Leales and Chicligasta located in central Tucumán had three and the most northeastern department of Burruyacú had one. [44]

During the epidemic, a loose control of the fringes of the province was evident in the establishment of a sanitary cordon around the entire province. While commissary and regional military leaders were instructed to guard the border from any people crossing and to place all goods in quarantine, the commissary for Chicligasta reported that he had seen first-hand numerous catamarqueños crossing into the province daily. Further adding that, "it is only miracle that cholera has not had a larger impact in Tucumán."[45] On the northern guard post of Rio de la Tala on the border with Salta, people from Salta had repeatedly entered and exited the province. In response to the armed guard's impeding movement across the border sixteen men from Tucumán's department of Trancas and La Candelaria, Salta attacked a border post, killed three guards and stole all the weapons. [46]The efficacy of the guardposts was curtailed due to the strain on supplies and men available. Military expeditions under Antonio Taboada and Anslemo Rojo under the orders of President Mitre into La Rioja, Catamarca, the Paraguayan War and the

[42] The towns included Tafí Viejo, Malvinas, AGuirres, Banda Rio de Salí, Chacras del Sud, Alto de Polvera, Chacras del Norte, Chacras del Nort-Este, Cebil Redondo, Chacras del Alto, Nogales and Tapia, Gutierres, aLderetes, Cruz Alta, Santa Barbara, Yerba Buena and Los Garcias.

[43] Monteros, Famaillá, Leales, Rio Chico, Trancas and Graneros.

[44] *El Pueblo* January 23, 1868

[45] AHT-SA Book 104 1868 Folio 305

[46] *Ibid*.

protection of the Argentine-Chilean border from montonera raids lowered available national guards.

The Epidemic in the South

Due to a relatively slow provincial response and the limited reach of the municipality, towns in the provincial peripheries took it upon themselves to create buffers between health and unhealthy people. The first area to establish regulations to limit the spread of the disease was the southern town of La Cocha, in the department of Graneros. La Cocha is situated 123 KM southeast from San Miguel in the southeastern corner where Tucumán touches the Catamarcan and Santiago border. Its location made it a prime area for cholera to enter the province. Quarantined people entering from the surrounding provinces were held in Graneros.

The Hygienic Laws initiated in La Cocha demonstrated two important points for the period. First, that the Argentine countryside, outside of military affairs operated relatively independent in most administrative matters. This remoteness, however, did not create a total separation. As the influence behind La Cocha's preventative measures show, the southern region was aware of news and practices utilized in areas as far as Buenos Aires. The epidemic created a new form to integrate these areas into the province. Lastly, citizens in these areas were active in the maintenance of the town when province could not provide assistance.[47]

The region dates back as early as 1656 when Jesuits owned large haciendas in southern Tucumán. During the colonial period its close proximity to Catamarca

[47] Flavia Macías "Ciudadanía armada, identidad nacional y estado provincial : Tucumán, 1854-1870"in Hilda Sábato, and Alberto Rodolfo Lettieri. *La vida política en la Argentina del siglo XIX: armas, votos y voces*. (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003.).and Ariel de la Fuente *Children of Facundo:*

established the town as a meeting point for ceramic traders of Tucumán and Catamarca. Aresnio Granillo's descriptive work on the province held that the town and its surrounding areas had been established as a community of Catamarcan expats living and working in Tucumán. [48] By the early 1800s the region grew due through trade with Catamarca. In 1845 the continued growth of the city prompted the province and its inhabitants to build a primary school. Following the growth of the sugar industry in central Tucumán and the large amount of workers traveling from Catamarca, La Cocha was the first stop upon crossing into the province. Following the extension of the Ferrocarril Central Argentino (FCCA) into Tucumán, La Cocha was transformed into an important transportation hub for regional trade into Catamarca, Santiago del Estero and Tucumán. The town, however, was never heavily populated and for most of its history remained a settlement. In 1881, reports showed an urban population of about 650. Yet, its strategic importance and connection to the railroad maintained La Cocha as an important location for the southern region of Tucumán.[49]

When news of the epidemic arrived to La Cocha, citizens of the settlement rapidly mobilized and requested the local commissary, Enrique Edman the 2nd district commissary of Graneros, to form a hygienic commission and create hygienic laws, based on ones utilized in the littoral. In the letter from Edman to Governor Luna on the formation of the commission and implementation of the laws he wrote, "I have no faculty nor authority from the government to enact these laws, but seeing that are a benefit to the

[48] Taken from Miguel Lizondo Borda *Historia del Tucumán (siglos XVII y XVIII)*. (Tucumán, Argentina: Talleres gráficos M. Violetto, 1941.) p. 143

[49] Information compiled from AHT Pueblos del Interior portfolio.

local community…I have confidence that the provincial government will not contest it."[50] With the oversight of a three-person coalition, the Hygienic Laws enforced mandatory bleaching of all houses. Trash collected from the inside of the houses was to be disposed daily at a distance from the center of the town. Slaughterhouses were moved further away from the town, while the selling of the butchered meat was moved to another location. Fruits, such as watermelons, oranges and peaches, fruits common in the region, were destroyed and buried deep in the ground. Furthermore, a strict cordon was established for fruit, with no fruits from outside of the city allowed to enter. Lastly, Edman requested medical assistance from San Miguel[51]

The Hygienic Laws of La Cocha were not met positively in San Miguel. The province's response to Edman was the appointment of an auxiliary commissary, José J. Rodriquez. Edman immediately responded with a letter to Governor Luna. Edman requested to know why was the decision taken without his input. He asked the province whether or not it felt he he was capable of his function as commissary for the district and chief of police for La Cocha. Edman closed the letter with holding that the district was small, not satisfactory to his dignity and formally resigned the position. The remaining letters from La Cocha, with the title of district commissary were signed, José J. Rodriquez. Edman, however, was not the only commissary to initiate processes without executive approval. His accompanying Graneros commissary Angel Salas, had initiated 12 day quarantines for all peoples and supplies entering Tucumán. Yet this act was done before Salas had received instructions to do so from San Miguel. Other commissaries,

[50] AHT-SA Book 104 1868 Folio 128
[51] *Ibid* Folio108

such as those from Famallia and Chicligasta, notified the provincial powers that they had enforced the Hygienic Laws the province had requested.

The further away from the center of the province the department was situated less were people willing to implement the executive's edicts. Nicanor Basail, chief of the regiment of Medinas, reported that the chief of Rio Chico (situated west and north of Graneros) had, "not taken any measures in respect to this [cholera] and there is word that there are [cholera]cases in Nachi. I have written to commissary Felipe Luna to verify this. If it is true, I will communicate to you. We must keep La Cocha closed off."[52]The different reactions to the crisis demonstrate that for Tucumán's executive branch, the protection of its border and a uniformed response to the epidemic prevailed over citizen mobilization during the epidemic. La Cocha's proximity to Catamarca made it more imperative for this region to follow executive protocol.

This process, however, was not novel. Commissaries were routinely relieved of their post following the introduction of a new administration, insubordination or resignation and new administration sought to quickly place loyal generals in the hinterlands to protect from outside intervention and to have a mobilized force in waiting in case of provincial warfare, rebellion and uprising.[53] The tumultuous nature of rural control was further complicated due to the relative autonomy given to commissaries. [54]Within the political hierarchy of the province, commissaries were below the more

[52] AHT-SA Book 104 1868 Folio 377

[53] Maria Celia Bravo "Guerra, militarización y organización del Estado en la Argentina" pp. 5-7

[54] Rural forces have played an important role in the establishment of the executive power in Tucumán. One such incident was the mobilization of southern forces with Santigueño militias to remove the Federalist Celedonio Gutiérrez under Anselmo Rojo for the placement of José María del Campo, a Unitarian, as governor of the province. During the interprovincial that followed, rural forces fought on both

important department regiment commanders. Generals, such as Nicanor Basail, served as reporters for the governor in the distant regions. [55]The indirect exclusion and Edman's resignation, reveal a form of the executive power seeking to maintain uniformity in the rural regions during a period of crisis. This form of governance, moreover, cannot be divorced from the larger process of nation-state building under President Mitre. *Edman's removal* shows that the province attempted to consolidate the hinterlands during the epidemic. La Cocha's strategic location made it even more imperative for the provincial government to maintain order in the south. Sanitary cordons, the mobilization of national guards and the removal of commissaries operating outside of the administration's project further reveal forms of regional integration that the epidemic created.

By mid-February, cholera arrived in La Cocha. The first cases were reported among a mother and child, four people from "la clase decente", a Chilean man delivering wine and aquardiente from across the Andes, and guards at the San Francsico border sanitary cordon..[56] Local officials confirmed to San Miguel that the cases were indeed cholera. The doctors requested under Edman had never arrived. Now under Rodriquez, La Cocha made a second request for doctors.The province could not provide doctors and instead provided more soldiers for La Cocha. The province lacked the ability to offer assistance to all corners of the province.

A shortage of funds and doctors was not felt in San Miguel. Due to the city's larger population and more consolidated elite, it was able to muster together more

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sides of the skirmish. See Maria Celia Bravo "Guerra, militarización y organización del Estado en la Argentina."

[55] AHT-SA Book 104 1868 Folio 377

[56] *Ibid* 370

resources for the region. Lists published in *El Pueblo* show that citizens from the 3rd, 4th, 7th and 8th districts donated funds to establish the lazarettos in Favorina and Tacanas. Donations ranging from ten to half a peso had accumulated two hundred and ninety four pesos. While the citizens Dr. Lastenia F. de Padilla and Virjnia Zavalia had personally raised sixty-eight pesos. While the majority of citizens that could donate offered money, other donated candles, pillows, and underwear. [57] The disparity between San Miguel and rural areas, such as La Cocha, becomes clear in a report to Governor Luna from a *curandero* living in the capital, but working in the hinterlands

A letter from José Sobre, a *curandero* from the Yerba Buena district of San Miguel, to the governor demonstrates the lack of medical officials available in the rural departments. During the epidemic he began treating multiple cholera victims in the Los Sueldos region of Leales, roughly 50km away from Yerba Buena, in western San Miguel. In the letter, Sobre recants how family members of a cholera victim came to his home one night requesting his assistance. The two hour journey to Los Sueldos revealed to Sobre that area was rife with cholera. Working with a priest from Yerba Buena, the two worked from three to ten in the morning on three women. Offering his experiences to the governor, Sobre noted that the disease was spreading quickly in concentrated areas of the rural zones and the majority of his patients in Los Sueldos were the poor who could not afford medical care from doctors in the capital.[58] Following multiple requests to the municipality to improve methods to impede the onslaught of the disease in the areas outside of the municipality, the healer turned to Governor Luna for help in hopes of

[57] *El Pueblo* March 1, 1868
[58] AHT-SA Book 104 1868 Folio 301

improving the health of the poor. The main form of assistance was their confinement in the two lazarettos built in the city as an, "honor and as a Christian" duty.[59] Sobre closed the letter with arguing that although his "credentials are not very distinguished" he hoped the province would take on the cause of the poor that the municipality had chosen to overlook.

Sobre's use of the term "credentials" offers a glimpse into the tension between the municipalities' Medical Tribunal and the informal medical sector. Rural citizens confided in Sobre's medical expertise, but the Medical Tribunal and municipality overlooked his observation of cholera at the doors of the city. Moreover, Los Sueldos is relatively close to where the two lazaretto stations were located. Yerba Buena was inside the Rectoral. Due to the establishment of the municipality and the Hygienic Laws, Sobre, as a sort of medical official fell under the jurisdiction of the city. His process of notifying the municipality before the province shows that the popular classes were firmly aware of the hierarchal structure being developed. Nevertheless, his process of then notifying the provincial executive branch demonstrates citizens' ability to adapt in order to meet the needs required of the government. The choice of notifying the municipality before the province on matters in Leales can also imply that the exact extent of the municipalities' jurisdiction was still unknown to San Migueleños. The division between the province and municipality was more pronounced in the southern areas.

In the closing weeks of the epidemic, Gov. Octavio Luna toured the Graneros region to oversee the management of the guarded borders. During this same period, on

[59] "Lazarettos*" El Pueblo* February 2, 1868

March 30th the sanitary cordon around San Miguel was lifted and the quarantine stations in Favorian and Tacanas closed down. In response to the news of the epidemic petering out, the municipality sponsored a religious procession from the church of La Merced with the participation of the executive power and the archdiocese. Yet, while San Miguel and the central region of the province celebrated avoiding the disease, Nicanor Basali reported that cases of cholera were present in La Cocha as late as the first week of May, over a month after the epidemic was considered eliminated from the province. There is no material that confirms or alludes to the death toll from the epidemic. The province's limited reports on the areas where the disease was more pronounced, did not compile information on the afflicted, deaths and survivors.

Medical historians of the province have routinely ignored the 1868 epidemic or stressed its small or negligible effect on the province. This oversight was a result of the epidemic never entering the capital city or as an opportunity to herald the work of the province. The void in information was further created through *El Pueblo*'s limited scope of reporting. The daily only reported on news within the city of San Miguel; even the Rectoral region, which included the city and its outlying areas, was overlooked. While the epidemic was not a large epidemiological catastrophe, it had far-reaching political effects in the creation of the municipality and expanded the role of commissaries beyond the suppression of armed uprisings.

By early April, *El Pueblo* ceased reporting on the epidemic. The province completed the feat of avoiding a massive epidemic with a religious procession through the streets of San Miguel. For local and provincial leaders quarantine and providence had

spared the province from an epidemiological catastrophe. Since the province lacked a procedure to arrest disease or create a medical organization that could operate at the level of the province, quarantines and military guards offered the ideal solution. Nevertheless, the departments of the province responded to the disease by creating hygiene commissions that applied general procedures believed to minimize the possibility of permitting cholera to attach itself to an area. Regional autonomy to establishing these commissions was limited as seen in the case of La Cocha.. The opposite was true for the hygiene commission of Leales and Chiciligasta which established small commissions with the governor's approval.[60]

Following decades of internal wars between Unitarian and Federalist forces, and the Argentine Confederation and Buenos Aires, provincial governments were predominantly military in nature. For Tucumán, the epidemic provided an opportunity in which to move beyond a military responses to administrative ones. The low availability of medical professionals in the hinterlands pushed the province to cede the management of the epidemic to non- military officials. San Miguel through the creation of the municipality, the existence of the Society of Beneficence, Medical Tribunal and the corpus of doctors inhabiting the city, counterattacked the epidemic in a more formalized medical and administrative fashion. Although more organized than the province's methods, its area of influence was rather limited. As the municipality attempted to reach to the edges of its area of control, the epidemic created problems between the province

[60] AHT-SA Book 105 1868 Folio 202

and municipality that coalesced with political divisions between Governor Luna and Municipal president Juan Manuel Teran that predated the epidemic.

Municipality vs. Province

During the epidemic, the municipality and province differed in their approach to the epidemic. By the middle of January, the province and municipality came to an agreement over the regulations that needed to be enforced to spare the region of cholera. The establishment of an independent municipality fell in line with nineteenth-century thought of pacifying the interior as espoused by Domingo F. Sarmiento. Sarmiento, a man of the interior and president from 1868 to 1874, argued that in order to break down "entrenched oligarchies" in the interior, citizens in the provinces had to be politicized and local powers broken down. [61]Within Tucumán this process coalesced neatly with local politics, of the Luna government being avowed Sarmientistas and their attempts of eradicating Posse and Mitrista despotism in the province. Localized political control would serve as a form of checks and balances, in the absence of pervasive centralized control.

The amicable cooperation was short lived. At the conclusion of the threat, the sides once again collided. The newly formed, lowly funded and the deficit ridden province battled over which side was required to make payments for the manning of the borders, fumigating correspondence and placing travelers in quarantine. These debates all operated within the context of the municipality extending and contracting its scope of jurisdiction. This is seen in the costs associated with guarding the240km border with

[61] Natalio R. Botana *La Tradicion Republicana: Alberdi, L Sarmiento Y Las Ideas Politicas De Su Tiempo*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1984.) Pp. 341-342

Santiago del Estero. The municipality made the initial request and the province completed the task. After the epidemic, the province held that municipality was responsible for the costs in supplying the border militias.

The opposition between the municipality and province erupted as a result of the politics of the province in the 1860s and culminated with the popular uprising against the former governor, Wenceslao Posse in July of 1867. The potential threat of cholera had been present as early as Posse's administration. Cases in Buenos Aires and the Paraguayan front had created the fear of a potential threat in Argentina. As late as 1867 Tucumán and Córdoba's continued sending soldiers to Paraguay. The soldiers left through the port city of Rosario. The city also housed the sick and wounded from Paraguay. For Tucumán, this port rather than the docks of Buenos Aires served as the main port for imports and exports. Thus, the province had a vital link with Rosario.

Within Tucumán nationalist-liberals, Mitristas, battled against non-nationalist Unitarians, autonomistas, and the final vestiges of federalists.[62] During the period of the epidemic, Unitarians were divided between their support for Bartolome Mitre and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento.[63]In 1860, under Unitarian governor Salustiano Zavalía and the province of Tucumán, was invaded by the federalists Col. Octavio Navarro, Celedonio Gutierrez and Juan Manuel Teran. In response to this, Zavalía resigned and Teran was placed as governor. [64] Tucumán was never predominantly federalist. Nevertheless, the small cohorts of federalists were prominent, such as Teran and Gutierrez. The

[62] By 1868, federalism had transformed from a potentially viable political force into more of a socio-political mentality.

[63] Miguel Lizondo Borda *Historia del Tucumán* 97-104

[64] Under the governorships of Gutierrez and Teran, the province was formally allied with federalism in 1841-1853, and the second half of 1861

Teran/Navarro threat concluded with Navarro's defeat in southern Tucumán from forces from Tucumán and Santiago del Estero under the command of Del Campo and Antonio Taboada. Through this victory, Unitarianism became firmly established in the province.

In 1867 Wenceslao Posse was elected governor of the province, replacing his cousin José Posse who had served since 1864. Similar to the first Posse, Wenceslao placed Jose Maria del Campo as Minister of Governor. Del Campo, a former priest turned Unitarian military leader, had served as governor twice, once in the 1850s and 1861. For seven years, Posse's and Del Campo had controlled the province under similar political platforms. Their wide investments and support of the sugar industry had created a solid economic base for the Posse family. Through their ingenios, the family created a cadre of peons, laborers and small sugar farmers as a loyal political base during elections. Moreover, many Posse family members served as generals in the provincial National Guard. [65]

The period from 1861 to 1867 was filled with armed skirmishes throughout Tucumán. Following the Battle of Pavon that ended the division between the Argentine Confederation and the province of Buenos Aires, Mitristas under Del Campo and the Posse family solidified the province in line with the Nationalist Liberal cause. With fellow Mitristas, the Taboada family from Santiago del Estero, both provinces defended the region from *caudillos* exiled in Chile and Bolivia, such as Juan Saá and Felipe Varela, and federalistas (supporters of Justo José Urquiza) in Santiago del Estero, Catamarca and Tucumán. The provinces in the Cuyo region: San Juan, San Luis and La Rioja, had

[65] Flavia Macías "Ciudadanía armada" pp. 146-147

sizeable anti-Mitre *caudillos* and montonera.[66] Utilizing forces from the region, Tucumán waged war on potential threats in La Rioja and Catamarca in order to, "attend to the interests of the nation."[67] The process of attending to the interests of the nation, through the federal intervention in La Rioja, created schisms amongst Tucumán's elites. Posse enlisted the provincial's National Guard battalion Belgrano to spearhead the entrance into La Rioja. The Battalion, a consort of Tucmán's elite feigning interest in military duties, objected. They argued that Posse was sending, "200 men from the elite…because these same 200 men are opposed to him and his government." [68]Although the Posses were Mitristas, by 1867 their relationship with the president was in a tense situation. Disagreements with the Taboada *caudillos* from Santiago del Estero further distanced them from Mitre. The complete break in alliances culminated with forces from Santiago del Estero taking part in the 1867 Revolution.[69]

For contemporaries, Wenceslao Posse epitomized the continuation of the two previous administrations. They held that Posse promoted autocracy through the appointment of family members to the seats of power. This created a sense of distrust and tension in Tucumán.[70] "The Revolution of 1867,' stated Octavio Luna ',had broken the chains of despotism that sought to expand vulgar aspirations that misused the powers that

[66] For La Rioja, see Ariel de la Fuente *Children of Facundo*

[67] Wencelao Posse delivering a speech to the provincial congress taken from Miguel Lizondo Borda *Historia del Tucumán* 97-104

[68] A letter from Prospero Garcia to Vice-President Marcos Paz. Archivo del General Dr. Marcos Paz, Vol 5, 1867. (La Plata, Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 1963.) In Flavia Macías "Ciudadanía armada" p. 148

[69] Flavia Macías "Ciudadanía armada" pp. 146-147

[70] Paul Groussac. *Memoria histórica y descriptiva de la provincia de Tucumán*. (Buenos Aires: Impr. de M. Biedma, 1882.) In Miguel Lizondo Borda *Historia del Tucumán*

constitute the will of the people."[71]For Luna, the people had risen against the powers that had humiliated society for six years, violated its political rights and used the province to promote the politics of Mitre through Posse's continued incursions into La Rioja with forces from Santiago del Estero. The removal of Posse signaled the end of the Mitrismo in Tucumán, as the following governors championed the cause of Sarmiento who advocated a policy that sought to limit the powers of Buenos Aires and create a more balanced relationship with the provinces of the interior. This process was facilitated due to Mitre's limited backing in any of the provinces outside of Buenos Aires and his use of force to squash opposition. As David Rock notes, for the provinces Mitre came to symbolize, "porteño arrogance, exploitation, and imperialism" that conflated liberalism with repressive government.[72] These traits came to be applied to Wenceslao during his forced removal from office.

The role of the province in matters of health changed following the fall of the Posse/Del Campo governments. The municipality was created in reaction to the limited role their province established for itself under Gov. Luna in 1868. On May 7, 1867, Wenceslao Posse released a decree in reaction to the potential threat of cholera from the littoral. "Finding ourselves in contact through postal services and trade with the littoral,' stated Posse, 'it is the responsibility of the provincial government to take steps of precaution that may liberate the province from this terrible disease."[73]Posse held that the centralized provincial government was in the position to manage all areas of health. This

[71] Octavio Luna to the Provincial Legislature, Miguel Lizondo Borda *Historia del Tucumán* 97-104
[72] David Rock. 1999. "Argentina Under Mitre: Porteño Liberalism in the 1860s". *The Americas.* 56, no. 1: 31-63.p. 33
[73] AHT-SABook 105 1868 Folio 190

political praxis coalesced with the centralized government that Mitre and Liberal-nationalist advocated. Posse promoted the formation of a sanitary coalition to would have operated throughout the province that would be given the powers to inspect all homes in the province. The sanitary commission would be under the direct supervision of Juan Mendilharzu, who would serve this post and as the head of the Medical Tribunal. Posse further stated that all cadavers were to be buried a certain depth to avoid the release of rotting noxious gases. All mail and passengers entering the province were to be held in quarantine in the border town of Favorina and would not be released unless a medical official confirmed the absence of disease. While a complete closure of the borders was not advanced, the quarantine post would deter disease from entering the major city center.

The proposal was intended for the province as a whole, but the execution of the articles benefited San Miguel. In the decree there is no mention of quarantines from the south, west or north. The exact location and topography of the province stressed the importance of protecting the city from the east. The province required sugar growers to burn the processed cane after the harvest when transient workers from the harvest had left the region. Growers were then given rations of water for their sugar cane fields. Sugar growers were confined to the central humid region of the province. Labor, however, came from the provinces of Catamarca, Santiago del Estero and Salta. Within Tucumán, labor was from the immediate area and a larger portion from the semi-arid Calchaqui Valley in western Tucumán. Through Posse and the sanitary coalition, the presence of the executive branch and the nationalist-liberal practice of governance would have extended

to the rural zones. The form of public health envisioned under Posse served as the foundation for the Hygienic Laws the municipality took in the1868 epidemic. The province under Luna did not envision the provincial government having such a prominent role in the governance of public health.

Oranges and Figs

Following its establishment, the city council of San Miguel worked quickly to implement laws that would protect the central region from cholera. The delayed response from the province pressed areas in the eastern borderlands to create health regulations without executive approval. Juan Manuel Teran, the president of the municipality, repeatedly wrote to the province demanding a province-wide public health initiative to protect San Miguel. In the opening weeks of the epidemiological threat, *El Pueblo*, Tucumán's sole newspaper, published numerous articles denouncing the province's "wait and see" policy. The provincial government, however, maintained that, unless cholera arrived to Tucumán, it would be unnecessary to begin placing strict restrictions, such as banning fruit, on the general populace. Employing the medical theory that was being utilized in other areas of Argentina, the newspapers held that work from the Medical Tribunal and doctors working for the cities of Buenos Aires and Córdoba, and graduates of the recently created medical schools, had established a concrete theory on fruit as a catalyst for cholera.

In a letter published in *El Pueblo* in early February, written by an unnamed doctor working in Córdoba's municipal Medical Tribunal, the physician underscored the need to take all precautions whether or not the disease was in the province. The piece further

stressed that the increased expenditure due to creation of quarantines, lazarettos and restrictions were secondary to the needs of the healthy public. *El Pueblo* compared the wealthy saladeros[74] of Buenos Aires with the small scale fruit farmers of Tucumán. A significant portion of Buenos Aires' income was sustained through the taxes collected through the production and trade of the salted meat. The province of Buenos Aires, according to *El Pueblo*, had been willing to temporarily close the salting warehouses while the threat of disease remained in the region. Buenos Aires' public health committee offered scientific backing endorsing the suspension of the Saladeros. Doctors held that the process of butchering and salting the meat released noxious miasmatic gases into the environment. The Medical Tribunal of Tucumán adapted this theory to the fruit industry, which was prominent in the rural areas. As the fruit grew and harvested, the process of digging up fruit from the ground or picking it from the tree increased the levels of humidity in the atmosphere. The summer months of Tucumán are regularly warm. Heat combined with humidity created insalubrious conditions. Like saladeros, doctors in Tucumán argued that decomposed fruit or the remains left from the skin of oranges, watermelons, cantaloupes and other fruits emitted gases. Tucumán is situated in a region that has both humid jungles and hot deserts. Medical scientists of the period held that the combination of heat, humidity and gases created insalubrious conditions that were ripe for cholera to arrive and blossom.

[74] Prior to the advent of refrigeration, the booming cattle industry of the pampas region of Argentina would salt meat to preserve it. The salted meat was used to feed the large slave populations of Brazil and Cuba.

The rural zones of Tucumán were comprised of small-scale farmers that consumed the majority of the produce harvested, and traded the remaining portions within their region or to San Miguel. *El Pueblo* and the Municipality argued that the economic impact of restricting the fruit industry, to harvest and sell its summer produce was, in the end, insignificant in comparison to the health of the province. While many fell under the dominion of the newly created municipality, the responsibility for stopping fruit production was the provinces. *El Pueblo*, which promoted the municipality, maintained that destroying the crops would be fiscally negligible. By the 1860s, local elites such as the Posse and Teran families had begun investing in the growth of sugar cane and the production of sugar. Since the sugar industry was not disrupted by the public health regulations initiated, elites from San Miguel did not object to the restrictions placed on fruit.[75] Rumors of fruit prohibition being ignored in the hinterlands led the municipality to write letters to these regions condemning the commissaries of the hinterlands for the danger in which they put the province. The municipality had no authority in the hinterlands, however, it threatened the commissaries of the unnamed area with possible punishment and personal responsibility for any deaths due to cholera.[76]

By the end of February of 1868, the province began informing the departmental commissaries that a ban on fruit and its destruction was mandatory. While the province and city council did not have opposing opinions on the threat of fruit, the province's hesitation to quickly implement the law implies some uncertainty about correlating fruit with cholera. The province enforced the fruit restrictions after cholera arrived, thus, a

[75] *El Pueblo* February 16, 1868
[76] *El Pueblo* February 23, 1868

connection was seen between fruit and spreading cholera. It is also possible that economics drove the choice to delay the law. A completely destroyed or low harvest would have resulted in lower taxes to be collected from the departments that encircled San Miguel. The population of Tucumán was concentrated in these areas; therefore it would have affected a large portion of small-scale farmers. Differing medical opinions worried the leaders of San Miguel that the province's laxity would unleash the epidemic within the city.

The dispute over fruit primarily affected the predominantly rural population. Between 1860 and 1876, the sugar industry was in its formative period. The rural population lived on small ranches that produced fruits, vegetables and wheat. Wheat and corn were two of the crops that were widely produced and traded within the province and to the provinces of the region.[77] The diet of Tucumanos was heavily based on vegetables and fruits. The removal of fruit made a significant impact on the daily diet and customs of *tucumanos*. The German naturalist, Herman Burmesiter, spent week in the city of San Miguel compiling data for his work on temperature, environment and geography of the northwestern region of Argentina. In his work Descripción de Tucumán, he noted the wide consumption and consumption of fruit in the city of San Miguel. The most evident fruit was the orange. City streets were lined with the bitter Seville orange. While the Seville is not as appealing to eat directly from the tree, the fruit makes a marmalade that can be used with bread or other desserts. [78]The naturalist observed that many of the

[77] I give more details in chapter 1. Many of the towns given as locations in the Folios cannot be found on modern maps. I have confirmed that Los Juárez is located in Leales and Ampata in Chicligasta.

[78] Sociedad Nacional de Farmacia (Argentina), and Asociación Farmacéutica de Buenos Aires. *Revista farmacéutica*. Buenos Aires: la Sociedad Vol 5 1867 p. 238

houses in the city had a small orange tree on their property. Farmers living in the outskirts of the city would circle the streets selling oranges to the people. Oranges had salubrious and insalubrious qualities. It was customary for an orange to be eaten following a meal in order to help digestion. During his fieldwork, Burmeister observed that *tucumanos* routinely consumed oranges after a large meal to help with digestion to maintain a person healthy. Conversely, an overabundance of oranges or its mixtures with properties believed to be opposed to the fruit was common knowledge among society. Consuming fruit with coffee or water, or devouring the orange could create gastro-intestinal problems, alter moods or create an overall bodily discomfort. [79]This indicates that outside of the medical field, within the homeopathic practice of home remedies there existed a correlation between fruit and health. Health and hygiene, in terms of consuming foods, rested on proper practices and moderation.

Stories, songs, and proverbs from the Encuesta Folklore exemplify the central role that fruit, primarily oranges, and farmers played in the province's culture. Fidelia de Alderete from Rosario Oeste, Sauce Huascho of Ampata and Mercdes Agüero from Los Juárez offered to the collectors of the Encuesta a common proverb about oranges passed along orally throughout the province: "wrapped in bronze, silver leaves and fruit of gold." Oranges were seen as the golden fruit whose leaves were made of silver and wrapped in bronze skin. The orange symbolized a prize possession that was accessible to all *tucumanos*. [80] For Jesus Valdez and the people of Los Aguirres, Chicligasta, the orange served as a symbol for the stages of life. Like the orange, people were born naked,

[79] Hermann Burmeister. (*Descripción de Tucumán*. Buenos Aires: Coni hermanos, 1916.)
[80] CEFA Roll 98 Tucumán

with only borrowed time. Upon death, we returned to the ground from which we came.[81] In addition to the orange, figs, peaches and watermelons were common answers for riddles. The watermelon (la sandía), given a female gender, was seen as a young girl who was lost in the dirt up to her neck. She will eventually fall apart into pieces when she leaves the mountain. The fig, green at birth, became dark on the eve of its death. Peaches were equated with old men who would wrinkle when they were ready to die. The idea of the fruit as a living being that dies when consumed was spread through the numerous tales. The tales also served as a way to educate people on when fruit was ripe to consume. The fact that so many folktales and riddles focused on fruits and were even personified shows how important fruits were in the daily lives of people from this region.

The stories, tales, songs, jokes and games found throughout the Encuesta stressed that nature and the fruit nature produced were open by natural right to the people. The government's attempts at limiting access to fruit created a gap and crisis in the daily lives of *tucumanos*. Agenor Talazar, born in Canada de Alzogaray, Burruyacú, in 1858, offered a song on the cyclical nature of the earth. Talazar commented that the song was popular among his fellow gauchos who roamed the northwest in search of work. For the rural workers, the fragility of human life created a natural equality and complete freedom with nature.

The world is ever changing
It is not as it was formed
Today we live, tomorrow we don't

None can say
This water you can't drink,

[81] *Ibid*

Because we must see
All is fragile
This is not the first lie
That has slowly become real

You can raise.
He who was dropped
Falls to the world
And returns to the earth.[82]

Talazar's song offers a sample of how rural people viewed themselves in relation to life, nature and death. Life was in constant upheavals and changes. For Talazar this was his constant search for employment or his involvement in the wars of the interior fighting for the Unitarian *caudillos* of Santiago del Estero and Tucumán. These were moments where Talazar had little control over his surroundings and choices. Like Valdez. Talazar understood the fleeting moments of life would end with death. Yet, Talazar's existence depended on the moments where he could not be controlled, such as the practice of eating and drinking what was provided by the earth. Growing food and consuming it became a form of resistance and survival during the epidemic. The province and municipalities' proposal of eradicating fruit to suppress its consumption was a radical extension of the natural system of moderation of fruit that pre-existed before the arrival of the epidemic in 1868. Since oranges, and other fruits, had beneficial properties, the decrees for destroying the harvest, could have been perceived as the government damaging the health and physical and economic livelihood of rural and urban *tucumanos*.

Popular folk tales of the rural zones stressed the importance of fruit to the daily diet of people. Tales such as, "The Figs Thieves" demonstrates that an inability to gather

[82] *Ibid*

fruit warranted poaching. In Ampata, locals shared the story of two brothers robbing figs from an estate that had a surplus but would not share them with the local inhabitants. At night, the brothers entered. While they roamed the grounds collecting figs, the estate owner searched for the thieves. The brothers hid in the trees pretending to be ghosts looking for figs. The estate owner abandoned the property, leaving the figs for inhabitants of the area. Another story is "The Fox and Armadillo", the protagonist lives on a side of the roads that transported carts of corn and oranges to San Miguel. The armadillo would use his shell to knock over the carts, while the fox stole the oranges and corn. Like the two brothers, the armadillo and fox would do what was necessary to gain access to the fruit. The story reinforces the idea of fruit being central to the region and the setting of the story is illuminating. The production of the story offers a glimpse of daily life in the rural zones. The daily event of fruits leaving on carts became a feature of mundane life.

Outside of daily nutrition, fruits served as income for small ranchers in the rural regions. The epidemic took place during the summer months when fruits, such as watermelon, oranges, peaches and cantaloupe are being harvested. The prohibition of the fruit affected fruit growers and sellers, fiscally and nutritionally. While it is not evident in the documentary record how routinely the prohibition was enforced, letters from the municipality imply that fruit continued to be consumed in areas where cholera was possibly prominent. On the other hand, letters between the executive branch and commissaries from Leales and Graneros, where the epidemic was more pronounced, reveal that the banning of fruit was implemented and served as another way in which the

province could further integrate these regions into the province outside of purely military methods.

The formation of the hygiene commissions in La Cocha illustrates that the banning of fruit was not exclusive to municipal and provincial leaders; private citizens also saw the banning of fruit as a scientifically-based way of evading disease. Yet, reports indicated the banning of fruit was only limited to areas that commissaries could enforce. During the epidemic, the province's judicial institutions were primarily concentrated in the southeastern region of the province. Nevertheless, fruit was still consumed on the fringes of Graneros and Leales. Limited funds, personnel and mobility meant that in the north and western areas of the province, there was no enforcement of the laws. Like the armadillo, the fox and the two brothers, tucumanos found forms to access fruit. The province's lax policy towards restricting fruit shows that it was primarily the municipality that sought to destroy fruit and limit its consumption.

Soldiers, Meat and Borders

San Miguel's jurisdiction consisted of the city and the areas east as far as the border with Santiago del Estero, in a region administratively known as El Rectoral. The area overlapped the departments of Tafí to the west and Cruz Alta to the west. One of the first requests Teran and the municipality made to the province was the placement of contingents from the National Guard along the entirety of Tucumán's eastern border. Memos between the province and city council there reveal an understanding that besides the southern department of Graneros, soldiers from El Rectoral would guard Tucumán

from cholera entering through Santiago del Estero.[83]Arming, feeding and paying the National Guard in Graneros had depleted already low provincial funds. Outside of the southeast corridor, the province placed garrisons on the border with Salta in Trancas and smaller contingents in the eastern department of Leales. As the threat of cholera began to subside, soldiers were moved from the distant and secluded areas of the province, and reassigned to their home departments.

Burruyacú is the most northeastern department of the province. Salta lies to the north and Santiago del Estero to the east. During the nineteenth century, and to this day, the department was one of the most sparsely populated regions. The very southern tip of the Burruyacú barely straddled the sugar zone. In 1865, during the recruitment and rounding up of men to send to Paraugay, the province reported that it had been difficult collecting men, since many absconded to the distant rural zones, after they had collected their government issued weapon.[84] The report further stated that it was difficult to maintain any semblance of order in the region, since many people lived in distant rural zones.

Once the threat of cholera had ended, the troops from Burruyacú were removed. Due to their remote location, soldiers had bought cattle from nearby cattle herders. At the end of their tour of duty the total for food came to 240 pesos. The cost was particularly high when compared to the funds used to run the province's administration of justice in previous years. Indeed, the entire bill could have funded the province's yearly budget for

[83] AHT-SA Book 105 1868 Folio 135
[84] AHT-SA book 97 1865 Folio 489

public works and public instruction. [85] The province forwarded the debt to the municipality, stating that due to the municipality's request for more guards than what the governor's house deemed necessary, it was the municipality's responsibility even though the region was outside of the city's jurisdiction.

Teran responded to the Luna adminstration that although the city had requested soldiers to be placed in the northeast, the protection of the province was the executive branch's duty to the people. Teran wrote to the province, "The most Excellency Government is the guardian of the interests and well-being of all the province. You are the one who is responsible to the take the corresponding measure on your account. The municipality is only responsible for handling any threat that was at the door step of the city."[86] Teran concluded that it was the right of the city to request protection as citizens of the province. The municipal president also added that the charges were tied to the maintenance of the garrison, a duty that fell to the military wing of the provincial government. The second letter of the municipality states that the governor listed reasons why the city should pay for the charges. In the relationship between the city and province and the city council's practices in other areas, the province had a tendency to temper its reactions to the epidemic. Similar to disagreements over the prohibition of the harvesting and consumption of fruit, the municipality overextended and routinely expanded and then contracted its obligations and jurisdiction. While the province acquiesced and honored the municipality's administrative sovereignty, the exact limitations were a nebulous areas

[85] In 1865 the Administration of Justice was 1,590 pesos, Public Works 273 and Public education 131.

[86] AHT-SA Book 106 1868 Folio 122

and created conflict. Poor finances exacerbated an already precarious situation. The exact solution to this episode is unknown, but the remaining sections imply that either the municipality released the funds to the province or the province rescinded their offer to the cattle herders of Burruyacú.

Poisonous People and Mail

The fumigations of the mail fell under the duties of the National Mail Inspector, which worked under the auspice of the Ministry of Interior. The Ministry of Interior managed roads and communication within the interior provinces to further solidify the connection between the interior and the port city of Buenos Aires.

The fumigation of mail was done in order to purify and disinfect the air, rooms and places believed to produce, "miasmatic emanations."[87] A combination of magnesium oxide, sodium and sulfuric aid was created into a gas substance that was applied to the wagons where correspondence, luggage and travelers were housed. Clothes had to be fumigated, according to medical officials from the period, due to the porous nature of natural materials. Miasmas could attach themselves to and lie dormant in leather, wool, cotton and silk. The same was held for people. Numerous other methods existed. The *Revista Farmacéutica* listed seven different combinations that had been utilized in Argentina, the United States and Europe, based on the work of Eduardo Talegon and the Monit d'Hygiéne.

As the epidemic entered its middle portion and became more entrenched in the southern departments, reports began entering San Miguel of mistreatment of passengers

[87] Revista Farmacéutica. Vol 6 p. 108

at the quarantine station in Favorina.[88] Disputes over mistreatment were compounded by conflicting opinions whether the province or municipality was responsible for compensating the National Mail Inspector and the National Messaging Service for the supplemental fumigations. The National Mail Inspector's unwillingness to increase the amount of fumigations for the correspondence in Tucumán had plagued officials as early as 1867 during Wenceslao Posse's administration. In the same year the chief mail inspector wrote to the Ministry of Interior requesting payment for the extra fumigations that Posse had required under his Hygienic Laws. Guillermo Rawson, Minister of Interior, stated that the national government would hold off on paying for the extra services that Posse's government had requested, since the appeal had come from the province and not the national government. Thus, it fell under the responsibility of the province to pay for the decontamination of the correspondence. In the end, the government did supply the mail inspector for the extra services. [89]A similar pattern repeated itself between the municipality and province.

By 1868, the municipality had been authorized to manage and pay for all fumigations completed within its jurisdiction, and became the point of inspection for the National Mail Inspector. By the end of the epidemic, friction arose between the National Messaging services, the mail inspector and fumigator of Favorina and the city of San Miguel over reimbursements for fumigations. Due to the increased use of supplies required to fumigate the mail, the National Messaging Service had billed the Inspector in Favorina, who then forwarded it to the municipality.

[88] *El Pueblo* March 1, 1868
[89] AHT-SA Book 102 1867 Folio 540

The charges were based on the Messaging services belief that the added decontamination of the correspondence was excessive and superfluous. The National Service further chided the provincial capital, arguing that the province was never under any real threat from cholera. The municipality's refusal and inability to pay the National Messaging Service resulted in correspondence behind sequestered in Favorina. In response to this and the continued pressure from the Mail Service to pay the owed debt, Juan Manuel Teran and the city council insisted that since delivery of the mail to the city had ceased there could be no charges for incomplete service. The council further argued that the national government and messaging service were permitting finances to overshadow the health of the region. The city held that any charges from the fumigation of correspondence whether it exceeded the allotted amount were, in the end, the responsibility of the Ministry of Interior and the National Messaging services. For the municipality, the choice to increase fumigations fell under their authorization and The National Messaging service was to comply. [90]

The province supported the practice of quarantines and fumigating correspondence. Yet, in the feud between the municipality and the national government, the province remained neutral. While there were disagreements between both parties, direct confrontation between Luna and Teran was more overt when the lines between jurisdictions were questioned. The relationship that developed during the epidemic indicates an acknowledgment of the municipality's right to exist as an institution to serve the population of San Miguel. Balancing power between both, the province focused on

[90] *El Pueblo* March 1, 1868

the rural departments. The events in Burruyacú and the decontamination of the mail demonstrate that the municipality was severely in debt. The taxes from the Rectoral region, where San Miguel was situated were higher every year than the remaining departments. The collection of taxes, nevertheless, fell under the authority of the province. The municipality acquired its funds through local taxes it began initiating on goods entering the marketplaces in the city. Similar to the province's relationship with the nation, the municipality received a sporadically delivered monthly subsidy from the province.

The province remained neutral to the feud between the municipality and the Ministry of Interior, and the cattle herders of Burruyacú because it was not in a financial position to make any payments to either area. The increased costs of placing garrisons on the borders, creating quarantines and fumigating people and mail in the southeast, together delayed national subsidies and manning and shipping soldiers to Paraguay created a financial burden on the province from 1865-1870. In 1868, Gov. Luna wrote to the Ministry of Hacienda and disclosed that, "the steps the province has taken to maintain itself have almost depleted the public treasury."[91]The shortage of funds worsened tensions between province and city. Due to this, it became more prudent to permit the municipality to operate freely and not intervene on behalf of the municipality in moments of financial tension with the nation. In the case of Tucumán, politics and finances limited the extent the region could combat the disease. Within the span of one year from the Posse to Luna period, the province decreased its duties outside of maintaining peace and

[91] AHT-SA Book 105 1868 Folio 157

order in the province. Although the province and municipality agreed on the general methods to limit Tucumán's exposure to cholera, circumstances dictated the exact moment when each faction would initiate anti-cholera regulations.

Rural and Urban Medicine

For nineteenth-century medical scientists, hygienists and politicians, the most vexing aspect of cholera was the mystery associated with its etiology and dissemination. The varying medical theories and schools of thoughts each had differing views on cholera, and were further divided on possible cures. Within Tucumán, the medical community was cisioned between western medicine that was based in San Miguel and colonial Hispanic based folk medicine common throughout the rural zones. In one of the first reports *El Pueblo* published on the impending epidemic it stated that, "until today we do not know anything of this first eruption, of this terrible lash."[92] For Argentina, this was its first interaction with what it could fully pinpoint as cholera. The nineteenth century hygienist and historian Jose Penna mentioned in his work on the history of cholera in Argentina that there was the possibility of micro conflagrations in the southern area of the province of Buenos Aires in the early 1850s. Nevertheless, Penna was skeptical of this and argued that the remaining sources and reports were vague in their diagnosis. Moreover, limited medical knowledge could have conflated cholera with a score of other possible diseases. As a result of this, the Argentine medical community was generally unprepared for a disease of the epidemiological, social and cultural magnitude of cholera. Due to this lacuna in the medical literature at the time, newspapers published works and

[92] "Cólera Morbus" *El Pueblo* January 23, 1868.

excerpts from European hygienists who often contradicted each other. Each piece offered a different view on the causes or things and foods to enjoy.

During the 1860s, the Argentine medical field was in a moment of transition. The creation of the medical school within the University of Buenos Aires in 1853 professionally trained Argentina's first locally educated medical class. By 1868, the university was producing doctors, pharmacologists, dentists, phlebotomists and obstetricians. In tune with the changes taking place within the fields of science, medicine, epidemiology, naturalism, pharmacology and psychology, Argentine scientists and politicians looked to the consolidation of an Argentine medical field as part of larger goals of national consolidation, standardization, modernization and civilizing the nation.[93]Young students arriving from the provinces to be educated in Buenos Aires and then returning to their home province created a national network. Doctors and generalized medical knowledge served as agents of national consolidation.

The low number of doctors and researchers meant that the majority of medical works were from Europe. Medical journals published and critiqued French, Russian, German, English and North American doctors. Moreover, they created a medical dialogue with each other. During this period there was also a transformation in methodology. Scientific rigor became the new form of concreting assertions. Casual observations, evident in the work of naturalists, could no longer provide sufficient proof of medical theories. Institutions, such as *La Sociedad Farmacéutica de Argentina* were established off this basis. The laboratory became the new arena to battle disease. The outside world was the

[93] This process, set within the context of the epidemic and the Paraguayan War is elaborated upon in chapter 4.

laboratory for experiments on miasmas, germs, hygiene and living conditions. At times, the medical treatises contradicted each other. For Argentine doctors, the French school of thought, who placed emphasis on sanitation, cleanliness and the premise that miasmas could travel as germs, became the most popular. Nevertheless, they picked pieces from all available medical theories and adapted them to the local context. The theories of Dr. John Hutchins in Rosario were more aligned with English doctors.

Nineteenth-century Hygienist and medical scientist, Hutchins, saw urban areas as fertile ground for the creation of disease. In an essay entitled "Essay on the Health of the Cities" in *La Revista Farmacéutica* the journal held that projects of improving the façade of the city were superfluous unless city-builders took the health and environment of the city into consideration during the construction of streets, sewers, parks, trees and open purifying spaces. For hygienic city-builders the ground served as a depository for insalubrious matter. For the health of the city, it was important to build infrastructure that would permit light to enter and purify the dark recesses of the city and ensure the ground was kept clean and dirt was held back. As the urban terrain absorbed and consumed organic material, fecal matter, brackish water, the underbelly of the area became rank with potentially noxious miasmas. The daily movement of people and animals through the city loosened dirt and subterranean gases. Industry also became an area where health, disease and city builders met, methods were established in order to guarantee that industrial and organic material was disposed of at a distance away from the population. Similarly, the final resting place of inhabitants was to be miles from the center of the city

In order to counteract the unhealthy decomposed material found in the ground, special procedures of bleaching the ground were enforced.[94]Medical professionals based their work on the understanding of an atmospheric balance. Air and sunshine were natural tools that assisted in creating and preserving suitable health conditions in the city. Both nullified the adverse effects of dirt and water. Air helped purify secluded houses where germs and gases could easily circulate and filtered organic gases that trash piles and construction zones exuded. The positive rays of the sun dried up brackish water buildups and helped sustain the humidity of homes at low levels. Acting as a sponge, damp walls and floors collected insalubrious material and lowered overall health levels in and outside of the home. Air and sun combined to sap and dry houses. Water and dirt were to be bleached, in order to kill germs. Along with the development of the national medical field, the national government served as the guardian of national health. It was the responsibility of the government to ensure the proper construction of cities and the continually check that citizens practiced these measures.[95]Limited, reach and funds meant that the provinces had to find ways create semblances of the state within their space. Purification, rather than hygiene, came to characterize this period in Argentina's interaction with disease.

The same precautions were not taken for the countryside. This was possibly due to medical scientist holding that the process urbanization was one aspect of modernization, progress and civilization. Thus, the goal would be to create a close link between the urban and rural zones, and let the urban overrun the rural and apply the same

[94] Revista Farmacéutica Vol 6 1868 pp. 25-27
[95] *Ibid*., p. 31

hygienic regulations to the rural zone. The creation of hygienic commissions whose purpose would be to monitor and maintain proper health would be practiced in the small urban areas. While citizens were encouraged to keep their houses and person clean, the final responsibility and arbiter of what constituted "healthy" fell to the national government, municipalities and, lastly, hygienic organizations. [96]

Newspapers regularly published medical works in order to inculcate citizens with proper hygienic practices. On January 23, 1868 *El Pueblo* published Dr. A. de Grand Boulogne's work on cholera.[97] His research with over 900 cholerics in the summer of 1868 for Napoleon III, with no deaths reported, was well received in Tucumán. In his work, Boulogne stated that the inability to begin treatment within the first hours of contraction was the main culprit behind the high death rates among the afflicted. Moreover, the speed in which the disease arrived and spread through a community further stymied doctors. For Boulogne and *El Pueblo* the primary health provider was the individual. The government served as an overseer and not enforcer. Proper personal hygiene could avoid misleading discomforts, such as diarrhea. Next to cholera, diarrhea could be triggered from various things from simply upset stomach to dysentery, a disease resembling cholera to the untrained eye. Thus, personal hygiene assisted the possible victim in properly identifying whether or not cholera was in the system. Boulogne offered a potential deterrent to cholera. A concoction of boiling sugared peppermint tea was to be administered every thirty minutes and follow this with vigorous exercise in order to begin

[96] Revista Farmacéutica Vol 5 1867 pp. 319-321

[97] His full name could not be found, but the newspaper does state he received the Honorary cross of the legion from the city of Paris and had his work published numerous times in the medical journals of France.

sweating profusely. Yet Boulogne concludes that this treatment was not a cure all for cholera patients, since each case had variations. Thus, different infusions from water, sulfuric ether, coffee with heavy milk, tea with milk, rice with coagulated animal blood or just rice could have provided similar results to the victim. Nevertheless, Boulogne added that they could further damage the body's nervous system or poison the blood.

The newspaper also printed work from Argentine doctors. Antonio Pardo, a doctor from Buenos Aires and future head of the National Department of Hygiene, had portions of his research on cholera published in Tucumán's newspaper. Basing his assertions on fieldwork completed in Buenos Aires during its 1867 bout with cholera, Pardo understood cholera to be a higher form of untreated diarrhea. Like Grand Boulogne, personal hygiene was the key to avoiding diarrhea and cholera. The two differed in the role of the doctor. For Pardo, quick access to medical attention facilitated saving the life and ensuring a quick recovery. [98]They further differed in how they viewed the quickness of cholera since it was the advancement of untreated diarrhea. Thus, cholera was not a disease that suddenly arrived and filtered into society through exogenous influences; trade, interpersonal relations and the environment. Pardo held that diarrhea developing into cholera could be easily suppressed through the use of laudano, a concoction mixing equal parts, opium morphine and codeine. Pharmacists had to work hand-in-hand with doctors to cure the sick and maintaining proper fluid levels of diarrhea victims. The exact cause and cure of cholera was unknown.[99] Medical scientists were

[98] *El Pueblo* February 16, 1868

[99] In chapter 2, I discuss possible causes. The excrement and vomit from cholera victims served as a contagion, the atmosphere around us created forms of miasmas that created internal cholera, and in a

divided between natural, germ theory and internal causes. While many doctors understood cholera to be a form of advanced diarrhea, its ability to transform from diarrhea to cholera was attributed to multiple factors from a deficiency in the nervous system, specifically the oligonic region, to poor elasticity in the skin. Thus, medicine concentrated on curing diarrhea; minimize the possibility of coming into contact with cholera, or soothing pain associated with the disease until the ailment naturally exited the body.

The chronological publishing of the pieces fits within the development of Tucumán's reaction to the disease. The low number of medical professionals and the Medical Tribunals close work with pharmacies showed that Pardo's method of holding back cholera fit more into the local context. The work of the province, municipality and the Medical Tribunal, the regions immediately outside of the populated zones were relatively autonomous. While the province did engage these areas and integrate them into a provincial project, in the areas of medical curing, the hinterlands had created an independent corpus of medical practices. There is no mention of any of the three institutions attempting to control this. Pardo's assessment of cholera and the work of the province empowered individuals to follow hygienic practices and develop their own methods of curing diarrhea and cholera. The government's role was to limit the population's interaction with coefficients perceived to spread disease. Decomposed fruit, dirty streets, dead bodies, poisoned mail and afflicted peoples were ways of maintaining

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combination of both, excrement entering porous ground settled and decomposed. Following this process it released gases into the environment that entered the body.

the general population healthy. Pardo's emphasis on the individual also served as a link between urban and rural medical forms.

The open structures of medical response and the multiple views on the medical field in Argentina resulted in each province and city having different procedures to combat cholera. In relation to the hinterlands, folk medical practices based on plants, religion and the environment were practiced with regularity. While the nation-state saw the regulation of medical practices and medicine as a form of advancing the nation and building the state. I hold that urban and rural medical practices were not yet in opposition. It would not be until the 1880s when the national medical field was more pronounced that rural folk medicine came into conflict with urban medicine.

Rural folk medicine was based on a corpus of practices dating back to the colonial period. Colonial Latin American medicine was based on a humeral pathology that centered on the balance of hot and cold within the body as espoused by the Greek medical philosopher Hippocrates. Utilizing these practices as their base, Spanish and Portuguese clergy and physicians brought to the Americas a complex medical system practiced in missions and churches throughout the Americas. George M. Foster's examination of colonial medical education, textbooks and practices reveals that as late as the 16th century Spanish medical practices were based on the work on Hippocrates. The same curriculum was taught in the universities of the Americas. The medical curriculum of the medical chairs in Mexico City (1580) and Lima (1634) developed curriculums that taught doctors Hippocratic theories of medicine. During the colonial period, these practices remained relatively unchanged until the eve of Independence, while on the

peripheral areas of the Empire, such as Chile, humoral medicine continued to be practiced as late as 1838.During the colonial and early modern period, Tucumán was closely tied to the Andean regions through trade.

During the colonial period, doctors and priests administered medical care to the people, from here medical expertise and forms permeated into society. Moreover, in the process of compiling indigenous codex, priests also collected numerous indigenous medicinal practices. The use of plants, vegetables, herbs and fruits became an area where American and European medicine coalesced. Colonial humoral medicine was based on the medicinal qualities of plants, prayers and the environment. Curing a person was a question of recreating the internal balance of the person, through the administration of plants through tea, direct digestion or the creation of plasters. Divine intervention and a calm environment assisted in keeping the patient balanced. While this practice did give the medical profession control over the patient, humoral medicine also gave preference to influences outside the control of humans. The environment became a major arbiter in whether a person would become sick. For colonial doctors, these forms of curing the sick were based on established practices confirmed through scientific rigor. Yet, as Foster and others have noted, "The science of one age becomes the superstition of the next."[100]

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century was a transitional period in global medical practices. During the nineteenth-century, new medicines developed. Chemists and pharmacists began developing numerous forms of medication based on phenol,

[100] J. H. G. Grattan, and Charles Singer 1952 Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine: Illustrated Specially from the Semi-Pagan Text "Lacnunga." Welcome Historical Medical Museum, New Series, No. 3. London: Oxford University Press. Taken from George McClelland Foster "On the Origin of Humoral Medicine"

chlordane, quinine, opium, chlorine, sulfur and magnesium. These changes were primarily concentrated in the regions that were in constant contact with Europe and North America. For Argentina, this took place following the opening of the port during the Bourbon Reforms. The geographic divide between the port of Buenos Aires and the interior resulted in both areas receiving new medical theories at different point in times. Relative isolation permitted the northwest to continue to utilize medical practices from the colonial period that had become entrenched in society. It was not until the nineteenth century that many newly formed nation-states in the Americas began to seek ways to regulate the medical and pharmaceutical field. Thus, pharmacies and doctors, developed through apprenticeships. The isolation of rural areas practicing "outdated" medicine was not exclusive to the post-independence period. Writing in 1579, Fray Agustin Farfan's Brief Treatise on Surgery and Understanding and Cures of some of the Illnesses that Commonly Occur in this Land, noted that in the rural and poor regions New Spain few doctors ventured to assist. The few that were there were of very poor quality. In reaction to this, many healers began to practice medicine that incorporated aspects of indigenous healing, Spanish medicine, Catholic prayers and local conditions. [101]

The cholera epidemic offers a view into this transitional period in Argentine medical history, through an examination of the folk medical practices that were used in the rural zones. Comparing these cures to the cures published in *La Revista Farmacéutica* from 1865-1870, it is evident that plants, fruits and the environment were important on both sides of the intellectual divide. Moreover, the low number of doctors in the province

[101] George McClelland Foster"On the Origin of Humoral Medicine in Latin America"

during the epidemic meant that the province and municipality made no attempts to regulate medical practices. Conflict, however, arose in their attempts to destroy fruit and control the time in which the deceased were to be buried.

Rural *tucumano* medical practices used teas and pastes to cure ailments from headaches and toothaches to alcoholism and diarrhea. The teas used were made from a variety of sources. Martin Roldan a 60 year old man from San Francisco, Tucumán stated chilblain[102] could be cured through dipping the appendage in warm water mixed with camphoric alcohol. While camphporic was not something that was readily available in the rural areas, Roldan offered salted water or water and vinegar as a possible substitute. San Fracnsico is an area of San Miguel the capital. Thus through his location, Roldan would have had access to camphoric alcohol, yet through the provision of a suitable replacement Roldan shows that people of the region felt capable of curing afflictions with home remedies. This is further evident in his way of curing something referred to as Diplopleysia.[103] The sick person was disrobed, and then cold wet cloths dipped in vinegar were placed on the body, while the extremities were massaged. The procedure was capped with a shot of fernet, which was used as a digestive, and a cup of bitter coffee. The formula falls in place to the hot/cold dichotomy used during the colonial period. The manipulation of the body by moving the body from cold to hot would, hopefully, cure the sick individual. [104]Curing the sick was a process that required the active participation of the person administering the cures. The use of hands to massage

[102] Chilbain is the inflammation and reddening of appendages, such as toes from either cold or humidity. It is often confused with frostbite.

[103] A search for diplopeysia was not found. The closest was dysplasia, which means abnormal development.

[104] CEFA Roll 98 Tucumán

and warm the body was prominent. Bladimir Maldonado from San Francisco held that massages or applying ice to cramped parts of the body could accelerate the relaxation of the muscle. [105]In the town of Caspinchango, Famallía, warm water baths were used to ease colic babies. Outside of hot and cold, animals also served a purpose in healing the sick. The sweat from a horse could cure alcoholism. In Simoca, a town that served as an important trades post for the region since the early colonial period, the cooked heart of fox was a quick cure of pneumonia.

In the sample size examined, cholera is only directly mentioned once in the *curanderismo* sections of the folios. Las Cejas, a village directly east of San Miguel and north of Tacanas, is dissected in half by the border between Tucumán and Santiago del Estero. Here sixty-eight year old Reimunda Ramirez stated that *la peste* could be avoided if rosemary was grown outside of the house. Ramirez offers a unique perspective to the epidemic, since she lived through both bouts of cholera. Moreover, she was roughly fifteen for the first and thirty-four for the second, while her exact location was an area that directly threatened in both episodes. Outside of this area, stomach problems were referred to as diarrhea or dysentery. In Simoca, dysentery was cured with a tea made from the leaves of a peach tree and in Rio Colorado, basil and paste from squash or ants could ease diarrhea.

The absence of cholera in rural medicine is understandable. The disease did not arrive to Argentina until 1867. Europeans doctors did not face it until 1817, when English doctors moved into the Bengali region of India. Even after its discovery, medical

[105] *Ibid*.

scientists were still unsure how it spread or what caused it. As seen through the work of Dr. Antonio Pardo, many believed cholera to simply be a form of diarrhea. Being a nineteenth century disease, cholera could have simply been seen as a fever of the stomach or diarrhea. This understanding fit within the cultural repertoire of the region. In addition to this, diarrhea or cholera could have been the side effects of other diseases or sicknesses. Armando Pérez de Nucci's field work in the northern regions of the province showed that diarrhea was a bodily reaction to sickness. An ailment known as "*Susto*"[106] was when an event or fear made such an impression on a person that the soul of the person separated from the body. The inability to reconnect the soul with the body resulted in the body becoming "quiet, disheartened and lifeless." The side-effects of "*desanimo*" caused bodily reactions of diarrhea, cough and insomnia. For susto, the body and soul had to be cured separately. The soul of the child was returned through calling the child's name from the spot where the traumatic episode took place, while teas and herbs assited in relaxing the body. [107]

Plants served as the main form of creating teas that could cure or ease the pain from disease and afflictions. In La Ciengea, Catamarca, located a hundred kilometers west of Tucumán in a region that traded with the Calchaquí Valley, variations of mint were listed as three of the twenty-four plants with the strongest medicinal properties. [108]Yerba Buena, a form of mint, was especially useful for all forms of stomach pains and to stop women post-birth from hemorrhaging and bleeding. Chamomile also helped with

[106] *Ibid*.
[107] Armando M. Pérez de Nucci, *La medicina tradicional del noroeste argentino: historia y presente*. (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones del Sol, 1988.) 76-85
[108] CEFA Roll 12 Catamarca

any discomfort in the stomach. The plants were to be collected when they very young.[109] The people of Barrancas, stated that the best time to pick the plants was on Holy Friday, on the day Christ was nailed to the cross. It was believed that on this day all plants' curative properties were heightened. [110]

While disease could come from naturalistsic causes, *tucumanos* also believed that sickness could be humanly generated, or personalisitc. In Burruyacú, a rapid onset of disease, coupled with internal pains and paralysis was attributed to witchcraft. There existed two forms of witches. The first used a doll in which they poked needles to cause pain. These witches, predominantly women, lived in caves near rivers. The second, were witches or witchdoctors that made poisonous infusions that debilitated the person. These witches were found in the interior of Santiago Del Estero. For *tucumanos,* the neighboring province was an area of witchcraft and disease. While women feature predominantly in discussions of witches, men could also serve as wizards or witchdoctors. Both witches gained their supposed powers through forming pacts with the devil. Personalisitic etiologies of disease were not exclusive to witches. The "mal de ojo", or evil eye, was based from the stare of another person to another. The stare could be one of on lust, anger, and jealousy, or even admiration through a focused glance could cause harm to a person, animal or plant. The conditions of "evil eye" could manifest themselves in the physical and mental state. Loss of appetite, seizures and violent mood swings were some of the ways the disease attacked the person. For diseases of these levels, a *curandero* or curandera, such as Juan Sober was called to help. The census records for

[109] Armando M. Pérez de Nucci, *La medicina tradicional del noroeste argentino* 121-138
[110] CEFA Roll 12 Catamarca

1869 show that in the countryside, folk healers were abundant. For evil eye, prayers, forming the sign of the cross with oil on the forehead and calling the person's name would free the sick from the disease. [111]

Rural people lived in an environment in which disease came rapidly and killed quickly. This is corroborated with the mortality rates found in Tucumán durig the period. Thus, the *encuesta* is littered with methods with which to predict death. In the town of La Tuna, an area known to flood, the fear of torrential rains destroying the crops and leading to deaths created a practice meant to help slow the rate of rain. The oldest son was to draw a cross of ash in the family yard. In San Anotnio Quisca, this method was modified so that instead of the oldest born; a person named Juan was to form the cross of ash. Owls and sudden changes in animals could signal death. If a woman combed her hair at night, it could cause the death of her mother. A person sick at home, could foresee their death, if a cow died.

Doctors and hygiene also played important roles in the maintenance of health in the rural zones. Segundo A. Calderon from Cañada de Alzogaray reported to the *Encuesta* that after suffering for days with pneumonia and seeing no improvement from the medication the doctor had prescribed him, he switched back to folk, homeopathic medicine and drank a tea of "areyan." As the tea began to cure him, he reported his condition to the doctor, who was in disbelief. Calderon shows that people continually moved back and forth between western and non-western medicine. Hygiene, a concept

[111] Armando M. Pérez de Nucci, *La medicina tradicional del noroeste argentino* 87-93

especially prominent in the medical journals of the 1860s-1900s, was also practiced in the rural zones. Sixty-seven year old Beilisario Robles offered the following proverb

La Higiene en una Decima

Honest and neat life
Taking few drinks
And measuring everything
Do not make a fuss over much
Exercise and distracton
Not having apprehensions
Taking in the fesh air from outside
Stay home much, do not wander far off
And honest hard work all your life[112]

Folk medical practices and western medicine were also connected to each other through their use of vegetables as part of cures. In *La Sociedad Farmacetuica*'s 1864 first quarterly journal, pharmacists wrote on the production of medications and the need to create a nationwide system that gave all substances used to create medication, be given scientific names. For pharmacists, animals, vegetables and minerals constituted the three main properties that formed all medication. While they did promote the use of vegetables, the pharmacists also believed that the use of vegetables required the guided hand of doctors. Parsley, for example, could be used in a variety of forms and mixture to cure. Yet, there existed numerous plants similar in color and structure to parsley that were poisonous. Tests on animals had shown that death often came within the hour. [113]The journal published numerous concoctions to cure or lower the effects of variety of sicknesses from pneumonia to cholera, yet they were not intended for the general public. The journal chastised the *Revista Medica Quirrugica* for publishing an article that

[112] CEFA Roll 98 Tucumán
[113] Revista Farmacéutica Vol 5 1864 p. 125

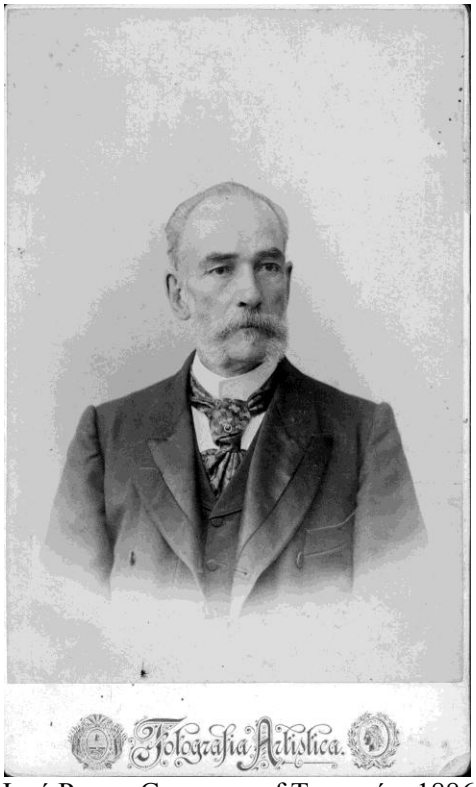
provided a cure for an unsaid disease that resulted in the death of a young boy. Educated and trained doctors were the ones entrusted with the responsibility of administering all diseases.

While the benefits of produce were espoused in the early years of the journal, by 1867 and 1868 when Buenos Aires had been infiltrated with cholera, the treatment of medicine and vegetables changed. In an article entitled *Hypothesis over Parasitic Vegetables* investigators began to correlate epidemics with vegetables through the argument that produce housed parasites. While the parasites had not been discovered, the authors of the piece did not rule out their existence. Disease was based on a variety of coefficients, temperature and hygiene, but vegetables and the parasites they produced were a constant threat.

The stigma surrounding fruits was prominent throughout the entire period. Fruits that left behind a skin, such as bananas, were the most lethal. As the fruit skin became decomposed the rotting skin released poisonous gases into the atmosphere. Through the use of microscopes, boilers and filters, French doctors under the guidance of Gabriel Pouchet had discovered traces of miasmas in animal and fruit carcasses. Another core of doctors had arrived at almost the same conclusion. Instead of the air, fruit miasmas filtered into the ground. The cycle of harvesting the ground or rain released them to the general population. The banning of fruit was damaging to the rural people's food intake, livelihood and their source of medication.

The 1868 cholera epidemic in Tucumán demonstrates how the pestilence facilitated interaction between the central region of the province with the peripheries over

Hygienic Laws, the guarding of the borders, the regulation of the consumption of fruit and quarantines. I have argued that it permitted the integration of rural zones into the province. This was a microcosm of the process of state-formation at the national level. The work of the province during the cholera epidemic shows that provinces worked to form the nation-state within their provincial borders. The epidemic prompted the transformation of rural provincial representation from military to administrative. In the realm of medicine, the epidemic created a discourse between western medicine from the urban capital and the non-western, *curandero*, medical practices in the rural zones. This discourse in combination with the banning of fruit revealed the central place fruit, vegetables and herbs had to rural economy, culture and medicine. The low number of university trained doctors in the hinterlands and the slow response of the province to implement the destruction of crops advances the notion of the provincial government facilitating the practice of folk medicine.



José Posse. Governor of Tucumán. 1886-1887 (Archivo General de la Nación)

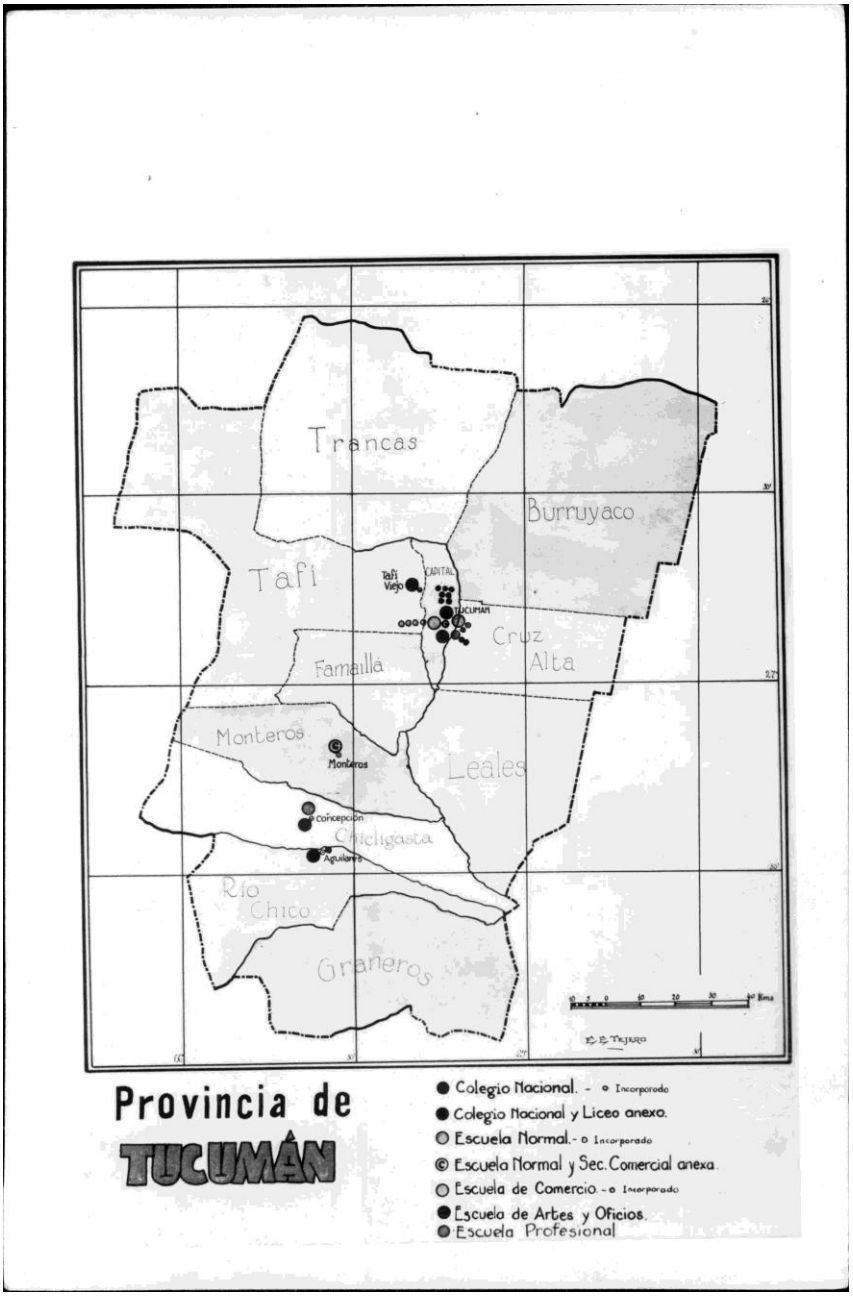
Edurado Wilde. Minister of the Interior. 1886-1890 (AGN)

Avenida Belgrano, San Miguel de Tucumán. Roughly late 1860s (AGN)

San Miguel de Tucumán. Roughly late 1860s. Note the various style of houses (AGN)

Seasonal cane workers from Tucumán and the northwest. Location unknown (AGN)

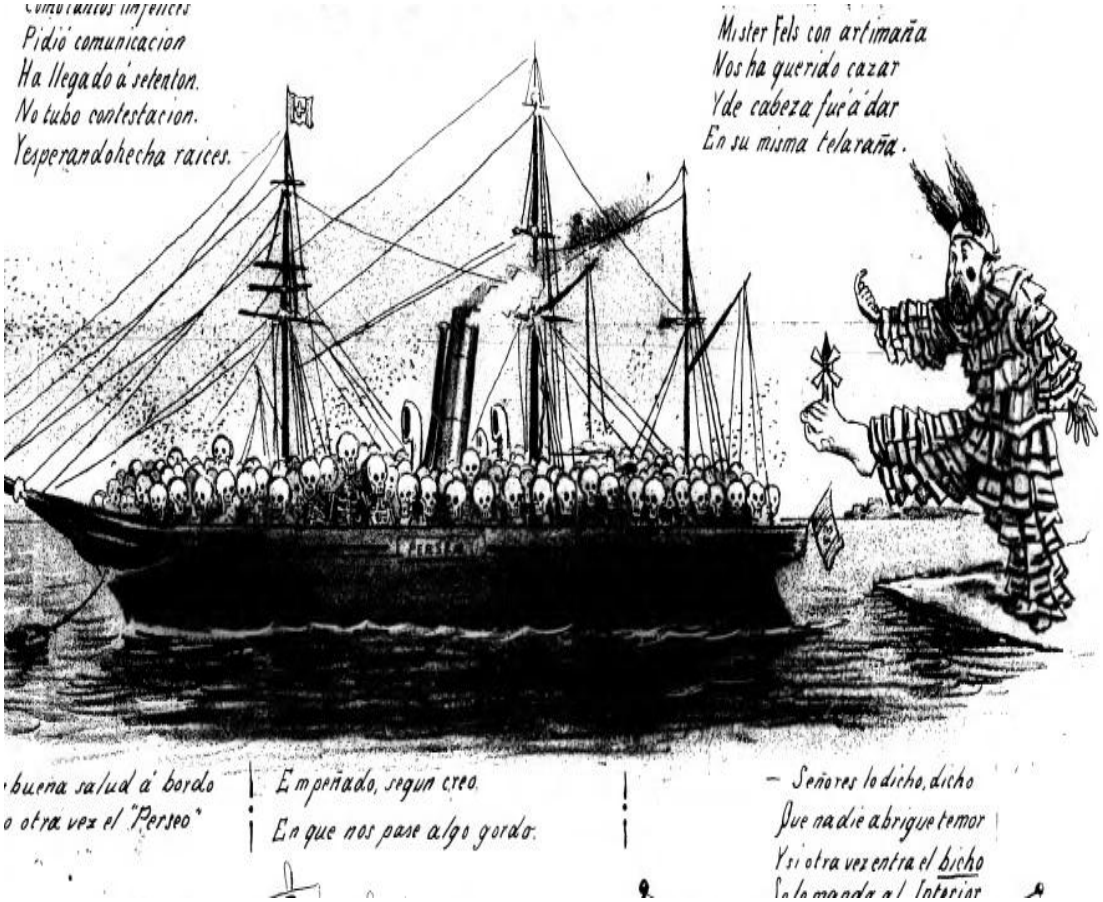
Rural houses of Tucumán. Location unknown (AGN)



Map showing the location of schools in the province in the late 1800s. Note the concentration of them in San Miguel and major towns. This pattern also applied to doctors and hospitals. (AGN)

Eduardo Wilde's foot cutting down the provincial cordons. The suspension of the sanitary cordons became national news (*Don Quijote* December 5, 1886 from Internet Archive)

Eduardo Wilde. Note the name of the provinces on each of the ghosts (*Don Quijote* January 9, 1887 from Internet Archive)



Eduardo Wilde welcoming the infested Pereseo cruiseliner.(*Don Quijote* November 13, 1886 from Internet Archive)

Political bacteria (*Don Quijote* November 13, 1886 from Internet Archive)

El Orden January 10, 1887

El Orden January 10, 1887

El Orden January 15, 1887

El Orden January 15, 1887

Chapter 4: From the Paraguayan Frontlines to the Northwest: Doctors Hygienists in the Consolidation of the State, 1865-1870

In 1869, the Ministry of Interior published its annual report for the years of 1868 and 1869. In it, the Minister noted the noble works the ministry had accomplished for the growth of the nation and formation of the state through various public works that fell under its authority. The greatest feats had been in the continuation of the railroad into the central province of Córdoba. Coupling the extension of the "iron horse", telegraphs lines and developing a system to deliver mail to all the provinces had assisted in the development of the national economy and worked to help "national security."[1] By 1869, Argentina's involvement in the Paraguayan War was limited to guarding the Argentine/Paraguayan border. The civil wars that had plagued the nation were concluding. The remnants of a federalist opposition had slowly disappeared and the final *caudillos* had been put down. The end of the *caudillos* had shown, stated Dalmacio Vélez Sársfield, " the patriotic spirit of the people and towns that form this Union…who are tired of a life of anarchy, who now seek to live a life of peace."[2] Serving as timeline of the positive attributions the ministry made to the nation, the Minister also noted the positive results of nation's first national census and the subjugation of the rebellious provinces of San Juan and Corrientes. For the ministry, the 1870s signaled a new age in

[1] *Memoria Del Ministerio Del Interior De La República Arjentina Presentada Al Congreso Nacional De1868y 1869* , Buenos AiresL La TRibuna Nacional, 1869.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 6

Argentina's history. The days of a disjointed and rebellious nation, were giving way to a decade of optimism, peace and unity.

The 1860s were a formative period for Argentina.. The wars of the interior, repeated federal interventions into the provinces, the extension of the rail line and the creation of a national army through the escalation of the Paraguayan War and the diminution of the provincial militias have been examined as formative steps in the maturation of the nation under Bartolomé Mitre. Scholars such as Oscar Oszlak have examined this period and concluded that the formation of the Argentine state was a process that was initiated and completed by the central state and Buenos Aires. Emphasis has been placed on the maintenance of political ties and alliances across the nation as a method for the state's practice of centralization to gain support in the interior provinces. Commonly built around the cult of one person, personalist politics dominated and trumped over any form of notion of political party. Ties, such as the one seen between the Posse family in Tucumán with Domingo F. Sarmiento and the Taboada family from Santiago del Estero with the Liberal politics of Mitre gave a modicum of support and unity to the interior provinces. Families, such as the Taboadas, also served military roles through their repeated armed invasions of smaller and weaker provinces whose politics conflated with the national executive branch's politics. Nevertheless, it has been argued that these ties were of minor importance, at best. [3]The literature has established the

[3] Paula Alonso's *Jardines Secretos* advances the notion of political leagues in the post-1880 period, while David Rock, in *State Building* argues that the each decade from 1860-1916 political history revolved around either one person, or the conflict between two. For the 1860s, Rock holds *Mitrismo* held a tight control, but in 1868 with the election of Sarmiento, his reach had quickly faded. For Rock, it was a process that had begun as early as 1865.

formation of the nation-state through four processes: repressive, cooption, material and ideological.

In terms of repressive forms of state-formation, military force served as the "glue" to foment the nation. One of the first feats of Mitre's presidency was the formation of a national army in 1863. The first task of the army was pushing back the frontiers of marauding Indians and placating subversive provinces. The limited reach of the military resulted in Mitre's unwavering support of Unitarian-liberal *caudillos*. From Santiago del Estero, Antonio Taboada and Manuel Taboada repeatedly utilized their Quechua speaking peasantry to wage war in the western region of Cuyo and Northwestern eliminating federalist governors and *caudillos*. "All of the north," held José Posse to a letter to Domingo Sarmiento 'is under the control of the Taboadas. There is no opposition. This control is the opposite of proper regular government."[4] The Taboadas rule in the region was authoritarian in nature. Political opponents in the province were openly assassinated in the street or sent to military labor camps in the Matará region of the province. Locally known as "Siberia", the constant threat of Mocoví Indians made this punishment a near death sentence.[5] From the western regions of Córdoba, Mitre-backed military commanders routed and pillaged the province of La Rioja. Any prisoners taken during these raids were assassinated, farms were burnt to the ground, cattle was stolen or destroyed, and water supplies, a valuable commodity in the arid environment, were poisoned. In 1862 and 1863, under the caudillo Angel Vicente "El Chacho"

[4] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, José Posse, and Antonio Pedro Castro. *Epistolario entre Sarmiento y Posse, 1845-1888. [Aclaraciones y biografía por Antonio P. Castro]*. Tomo I (Buenos Aires: Museo Histórico Sarmiento, 1946) p. 175

[5] David Rock "Argentina Under Mitre: Porteño Liberalism in the 1860s". *The Americas.* 56, no. 1: 31-63. 1999. P. 41

Peñaloza, the province of La Rioja rebelled against, "the Liberal Tyrants who have brought so many evils upon us."[6] After being forced back from the city of Córdoba, the army tracked down El Chacho, killed and beheaded him. The severed head was displayed and served as public spectacle to dissuade any forms of rebellion. For Liberals throughout the nation, the harsh treatment and barbarous punishment inflicted on the *caudillos* was a necessary step in the process of pacifying the interior. Sarmiento, then governor of San Juan, held that the law permitted the state to administer harsh punishment. The press in Buenos Aires argued that as criminals who utilized "savage ferocity" to battle the nation, the *caudillos* of the west had renounced their rights as citizens to due process of law and thereby "should be subject to…merciless destruction."[7]

The army grew modestly during the 1860s. The drafting of soldiers for the Paraguayan War assisted in establishing the Argentine military as an institution that collected soldiers from all regions of the nation. With the work of provincial militias, the forces sent to Paraguay were a mixture of volunteers, *ejercitos de linea* (the regular army) and national guards from the multiple provinces and the city of Buenos Aires. Under Mitre, the military served as a means to consolidate the position and presence of the state in the interior.[8] Projects of pacification and development through the military were extended to the River Plate region.

Notions of civilization and barbarism were applied to the war, Argentine Liberals created a connection between Paraguay and images of authoritarianism and federalist

[6] *El Nacional June 25 1863*, taken from *ibid.,* p. 42
[7] *El Nacional* December 21, 1868 Taken from *ibid*
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 44

pretensions in Rio de la Plata region that required direct confrontation. For Argentine liberals, the destruction of the dictator Francisco Solano López would remove an external symbol and source of inspiration for federalist *caudillos* who understood the Paraguayan president's infiltration into Argentina as a form of combating Buenos Aires's regional hegemony. The identification with Paraguay was such that the Federalist party of La Rioja was referred to as the Paraguayan Club. [9]Indeed, Mire believed that unless López's invasion was stymied in Corrientes, forces from the west would join in on his eventual assault of Buenos Aires.[10]

Following the initial provision of soldiers in 1865, the provinces continued to send forces to the war until 1869 when the final contingents from Entre Rios returned to Argentina.[11] During the 1870s, the national army shared its duties of guarding the borders and maintaining the peace within the nation, with the provincial militias. Following the Buenos Aires' militia uprising to contest the presidential election of Julio A. Roca in 1880, the national government eliminated provincial militias. The army became the main arbiter of force in the nation.[12]

A secondary form of state-formation is seen through the process of cooptation. The army and other institutions, such as the national subsidy and education, permitted the establishment of national institutions throughout the nation. In areas such as the military

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[9] Ariel De la Fuente *Children of Facundo: Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency During the Argentine State-Formation Process (La Rioja, 1853-1870).* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.) p. 176

[10] *ibid*

[11]Eleodoro Damianoviche. *Estudio sobre algunos accidentes de las heridas observadas en la Campaña del Paraguay*. (Buenos Aires: Impr. Americana, 1872.)

[12] For a work on the 1880 rebellion and its role in the formation of the Argentine state, see Hilda Sabato "Milicias, ciudadanía y revolución: el ocaso de una tradición política (Argentina, 1880)" in Beatriz Bragoni, and Eduardo José Míguez. *Un nuevo orden político: provincias y estado nacional, 1852-1880*. (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2010.)

and working with the Ministry of Interior in the engineering of roads and the building of telegraph lines, people from the interior became employees of the state. This process permitted distant peoples from all corners of the nation to see themselves as part of an "imagined community."[13] These employees had no direct connection with the province, beyond living there. Indeed, at times these employees came into conflict with local authorities. In chapter 3, I discussed the contentious relationship between the mail inspector of Favorina and the municipality over the fumigation of correspondence entering Tucumán. While the city council demanded that the cost of the surplus fumigations be paid by the province or be gratuitous, the inspector reported to the General Mail Inspector, who then reported to the Ministry of Interior. By 1876, eighty-five percent of federal employees were based in some area outside of the city of Buenos Aires. The primary employers were the Ministry of War and Navy and the Ministry of Justice, Culture and Education. As these institutions grew and the state became a primary employer in the provinces, the nation-state developed into a more vertically organized entity centered in Buenos Aires. [14]

As the nation matured, the provinces gave more responsibilities to the nation, such as the maintenance of peace, the imposition of justice and the minting of currency. Through military force, national employees and the basis of the national constitution, the nation intervened into the provinces when local authorities initiated events that were deemed "unconstitutional." Since this was open to interpretation, the practice of

[13] Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.

[14] Oscar Oszlak. *La Formación del estado argentino orden, progreso y organización nacional*. (Buenos Aires: Ariel, 2012.) pp. 93-127

intervention became a way to reorient or eliminate the dominant provincial powers and place politicians that were supportive and geared towards the political praxis of the national government.[15] In Tucumán's revolution of 1867, the national government, then under the guidance of Vice-President Marcos Páz, turned a blind eye to the removal of the *Sarmientista* Posse government. In a letter from José Posse to Sarmiento, the deposed official held that, "Marcos Paz…your enemy…authorized and stimulated the revolt in Tucumán." Further adding, "Paz had said 'I rather cut off my own hand then initiate any process of federal intervention.'"[16]Although the new government of Octavio Luna was not explicitly pro-Mitre, the impending presidential election of 1868 provided Páz and Mitre and opportunity to remove votes from Sarmiento, and give time for Rufino de Elizalde, Mitre's successor, to further cement his support in Tucumán.[17] The continual flux of political affiliations created repeated changes in the place of the provinces in national politics.

The pacification and integration of the interior provinces permitted the process of economic penetration. As part of the modernization of the nation, economic progress came to the interior through the extension of credit, the establishment of the National Bank and the connection of markets. For Tucumán, this process would not take place until 1876, when the railroad arrived to San Miguel. Following this, the arrival of federal economic institutions facilitated the development of the sugar industry. Prior to this, trade and the economy of the region gravitated towards the Andean region. The Bolivian peso

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 129

[16] Jose Posse to Domingo Sarmiento June 20, 1868 p. 172 vol 1 *Epistolario entre Sarmiento y Posse, 1845-1888*

[17] *El Pueblo* gave its support to Elizalde. In response, a few elites from Tucumán established *El Club Sarmiento*

and trade with the northwest, Chile and Bolivia dominated Tucumán's economy. The national subsidy, which was comprised of the taxes collected at the port of Buenos Aires and Rosario, was portioned among the province. The federal government used withholding the subsidy as a threat to the provinces that did not follow national protocol. A closer look at the subsidy during the 1860s reveals that in this area the central state atrophied. Beginning in 1863, for the first two years the national subsidy allocated to the provinces was roughly 219 million pesos. During the most intense years of war (1866-1868)[18] the average national subsidy for the provinces fell to 157 million pesos. The expenses for the war in the interior, Paraguay and federal interventions created a strain on the national economy. In the beginning of 1868, the year when the national subsidy hit its lowest point, Tucumán's subsidy had been delayed for three months. [19]

The traditional approach in Argentine political history has examined the role of elites in forming governmental institutions, dictating the contours of the national economy and establishing a monopoly on state power. The state has been studied as a coercive institution, whose power is based on interventionism and open warfare. [20] These factors have become enshrined, leading to incomplete descriptions of the state formation process and a teleogical understanding of the formation of the state. Each decade witnessed the extension of the state into the interior and the pacification of the nation.

[18] By the 1869, Argentina's role in the war was secondary.

[19] Figures taken from Oszlak and Alberto Martinez *El Presupuesto Nacional El presupuesto nacional*. (Buenos Aires: Compañia sud-americana de billetes de banco, 1890.) *p. 209*

[20] Natalio R. Botana, *El orden conservador: la política argentina entre 1880 y 1916*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1977); Tulio Halperín Donghi. *Proyecto y construcción de una nación: 1846-1880*. (Buenos Aires: Compañia Editora Espasa Calpe Argentina, 1995); Tulio Halperín Donghi *Vida y muerte de la república verdadera*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Planeta Argentina S.A.I.C., 2000); David Rock, *State Building and Political Movements in Argentina, 1860-1916*.

The expansion of borders, the war in Paraguay, the Conquest of the Desert, the development of a comprehensive rail system and, lastly, the creation of a national capital through the federalization of the city of Buenos Aires have been seen as the edifying moments in Argentine history. Employing a top-down perspective, the interior has often been seen as passive or a bystander as modernity entered their borders.

The 1868 cholera epidemic served as an important event in the process of Argentine state formation., the experience of cholera tied together the soldier from Entre Rios fighting on the Paraguayan front lines seeing disease and warfare encircle him to Vice-President Marcos Paz, who succumbed to the disease, and to the young mother in San Juan soothing her loved ones as they came under attack from cholera. The need to save lives from cholera forced rivals to come together and find solutions to problems. The lack of a national united response to the epidemic created an impetus for the provinces to adapt and create ways to properly handle public health issues. In analyzing the formation and building of the state, health became a new arena where state power could be exercised and formed by the provinces, and not solely from the national executive branch.

The first section analyzes the Paraguayan War from the perspective of Tucumán. It complicates the established trope of viewing the war effort as an event that brought together the nation. Instead, I present a deeply divided nation over the conscription of soldiers and the various insurrections that took place during the passage from the provinces to the ports that shipped them off to the frontlines. Participation in the war also served as a method of consolidating the nation and transferring sentiments from

allegiance to a soldier's locality/region to the province and then nation. The act of completing "pilgrimages" across the Argentine landscape expanded the conceptual world of provincianos. Ricardo Salvatore's work on federalist soldiers participating in the Unitarian and Federalists wars during the period of Rosas, showed that the war "helped paysanos to develop a wider (quasi-national) sense of territoriality and to get acquainted with a new political identity."[21] As the soldiers moved through the Argentine space, they continually determined their identity in relation to their province. [22] The war in Paraguay served to foment soldiers' political identity to the nation, their interaction with Uruguayans, Paraguayans and Brazilians helped to establish their concept of the nation through the meeting of various people, languages and customs. The post-war period witnessed the development of a remembrance of the war as an edifying moment in the history of the nation. For soldiers of all ranks, it was a collective event that tied them to Argentina's political and social development. Publications such as the *Album de la Guerra del Paraguay* published from 1893-1896 in Buenos Aires, recounted stories, tales, songs and personalities from the Argentine soldiers that participated in the battles of Paso de la Patria, Tuyutí, Lomas, and Humaitá and the conquering of Asuncion.[23] Funds collected from the publication were given to the families of soldiers who had lost their lives for the nation. However, the effects and enthusiasm towards the war were a post-war phenomenon. In the 1860s, the war was largely unpopular and the majority of the soldiers were from the littoral region. Northwesterners were a minority. Instead,

[21] Ricardo Donato Salvatore. *Wandering Paysanos: State Order and Subaltern Experience in Buenos Aires During the Rosas Era*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003). p. 350

[22] *Ibid.,*

[23] Asociación Guerreros del Paraguay de la República Argentina. *Album de la guerra del Paraguay*. Buenos Aires, 1893.

Tucumán financed and armed their soldiers to take part in the wars of the interior under the leadership of Antonio Taboada and Anselmo Rojo. In the buildup to the war, citizens in Tucumán called up for military service actively found legal means to avoid conscription. Already a minority in the national war effort, soldiers from the northwest looked for legal and illegal manners to oppose involvement in the war. The eurphoria felt for the war, quickly dissipated as one moved into the interior.

Projects of a unified state under Mitre never fully materialized. The fissure of the liberal party between Liberal-Nationalists[24] (Mitre) and Liberal-autonomists (Adolfo Alsina, governor of Buenos Aires) demonstrate that national politics remained starkly divided. The major points of contention were the relationship between the provinces of the interior and Buenos Aires on issues of the centralization of power, the distribution of wealth collected at the port and the federal capital. Mitre's support primarily came from the merchant class and their European political and business partners. Depicting Argentina as a fertile ground for investment, growth and development, Mitre promoted foreign investment in railroad, telegraph, shipping industry and economic expansion into the interior. For provincial elites, the possibility of new markets and trade partnerships was especially appealing. The reemergence of the separatists/autonomistas quickly deflated Mitre's support as early as 1862.[25] The autonomist faction, under Alsina garnered its support from the rich cattle ranchers who had also supported Juan Manuel Rosas from 1839-1852 and the rural elite. For autonomistas, *porteño* hegemony would

[24] By 1868 the liberal nationalists were further divided between Mitre and Sarmiento supporters. Within each province the various factiosn interacted and battled with each other.

[25] David Rock "Argentina Under Mitre" pp. 34-36

function with, "a loose federation such that the riches of Buenos Aires were not disbursed to the interior."[26] For the ranchers and rural elites, the fortification of the borders against Indian attacks far outweighed the need to invest in railroads, ports and telegraph lines.

Following the defeat of Justo José de Urquiza, the president of the Argentine Confederation and a caudillo of Entre Rios, and Buenos Aires's re-incorporation into the Argentine confederation, the divisions between Unitarians and Federalists subsided and develop into social identities, rather than political ones. For the interior, Mitre represented a compromise between *porteño* hegemony and the equal disbursement of funds through a strong centralized government. These factors coupled with Mitre's goals of establishing the city of Buenos Aires as a federalized republic, angered his supporters in the littoral. In the interior, the Unitarians were divided between the "old" and "new" guard. The old guard, finding its beginnings in the period immediately after the Wars of Independence, promoted a no-compromise approach and pushed for the provinces to support the supremacy of Buenos Aires. By the time of Rosas, this no longer seemed a viable option. Responding to this and the rise of *Rosismo* the Generation of 1837 offered a form of Unitarianism that supported provincial autonomy but a strong unified and centralized nation. Moreover, they sought to establish the national governments presence in the provinces through judicial, educational and, lastly and if needed, military institutions.[27] While Federalist in each area wanted to maintain a loose national association that minimized the littoral's influence to its area, soft-line Federalists such as

[26] F. J. McLynn. 1979. "The Argentine Presidential Election of 1868". *Journal of Latin American Studies.* 11, no. 2: 303-323. 306

[27] *Ibid.,*

Facundo Quiroga wanted a unified state that still assured provinces their autonomy and local officials elected to power and not have Buenos Aires install proxy governors.[28] These social divisions between and among Unitarians and Federalists remained subtly present in 1868. While Federalism was no longer a viable political stance, it still represented a platform in which to understand the role, limits and practices of governance of the central state. The epidemic quashed ideological divisions and set a precedent for health to work beyond Federalist/Unitarian separatism and demonstrate the active involvement of the provinces in formulating new manners in which to consolidate the state.

While high-politicians squabbled with each other over political affiliations, the nation was invaded by cholera. The second part of this chapter tracks the work of mid-level politicians and doctors working in Paraguay, the littoral and the provinces, working together through the exchange of information, funds, supplies and personnel, to stop the spread of cholera. In a time when the state could not provide support or institutions to a consolidated medical response, the provinces came together to provide for each other. The epidemic eroded ideological divisions and set a precedent for health to work bring together socio-political divisions and demonstrate the active involvement of the provinces in formulating new manners in which to consolidate the state. Cholera contagions offer a view into the continual process of governance in peripheral regions. The region's assistance for the afflicted of Catamarca, for example, shows how former foes came together to assist in sparing the poorer province more deaths. This section also shows the

[28] Quiroga was a Unitarian, but his followers were composed of Federalist. Thus he advocated the agenda of the people.

role the provinces undertook in representing the state in their own regions through the creation of a rudimentary national health system. The formalized relations between provinces evident in the politics of national health assisted in expanding the image of the state due to the bureaucratization of the interior.[29] Indeed, public health was impervious and relatively shielded from the vagaries of political divisions. Nevertheless, epidemics did not create permanent moratoriums on national political disputes. As seen in the 1880s, these divisions would re-emerge. Instead, I argue that they created an impetus for the evolution of the interaction between the executive authority and the province outside of the usual acrimonious relationship evident in federal interventions or in terms of the national economy.

Through an analysis of medical reports from the Paraguayan front lines, medical journals and reports from the provinces certain trends become apparent. First, medical officials realized the need for a national medical institution that would regulate doctors, medications and medical practices. Within this structure, municipalities, hygienic commissions and provinces were to take a secondary role in the regulations imposed by the national medical association. Uniformity would cross provincial borders. The plethora of medical theories, educational backgrounds and geographic locations created a variety of medical practices that, at times, contradicted each other or simply did not apply to another area. For example, in Buenos Aires the *saladero* factories along the Riachuelo transformed southern Buenos Aires and the river into foci of contagion. While San

[29] David Rock, Donna Guy, José Antonio Sánchez Roman and Patricia Juárez -Dappe argue that opening of markets in Buenos Aires for Tucumán's sugar and the industries that resulted from the growth of the sugar industry, such as railroads, banking credit systems, labor exchange and irrigation works were a driving force in the unification of the province with Buenos Aires.

Miguel Tucumán has a river that runs parallel to the city only blocks away (Salí River) it did not house any *saladero* factories, as a result rivers and meat became secondary concerns to local hygienists. In the northwestern province, fruit, which abounded throughout the province, was given the utmost importance in terms of contagion. As the space between provinces, through increased travel and national integration, doctors looked to see how similar public health protocols could be established from province to province.

Secondly, we see the establishment of a professional medical field with close ties to the state. The Military Medical corps and those serving in the military hospitals of Corrientes, Rosario and Buenos Aires were doctors and young medical students that were hand-picked. Their experience and association with the military formed their understanding for a consolidated effort towards public hygiene. Actors, such as the young practitioner Eduardo Wilde, future Minister of Interior under Miguel Juárez Celman, and Guillermo Rawson, doctor and Minister of Interior under Mitre, worked on the epidemiological frontlines during the war. Their experiences here and following the war helped with the creation of the University of Buenos Aires' School of Medicine public hygiene concentration. In the UBA, young doctors from all over the nation came to be educated, with many returning to practice in their respective provinces. While some of their theories would eventually become outdated—as late as 1887 Wilde still envisioned miasmas as the contagions behind disease—their place among the medical elite of the nation was firmly established. It would not be until the early 1890s through the work of

Emilio Coni and Jose Penna that there was a significant change in the medical curriculum at the UBA. Disease was the point in which all these sentiments came to meet in 1868.

From Tucumán to Paraguay: War the Divider

In discussing the economic and demographic impact of the War of the Triple Alliance, the scholarship has advanced a variety of reasons and motivations for the causes of the war that range from internal Paraguayans conflicts and expansion, regional rivalries between the nations along the Rio de la Plata, the internal strife dividing Uruguay between the *Colorados*(Reds), the merchant class based in Montevideo with very similar political stances to Mitre and the Brazilian Empire, and the *Blancos*(Whites) the cattle ranchers of the Uruguayan interior who were aligned to López and Argentine federalists. Lastly, scholars have emphasized British investments to open the hermit nation to foreign investment. [30]

Following Paraguay's independence from Spain, the young nation undertook a process of economic development. Railroads, port industry and iron foundries were built under the rule of José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia and Carlos Antonio López. Coupling industry with defense, Francia built an impressive army for the period. Under the singular control of Francia and López, the Paraguayan state became the principal investor and arbiter in the foreign trade of its principal exports of yerba mate and tobacco.[31] Continued expansion within Paraguay prompted Francisco Solano López to push outside of their

[30] Vera Blinn Reber. 1988. "The Demographics of Paraguay: A Reinterpretation of the Great War, 1864-70". *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. 68 (2): 289-319pp 289-290 fn 1

[31] Vera Blinn Reber 1985. "Commerce and Industry in Nineteenth Century Paraguay: The Example of Yerba Mate". *The Americas.* 42, no. 1: 29-53.P.38. For example, under Carlós Antonio López the state paid yerba mate laborers according to the arrobas collected and provided them shirts, ponchos and all supplies required. The transportation and packaging of yerba was controlled by the state.

borders into Brazil. Meanwhile, Paraguay came to the aid of the recently deposed Uruguayan *Blancos* that were now under attack from Brazilian forces. During this period, Argentina maintained a farcical public policy of neutrality, but within political circles this afforded Argentine Liberals the chance to remove an external threat and subdue fears of López partnering with Urquiza and invading Buenos Aires. In order to reach Uruguay, López requested permission to pass through the northeastern provinces of Misiones and Corrientes. This was denied. In response, on April 13, 1865, Paraguayan forces entered the harbor of Corrientes and set fire to the Argentine war ships *25 de Mayo* and *Gualeguay*. Together with Uruguay and Brazil, Mitre declared war on Paraguay. Forces from all over Argentina, but primarily from Córdoba and the provinces to the east were drafted into a makeshift army. The war ended in 1870 when Brazilian forces executed López and personnel in the forests outside of Asunción.

For many, the war represented the needless loss of life, the erosion of economic stability and the ending of a southern American stronghold against foreign incursion. For America's liberals, the war also showed that "civilization" could destroy "barbarism"[32], tyranny and despotism. Indeed, the defeat of López would be the last step in modernizing the Americas. In the buildup of and throughout the war, Tucumán firmly supported. Paraguay's encroachment into Uruguayan politics required a swift and armed retribution. In line with the modernist discourse of the period, during Wenceslao Posse's annual gubernatorial speech to the provincial hall of representatives, he held that Paraguay under López was "an anachronism of the current times and place….and cannot coexist for much

[32] These dichotomies were the conssitenyl put into contention by Argentine elites.

time alongside the Liberal governments that encircle it. Thus the war, from the perspective of Paraguay, is barbarism reacting to our civilized nation."[33] Privately, however, Posse felt that the most distant provinces from the war were not as responsible to provide soldiers as those that were closest to Paraguay. In addition to providing soldiers for the national army, the provinces of the northwest were also responsible for meeting their National Guard quotas, hence a battalion of 550 sent to Paraguay and a reserve of 500 to stay in Tucumán battling in the wars of the interior. The number of soldiers requested, however, was small in comparison to the four thousand required jointly from the city and province of Buenos Aires. For the provinces along the Paráná River, battalions were formed and all remaining militias were sent to the frontline. As María José Navajas notes in her analysis of the press of Tucumán during the period, for elites and provincial leaders the war represented an opportunity for the province to participate in the history of the nation, for once for all to do away with the insult's López had hurled at the nation and to squash barbarism. Towing the line of the state's discourse, eliminating López would finally defeat a foreign threat that fueled the embers of Federalism.

The newspaper *El Liberal* reveals the enthusiasm palpable in Tucumán following the declaration of war. In response to the sorting of the National Guard, elites from San Miguel under the guidance of the provincial government formed a relief commission to provide for the families of those that were leaving for the front lines. The province

[33] *El Liberal* March 18, 1866 Taken from María José Navajas unpublished article "Discursos y representaciones en torno a la guerra del Paraguay: el papel de la prensa en Tucumán, Argentina" CONICET-Instituto Ravignani

financed its efforts through the donations from people enthused with, "patriotic and Christian endeavor" intended to provide for all the families of the war. [34] On June 4, 1865 Tucumán completed the drafts of the national guards destined to form part of the battalion destined for the war to, "remove from our territory the foreign invader and to punish the assault upon the nation's sovereignty."[35] Beginning at ten in the morning and lasting till seven in the evening, the four battalions of San Miguel congregated at the cabildo and waited as their names were announced. The following week the draft of the rural battalions was completed.[36] In an editorial from a general simply listed as R., the writers asked readers and soldiers to not forget the "valiant" soldiers who "a thousand times have risked their lives in the battles of the civil wars, who have unfortunately taken Argentine lives. The honor they will gain from a foreign war will be eternal…those who fall will be immortal."[37] For "young distinguished elites" the war served as an opportunity to sacrifice their lives for the nation. Major Sergeant Ramon Alvarez stated in a letter to the Posse that "it is a sacred duty to offer my services to the government of this province to join the National Guard who must punish Paraguay and their insolent despotic leader."[38] Amongst elites the threat of foreign war became a thread that tied the nation together. For subalterns, however, the war was damaging to family and, social and economic life.

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[34] June 4, 1865 El Liberal "Comisision de Socorros

[35] *Ibid.*,, "El Sorteo"

[36] Battalions were San Martin (40), Mitre (35), Belgrano (25) and Rio Colorado (35). A total of 135 came from San Miguel, the remaining 165 were to join the forces of Catamarca (200) with Gen. Anselmo Rojo to Rosario.

[37] El Soteo

[38] Archivo Histórico de Tucumán Seccion Administrativa 1867 Book 102 folio 317. Hereinafter AHT-SA

On August 11, 1865, Faustina Madrid, a widow and resident of San Miguel wrote a letter to Gov. José Posse. In the letter she asked for the mercy of the governor to remove her son, Sisto Norry, from the National Guard.[39] For Madrid, Sisto's incorporation into the war would have been detrimental to her family. In addition to supporting her, Sisto also provided for his many sisters. The loss of the primary bread winner in the family would have been detrimental to the family's livelihood. Stating her poverty and status as a widow, Faustaina beseeched the governor to separate her son from the camps. Moreover, the Norry family had already sent two sons who died fight during the defense of Corrientes under the leadership of General. Wenceslao Paunero. Not willing to lose another son to the war, Madrid argued that it was "justice" to separate her last son from active military duty.[40]

Madrid's letter is not unique. The administrative archive for 1865 is filled with letters from wives, mothers, fathers and soldiers beseeching the governor to grant them a reprieve from military service. Invoking the provincial constitution, many held that the financial burden families would take from losing their sons or husbands warranted their release. Soldiers such as Pedro Madriaga used the recently passed laws that limited service to people between the ages of seventeen to forty-five. Being fifty-three years old at the time and having served many years in the military, Madriaga argued that he was no longer in condition or required to serve. Nevertheless, Madriaga offered his son who was twenty-three to serve in his place. The recruitment of soldiers was a long and arduous process. Military convoys were routinely understaffed, ill prepared and financially

[39] The National Guard served as the reserve for the soldiers fighting in Paraguay.
[40] AHT-SA Book 102 1867 folio 144

draining. The government, however, did grant reprieves to soldiers whose mothers' were widows and the drafted son was the only child left. [41]

Outside of age and financial reasons, health also was common excuse among soldiers. Pedro Gramajo wrote "although I desire to serve the nation, especially in this time of foreign invasion, I am not fit to serve due to my asthma." Faustino Solar's son had lost an eye, which made him unfit for service. Crisologo Ponce gravitated from financial to health reasons in his letter to the governor. Arguing that his wife was invalid and had five children, Ponce hoped that Posse's "good heart" would help him understand why he could not serve. If not, he stated that his condition of hemorrhoids would remove him from the National Guard. While some soldiers and their families did write to the governor listing reasons why they could not join the National Guard, just as many simply did not show or were succinct in their reasoning. Avelino Paz argued that he was simply too old and too important to the well being of his family to serve. Francisco Perez simply never showed, his neighbors wrote saying that since he had a large family they "assumed" the governor had given him a pardon. Lucas Leinaz stated that while he did want to offer military services, other matters had made it impossible. He closed the letter with saying he would make an attempt to attend the next exercises. The archives only contain the correspondence that entered the executive branch, in many cases we do not know what happened to many of these families that asked to keep their families together. The letters, however, served as the memo sheets between the various branches of the provincial government. We do know that Ponce did receive a medical examination from

[41] Archivo Anselmo Rojo Vol VII 1865Letter from Segundo Roca in Catamarca. Folio 152 Hereinafter A-AR

the military physician and was cleared. As the notes in the ledger state, medical complications commonly resulted in pardons from the governor. [42]

While many citizens wrote directly to the governor, government officials also represented their cases to the governor on why soldiers could not serve. The corporal for the department of La Cocha wrote to Posse arguing that the soldiers that had journeyed to San Miguel to take part in the National Guard reserves have left their already poor families in a worse position. The corporal requested that the province find alternative candidates and have the men of La Cocha return.[43] Besides the request of dismissal of service, the provincial National Guard was having difficulties collecting men in the distant hinterlands. In Los Sueldos, an area that cholera invaded in 1868, local officials reported that various soldiers called into the reserve absconded to the countryside. Similar patterns were seen in Burruyacú, where soldiers reported for service but stole the weapons and returned to the deep countryside along the border with Salta and Santiago del Estero.

The battalion from Tucumán was to be divided between local soldiers and ones collected in Catamarca, under the leadership of General Anselmo Rojo, former governor of Tucumán and a *mitrista* closely allied with the Taboadas and elites in Tucumán. In a letter from Wenceslao Paunero to Rojo, Paunero held that Santiago del Estero and Tucumán were the center of the northwest and "together we can unite the soldiers to assist in the war."[44] The enthusiasm for the war among Rojo and his corps of generals

[42] All letters are found in AHT-SA Book 102 1867
[43] AHT-SA Book 98 1865 Folio 232
[44] A-AR Vol VII 1865 Letter Wenceslao Paunero to Anselmo Rojo, Folio 1

was paralleled to the general apathy and dismissive nature of the Catamarcan soldiers. By May of 1865, as things were moving somewhat more smoothly in Tucumán which Rojo held "were in a better position and [had the] will to fill their military orders."[45], Segundo Roca, Rojo's assistant in Catamarca reported that funds were low, horses were needed and that the province was short two hundred and fifty men from the rural departments that had refused to report for service. By July, more soldiers had joined the Catamarcan battalion, most, however, had been "hunted down with the force of arms"; the remaining portion arrived to the military camp sick and were declared unfit to serve in the battalion.[46] During this time numerous soldiers were arrested when plans of an uprising were discovered. The three soldiers under arrest had been collecting rocks and storing them in their camps to use them as weapons. In response to the slow development of a Catamarcan battalion, soldiers from Tucumán were required to fill the quota.

The march to Rosario and Buenos Aires through the provinces was grueling. Generals on horseback led the soldiers along long stretches of desert. Tied to each other in chains, recruits were barefoot, barely clothed and at night were not permitted to move.[47] Letters from the march reveal that soldiers walked from morning until afternoon. Various sick were reported, and those that could not continue the march and on the brink of death were left behind. As the march progressed the cases of desertions increased. Lucas Ybirry, the military inspector accompanying the forces from the northwest noted in a letter to Posse that a core of soldiers had deserted when asked to fetch water for the

[45] Folio 119 letter to Juan Gelly y Obres Minister of War and Navy from name unclear but possibly Anselmo Rojo, written while he was in Tucumán.

[46] A-AR Vol VII 1865 Letter Segundo Roca to Anselmo Rojo

[47] David Rock *State Building* p. 50

camp site one evening. While ten more, all from the hinterlands of the province, had deserted upon entering the province of Santa Fe. In response to this, Rojo and Ybirry looked for methods to minimize the desertions. Ybirry requested soldiers he knew from personal experiences to join in his company. Both military leaders also promoted soldiers who they deemed had the support from, "the subalterns from the company."[48] Disobedience among the soldiers was a common occurrence; in General Segundo Roca's company Major Sergeant Francisco Javier Mena was relieved of his position and sent back to Tucumán. Inebriated, Mena had argued with a few soldiers and initiated a small uprising that resulted in him being shackled to a wooden grill. [49] The sources do not offer any indication of resolution between the soldiers and the generals. From similar patterns seen in other military camps, punishment of soldiers exacerbated tense situations and possibly assisted in more desertions.[50] Nevertheless, the promotion of soldiers and the inclusion of trusted ones during the convoys show that upward mobility was an important factor in the moral economy of subaltern soldiers and served as a means to ameliorate the tensions of war and a national institution.

Scholars studying nineteenth century Argentine soldiers, military culture and desertion show for soldiers that fear of punishment, their familial responsibilities, disease, lack of provisions and employment all created motivations for soldiers to desert their military unit. As the letters have shown, "the survival of the family imposed a limit to the demands of the state."[51] The needs of the family also applied to the need of employment.

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[48] AHT-SA Book 98 1865 Folio 151
[49] Ibid., folio 167
[50] Ricardo Salvatorre *Wandering Paysanos* p. 299
[51] *Ibid.,* p. 302

Ricardo Salvatorrre shows that soldiers commonly deserted the Federalist armies of Juan Manuel Rosa over inadequate food, clothing or consiterations, and family, left the military. For soldiers, the contract between them and the state was, in the end, an economic one based on the exchange of food, provisions, housing, the maintenance of the family important, for military service. If the soldier felt that the contract was not honored, soldiers terminated it through desertion. [52]While Salvatorre's work centers on the military in the Unitarain/Fedelaist wars of the 1840s, the structure of the incipient Argentine military was similar to the one in the opening years of the Paraguayan War. Although Mitre had created a national military in 1862, outside of Buenos Aires, militias and National Guards were still the primary form of military service. Small militias and armed citizens had more intimate economic and paternal ties with local military leaders. For Tucumán, Antonio Taboada, José María del Campo and Anselmo Rojo had a much larger influence than the distant Buenos Aires. In the nation's capital resentment and indifference to the war were also present. In Buenos Aires, immigrants utilized their foreign citizenship as way to avoid military duty, while the Italian consulate stated it would not offer any assistance to the Argentine government. Argentine children born from Italian parents were baptized in Italian churches to feign Italian citizenship.[53]

In a predominantly illiterate society, oral culture serves as one main form of relating information, news, stories, tales and history from one generation to another. The variety of tales can range from historical moments to stories of love. Jacques Lyotard's discussion on the practice of discourse shows that as these stories became repeated from

[52] *Ibid.,* p. 303
[53] David Rock *State Building* p. 49

generation to generation they gained legitimacy from their audience. These stories, moreover, show the direct understanding of subaltern people towards large historical events. I argue that when songs and tales on the Paraguayan War are compared to correspondence and news of the period it becomes evident that the rounding up of soldiers was notably unpopular. Lastly, the existence of songs that detail the war from conscription, to journey, to battle and finally the return from the war show that subaltern *tucumanos* were aware of the war at all stages. The fears of war, disease and death in Paraguay were events that affected the people of the northwest. I connect these fears with the medical reports from the war that illuminate the lived experience of soldiers. It reveals that none of the soldiers were prepared for what they witnessed in Paraguay. The memories and experiences published following the war demonstrate the grandeur of war and the galvanizing moment it played in the history of the nation. Works such as José Garmendia's "Recuerdos de la Guerra del Paraguay" remembered the war as a moment of,"fervent patriotism."[54] The various songs and poems sang amongst the subaltern following the war would corroborate general support of the war. Yet, the popular classes also sang songs on the war as being unjustified, commented on the loss of life and the everlasting effect the war had on the people returning to the war. Indeed, overviews of the *Cantares Historicos* collected by Juan Alfonso Carrizo in *Cancionero Popular de Tucumán* reveals that subalterns sang of many historical events and were intimately tied to them through direct or indirect experience. Ranging from the wars of independence to

[54] José Ignacio Garmendia. *Recuerdos de la guerra del Paraguay*. (Buenos Aires: J. Peuser, 1891.) p. 474

the beginning of the twentieth century, common folk offered the perspective, opinion and involvement on the personalities and battles of the century.

Carrizo collected two songs on the war. The first "An Unjust and Cruel War" begins with a discussion of Paraguay provoking the war. While the song includes a discussion of the necessity of the war and the valor of the soldiers in the war under the leadership of the nation, the war was also a Buenos Aires led affair. Buenos Aires served as the vanguard and protector of the nation, and the inhabitants of the interior served as the rear guard. For the singers of the song, the war expanded *tucumanos* conceptual space.[55]The themes of heroism continue in "If they are the Ones to Seal." Here, the lector sings of soldier sealing victory with their blood in defense of the nation which cannot be sullied with the footsteps of the invader. Both songs discuss the war in an abstract form. Neither relay the exact feeling of war nor the feelings of war on the home front. "Ones to Seal" offers a small portion towards the end when it relates the feelings of a mother who has sons fighting in the war: "at last, my beloved children,the mother who writes them notifying them I am living with troubled senses. In fateful moments I have in this sad land without losing time or hour, I will be the bearer of faith in this war." There are only a few songs that mention the experiences of subalterns in the war. "The Paraguayan Woman" is set in Paraguay as a soldier rested under a tree. The soldier sees a young Paraguayan women crying under an orange tree. The woman, whose mother, father, husband and brothers had followed López to Humaita, had all died. This had led her to be "An orphan of the world and a victim of love. The hours pass like days and my pain is

[55] José Antonio Carrizo *Cancioner Popular de Tucumán* Tomo I song 181 p. 461

immense."[56] Mirroring the story of the Paraguayan woman, in Tucumán another tale recounts the meeting between a wife of a veteran and another of a mother who has lost her mind at losing her son. In the first story a woman sits by a brook washing her feet. A soldier passes by and the woman asks if he has seen her husband. He laments to her that he has died, but the husband sent him to marry her. The wife refuses his advances stating she will become a nun. The second story is of a woman who sits and weeps at the loss of her family to the war. Sitting and playing her guitar, her land has become overgrown, her eyes became sunken and lips became yellow. The themes of loss would have been relevant to *tucumano* culture. The high mortality rate, threats from disease and the isolation of a countryside made death ever present. The war magnified the sacrifices families had made for the war. The inclusion of an orange tree and the central role of mothers were a direct connection to life in Tucumán. For northwesterners, the war came to represent a place where life was lost. This is seen most poignantly in "The Song of Manbum." A young boy unloved and not baptized is sent to the war, and never returns. [57] The experiences of war filtered their way from Paraguay and throughout the interior. Songs, poems and tales formed around the Paraguayan War. Prominent figures in Argentine culture such as Gauchito Gil, the gaucho patron saint popular among Argentines, fought in the Paraguayan War. [58] The experiences of war were brought back to the home provinces.

[56] CEFA Tucumán Roll 98

[57] *ibid.*,

[58] Gauchito Gil is believed to have been Antonion Mamerto Gil Nuñez, a gaucho from Corrientes who deserted the war after he fell in love with the daughter of the hacienda owner where he worked and was family to the local police commissioner. Santiago Cortés Hernández, De facineroso ladrón a santo

In the post-war period, various memoirs of the war were published. Most recounted the various battles the writers took part in and lauded the war as an important moment in the history of the nation. [59] During this same period, the field reports and dissertations of young medical practitioners that volunteered in the war as part of Argentina's medical military corps were published. The dissertations offer a glimpse into the health and living conditions soldiers and Argentines connected with the war. The dissertations also reveal the medical theories applied to the military and the role nature and the environment had on the soldiers. For doctors, such as Eudoro Damianoviche and Lucio del Castillo the conditions in Paraguay were extremely insalubrious for Argentine soldiers. In the military camps cholera, typhus, dysentery, gangrene and smallpox were prominent. In Del Castillo's report *Enfermedades Reinantes en Paraguay*, based on three years serving in the Medical Sanitary Corps of the military, the doctor held that the low health of Argentine soldiers in Paraguay was due to a variety of physical and moral factors. In relation to physical, Dlucel Castillo emphasized the health and lifestyle of the soldier prior to the war. The majority of soldiers came from the, "proletariat class with limited medical access…their constant change in setting made them adaptable, making him watch over his nutrition and health. Their life is not the best, but for them it is good

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milagroso: el culto a los bandidos en la literatura y la devoción popular". *Caravelle; Cahiers Du Monde Hispanique Et Luso-Bresilien (Toulouse).* no. 088: 11-29.

[59] José Ignacio Garmendia, *Recuerdos de la Guerra del Paraguay*.., Daniel Cerri. *Campaña del Paraguay: toma de la ciudad de Corrientes, 25 de mayo 1865; movimientos y combates después de curupaití; espedición al Chaco en el sitio de Humaitá, 1o de mayo de 1868*. (Buenos Aires: Tipografía "D*El Pueblo*", 1892.) Francisco Seeber. *Cartas sobre la guerra del Paraguay, 1865-1866*. (Buenos Aires: L.J. Rosso, 1907.)

enough. But not enough for the life of a soldier."[60] Fresh air, comfortable home setting, open space and limited interaction with miasmas made Argentine workers healthy.

Upon becoming drafted and sent to Paraguay, Del Castillo noted a drop in the general health of Argentine soldiers. First, humidity, harsh sun, miasmas and brackish water lowered the physical health of the soldiers. Rotting vegetation, dead animals, and cadavers dotted the waterways near the Argentine camps, making the water inconsumable. [61] Physically, the long marches and starvation made the soldiers more susceptible to disease. Living quarters and clothing worsened conditions. For Del Castillo, the physical degradation of the soldier worsened their moral constitution. The separation from the family caused the most damage. The family was, "central to their moral wellbeing…in the army he is only encircled by unknown people."[62] Next to homesickness, "patriotism and love for the nation" were also morally damaging to the soldier. To be separated from the homeland was, in De Castillo's opinion, "damaging to the extent of making life meaningless. It can create disease, a serious of nostalgia that, at times, has caused death among soldiers." [63] Eudoro Damianovhice, a fellow doctor serving in Paraguay, offered natural remedies to the moral and physical failings of the soldiers. While yerba mate, alcohol and tobacco were considered vices in the medical community, the smoke from tobacco repelled mosquitoes, the water for yerba mate was boiled thereby making it safe for consumption. Yerba mate is a natural appetite suppressant and assists in digestion, packed with natural antioxidants mate assisted

[60] Lucio Del Castillo. *Enfernedades Reinantes en la Campaña del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1870) pp. 14-15

[61] *Ibid.*,p. 27

[62] *Ibid.*,p. 16

[63] *Ibid.*,p. 21

soldiers in weathering the difficulty of war such as poor food quality. Meat, a key component in Argentine diet, was sparse as the army moved further into Paraguay and away from waterways for transport. The limited quantities that did arrive were often rotten or of poor quality.

Of all these afflictions, cholera was deemed the worst. Beginning in April of 1867, the disease spread various times among the soldiers. In order to combat the disease, doctors began regulating when, where and what soldiers ate. Alcohol and fruit were strictly prohibited, and barracks were bleached and ventilated. While doctors could not provide any methods to curtail the spread of the disease, Del Castillo held that the poor hygiene of the soldiers and Paraguayan environment were the main culprits of the disease. [64] Damianovhice noted in his report that the working conditions in the military camps were very poor, "In the constant movement of battle and the agitation it created, there was no moment in which you could make scientific observations."[65] Damianoviche also wrote on his battles against cholera. Similar to Del Castillo, the poor environment and meager living conditions of the army made the entire company susceptible to disease. [66]Reports of gangrene, infection and dysentery were common place. Damianoviche differed in that he hesitated to place blame on the soldier or contend that the Argentine's physical constitution was incompatible with the Paraguayan environment and distanced himself from the assumption that the morality of the soldier was interwoven with his health. Instead, the poor quality of military organization was the primary culprit. The

[64] Lucio Del Castillo. *Enfernedades Reinantes en la Campaña del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Mercurio, 187037-45

[65] Eleodoro Damianoviche. *Estudio sobre algunos accidentes de las heridas observadas en la Campaña del Paraguay* pp. 22-29

[66] *ibid*

communication between military and the medical personnel routinely broke down over the needs of each side. Supplies were limited and various medications expired. As the military moved further into Paraguay, supply lines ceased operating and the casualties of war become more pronounced. [67]

For the doctors working in the Paraguayan front lines, cholera emanated from contagious miasmas. By the late 1860s with the discovery of germs and bacteria, doctors in Europe and Argentina began to combine germs with miasmas. Prominent Argentine doctors such as Angel Gallardo, president of the medical group behind the *Revista Medica-Quirugica* (RMQ) wrote in a letter from France that cholera is contagious and passed from person to atmosphere to person. For Gallardo, the ability of cholera to travel large distances and move from varying temperatures demonstrated that sick people moving to new areas that had no defenses to the disease created the fertile ground for an epidemic. The doctors behind the RMQ further held that cholera was released through "choleric droppings" that could attach themselves to inanimate objects and infect a new host.[68] Upon news of cholera entering Brazil, the Medical Association held that due to the close association with Brazil through trade and war, quarantines and isolation of the sick were the best method to avoid disease to enter Buenos Aires and then infect the nation. The rapid growth of the city, the oversight in ensuring hygienic construction, cramped housing and the insalubrious *saladero* industry of the southern region of the city made the entire region susceptible to cholera. [69]While isolation and quarantine, seemed impractical

[67] *ibid*
[68] *Revista Medica Quirúrgica* Vol. 1866 pp. 180-183. Hereinafter RMQ
[69] *Ibid.,* "El Cólera Morbus en el Brasil" 293

due to Argentina's trade based economy, sanitation through bleaching of public and private spaces provided the optimal solution. The construction of hospitals and the volunteering of doctors, the exact causes of cholera and the various forms of curing cholera, had created divisions within the Argentine medical community. The experiences in the urban setting of Buenos Aires, the war in Paraguay and the rural settings, of provinces such as Córdoba and Tucumán all changed the way in which doctors viewed the contagion of disease. Paraguay and Tucumán, nevertheless, did share some similarities in that the creation of the Medical Corps and the abundance of disease in the war created a strain on the available medical personnel and rivalries among the various doctors. In an editorial published in the 1865 collection of the RMQ, the writers complained that the Medical Corps Mitre established for the army was composed of "doctors with no titles" and of "low quality", the state of the profession in Paraguay would be damaging for all Argentine doctors during a period that was witnessing the growth and extension of the medical field.[70]

Like the *curandero*s of the *Tucumano* countryside, the professional medical community in each area worried that "charlatans and backwards" doctors would cause more harm than good. The creation of the military medical corps created distrust and problems on the home front. The *Revista Farmacuetica* reported in 1865 that is had looked over the list of medications being sent to Paraguay and had concluded that the government was compensating for the low caliber of the soldiers by exceeding the allotted amount of medication. The journal further added that, "serving the military is

[70] RMQ 1865 "Lamentos de un medico de campaña" Vol 1865 p. 282

barbarous work that is undignified work for a doctor of pharmacy who has received his degree."[71] For doctors not involved in the war effort, medical practitioners who had received rank and payments from the national government were considered of a lower moral caliber. Mitre, however, gave full confidence to the medical military corps. In a letter to Vice-President Marcos Paz, Mitre wrote in relation to the cholera epidemic that it was best to order the fumigation of all correspondence if he felt it was appropriate, "cholera is almost completely gone, which complements our great triumphs. With the help of God we hope the epidemic will soon be eradicated. . However, the entire medical corps deserves equal praise. They have worked with the sick and the healthy." [72]Mitre further added that the cases of cholera were diminishing and would soon be eradicated from the corps of soldiers. Mire argued that cholera was a disease that could be controlled through proper medical practices. In short, prophylactic measures were burdensome. In response to Marcos Paz's request for the fumigation of mail entering Buenos Aires, Mitre maintained that it was of personal perfernce."As for the fear of contagion, if you believe in it, you should realize that I am but ten steps from a cholera hospital over here [in Paraguay] and have not contracted any disease."[73]

The numbers collected of the sick and wounded sent to the hospitals of Buenos Aires demonstrate the propensity of the disease among soldiers. By the end of 1866 and into the opening months of 1867, cholera had entered Argentina's littoral region and the

[71] Sociedad Nacional de Faramcia *Revista Farmaceutica* Vol 1865: Buenos Aires. p. 251 Hereinafter Revista Farma

[72]Bartolomé Mitre and Jorge Adolfo Mitre. *Archivo del general Mitre*. Buenos Aires: Biblioteca de "La Nación", 1911. Vol 6 Guerra del Paraguay (conclusión). Continuacón del la correspondencia del vicepresidente de la república Dr. D. Marcos Paz Años 1866, 1867 y 1868 p. 297

[73] *Ibid.,* p.325

troops in Paraguay. Throughout 1867 and 1868, forces in Paraguay experienced sporadic breakouts, and by 1868 cholera arrived in the farthest corners of Argentina. In order to show the devastating effect of the disease on soldiers and further demonstrate how disease became ever present in the lived experience of soldiers returning to the provinces, the breakdown of soldiers and generals that contracted the disease shows it was much more common among soldiers. During the war, four hospitals were used to house the sick: the General Men's Hospital, Argentine Army Hospital, Hospital of First Company and Hospital of Second Company. The RMQ published data on the entrance of and release of generals, soldiers and seamen from October 1865 to September 1867. The data reveals of the 1,064 admitted, only 56 died. However, the data is further divided between sick and wounded from battle. Of the total, 539 soldiers admitted were due to some form of disease or illness, with 106 sick high officials and 80 seamen. The amount of wounded was exponentially lower than the sick, with it being 20 percent of the sick.[74]In the hospitals of the First and Second company the number of wounded and sick were much higher. From August to December of 1866, a total of 926 soldiers arrived, of these only 54 died within the indicated months, the majority, 622 were released. We do not know what exactly constituted a decision to send a soldier from Paraguay to Buenos Aires, perhaps more treatable wounds and diseases, or the soldier's possibility of surviving, or more than likely, the local hospitals inability to treat the soldier. The lower number of death would corroborate this trend. Moreover, the reports from Del Castillo and Damianovich relate that no data was compiled at the war front, and the majority of the

[74] Data compiled from RMQ 1865-1867

deceased were cremated. Thus, we do not know how many died and more importantly from what. Yet, the numbers from the city of Buenos and the exact cholera data for all hospitals minus the General Men's Hospital reveal the high number of cholera victims and the extent of deaths. In April of 1867 the epidemic was more pronounced in the city of Buenos Aires. The RMQ reported that in one month alone, 1,604 died, with various days collecting over a hundred dead. Data is available for three of the hospitals for the month of September 1867. A total of 580 cholerics were admitted, of this 44 percent succumbed to the disease. The data also notes that during this period the majority of the sick came from the 3rd, 9th and 4th battalion which was comprised of volunteers and soldiers drafted from Buenos Aires, Corrientes, La Rioja, Tucumán, Córdoba and Catamarca.[75] Whether directly or indirectly, soldiers from the northwest came into direct contact with the disease. While we do not know how they intimately related with cholera, the affliction was part of the larger detriments of war. For the government and the military, the maintenance of the health of soldiers was a primary concern. Large funds were diverted to health care and the management of the hospitals required large funds. By October 1866 the Argentine state had already spent 20 million, with some portions coming from smelted metals turned into currency. [76] The number of deaths and spread of disease converted cholera into a national controversy. Moreover, in tandem with the war and the strain on labor and families, the war and cholera created tension throughout the nation.

[75] Francisco Seeber. *Cartas sobre la guerra del Paraguay* 211-212 and José Ignacio Garmendida *Recuerdos de la Guerra del Paraguay* p. 168

[76] All data collected from RMQ1865-1868

By 1868, the war had dragged and support in Argentina had withered. Mitre's initial promises of "three months in Asunción!" had been broken. The press began to question the war's motivation and if there would ever be an end to it.[77] Observers of the period noted that the Argentine troops were ill-prepared, causing demoralization and desertion. Military blunders had resulted in massive causalities. Throughout the war, the provinces continued sending soldiers. In 1868, with the threat of cholera well established in Paraguay and Tucumán, and all but eradicated in Buenos Aires, the contingent from Santiago del Estero and Tucumán initiated an uprising in Córdoba. While the war was unpopular, the epidemics taking place at the time of the final uprising adds another layer to understanding the experience of a "cruel and unjust" war. The poems, songs, tales and prose complicate the general understanding of the war from a primarily elite perspective. In the year of the epidemic, Tucumán had a shortage of men to send to Rosario. Antonio Taboada, had requested soldiers for the federal intervention of Catamarca and reports had indicated that the few remaining battalions were unfit for combat. [78] Repeated reports of mistreated soldiers and the horrors of war created a sense of panic among the males eligible for drafting into combat. While it is difficult to make a direct connection between the uprising and cholera, the various reports from newspapers and governmental correspondence that the effects and knowledge of cholera, and the horrid conditions in Paraguay were far reaching and common. The state's limited reach and lack of infrastructure to combat disease exacerbated an already tense situation. Nevertheless, an

[77] David Rock "Argentina Under Mitre" p. 46
[78] AHT-SA Book 105 1868 Letters

analysis of the epidemic from a national perspective shows that the disease also served as the "glue" to bring various actors and regions together.

Cholera the Consolidator

In the closing years of Mitre's presidency only his closest confidants maintained any semblance of support. In April of 1868, Sarmiento beat out Mitre's successor Rufino Del Elizalde and won the presidency. During the interim period, the provinces and medical profession in Buenos Aires and the provinces still largely operated independently from each other, began to take steps towards establishing the role of the state in matters of health. Since the state could not provide for the provinces in a moment of need due to the war, the provinces themselves established networks among each other to assist in these matters. At other times, when the state could provide, it fell to *provincianos* to be representatives of the state. This section will look at the federal intervention of Catamarca in 1867 through 1868 by forces from Santiago and Tucumán. It will show how assistance during the epidemic assuaged tensions between the three provinces that had escalated due to the internal policy of Mitre. It will further examine the work of doctors of the period at creating medical networks throughout the nation and advancing the need for health to be a centralized institution. The section will conclude with the events surrounding the outbreaks in Córdoba and how the epidemic revealed the state's need to maintain its presence in areas it deemed important.

As the war came to a close, the British traveler Charles Derbyshire wrote that cholera arrived to Argentina through the return of soldiers from the Paraguayan front lines, and the disease spread into the provinces of the interior. Possessing military

experience, soldiers returned to their provincial militias and the National Guard. [79] From the closing quarter of 1867 till the middle of 1868, cases were reported throughout central and northwestern Argentina. As the disease cemented itself in the urban areas many fled into the countryside and exposed new regions to cholera. For some areas this worsened problems. In Córdoba, the majority of the afflicted were in the countryside after people from the capital fled to the rural zones. The province's limited reach in unpopulated region's worsened conditions. In a letter to the Ministry of Interior in December of 1867, the Cordoban government requested funds from the national government. The funds allotted for 1868 had been depleted with the purchase of medicine and supplies for the province. The movement of the disease away from the provincial capital stretched the resources of the province to the limit.[80] The need to maintain order in a province in the midst of railroad construction spurred the national government to provide funding for Córdoba.

In the 1860s, Argentina lacked national oversight over public health. A rudimentary system existed in the decentralized *Consejo de Higiene Publica* that was created by the 1853 national constitution, and formed in each province. Under this structure, Buenos Aires and the provinces had little to no interaction or cooperation among each other. While some provinces did create Public Hygiene Commissions, others, such as Tucumán did not. Those that did varied in their structure and presence within their province. For example, Rosario's *Consejo de Higiene* was composed of 10

[79] Charles Darbyshire, *My Life in the Argentine Republic 1852-1894.* (Frederick Warne & Co., London, 1917) Pages 70-74

[80] Archivo General de la Nación- Ministero del Interior 1867 Box 3. Hereinafter referred to as AGN-MI

publicly elected health and municipal officials and interacted with a *Tribunal de Medicina* compromised solely of doctors. [81] In Córdoba, the provincial protomedicato[82], Dr. Luis Warcalde oversaw all doctors practicing in the provincial capital. Lacking any kind of commission, Warcalde worked closely with the provincial government and the municipality. The large presence of the Catholic Church and religious orders resulted in dividing medical work between priests and the local administration. Poorer provinces, such as Catamarca, did not take the necessary steps to form their *Consejo de Higiene* and established public health initiatives when the threat of disease required. The low national oversight, financial difficulties of the nation during this period resulted in the provinces operating relatively autonomously.

1868 is a key year in the political development of Argentina. The end of Mitre's presidency and erosion of the Liberal Party created a period of compromise between old foes, and the erasure of the political rivalries that had plagued the nation since 1852.[83] The epidemic of 1868, in the closing months of Mitre's policies in the provinces shows how patterns of cooperation between rivals and perceived foes were slowly disappearing. While the state under Sarmiento would look to the telegraph, the railroad and schools as "part of a political system… [and] as agents of pacification and order," [84] the provinces themselves enacted measures to create cooperation between supposed foes. During the

[81] Adrián Carbonetti Historias *de enfermedad en Córdoba desde la colonia hasta el siglo XX*. (Córdoba: CONICET, 2007.)

[82] The protomedicato was a position and institution that survived from the colonial period. The protomedicato ensured that all colonial medical officials were authorized by the Spanish crown to practice. See John Tate Lanning, and John Jay TePaske. *The Royal Protomedicato: The Regulation of the Medical Professions in the Spanish Empire*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985)

[83] Maria José Navajas *Actores, representaciones, discursos y práticas la política en Tucumán, Argentina, 1852-1887*. México, D.F.: M. J. Navajas, 2008. p. 110

[84] Taken from Navajas *Actores, representaciones, discursos y práticas la política en Tucumán*, p. 111 from Sarmiento's Presidential message may 1, 1869 cited in Mabragaña, Los Mensajes, p. 291

epidemic, doctors, supplies, information and funds moved freely between provinces. By 1868, Sarmiento had established clear allegiances in Salta and Tucumán, and minimized the influence of the Taboadas outside of Santiago del Estero. The defeat of Rufino Del Elizalde and the Taboada's political coalition "Union del Norte", created the necessary push for Sarmiento to initiate a political praxis that limited provincial governors roles to their home provinces. In a letter from Sarmiento to Tabaoada, where the president declined the caudillo's offer of assembling an army and traveling to Salta to put down an invasion, Sarmiento responded, "I ask that the provincial governors limit their sphere of action to their own jurisdiction…there is constantly talk of unions among provinces or to influence other provinces…The constitution forbids this."[85]With the establishment of the national army during the Paraguayan War, the army and not provincial militias led the federal interventions into the provinces. Under Sarmiento the state and the provinces began to have a more symbiotic relationship that remained stable during the presidencies of Nicólas Avellaneda and Julio Roca (1874-1886).

The closing months of Mitre's administration and the epidemic, however, show how state-formation developed by the provinces and the importance of health as part of the state's duties. At the close of 1867, the national government intervened in the province of Catamarca. Years of internal turmoil, invasion by *montoneras*, forced removals of governors and the suppression of the legislative body had transformed the province into a veritable war zone. For the forces from the northwest, Catamarca and La

[85] Taken from Navajas *Actores, representaciones, discursos y práticas la política en Tucumán*, p. 116-117 Sarmiento a Manuel Taboada, Buenos Aires, 15 de diciembre de 1868, "Taboada", Los Taboada, Tomo IV, p. 441. For a discussion of the internal politics of Santaigo del Estero and hwo the Taboadas began to lose traction in their own province see Luis H. Sommaravia *Historia de las intervenciones federales en las provincias*. Tomo I (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1929.) pp. 443-449

Rioja required an ever present watch to ensure stability and peace. Within the province the Liberal party was in shambles and the civil registries had not been collected, with an impending election Taboada wrote to Mitre:

> …The division and hate within the [Liberal] party is so deep that the province is in a state of anarchy. It will overcome it if I leave…While the legislature and government have been replaced, they only represent a minority of the province…their governance is establishing a path will disable the province to such an extent that it will not be able to participate in the presidential elections…Oh my friend, I state with all sincerity, it is necessary to study Catamarcan politics to see what can be done…to complete a federal intervention.[86]

Santiago del Estero and Tucumán both pushed the national government to intervene federally. Within the context of an upcoming election, the need to pacify the province became more exigent. "local opposition says not to vote," stated Tabaoda to Guillermo Rawson, "in those placed by the national government. I have serious doubts the province will settle down and acknowledge the constitutionally ratified powers."[87] The inability to establish a concrete position in Catamarca created a rebellious countryside. Taboada further added that, "we cannot ratify elections of the governor and representatives. This has led other departments the delegates and continued presence of the national government."[88] The newspaper *La Voz dEl Pueblo* demonstrated the division within the province of Catamarca. Echoing epitaphs from the Rosas period, those that did not side with the government or were critical of it, such people were labeled *Masorqueros*. *La Voz* further stated that the province was rife with nepotism; the term liberal was applied

[86] Gaspar Taboada, *Los Taboada* Vol IV letter from Antonio Taboada to Bartolomé Mitre February 11, 1868 Cited in Enrique Mercedes Córdoba, "El Año 1868 en La Historia de Catamarca" in Congreso de historia de Catamarca. *Primer congreso de historia de Catamarca con motivo del IV Centenario de la fundación de la ciudad de Londres de Catamarca, 1558-1958*. (Catamarca: Junta de estudios históricos de Catamarca, 1960.)

[87] AGN-MI 1868 Box 3 exp 320

[88] *ibid.,*

loosely to anyone that remotely sides with the national government and Recalde. [89] Similar to Tucumán, liberals in Catamarca were divided among personalist affiliations. With the support of Mitre quickly falling in the interior, Taboada, as par t of his own bid to stay in power, rallied *Mitristas* in the northwest and pressed the new Catamarcan government to squash a potential rebellion in the province. The opposition argued that a government under Recalde would create an authoritarian state in the province. The opposition was not opposed to the intervention of Taboada, it held that the government's backing of Recalde would create problems for the entire region. Following the intervention of Taboada into the province and the end of the epidemic, Recalde resigned providing stability within Catamarca. During this period of turmoil, the province of Catamarca was deeply divided. In order to promote cooperation and cohesion within the province, Taboada and Octavio Luna, who was closely watching the events in the province to the south, needed to find new ways to establish the place of Mitre in the northwest. [90]The epidemic provided suitable ground to repair the fissures evident in a tumultuous province reeling from the effects of a disease that had ravaged people throughout the nation.

[89] *ibid.*,

[90] The relationship between Catamarca, Santiago del Estero and Tucumán dates back to the period of the Arentine Civil War. In 1861, the most recent contest between the three had been when, Catamarcan, Saltan and Jujuyan forces under the leadership of Col. Octaviano Navaro invaded Tucumán and Santiago del Estero. In opposition to the local government's ties with Buenos Aires and the slow elimination of the Argentine confederation, Navarro sought to install governments loyal to Sanitago Derqui. In each province, local forces were able to push back Navarro's forces and re-install locally elected governors and representatives. With the help of the Taboadas, Santigueño forces removed Juan Manuel Terán's forces from Tucumán. The close ties between Tucumán and Santiago del Estero were paralled to the ease in which non-liberals received protection in Catamarca. See Carlos Heras "La Mediación de Marcos Paz en el Conflicto entre Catamarca y Santiago del Estero en 1862" in *Primer Congreso de Historia de Catamarca*. p.337and María José Navajas *Actores, representaciones, discursos y práticas la política en Tucumán*

In a letter to the Ministry of Interior, Taboada noted that the epidemic had further complicated matters in the province. In response to the epidemic, the Catamarcan interim executive branch had created the *Consejo de Higiene*[91] to battle the epidemic. Limited funds, however, had curtailed its ability. While Catamarca had been able to provide some funds for the federal intervention, Ramón Recalde relayed to Taboada that the province was unable to provide any assistance in the anti-cholera campaign of the Hygiene Commission and its reach was confined to the capital. [92] In response to this, Taboada requested 1000 pesos in advance from the national subsidy that was allocated to Catamarca. The government's initial loan of 2,000 to Corrientes to assist the province in the damages from the epidemic signified to the provincial leaders that the government was in a position to offer aid. [93]This aid, however, never came. *La Voz dEl Pueblo*, an anti-Recalde and newspaper, wrote on March 15, 1868 that Catamarca was still waiting for funds from Buenos Aires and questioned the national government's sincerity in assisting the provinces.[94] Utilizing the epidemic as an opportunity to further damage Recalde's governorship, the newspaper wrote, "He has not called in doctors, not even a pharmacist. The police do not clean the streets. He will not even allow the publication of ways to deal with disease in newspapers."

Santiago del Estero and Tucumán, collected funds and supplies were sent to the capital city and the soldiers stationed near the border with Santiago del Estero. [95] The newspapers also reported that due to the lack of national assistance and dearth of funds,

[91] Created on January 1, 1868
[92] AGN-MI 1868 Box 1 January 30, 1868
[93] *ibid.,*
[94] AGN-MI 1868 Box 3, exp 320
[95] *ibid.,*

Antonio Taboada himself donated money to help with the sick throughout the province. Surpassing the work of Recalde, Taboada had used his personal connections in moving supplies throughout the region as quickly as possible. Moreover, when the province of Catamarca was going to request more materials from Tucumán, Taboada stepped in and offered his supply lines. For Taboada and liberals of the northwest, the epidemic offered a space to remove Recalde's influence in the province and ensure Catamarcan support.[96]Like Tucumán, the exact number of people who died from the disease is unknown. Carlos Heras notes in his work that 228 people died out of the 5,000 inhabitants in the provincial capital. The majority of the population absconded into the interior. Next to the city of Catamarca, Heras supplies 132 dead in Valle Viejo, which is located less than ten miles from the capital. For the hinterlands, where the epidemic made great strides no information is available.[97] In a period of upheaval and revolution, disease and controlling its dissemination offered agents a new form of governance, following a period that witnessed open warfare and treaties between the provinces. Cooperation and consolidation through cholera did not only take place between the provinces of the northwest. Córdoba and its neighbor Santa Fe who were connected through trade and through the newly constructed railroad between Rosario and Villa María, worked together to combat cholera in the central region of Argentina.

During the 1860s, the provincial governments lacked the resources to fully spearhead any concerted efforts against cholera. While disease had always existed in the

[96] Taboada then placed Pedro Cano, who served in office for over a month. After this Crisanto Gómez served till 1871. With the election of Gómez the turbulent period in Catamarca known as "The Night of Seven Years" ended.

[97] Carlos Heras La Mediación de Marcos Paz en el Conflicto entre Catamarca y Santiago del Estero en 1862 p. 337

regions, the provinces had never succumbed to a conflagration that enveloped areas quickly. The limited organization and power of the health commissions in Córdoba had left it to the Church to provide medical, religious and goodwill services to the city. Córdoba, the center of the Catholic Church in the interior provinces, housed various religious orders, including the bishop for the region. Divisions over the etiology of the disease existed between the church and the political administration. Cordoban doctors, like their counterparts in Tucumán, Rosario and Buenos Aires argued the cholera developed through "bad airs" and, general and personal un-cleanliness. For them, public gatherings created foci for the disease to blossom. In *El Eco de Córdoba* doctors published news on the disease, stating that cadavers and cemeteries created subterranean gases that released choleric miasmas.[98]

The Córdoban health commission had attempted to outlaw public processions, but the Catholic Church held public masses and processions of penitence in order to chase away the bad airs that had brought cholera to the province. In addition to mixing health with religion, the processions were also done to amend the sins of the province. For church leaders, the disease represented a form of divine punishment. In an open letter to the people of Córdoba, the editors of *El Eco* wrote, "we ask you to reflect on it [the epidemic] a bit. You will see we must expunge the sins of the people. Let the politicians say what they want."[99] Among the population, the need for public penance was reciprocated with over 3,000 attending a public procession. For the religious leaders of

[98] These views while not directly connected to, are based on the work of Max Von Pettenkorf who completed work in France on the transmission of cholera through subterranean gases. Based on fieldwork in Lyon and Paris, Von Pettenkorf noted that Lyons' hard limestone ground underneath protected the city from disease. Paris's lack of hard limestone made it susceptible to disease.

[99] "El Eco de Córdoba" at Biblioteca MayorUniversidad Nacional de Córdoba January 6, 1868.

Córdoba, the religious/spiritual health was equal to the physical health of the city. Writing in the newspaper, the church and religious lay people held that doctors only offered scenarios but no answers. They added that, "Instead, Catholicism has cures and medicine has that are effective and healthy for every affliction of the soul."[100] Religious leaders further wrote that curing the body worked in stages, first the soul then the physical, adding that:

> It could be that the medical assistance has nout found the proper way of caring for the sick. Conversely, religious leaders are abundant and have not left any individual unattended, fortifying the word of the religious ministry. What does it matter if you are well-connected with friends in important places, if He is the one who gives us eternal health? Those that are happy are the ones who with their last breath have invoked the help of God immortal.[101]

Doctors in the city attempted to follow basic protocol, streets were cleaned, fruit was prohibited, the congregation of people was forbidden and trash was collected. Like Tucumán, the peripheral regions of the province began to form hygienic commissions that, "had no professional experiences."[102] While in the capital thieves were saying they were inspectors to enter homes and rob the inhabitants. Tensions between the ecclesiastic orders and the government reached their high point when the Hygiene Commission ordered for the sanitary inspection of all monasteries, convents, churches and orphanages in the city. In response to the inability to fully control the municipality as a result of the church's intentions of combating the epidemic with processions and spiritual health, and the development of rural hygienic commissions, the province looked to the hinterlands to

[100] *Ibid.,* January 4, 1868
[101] *Ibid.,*
[102] *Ibid.,*

establish the place of the government in the province. As with other provinces, the provincial executive branch began to collect funds to send doctors to the rural regions and create a province-wide hygienic protocol. Unlike Tucumán, Córdoba did not use military leaders in lieu of medical officials for the hygienic commissions. While the provinces looked to improve the public health infrastructure within each province in different ways, the development of medical networks between provinces further advanced this development.

Of all the provinces, Córdoba was the most affected. 2,376 died in the capital, and with more reported but not accounted for in the areas immediately encircling the city of Córdoba. [103]The strain on finances and the flight of people had complicated conditions in the province. The national government's assistance at the end of 1867 due to the depletion of the 1868 budget had only gone so far. Doctors were unable to slow down the advance of the disease. While cases stabilized in the capital, the rural areas felt the worse of the epidemic. "We must commission one or two doctors," noted Dr. Warcalde the head of the municipal Hygiene Commission and the protomedicato for the province, "to travel to Rosario to study from their doctors in order to return to Córdoba and battle the epidemic."[104]In Rosario, Cordoban doctors worked with Dr. Thomas Hutchinson, the English consul to Rosario. Through the reading of medical journals and interaction between multiple doctors, medical scientist became exposed to a variety of medical theories. The provinces lacked a consolidated stance on contagion. Tucumán and Buenos

[103] *Ibid.*, January 19, 1868

[104] "El Eco de Córdoba" April 14, 1867, Quoted in Adrián Carbonetti Historias *de enfermedad en Córdoba* p.32

Aires focused their efforts on trash and insalubrious industries. Breaking away from the littoral, the northwestern province placed emphasis on miasmas traveling via people and correspondence. Córdoba correlated cholera with the miasmas from rotting cadavers and was also wary of fruit. Under Dr. Hutchinson, Rosario viewed cholera as a miasmatic disease that infested the nervous system through the brain and spine. The best form of anti-cholera therapy was not various medications, opiates or quinines, but a mustard paste applied to the back along the spine. [105] For Hutchinson, cholera was not transmitted from person to person, but was, "an atmospheric enemy, living in the most and damp walls, where the air is only comprised of monoxide. People that are not bundled breathe in stank air and develop cholera."[106] Like the colonial medical theories on hot and cold, Hutchinson held that any harsh changes in weather and a person's inability to properly prepare for them created the possibility for cholera to develop. Excessive heat, cold and rain debilitated the body. In conversation with French, German and English doctors that had completed fieldwork in Ireland, Africa and India, it was surmised that cholera spread through an internal deficiency. [107]The greatest dispute involved views on quarantines. Like his fellow Liberal British counterparts, Hutchinson argued that quarantines were "barbarous and outdated…They are uncomfortable and stop communication."[108] For the international medical community, in 1865, cholera's spread remained an enigma. In the

[105] Rev-Farma 1867 319-321

[106] *Ibid.,*

[107] Various doctors listed in Hutchinson's report had varying views on where cholera was concentrated in the body. Most times, first names were never listed. Doctors given with first names are the ones where I could locate a first name. 'A Compendious Medical Dictionary, containing an Explanation of the Terms in Anatomy, Physiology, Surgery by Roerbt Hooper and the work of Reginald Orton and Kennedy, it was located in the nervous system. Dr. Bell in the endocrine system. Dr. James Christie argued that cholera developed in the inflammation of the bodies' mucus regions.

[108] Rev Farma 1867 319-321

third International Sanitary Conference that took place in 1866 in Istanbul, Max Von Pettenkorf, one of the leading researchers in cholera continued the school of thought that contended choleric excrement once discarded, released a parasite into the air. [109]While Roberto Pancini had indentified a cholera virbrio, it was not until Robert Koch's work in 1883 that cholera contagion was directly linked to the contamination of water and death as a result of dehydration through diarrhea. For Argentine doctors working in the capital and the interior, the various medical theories created differences of opinion. Nevertheless, certain themes remained persistent in all doctors of the interior.

Argentine doctors promoted the erection and maintenance of quarantines in a period in which the global medical community was more and more pushing away from the practice. Tucumán created a province wide quarantine, and Cordoba in an article on the cases of cholera in Catamarca, applauded them for creating a quarantine 40 leagues from the city. Córdoba did not create quarantines, but it advocated the limited interaction of people. Its status as the terminus of the Ferrocarril Central Argentino (FCCA) complicated the ability to fully create quarantine for the city. The differences between the doctors from Tucumán, Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Catamarca and Dr. Hutchinson in Rosario demonstrate the subtle development of a national medical school of thought. In each area minimum exposure to diseased peoples was advanced, and fruit or consumables were seen as likely contagions. Sanitation of people, homes and public places were seen as areas to minimize the possibility of the disease spreading. In each province, moreover,

[109] International Sanitary Conference. Report to the International Sanitary Conference of a commission from that body, to which were referred the questions relative to the origin, endemicity, transmissibility and propagation of Asiatic cholera. Boston [Mass. : s.n.], 1867.

health officials pushed for the ability of health to fall under the jurisdiction of the province or state. These sentiments were reciprocated in Buenos Aires.

The exchange of personnel and supplies amongst the provinces illuminates a cohesive regional network between provinces that were ideologically at odds. Moreover, it reveals a practice of non-coercive state-formation in areas the state had limited bureaucratic reach. The onset of the epidemic required the politics of national organization to adapt in order to meet the health needs of the provinces. The provinces of north and central Argentina took it upon themselves to serve as representatives of the state in matters of health. Cholera affected each of the provinces in a variety of ways. For Córdoba it created tension between the municipality and the Catholic Church. In Catamarca, the epidemic took place in a turbulent political period, where the province lacked the funds in order to fully establish a method in which to combat the epidemic. For others, such as Santiago del Estero and Tucumán it created a space to expand the support and presence of *Mitrismo* in provinces that could have easily been swayed away from supporting Mitre. In a larger context, the provinces erupted at a time when the nation was slowly pulling away from involvement from the Paraguayan War. While Córdoba continued sending soldiers, others such as the northwestern provinces had ceased their involvement in lieu of participating in the federal interventions of the region. During the 1860s the divisions within the nation continued. Montoneras continued to plague the provinces of the west and the north. Other provinces refused to participate in the war and were consistently falling short of their soldier quotas. In Tucumán, young soldiers and their families looked for ways in which to avoid military service. Those that

fought in the war were faced with the brutality of conflict and horrid living conditions where disease festered. From the war, cholera entered the provinces. Yet, the need to control the disease created an impetus within and between the provinces to create connections and networks. In this, the disease also served as way for the nation to consolidate and the state as a protector of life to take shape.

Hygiene for the State, Sanitation for the Rest

As the provinces began to develop their own forms of combating disease, medical journals began to publish pieces on the need for hygienic and sanitary measures to be under the control of the nation. The networks the provinces had developed during the epidemic demonstrated that a loose structure already existed; it would be the responsibility of the state to cement these ties. Science and technology, through their process of standardization advanced the formation of the state. Health became part of the state's responsibilities. As Patrick Caroll argues, "the state develops as an *administration of life*, with government constantly seeking to arrest disease and extend longevity…a positive power, productive to health, safety, and population security…that scope out people and integrates them into engineered spaces."[110] In 1865, the *Revista Farmaceutica* and the *Revista Medica Quirurgíca* wrote pieces on the responsibility of the state, in matters of hygiene and sanitation. For each corps of medical journal, in matters of public health, the needs and demands of the state overshadowed local responses. Beginning with the city of Buenos Aires, each journal argued that municipal health commissions could operate as long as they did not overlap with the goals of the state. "Municipalities,' wrote

[110] Patrick Carroll *Science, Culture, and Modern State Formation*. (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2006.). p . l 9

the journal, 'neither as an institution, nor in their organization can be considered competent to initiate and rule over such high responsibilities, such as public hygiene. This incompetence is further magnified when we see that hygiene commissions and municipalities are usually composed of only three members! These are politicians not hygienists."[111] The state, due its robust nature and as mediator between various public health actors was the ideal entity to oversee the health of the nation, since epidemic were not confined to specific areas.

As the Argentine medical community began to develop and expand, doctors began to regularly communicate with doctors across the Atlantic and participate in regional and international medical conferences. Based on the themes discussed in the medical conferences held in Europe, which Argentine doctors attended, hygienic laws were to come at the national level. The authors of the article in the journal further added that any city or state that opposed the wishes of the state should be withheld any assistance. [112] For doctors, the state would ensure that a uniform practice of arresting disease was implemented in all regions of the nation. Doctors worried that fraud and illegal medical practices would flourish, especially in periods of medical crisis. For the *Revista Farmaceutica*, the numerous medical practices and educations created chaos in moments when consolidation was needed. Indeed, no two doctors or cites were alike.

During the war, doctors from the University of Buenos Aires and independent ones affiliated with the RMQ in Argentina offered assistance to the nation and to the military forces through the establishment of various hospitals in Buenos Aires. The

[111] RMQ Vol. 1865 p. 4-5
[112] *Ibid.,*

primary hospital was located in Retiro, near the port where supplies were sent to Paraguay. In 1865 the government bequeathed the administration of the hospital to the *Comision Sanitaria al Pueblo*. The organization was created in 1865 in response to the war. Influenced by similar structure established in the United States during the Civil War, the CSP guarded about the, "sanitation of the national army." The CSP held that it was the responsibility and right of the citizens to take care of their soldiers. The responsibilities of the CSP and the national government were divided. The CSP collected donations, furnished personnel, supplies and funds for the hospital in Buenos Aires and Corrientes. The government supplied the buildings to house the hospitals and the transportation of military personnel, the sick, wounded and supplies along the Paraná River. The hospital also served as training facilities for recent medical graduates and young medical students in their first years of training. [113]

In 1866 the government removed the CSP from running the hospital after the organization had become bankrupt and had refused to permit government inspections of the hospitals and the accounting books of the CSP. The usurpation of the CSP's management of the hospital reveals the state's advancement of public health under the purview of the state. The government held that the soldiers, even if in the hospital, must be under the jurisdiction of the military and the medical corps. The government further added by refusing national oversight, the CSP had abandoned the sick and reneged its duties. In the *Revista Farmaceutica*, the CPS countered that, "Government officials viewed the CSP as a usurping entity that sought to encroach on the responsibilities of the

[113] Rev-Farma Vol 5 1867 pp 224-229

state." They further noted that "the government is uneasy, perhaps over the fact that power of this asylum [Retiro Hospital] is under the control of the people. It has instead, determined to tie it to the heavy burden of official administration, with the medical inspection." For the CSP, the government's infringement created a restraint on the medical sector establishing proper methods in assisting in times of epidemiological catastrophe. Yet, within the medical field a significant portion promoted the need of having the state control these sectors. The need to standardize medication, procedures, education and protocol overshadowed the needs of small hygiene commissions and municipalities, which were often administered by a few individuals. The process of interaction and sharing of information that the provinces accomplished during the 1868 epidemic offers a new perspective in understanding the role and function of the Argentine state during a transformative period. Meanwhile, the state's choice to control the Retiro Hospital reveals that these sentiments also existed within the executive branch. The medical journals of the period pressed for municipalities to curb their extension of powers. The previous chapter showed that the municipality of San Miguel was given a certain amount of leniency, but that was a result of the limited reach of the state in the distant northwest province. Yet, the province's executive branch was the final arbiter during the epidemic.

Conclusion

This chapter has coved the 1868 epidemic from a variety of perspectives. It has shown that while the literature has *presented* the Paraguayan War as a moment of national consolidation, these assertions have resulted from examining the war following

its conclusion and, more importantly, from a broad national perspective. Through an analysis of letters, newspapers and songs, this chapter has shown that within Tucumán and the region of the northwest, the war created division and tension within society. The fear of war, the moral and economic strain was coupled with the brutal reality of the possibility of death. Looking into the lived experiences of soldiers fighting on the Paraguayan front, death from rampant disease outnumbered those in combat. Events such as uprisings, desertion and low soldier turnout plagued the period from 1865-1868. The nation was also divided over national politics. As quickly as Bartolomé Mitre came to power, his support in Buenos Aires and the interior began to fade. While the nation was considered consolidated, fissures were prominent. Routinely, provinces mobilized forces to fight and conquer neighboring provinces. The absence of a exapnsive military in the interior resulted in Mitre relying on personal armies there, such as the Taboadas of Santiago del Estero.

With the arrival and dissemination of the cholera epidemic of 1868, the disease offered doctors and politicians in the interior, the capital and Paraguay an opportunity to consolidate. The lack of the state's ability to provide assistance to the provinces resulted in the provinces developing networks and ties amongst each other. At time political rivalries were downplayed and at other times, such as the activities of Antonio Taboada in Catamarca, worked to maintain political allegiances. In Paraguay, where the disease had more a demographic impact, the recently established medical corps demonstrated its ability to function and gave the impetus for Mitre to usurp the control of the hospitals from private philanthropic organizations and pass them to the control of the state. While

the literature, primarily in works such as those of Oscar Oszlak, have conveyed a coercive state, a review of the medical journals from the period show that Argentine doctors also pressed the government to standardize the medical field during the 1860s. These developments paralleled the extension of the railroad, telegraph, road and communication systems in the nation. I have argued that the networks created in the interior offered the state a suitable foundation for a national public health system. In a period of limited state powers, the provinces stepped in for and represented the state. In terms of medical practice, the various salubrious practices and views on cholera's etiology, contagion and prophylactic measures, a regional view reveals that at their core Argentine medical officials moved towards a unified stance on cholera as a contagious disease whose dissemination was tied to public sanitation and personal hygiene. While European medical scientists lambasted the use of quarantines, Argentines openly used them and promoted them. Local contexts and experiences with disease had pushed local doctors to create physical buffers between each other, but strengthen medical connections. This aspect complicates assertions of Latin American doctors simply consuming European and North American medical knowledge. Instead, medical theories were acknowledged and then adopted selectively. As political and personal rivalries, warfare, limited government reach and internal struggles further divided the nation, cholera served as a consolidator for the nation and state, and pressed the all parties to cooperate in the face of national crisis.

Chapter 5: The Politics of Sanitary Cordons

On July 19, 1886 the tucumano newspaper, *El Orden* reported news of cholera in Italy. The report simply went over the number of cases, deaths and survivors in the city of Brindisi. [1]The recent presidential elections, the hopes of extending the National Bank to the province and the possibility of potable water to the province dominated the news. Overall, the news of an epidemic in Europe was of little or no concern. As news of the cases became more prominent towards the closing quarter of the year, the press began to take write on the possibility of cholera arriving to the Americas. Nevertheless, initial news of the epidemic was treated with skepticism. The Buenos Aires daily, *Sud-America,* noted that the hygiene in the opening days of the November was fine, and other newspapers had merely sought to cause panic in reports of cholera within Argentina. [2] These opposing views of cholera entering Argentina permitted the disease to slip in unnoticed and firmly entrench itself in the Atlantic coastal region more quickly than local doctors and hygienist could have imagined.

In response to the lax response from medical officials, reporters and politicians proposed that proper hygienic procedures at the national, municipal and personal level would facilitate cholera's short stay. In the face of epidemiological catastrophe, modernity and good government would add another step in the nation's rise to civilization. Positive results in Europe and North America had verified this possibility.

[1] *El Orden* Telegramas July 19, 1886
[2] *Sud-America* Salud Publica October 31, 1886

By the mid 1880s, advances in medical research and epidemiology had still not resulted in the centralization of a national health care institution that was pervasive throughout the entire consolidated nation. On the eve of the epidemic, Argentina possessed the *Deparatamento Nacional de Higiene* (NDH) and *Prefectura Martima.* The former had emanated from the *Consejo de Higiene Pública* and was tasked with the goal of offering relief to regions afflicted with disease or epidemics. The latter, which fell under the auspice of Ministry of War and Navy, monitored the health of passengers that arrived in the various ports along the River Plate. It was not until January 1, 1887 while Argentina was in the grips of the epidemic that both groups would be incorporated under the Ministry of Interior. While the central state had organized and oversaw national projects in the areas of transportation and communication, the speed and streamlining needed to handle a quickly spreading epidemic were too much for the state and the layers of bureaucratic red tape present at the time. In a time of crisis, it fell to doctors, hygienists and to the provinces to establish forms for the central state to co-opt and utilize as a basis to create a proper governing strategy during times of epidemics. These matters, however, did not play out smoothly. Political turmoil, constitutional limitations and bureaucratic overreach on behalf of the state in the interior provinces, caused tensions and turf wars between politicians and *medicos* that represented either the state or their respective province.

The lack of a singular arbiter in matters of public health allowed the provinces to establish their own responses to the impending epidemic. The western and northwestern provinces immediately responded to threats of disease with establishing quarantines,

sanitary cordons and ceasing all communication with the littoral. Provinces, such as Tucumán and Córdoba essentially closed themselves off from the nation. For the national executive branch, cordons posed a problem. President Miguel Juárez Celman, who at the first sign of an epidemic had only been in office for a few weeks, had run on a platform of economic liberalism that sought to create a solid link between *porteño* merchants and provincial business interests. Resoundingly beating the localist opposition under Dardo Rocha and the outlier Bernardo de Irigoyen, Juárez Celman began slowly grooming and forming national politics alliances under his sole command, in what has been labeled as the *Unicato.* As one observer of the period noted on the goals of the centralized control, "The whole country lay at their mercy; all power, the army, the police, was in their hands."[3] Under this form of governance the expression of political action, in the form of prophylactic response, was understood as a form of undermining national authority and overextending the rights of provincial autonomy. Published in *Sud-America*, Júarez Celman wrote a letter to the provinces and one specifically to the governor of his home province of Córdoba, chastising their plans of closing off the provinces and considering them "extreme measures" and "inhumane." In line with the constitution and its defense of provincial autonomy, Juárez Celman sustained that the provinces had the right to govern independently and outside of national oversight within their jurisdiction. The borders and all things that moved across each border, which were not the property of any singular province, were under the authority of the national

[3] Taken from David Rock *State Building and Political Movements in Argentina, 1860-1916.* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2002.) p. 126

government.[4] Under this organization, there was a strict divide between what was under the purview of the provinces and the state. The epidemic of 1886-1887 demonstrated that these agreements were questioned, disregarded and reworked by both parties based on pre-established practices pre-dating the maturation of the state of the 1880s.

While the nation and provinces took various measures to avoid cholera, it eventually arrived. Unlike the 1868 epidemic it made great strides throughout all corners of the nation. This chapter looks at the events during the epidemic from the perspective of Tucumán and the provinces. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first looks at the politics of quarantines within the larger context of national governance and provincial autonomy, and the embattled relationship between the northwest and the presidency. The twenty-ninth article of the Argentine constitution holds that it is illegal for any branch of government below the executive branch to impede the free movement of goods, peoples and mail across the nation. As the provinces of the far northwest sought to establish cordons, the national government asserted that this act was unconstitutional, thus illegal and impermissible. The provinces countered that the constitution was overly vague in these areas and most importantly that, "it does not fall directly to the nation to preserve health."[5]Within the medical field, positions over pro- or anti-cordons were intimately tied to political affiliations. Governors and doctors espousing the importance and positive effects of sanitary cordons and quarantines as suitable prophylactic responses, sided with the faction that argued that the twenty-ninth article of the national constitution preserved

[4] *Sud-America* Salud Publica November 14, 1886
[5] *Sud-America* Mendoza November 29, 1886

provincial autonomy. Yet, this chapter departs from an Ackernachtian[6] understanding of the relationship between medical and political praxis. As seen in the case of this epidemic, both aspects mutually influenced the other and naturally worked towards finding a solution and balance between national and local needs.

The connection between politics and medicine was especially interwoven in the nineteenth century. While medically trained, hygienists, more often than not, prescribed moral reforms as the way in which to improve public health. Localized or widespread legislative change fostered needs to improve sewer conditions, urban housing, food and other consumables. Things such as the Office of Chemical Analysis in Tucumán tested medications, foods and drinks entering the province to ensure their quality, but instead acted as a buffer to impede the introduction of wines and spirits that competed against the local *aquardiente* industry. Many of the leading hygienists and doctors held high positions. Dr. Eliseo Cantón, who spearheaded the public health initiative during the 1886 epidemic, also served as a member of the national assembly representing his home province of Tucumán and his new home of the city of Buenos Aires. [7] *Higienistas* connected disease to a variety of non-medical factors, such as class, gender and morality. Guillermo Rawson, the founder of the University of Buenos Aires' School of Medicine Public Hygiene curriculum was the Minister of Interior under the Mitre's presidency. His mentee, Eduardo Wilde, who published widely within the Argentine medical community also ascended to the Ministry of Interior, under Juárez Celman. Beyond high political

[6] Erwin Heinz Ackerknecht, 1948. "Anticontagionism between 1821 and 1867". *Bulletin of the History of Medicine.* 22.

[7] Donna J. Guy *Sex & Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.) p. 77

positions, doctors played key roles in the political leagues, or affiliations that dominated Argentine politics. The lack of political parties in the strictest sense resulted in party governance coming through close personal and business ties. Benjamin Araóz, *tucumano* by birth and lead doctor in his home province during the 1886 epidemic, was a *juarista.* Pedro Antonio Pardo head of the National Department of Hygiene and Júarez Celman's personal physician was also a member of the president's group of supporters.[8] The choice to enforce or not enforce the quarantines deeply divided the medical and political community along political and medical curriculum lines.

The 1880s had begun with the central government seeking ways in which to establish control and uniformity throughout the nation. The literature of the period has often looked to the consolidation of the *Partido Autonomista Nacional* (PAN) in 1876, initially under Nicólas Avellaneda, as the beginning of a modicum of stability following the tumultuous 1860s which wrestled with problems of creating a national identity, territorial integrity through the establishment of governing all regions and, lastly, organizing a political regime.[9] From 1880 to 1916 the oligarchic *Partido Autonomista Nacional* controlled national politics. [10] The PAN party was formed from the merging of

[8] For more on the exercise of power of the Partido Autonomista Nacional see Paula Alonso *Jardines secretos, legitimaciones públicas: el Partido Autonomista Nacional y la política argentina de fines del siglo XIX*. (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2010.)

[9] Natalio R. Botana *El orden conservador: la política argentina entre 1880 y 1916*.(Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1977.) p. 30

[10] The PAN would hold power from 1874 until 1916, but lost significant power in 1890 with the Revolution in the Park and the formation of the Radical Party in 1890. Please see Paula Alonso *Between Revolution and the Ballot Box* for this process in the period from 1890-1916. Paula Alonso and David Rock are the two preeminent scholars on the UCR. They, however, disagree on which decade the UCR became prominent in Argentine politics. Rock has held that 1916 with election of Hipolito Yrigoyen and the incorporation of the middle classes into the Argentine political process. Conversely, Alonso asserts that the conservative UCR of the 1890's gave the impetus for the party of 1916. The 1890 version did not seek radical social, institutional and political change and did not seek to politicize the lower and middle strata's

the National Party and the Buenos Aires-based Autonomist Party. The party favored personalism, support of the constitution, and candidates with connections in Buenos Aires and the provinces. The beginnings of the consolidated Liberal order had begun in the 1870s through the formation of the loosely based League of Governors. With Avellaneda as the main architect, provincial interests worked towards having a larger say in the management of the national government. The 1860 constitutional reform based on the San Nicolas Accord of 1852 had garnered more independence for the provincial governors in provincial matters, while the national senate became an arena where "local governments were nationalized."[11]

The PAN ran on a platform that fashioned the nation for peace through economic sustainability, growth, modernization, foreign immigration and foreign investment. Material progress would facilitate a close bond with the provinces and the state. Limited to provincial and national elites, the PAN's electoral base came from entrepreneurs, bankers and foreign investors. Earlier works, such as Natalio Botana, have argued for a process of "reduction to unity" in that the central state slowly dwindled away opponents and advanced its supporters. Under this system, it was imperative for presidents to woo supporters and eventually work to remove opponents through a variety of methods such as federal intervention or indirect support of a local uprising. [12] However, this established a formalized coalition of the PAN that actively worked together for administrative

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of society, but sought revolution in the sense of returning Argentina to the pre-PAN period. The Radicals argued that the modernization projects under Roca and Juárez Celman were an affront to the 1853 constitution. Alonso states that the conglomeration of Radicals in the 1890s gave the 1916 version a foundation upon which to work.

[11] Natalio R. Botana *El Orden Conservador* p. 83

[12] Ibid., p. 28

sustenance and maintenance of the presidency. Furthermore, it placed the central state and Buenos Aires as the primary arbiter in the governance of the nation. Discord was common within the "party." Roca's limited support for Júarez Celman's bid for the presidency paralleled Roca's unpopularity among merchants and elites in Buenos Aires. In the capital, Dardo Rocha the senator of Buenos Aires and eventual mayor of La Plata, reigned supreme. Like Roca, however, Rocha's support and appeal plummeted outside of the littoral. Similar to his predecessor, Juárez Celman almost immediately alienated his supporters in Buenos Aires and in the provinces. Upon gaining the presidency Júarez Celman practiced a form of governance that sought to break away from Roca's league of supporters throughout the interior. Former generals and those placed into power under Roca were to either switch their allegiance to the new president or face possible removal. Indeed, in a letter from Juárez Celman to his newly chosen Minister of the Interior, Eduardo Wilde, he held that his administration would not be a replacement for Roca's, but instead seek to create an independent political platform that still appealed to PAN members.[13] Ultimately, governance was based on a delicate balance between the provinces and Buenos Aires, since neither could establish its hegemony over the other. In the establishment of the national congress, the provinces could combine to impede the passage of any bill that did not offer an incentive to the interior.[14]

The balance of power was further enshrined in the federal composition of the constitution. Provinces and their cooperation in times of presidential elections became the

[13] Lee Bruce Kress *Julio A. Roca and Argentina, 1880-1886: A Political and Economic Study*. (Thesis--Columbia, 1978.) p.452

[14] Paula Alonso *Jardines secretos*

basis for power and stability. While coercion and the army had given positive results in the period of National Organization (1862-1880), they no longer sufficed. The 1880s, however, were a period in which the political mechanisms were still being formed. The press, elections, the role of the various ministries offers a new landscape to analyze governance. In matters concerning the sanitary cordons and the quarantines it is possible to see another side of governance in the period and how *júarismo* sought to play out in the provinces. The case of Tucumán is especially illuminating since it was the only province besides Buenos Aires that did not throw its electoral votes to Juárez Celman. The quarantines offered him a chance to muzzle detractors and install supporters in an embattled province. Part three will show that it fell to doctors and hygienists to rebuild the fractured politics the quarantines had created in the northwest.

Outside of medical circles, newspapers utilized the epidemics as a space to openly criticize Tucumán's governor Juan Posse, Minster Eduardo Wilde and President Júarez Celman. The continued tensions between the province and executive branch did not permeate into the improvement of national public health protocol. I connect the cholera epidemics to broader political processes of national governance in the northwestern region of Argentina The chapter looks at the state-building efforts of mid-level politicians and medical officials. I incorporate other areas, such as the case of the port of Corrientes pleading with the national government to give precise instructions on steps to take for the quarantine of ships arriving to their ports. Following the episode of the quarantines, the provinces, via the provisions of the constitution, sought to sacrifice provincial autonomy with the goal of creating national oversight. Furthermore, the chapter studies the

institutionalization of power through the articulation of state governance both at the local and federal level. As a result of the cholera epidemics, the political relationship between Tucumán and Buenos Aires was strengthened through interactions between national and regional health institutions. The focus is regional and I will demonstrate through medical narratives that the provinces were active participants in the political culture of governance.

From 1880 to 1886: Building a presidency from obscurity

To further understand the intersection the ramifications of the epidemic of 1886 and the various responses it engendered a window to understanding executive governance in the peripheries, it is important to begin in the first months of Roca's administration, in 1880. The epidemic, took place in the opening quarter of the president's first year. In the development of *juarismo* during Roca's administration, Tucumán played an important role as a province both factions struggled over winning.

Roca established his influence in the provinces through a series of contacts that dated back to his time in the *Colegio de Concepcón del Uruguay*, founded by Urquiza and the National Army. During the presidency of Nicolás Avellaneda, a fellow *tucumano*, he served as the Minister of War and assisted in suppressing the uprising of Gen. José Miguel Arredondo in Córdoba, in response to Avellaneda's defeat of Mitre in the 1874 election. While stationed in Córdoba, Roca began cultivating relations in the interior through the League of Governors to strengthen his candidacy in the 1880 election. For both the 1880 and 1886 election, Tucumán's 14 electoral votes were crucial to guaranteeing a presidential victory. Working with local officials, Roca worked at

fomenting a sizeable support for his presidency in 1879. The process, however, was not straightforward. Dating back to the 1860s, Mitre's supporters were a large portion of local elites. Matters between *Mitristas* and *Roquistas* were complicated during the provincial gubernatorial elections of 1879 between Miguel Nogués and Domingo Martínez Muñecas. Splitting the Liberal vote in Tucumán, in the months preceeding the national election of Roca there was the possibility of Roca losing all traction in his home province with the replacement of Governor Federico Helguera.[15] In the end Martínez Muñecas, a loyal *Mitrista* was victorious. His opposition to the federalization of the city of Buenos Aires and support to Buenos Aires' Governor Carlos Tejedor created a stark divide between him and Roca. In response, Roca sent his ally Absalón Rojas to broker a deal between Nogués and the Mitristas to reunite the Liberal movement behind Roca, thereby sidestepping Muñecas. Rojas was successful and ensured that Tucumán and the Northwest gave its support to him to win the presidency.

While Roca had gained the necessary votes, the situation of the new governor in Tucumán was precarious. At the close of the 1870s, the governor and the provincial legislature were deeply divided. Negotiating with local powers was the only way that Roca was able to have a modicum of support. This pattern would present itself again for Roca when he worked to gain the votes for Juárez Celman. In 1886 the province under Santiago Gallo would be more obstinate and forcibly quell the *Juarista* group, which was small but well placed.

[15] Paula Alonso *Jardines Secretos* .p. 79

In the election of 1886, the PAN-Liberal coalition was divided. Representing various factions, the primary candidates were Juárez Celman as part of the coalition from the interior, former Minister of Interior Bernardo de Irigoyen who represented a half way between provincial politics and those of Buenos Aires and, lastly, Dardo Rocha, the governor of Buenos Aires. The process of becoming president worked through a form of inheritance from the previous administration. Roca, "the great negotiator" had worked closely with each candidate. Following the end of Carlos Tejedor's term as the governor of the littoral province, Roca assisted Dardo Rocha in becoming the new governor. He immediately began working towards becoming the next president without the blessing of Roca. With the backing of the very well connected, funded and powerful Bank of the Province, Rocha began establishing contacts throughout the provinces. In Buenos Aires, Rocha had collected a fair amount of support in the provinces. In the mid-elections of 1884, Rocha had support from Catamarca, San Juan, Buenos Aires province, the city of Buenos Aires and Santiago del Estero.[16]

As the Minister of Interior under Roca, on paper, Irigoyen seemed the ideal candidate. His work as the Ministry of Foreign Relations had trained him to be a masterful negotiator, a skill needed in winning over the various factions of the PAN. In his role of Miniser of the Interior, he worked closely with various areas of the provinces. In 1883 and 1885, Irigoyen had personally visited Tucumán, the first as part of his duties to oversee the various public works being completed in the province and the second as

[16] Ibid., p. 146

part of campaign trail. [17]As Minister of the Interior, Irigoyen indirectly managed a large portion of the Argentine economy. Although the Ministry of the Treasury managed the finances of the nation, by overseeing public works, railroads, mail services and the telegraph, his ministry was the final arbiter on the payments of the Ministry of Treasury. [18] Through this, Irigoyen worked to move beyond projections of him as a *porteño* disconnected from the provinces. Outside of the Buenos Aires, Tucumán, and for a short period, Santa Fe, Irigoyen never collected much support in his political campaign to gain the presidency. The smallest of the three leagues, he pulled out of the elections before they had concluded. As Paula Alonso has noted, to hold that Irigoyen established his own league, exaggerates his sphere of influence. His supporters became potential converts for Rocha, Roca or Juárez Celman. While in most provinces, most Irigoyenistas defected to Rocha; in Tucumán they remained in support of Irigoyen as a means to undermine Juárez Celman.

During Roca's Conquest of the Desert, he was stationed in the southern regions of Córdoba. There, he met with the a local elite family the Funes, and quickly began courting one of the daughters. Juárez Celman, who moved to Rio Cuarto following the death of his father, was also courting a Funes daughter. The relationship between both began smoothly. In regular correspondence, both discussed various topics related to governing and the development of the nation. In 1879 when Roca declared his candidacy in Córdoba and Tucumán, Juárez Celman, then Governor of the province worked in

[17] David Peña *Viaje político del Dr. Bernardo de Irigoyen al interior de la República (Julio, Agosto y Setiembre de 1885) crónica detallada*. (Buenos Aires: A. Moen, 1885.)
[18] Paula Alonso *Jardines Secretos* p. 103

securing the Cordoban vote. By 1881, when the Cordoban announced his ticket, the relationship soured and both tirelessly worked to undermine each other. [19]

Roca was hesitant to name his successor for the presidency, but ultimately ceded it to Juárez Celman. Within the formation of the Roca-Juárez league, Roca had to actively work towards achieving unanimous support in the provinces. Three approaches were taken: direct control, control with stiff competition and a process of negotiation.[20] The panoptic picture of consolidated oligarchic movement functioning under the PAN, reveals fissures and weaknesses when the PAN is analyzed from the perspective of the provinces, which were further enhanced in the provinces where the local government was fairly weak or limited. For Tucumán, which possessed a fairly strong provincial government as early as the 1860s, Roca had to enter into a series of private negotiations with local powers, similar to those for his own election in 1880. Following Roca's election, Tucumán under the government of Miguel Nogués worked to limit the influence Roca had in local politics. Unlike say a Mendoza, where Roca chose a governor and then assisted the governor to choose his successor, the sugar province proved more resistant. Nogués, an initial supporter of Tejedor, had reluctantly sided with Roca on the eve of the 1880 election. With Nogúes administration coming to an end, both he and Roca placed their preferred candidates. The president sported Emilio Posse, while the governor handpicked Sixto Terán. The latter came from a family of elites who had been involved in local politics. Officially, federalist in nature, the Terán family was supporters of

[19] For a detailed study of the relationship between Roca and Juárez Celman, see Julie Kress and Timothy S. Duncan *Government by Audacity: Politics and the Argentine Economy, 1885-1892*. Thesis (Ph. D.)--University of Melbourne, 1982, 1981.

[20] See Part II of Paula Alonso *Jardines Secretos*

Irigoyen and Avellaneda.[21] In the period, since 1860, the adhesion to federalism became even stronger in the province, as local powers distanced themselves from the various intra-PAN conflicts. [22]For Tucumán, alliances with national powers and neighboring provinces were mediated along a strict adherence to the federalist strucuture of the constitution. The maintenance of provincial autonomy was imperative.

The division between governor and president created tensions in local politics. With the support of Dardo Rocha, the opposition to the Juárez-Roca compromise began moving pieces to place local merchant and entrepreneur Federico Helguera, as governor.[23] In a moment of panic, Nogués and Roca agreed on the eventual governor, Benjamín Paz who served till 1884 when Santiago Gallo became governor. In the periods under Gallo and Paz, Roca removed himself from seeking to manage Tucumán through negotiation. This permitted the consolidation of the *Juarista,Rochista* and *Irigoyenista* leagues. Rocha was never able to gain a momentum in the province. In correspondence with his contacts in the southern towns of Monteros, his supporters relayed that they had a difficulty in organizing his campaign in the province and "establishing a newspaper willing to defend your candidacy."[24] The most vociferous groups were the supporters of Juárez Celman and Irigoyen. The eventual president's main supporters were Silviano Bores, Lidoro Quinteros, José Padilla, Ambrosio Nougués, Martin Posse and Carlos Bouquet Roldan. The political committee of Tucumán was unique in that it included

[21]Ibid., p. 127

[22] Maria Jose Navajas *Actores, representaciones, discursos y práticas la política en Tucumán, Argentina, 1852-1887*. (México, D.F, 2008.) p. 163

[23] Claudia Elina Herrera. *Élites y poder en Argentina y España en la segunda mitad de siglo XIX*. (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2003.)

[24] Archivo Dardo Rocha Correspondencia ha Tucumán- April 20, 1886 Enrique Cavoajal to Dardo Rocha

individuals from Tucumán's old elites, reemerging elites and ones that could be considered "new-rich"[25] For Irigoyen, his support came from Santiago Gallo, the governor, Napoleón Gallo, Eudoro Avellaneda, Manuel Paz, Ignacio Colombres, Miniser of Government during the epidemic, and Juan Posse, Gallo's successor. Adding to this, *El Orden* backed the candidacy of Irigoyen.

For Irigoyen's supporters, he represented a federalist candidate that had demonstrated his political capabilities in his dealings with Chile as Minister of Foreign Affairs and his close connections to the province as Minister of Interior fermented his place in the province. This, for them, was far different than the limited experience the candidate from Córdoba possessed. For Tucumán, Irigoyen had political expertise and was a continuation of Roca. Although local powers had rocky relationship with Roca, the president had assisted in the development of the sugar industry, which all parties were tied to.[26]El Orden summed up the support for Irigoyen in 1885:

> The Autonomist party of Tucumán stays true to its beliefs and traditions. It does not support the name of an unknown in Argentine politics [Juárez Celman], but of a very well known personality that has serviced the nation…But the Autonomists of Tucumán support for Dr. Irigoyen is for other reasons. He signifies an expression of continuation and commitment to the progressive politics of Gen. Roca, who Dr. Irigoyen has been one of the main collaborators, according to the President of the Republic.[27]

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[25] Claudia Elina Herrera. *Élites y poder en Argentina y España* p. 182. Silviano Bores, for example, was connected to the Posse and their vast wealth through marriage. For the majority of the XIX century, power was concentrated within and around the Avellaneda, Colombres, Paz, Terán, Zavaleta, Nougués and Gallo families. At this time, as Herrera notes, the Posse family began to regain the political capital it had lost in the 1880s. Indeed, the Posse family was involved in all three of the presidential candidates and maintained contacts with Roca, Sarmiento, Avellaneda and others.

[26] See Donna Guy *Argentine Sugar Politics: Tucumán and the Generation of Eighty*. (Tempe, Ariz: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1980.)

[27] *El Orden* June 12, 1885.Maria José Navajas also makes use of the same report to argue that "adherence to Irigoyen was a clear move of fidelity to Roca, who only very late gave his support to Juárez Celman."

Following Gallo's election as governor, the constitution of Tucumán was reformed to extend the governorship from two to three years. In September of 1886, *juaristas*, initiated a campaign to apply the changes to Gallo's term, thus limiting it to 1886 and not extending it to 1887. Utilizing *El Deber*, Juaristas attacked the governor on charges of despotism and corruption. In response to this, Gallo came to an agreement with Roca and his cousin, senator, Delfín Gallo, to place Juan Posse, an *Irigoyenista*, as governor weeks before the national election. The *Juarista* candidate, Lidoro Quinteros would have to wait till 1887 when Juárez Celman initiated a federal intervention into the province and removed Posse.

From 1882 to 1886, Gallo, Posse and the Irigoyenistas worked to exclude Juaristas from seats of power. In Posse's first month as governor he extended this to using physical violence to impeded Juaristas from voting. On the day of the elction, Posse sent armed guards and peons to the election tables in Monteros, Rio Chico and Leales to blockade the voting tables. In Buenos Aires, the events surrounding the attacks were viewed as unconstitutional and illegal. "The Situationists[28]," stated *Sud-America*, 'are only keen on conserving power, not to complete aspirations of progress and the good of the nation, but for their own and exclusive convenience."[29]Placing the blame on Posse, the newspaper further added that it was his responsibility to maintain order in the province, and rumors of his own peons being instructed to "stab and attack all supporters [of Juárez Celman]."[30] While reports persisted, in the end, Posse and the provincial

[28] The term applied to members of the Gallo-Posse political league.

[29] *Sud-America* October 30, 1886. Claudia Elina Herrera. *Élites y poder en Argentina y* Fn 398 p. 183

[30] *Sud-America* October 25, 1886

legislature took no further steps and instead, saw it as an attempt to unite opposition forces from throughout the nation to undermine the autonomy of Tucumán's election process. *El Orden* added that variosu members of the Juarista movment were meeting with the new president in Buenos Aires. Lidoro Quinteros, the opposition's candidiate for the governorship and manager of the FCCN line to Tucumán, the paper argued "He is using the railroad as a political tool to round *rochistas* to join with *Juaristas* to fight *situacionistas*."

The development of the railroad became a valuable tool to spread political influence throughout the nation. Bernardo de Irigoyen had used it to travel from Buenos Aires to Jujuy and back as part of a political campaign to round up support. Roca had used it to move troops. With the railroad came the telegraph. News and information moved quickly. The railroads, and their management and control, became important political and economic tools. Following Juárez Celman's election, the president worked to quell boisterous provinces and distance himself from Roca and his allies. The events that transpired before and during the election, take on a new light when analyzed from this perspective. In the construction of sanitary cordons, Tucumán and the northwest's medical stance did not align with the state's political prerogative. Moreover, the fact that various provinces and not only Córdoba and Tucumán pushed for them, but even provincial allies of the state, demonstrates that the choice to resist state action in public health was medically motivated, and not a form of political resistance. For the state, the epidemic offered a prime opportunity to utilize local allies in Tucumán who managed the telegraph, the banks, the railroad and the local schools to undermine local authority.

"To those that have died of cholera in order to permit national traffic, may they bless the constitution" [31]The politics of Sanitary Cordons.

Towards the end of November 1886 a train on the Ferrocarril Central Norte (FCCN) made its way northwest from the port city of Rosario. Aboard were soldiers from the Fifth Cavalry Regiment of Liniers traveling north to suppress an Indian uprising on the border between the province of Salta and the Chaco region.[32] Although the Argentine state had been formally consolidated in 1880 with the federalization of Buenos Aires and Julio A. Roca's Conquest of the Desert had subdued and exterminated the Pampa's Indian population, numerous areas remained under Indian control. Indians in Gran Chaco region were still a constant threat to national consolidation. Thus, campaigns were sent north to quash any potential uprising that compromised the still fragile republic.[33] These soldiers, however, were only being sent to the Chaco as a pretext. They were merely part of a process that had begun weeks ago when Juan Posse, the governor of Tucumán, in conjunction with fellow northwestern governors attempted to erect a sanitary cordon around the northwestern provinces thereby shielding the region from Buenos Aires through the complete suspension of the national railways from entering the region. The executive branch and Ministry of Interior immediately collected troops to utilize military force to open the region. Among the national congress the act of provinces seeking to override the constitution's guarantee that all citizens have the right to travel freely set off

[31] *El Orden* 11/27/86

[32] Jose Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera en la Provincia de Tucumán.* Thesis (Buenos Aires, University of Buenos Aires, School of Medicine, 1887.) P 17 On the other hand, Armando Pérez de Nucci states in his work, *Historia Médica de Tucumán, Siglo XIX* (Tucumán: University of Tucumán.1984), that the cavalry went north to Tucumán as its intended stop. The cavalry would assist in a potential uprising against the governor of the province Juan Posse, who was a *persona non grata* in the administration of newly elected president Miguel Juárez Celman(1886-1890). The provincial revolution took place on June 12, 1887 with the support of the Fourth Infantry Division from Córdoba. p 78 n. 11

[33] Jonathan C. Brown, *A Socioeconomic History of Argentina, 1776-1860*. (Cambridge [Eng.]: Cambridge University Press, 1979.) pg 6

commotion. Speaking in the national congress, Senator Lucio V. Mansilla noted, "I will not die of cholera, but I will discuss the disease because I love my country and humanity. But there is one that I love just as much as my country, and that is to know, who governs this land; the president of the republic or the provincial governors?"[34] In a bit of irony, these same soldiers brought cholera to Tucumán. Unbeknownst to the soldiers, four among them had contracted the bacterium of *Vibrio Cholrae* while in Rosario.[35] Rosario and Buenos Aires had long been dealing with cases of cholera and had more or less remained in these areas. Disbelief among newspapers, health officials and bureaucrats had permitted the disease to gain momentum and move to the neighboring provinces along the trade routes and rail lines originating from the littoral region. By the time the Fifth Cavalry departed towards the northwest the disease had already arrived in Córdoba and was working its way northwest.

The government's action to quell the province's ability to construct sanitary cordons did not operate in a political vacuum. By the 1880s, the global medical community had made a shift away from cordons as a suitable prophylactic practice to an almost universal focus on cleanliness and public hygiene. The global medical community, however, still debated theories over contagion. German scientist Robert Koch's discovery of the cholera bacterium in the droppings and vomits of patients spurred the medical field's adoption of germ based theory. The global medical community, however, did not quickly adopt this theory. Upon its discovery, opposing

[34] Congreso de la Nación. Cámara de Diputados de la Nación 1886 Vol. 2 Session 28 Nov 16, 1886

[35] Cholera had arrived to the port cities of Buenos Aires and Rosario in October of 1886 via ships carrying immigrants from Genoa.

camps were formed in Europe and North America. During the 1880s, Argentine doctors were also divided between camps that promoted a more miasmatic or spontaneous emergence of disease, in line with the works of Félix Pouchet, while others joined the ranks of Koch, John Tynsdall and John Snow in arguing for a process of germ contamination and ingestion of tainted material spurring disease. Lastly, there were the doctors that sought a middle ground between both factions, who, while understanding that germs and microbes were the culprit behind disease such as cholera, tuberculosis, anthrax and rabies, also were hesitant to place epidemiological trajectory solely on a microbe nonexistent to the naked eye. [36] In an era of rampant medical testing and the publication of a slew of medical treatises either defending or prompting the conversion to germ based etiology, both side employed similar methods to sustain their conjectures. The anti-germ camp argued that medical testing procedures could prove either point. Attacking the supposition that germs were floating in the air, North American doctors in 1871 tested the air in the rooms of sick people, they found no evidence of disease, adding, "we were unable to detect the slightest particle of any kind,"[37]Further damaging to the cause, were the various cases in which supposed dangerous microbes were isolated, only to be later discovered to be harmless organisms. Testing and medical scientific rigor were still in a formative stage, the possibility of both sides to use scientific rigor resulted in each doctors coming to a decision on the validity of either camp on their own accord.

[36] Nancy Tomes *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1998.)

[37] Ibid., p. 36

The Argentine medical community was equally divided. The epidemic of 1886 offered Argentine doctors a testing ground for the newest forms of medical knowledge being produced throughout the Atlantic. Although the new generations of doctors were willing to incorporate new methods and understandings of the disease, the older generation still maintained some allegiance to the ideas of moral constitution, cleanliness and proper practice was the key to prevention. The connection between the constitution of a person and their interaction with the outside world was not exclusive to the medical field. Late nineteenth century Argentine lawmakers, criminologist, psychologists looked at the balance between the individual and society and the proclivity towards crime, disease, health and immorality. Doctors in Argentina advanced the idea that the individual and their actions had a direct link to Argentine society as a whole. [38] For medicine and public health, hygienists and doctors, such as Wilde looked to squalor, filth and immorality as areas where infection was rampant and miasmas were produced. Through this understanding of disease and contagion, Wilde and his contemporaries could not offer an answer to how disease was created, how it spread, but a focus on sanitation and clean living offered an arsenal of preventative measures that had real world results. Clean water that was boiled killed various water borne diseases. Fresh air and sunlight, offered airborne microbes space to move out of damp and suffocating tenement housing. The connection between private hygiene e.g. general cleanliness, and public hygiene required people to moderate their behavior and limit their exposure. The majority

[38] For a look into the workings of Argentine criminology, law and socity see Kristin Ruggiero *Modernity in the Flesh: Medicine, Law, and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2004.)

of these areas fell outside of the purview of health. As Diego Armus has shown in his study of the culture of tuberculosis, gender also formed an area that hygienists acting through the state sought to moderate.[39] Thus, Wilde and the school of miasmatic doctors in Argentina urged people to avoid drafts, properly cook food, and avoid the consumption of alcohol. [40] Nevertheless, poor heredity went hand in hand with poor living conditions. Thus, living in squalor and having weak lungs offered doctors and the public of a way of understanding more of the disease. The avoidance of strenuous activity, poor housing and alcohol could assist a person with hereditarily weak lungs to never develop tuberculosis. Germs and microbes passed through the air were never part of the public discussion on endemic diseases in the mid to early 1800s. [41] The disregard, skepticism or complete overlooking of microbes was not confined to the medical field. Hygienic reports from Buenos Aires, Tucumán and North America show that the public was unaware of the possibility of contracting disease through day-to-day contact. The need for proper disposal of trash and fecal matter were simply overlooked. Indeed, the need to wash hands after using the bathroom or to properly refrigerate food was not a common concern. In the rural areas of Tucumán, livestock and families occupied the same living space. For Argentina, the generation of "germ awareness" among the public was a twentieth century event, promoted through the works of non-governmental health

[39] Diego Armus. "Tango, gender, and tuberculosis in Buenos Aires, 1900-1940 " in in Armus, Diego. *Disease in the History of Modern Latin America: From Malaria to AIDS*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.)

[40] Eduardo Wilde *Curso de Higiene Publica* Buenos Aires: C. Casavalle, editor, Imprenta y Libreria de Mayo, 1885.

[41] Nancy Tomes *The Gospel of Germs* p. 4

commissions.[42] Yet, the practices were easy to incorporate. Public health legislations that urged people to properly cook food and be wary of all water assisted the public in understanding contagion. Nancy Tomes adds that the role of religion in the centrality of unseen forces controlling life or death. In matters of quarantines, the seclusion of lepers offered a way that general public could understand the need to maintain some distance from the sick.[43]

In newspapers and medical journals, whose excerpts were published in the newspapers, both medical theories were equally disseminated. *Sud-America* published the news of the meeting of the Scientific Society of Argentina, where Dr. Télemaco Susini offered as the official word of the society that Argentine doctors must look to Koch and his work for inspiration. Dr. Susini further added that the advancements of Dr. Louis Pasteur's work in germs and contagion, it was impossible to still sustain any argument that diseases like cholera could result from spontaneous combustion.[44] During that same year, *La Revista Farmaceutica* published the work of the Municipal Sanitary Group of Madrid, which proposed an almost humorous understanding of contagion. Malnutrition, "breathing bad airs, the sick and the consumption of certain foods, or ones cooked in certain manners were believed to weaken the constitution.[45] Besides food, exercise and work, were understood to be the best form of disease prevention. The plethora of medical advancements that routinely contradicted each other did what Eduardo Wilde viewed as,

[42] See Donna J. Guy *Women Build the Welfare State: Performing Charity and Creating Rights in Argentina, 1880-1955*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.)
[43] Nancy Tomes *The Gospel of Germs* p. 7
[44] *Sud-America* September 12, 1886
[45] *La Revista Farmaceutica Vol 5*1886

"everyone think[ing] they are doctors."[46] Newspapers printed advertisements for self-help medications, tonics and concoctions and preventative measures only added to numerous folk medicines the general population had at their disposal. For young doctors, such as Diego Garcia, who completed his medical residency in Tucumán and completed a medical dissertation based on his experiences, the full understanding of germ theory did not fully answer how a disease originating from India could travel from Europe to Tucumán. Garcia did hold that choleric germs did move from the body of the sick through fecal matter and vomit to water, which then was consumed by healthy people and made them sick. Engaging medical theory, he disagreed with Max Von Pettenkorf on the sudden emergence of cholera in new areas, and the maintenance that cholera germinated in the ground through its interaction with decomposing material. The young doctors in training could offer no treatise on the ability of disease to move long expanses, and while rejecting zytomic assessments of disease, Garcia placed heavy emphasis on the environment and temperature of Tucumán. Indirectly seeing cholera as seasonal, Garcia held that warm climates and humidity offered a possibility of explaining why cholera was so devastating to the jungle-like temperature of Tucumán.

In attempt to add clarity to the medical field and questions over contagion and public health, which formed the practice of quarantines, the NDH sought to consolidate the public knowledge on contagion. In 1886 the NDH held that cholera could only spread through vomits, droppings and any body of water that was contaminated with choleric

[46] Eduardo Wilde *Obras Completas* Vol 2 Science

material. [47] The purification of water, the construction of sewer systems and the general maintenance of the city formed the basis of the NDH's views on contagion, while the contagion aspect of vomit-spreading disease such as cholera contradicted the NDH's head supervisor, Wilde. Their emphasis on eradicating quarantines, a focus on living conditions and universalizing potable water found an intrigued audience within the Ministry of the Interior. In Tucumán, engineers had looked to bringing potable water to the province to improve the local health, but the lack of funds and construction materials had complicated the plans, and they ultimately never came to fruition until the 1890s when taxes from the sugar industry could fund the large project. In Buenos Aires, local doctors viewed the Riachuelo area of the southern fringes of the city as foci of infection. For doctors, bodies of waters and rivers served as source of "life and health" key pieces to the maintenance of the city.[48] Through the growth of cities and their proximity to rivers, poor housing had diluted the efficacy of water as a life source. It was of the utmost importance to create develop ways that would properly dispose of contaminated areas or bacteria why also modernizing insalubrious areas.

Under Eduardo Wilde the Ministry of Interior and the NDH created aspects of a uniform medical response in the event of an epidemic. For both, the authority to impose quarantines fell to the national government. Beyond a medical criteria, the NDH wrote to Wilde that the 1885 International Medical Congress in Rome had further verified that under current medical practice that quarantines were impractical.[49] The national

[47] Ministry of Interior Administrative section Legajo 34 1886. Hereinafter referred to as Min of Int
[48] Eduardo Wilde *Obras Completas* Vol 1 science 184
[49] Min of Int 1886 Legajo 34

government was, "the one who must look over the health of the nation and free it of the importation of epidemics."[50]For hygienists, an absent central state in matters of public health was thought to possibly imply a public policy of negligence or automatic delegation of duties to the provinces and municipalities. Unchecked power could, according to Wilde, promote the provinces and municipalities to extend their jurisdiction to unlimited areas and, possibly, undermine the constitution. The ministry and NDH argued, however, that due to the state's limited capabilities a balance of powers was required in order to ensure neither overstepped their bounds. Conflict cropped up when the provinces attempted to install quarantines, the checks and balances were in the end an illusion. "Health,' argued Wilde, "does not authorize to commit absurdities…the municipalities are the ones in charge of the immense prejudices that result from the creation of quarantines...the poverty, misery and lack of employment they cause."[51] The apprehension towards sanitary cordons was not limited to the doctors. The *Buenos Aires Herald* echoed the sentiments in the "senselessness, cruel and barbarous of…cordons and isolation."[52]The lack of a homogeneity in medical knowledge worried doctors and bureaucrats that the wheels of commerce would be obstructed.

The change in the medical sciences coincided with Argentina's incorporation of economic liberalism that castigated the infringement on the free movement of commerce along trade routes. The "inhumanity" of quarantines was especially damaging for Argentina's export oriented economy. Their perceived outdated and barbarous practices

[50] Eduardo Wilde *Obras Completas* Vol 5 p. 50
[51] Ibid., p. 54
[52] *Buenos Aires Herald* Nov 28, 1886

were understood as "uncomfortable" and infringing on the movement of communication during epidemiological crises. This form of thinking, however, was not new. In 1864, doctors argued that quarantines could not function in preventing the proliferation if disease when the city and countryside were so insalubrious. [53] In 1886, a letter sent to the Ministry of Interior from the NDH show that sentiments had not changed but had, instead, become more ardent. In response to the threat of cholera in Rosario the NDH held that they were in effect impracticable and questioned the legitimacy of medical officials who still favored them. [54] The cleanliness of the trains and the disinfection of people would guarantee proper health. Invoking French sanitationist medical theory, clean cities, streets and individuals were the area in which national health could be accomplished. Politicians echoed the need to connect economic growth, bureaucratic centralization, free movement with the health of the nation. In Juárez Celman's inauguration speech he stated that the country was in need of prompt means to develop internal commerce. Railroads, communication and ports, and their free movement were the key to development. [55] Overall the nation was united in the belief to improve the nation through development. Indeed, the new president had collected to most wide range support from any previous president. Events in Corrientes, Córdoba and the northwestern region reveal that these regions collided with the hopes of the central state and divided a supposed united nation.

[53] *La Revista Farmaceutica Vol 5*1886 318-323
[54] Min of Int legajo 34 1886
[55] *Buenos Aires Herald* Oct 13, 1886

In the early days of the epidemic, mid-November, various areas remained unsure of the presence and/or extent of cholera. Writing on "Questions of Public Hygiene" *El Orden* noted, "we have no idea of what is happening in the littoral. The news that that we are receiving as we write this, is vague and contradicting. We know nothing with any certainty.[56] The varying experiences of each area show how the measures in which the politics of quarantines influenced the state and province interacted. Corrientes proximity to the littoral and its place as one of the secondary ports determined that the province did not question the need for the executive branch to manage the port authority but simply requested that the government, the Ministry of Interior and the NDH offer clear instructions on the quarantines, and furthermore delineate local powers. Was the management of lazarettos, sanitary cordons and quarantines the responsibility of the province or the Maritime authority? When did the need for quarantines begin, at the date of arrival or the when the boat disembarked from its home port? The various methods offered more problems than solutions.

Upon hearing news of the spread of cholera, Corrientes immediately went about constructing lazarettos to quarantine peoples and materials arriving from ports that reported cases of cholera. The state's slow response necessitated the province to self-fund construction projects and the creation of an organization to serve as a liaison between the provincial governing body and the health of the port. For Corrientes, the instructions from Buenos Aires were "uneven...incoherent… and irregular from the ones being given from the Maritime Prefecture."Offering a breakdown of various ships entering the port,

[56] *El Orden* 11/12/86

Corrientes held that the Maritime had not applied a routine to all ships. For example, the steamship Lujan that had arrived from cholera-infested Parana was given direct access, while the steamship San Martin transporting wheat from Buenos Aires was held for eight days. The passenger steamer Rio Uruguay also from Buenos Aires, however, was originally allotted twenty days, but only completed eight days. Local authorities requested federal intervention in the Maritime prefecture to provide precise instructions. As a result of the poor management of the port, the province held that the opportunity to minimize the potential damage from the epidemic had diminished and required the province to act before executive approval.[57] Additionally worrisome to the Corrientes was the almost complete seclusion and lack of communication with the other provinces.

The Maritime authority responded to the Ministry of Interior that while attempts were made to establish a detailed plan of action, it had been the Ministry's inability to provide clear instructions that had caused the confusion. Between the plans of the province and the Ministry, port authorities were confused on the actual amount of quarantine needed. The port also reported to the Ministry of Interior that local hygienic commissions were puzzled whether national requests overrode local command. They added that, "while the measures have seemed erratic and ever changing, they have been done to lower public anxiety. The news of various ports with cholera and the slow movement of news have made it worse."[58] In response to blame being given to the Ministry of Interior and the province's requests of reimbursement for the lazaretto was in the negative. The lack of federal oversight, held the Ministry, was the reason for the

[57] Min of Int 1886 legajo 36
[58] Min of Int 1886 legajo 36

confusion in action. For the national government, all decisions needed to emanate from the central branch. The choice to build the lazaretto was a local decision, not one made in coordination with the NDH and Ministry of Interior. Responding to the Ministry, Pedro A. Pardo head of the NDH held that since all provinces had incurred expenses because of the epidemic, it would be unfair to only reimburse Corrientes. Their contention that necessity mandated they build a lazaretto fell on deaf ears. Within the political medical circles, the public and hysteria became synonymous. In Wilde's course on public hygiene, which was also used as a textbook in schools, he argued that, "the public is a child, whose tantrums we must be tolerant with, just as we must be tolerant with the tantrums of children."[59]Further adding that that the role of the hygienists was to cure and this permitted the hygienists to governor over and shun local laws and governance, international law and hygiene were connected in maintaining life. The law of hygiene provided hygienists with stability in their action. For Wilde, Pardo and the NDH, the central state was the overseer of imposing hygienic law. [60]

Events in Corrientes offer an initial understanding of the problems that arose between the provinces and the central state in the early days of the epidemic. While the state was pushing for a more overt role in the provinces, the varying responses and bureaucratic limitations of numerous organizations offering their say in matters bogged down the process. Yet, unlike the remaining two regions to be discussed, Corrientes requested a closer bond with Buenos Aires in order to establish protocol. Although, the other regions pushed for more provincial autonomy, the results were the same: it fell to

[59] Eduardo Wilde *Curso de Higiene Publica* p.11
[60] *Ibid.,* p. 12

the provinces to make sense of the disorder as the executive branch coordinated with non-governmental public assistance associations to establish a plan of action. By the end of the epidemic, the process was cemented in the state overseeing matters of public health.

In the case of the northwest, the provinces' interaction with the state was more acrimonious. Mendoza, Tucumán and Córdoba invoked contested constitutional limitations against the state. The wine producing province of Mendoza, a *Roquista* stronghold under Rufino Ortega who had served with Roca in the military, was an obstacle in Juárez Celman's plans to consolidate his supporters in the northwest. Tucumán's transfer of votes to Bernardo de Irigoyen had split an almost unanimous national vote. In October of 1886, Tucumán's former governor Santiago Gallo, who had served as head of the Irigoyen campaign, ensured the almost unanimous selection of Juan Posse as governor.[61] As a member of one of Tucumán's elite families he was personally connected to various political figures. While the family did have connections to the new president through Filemon Posse, Juan Posse was allied with Sarmiento and continued the process of maintaining the support for Irigoyen even after the former Minister of Interior had pulled out the election. For Juárez Celman it was imperative to maintain links with provincial elites in these two provinces since they were two of the areas where economic reform under Roca had been the most pronounced. [62] Embattled elections in Tucumán and accusations of Posse's "despotism and cruelty" created tensions on the eve of the epidemic. [63] Córdoba, the president's home province, and its governor Ambrosio

[61] He collected 22 of the 23 electoral votes

[62] David Rock *State Building and Political Movements in Argentina, 1860-1916*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2002)p. 104

[63] *Sud-America* Tucumán October 25, 1886

Olmos joined in with the northwest to fight for the provinces to have a the right to govern the provinces. Regional alliances conflicted with national precedence.

In a period of supposed unity, the battle over preventing the loss of life further distanced the peripheral provinces from the projects of the state. The call for provincial autonomy in quarantine erection began in Córdoba and extended to the provinces in the northwest. As early as September of 1886, the northwestern provinces began communicating with each other on the threat of disease entering the nation. "We have received word of the disease,' noted Catamarcan governor José Daza to Gov. Posse, 'we will be careful and report all sanitary measures we are taking here."[64] In the closing days of November as the disease spread from Buenos Aires to Rosario, Córdoba became suspicious of the possibility of a potential invasion. In response to this, the governor notified the Santiago del Estero, Tucumán and Catamarca of the province's actions of suspending all train traffic to the region and having them held in Rosario while the epidemic continued. Córdoba took the initials steps to limit contact with cholera. Parallel to Rosarioan border town of Tortugas, Cordoban police support held up all trains from entering the province. [65]In the interim period before notifying the national government, Córdoba and Tucumán worked together to gain agreement among its neighbors and establish a regional response to local and regional hygienic conditions. Within Tucumán, municipal bureaucrats and doctors, worked in conjunction with the provincial government, in establishing a network of communication with northwestern doctors and

[64] Archivo Historico de Tucumán Seccion Administrativa Book 172 1886 Folio 46 Hereinafter reffered to as AHT-SA

[65] *El Orden* November 12, 1886

governors, and the National Hygiene Coalition, based in Buenos Aires, to monitor health conditions and measures taken that had given promising results. [66] In reposnse to the need to expand the sanitary cordon from Córdoba further northwest, Tucumán and Catamarca immediately agreed to the initiative, while Mendoza and San Juan established their own prophylactic measures that were in line with the northwest, but entirely independent. The government disagreed and notified Córdoba that it would not be permitting the initiative. Buenos Aires cited the constitution arguing that the measures the provinces intended were imprudent and it was the responsibility of the state to guarantee the movement of goods and people freely around the nation. In a letter from Juárez Celman to the governor of Córdoba and Mendoza that was responding to the province's ability to initiate and maintain sanitary cordons that impeded the movement of railroads and supplies, the recently elected president held that:

> It is unnecessary to close the provinces completely from communication with areas that do have cholera and even less necessary with areas that have horrible sanitation. I suggest the adoption of prudent measures that will truly avoid the arrival of cholera, but without handicapping the interests of the nation. [67]

Juárez Celman added that the executive branch recognized that within the limits of the provinces, the nation's authority did not supersede local power; further stating that they, in the end, had "the full right to protect themselves." For the government, a proper system of disinfecting trains, people and goods maintained national needs. In a letter to Tucumán, the government, through the Ministry of Interior, stated the in the absence of any truly national policy of arresting disease, the establishment of medical inspections

[66] *El Orden* November 9, 1886
[67] *Sud-America* November 14, 1886

and the impediment of the sick traveling would severely limit the extension of disease. Coupling this with a doctor on every train, the placement of passengers in seven day quarantines and the use of dichloride mercury on all choleric droppings would ensure that the disease would never reach epidemic proportions. [68] In the resulting arguments over the balance of constitutional powers between the province and the nation, the state held that it was entrusted with the responsibility to maintain the movement of people and goods across the nation. Yet, the suggestions offered demonstrate that the need to move goods in time had precedence over people.

In the process of the provinces seeking to establish cordons and the government's refusal to permit them, the provinces and the nation entered into a contestation over constitutional rights and the constitutional limits of jurisdiction. The nation contended that the constitution permitted federal control of provincial boundaries and any form of communication that was nationally owned or moved across various borders. The balance of powers became the most pressing problem. Federal oversight ended within the province. In response to suspended trains, the government responded in turn to Córdoba that the constitution was clear in its delegation of powers. Wilde held that his governance was in accordance with what the constitution dictated. [69] For the Ministry of Interior and the national government, the constitution could not be temporarily suspended, and from a federal standpoint, the provinces had misunderstood constitutional law and legislation. In a series of correspondence reported in *Sud-America*, the northwestern provinces, specifically, Mendoza and Córdoba, in this case, argued that the 29th article limited the

[68] AHT-SA Book 172 1886 folio 134
[69] *El Nacional* November 30, 1886

faculties of the national government and gave preference, and the right, to the provinces. The article held that "congress cannot grant to the National Executive…extraordinary powers or the sum of public power, nor grant submission of supremacy whereby the life, honor or wealth of the Argentine people will be at the mercy of governments or anyone."[70]The provinces acknowledged that under the federalist composition of the constitution and the existence of provisions, such as article 108, did not permit the provinces to have any powers over the national government. Thus, the provinces could not enter into "partial treaties of a political nature, nor enact laws on trade, or internal or external navigation…except in case of foreign invasion or imminent danger as will not admit of delay, notifying immediately the Federal Government…"[71] The provinces argued that since the 108th article did not cover areas of health, and as the article mentioned, restrictions on trade and movement could be temporarily suspended in matters of imminent danger.[72]

The Ministry of Interior and National government countered that the provinces had misapplied the 29th and 108th articles in the context of the epidemic, especially the

[70] Full Article: Congress cannot grant to the National Executive, nor the provincial legislatures to the provincial governors, extraordinary powers or the sum of public power, nor grant submission or supremacy whereby the life, honor or wealth of the Argentine people will be to mercy of governments or anyone. Acts of this nature shall be utterly void, and subdue those who formulate them, consent or sign, responsibility and condemned as infamous traitors. Taken from Argentina. *Constitución de la Nacion Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1950.

[71] Full Article: The provinces do not exercise the power delegated to the Nation. They can not enter into partial treaties of a political nature, nor enact laws on trade, or internal or external navigation; establish provincial customs, nor coin money, establish banks with power to issue money without authorization of the Federal Congress, nor dictate civil codes , commercial, criminal and mining, after Congress had enacted; enact special laws on citizenship and naturalization, or counterfeiting documents state, lay any duty of tonnage, or build warships or raise armies, except in case of foreign invasion or imminent danger as will not admit of delay, notifying immediately the Federal Government, appoint or receive foreign agents, or admit new religious orders. Taken from Argentina. *Constitución de la Nacion Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1950.

[72] *Sud-America* November 29, 1886

29th. For Wilde, the epidemic did not present an extraordinary moment or matters involving the execution of power, and governance. Instead, the epidemic presented a case of the complete suspension of communication. Since the ministry accorded the management of the epidemic to the provinces and only offered suggestions to local powers, the government did not overextend its jurisdiction. While the government decisions were unpopular, Roca's administration had signed into law sanitary legislation that explicitly denied the ability of provinces to enact any form of temporary quarantines, and, most importantly, in the event that laws need to be altered or suspended, the final arbiter was the national government.[73] In a continuation of praxis, the recently sworn in administration followed a similar path. The change in the political administration and the continued growth of the place of the provinces in national politics reveals the provinces seeking to establish a larger presence in the direction of the nation. Furthermore, Juárez Celman's electoral platform was built upon promises of development and investment in the interior.

In private correspondence, a sentiment that was echoed in officialists newspapers as *Sud-America,* the recently elected president was hesitant to see any real threat of cholera at the end of November. In a letter written to his Cordoban ally and eventual head of the national mail service Ramón Carcano, Júarez Celman argued that conditions in Buenos Aires and Rosario were fine, and the newspapers had simply exaggerated the extent of damage. The president argued that opponents of federal oversight, "only look to

[73] *Sud-America* December 17, 1886

raise the anxiety in Rosario to effect the economy."[74]The economy and the movement towards political consolidation dovetailed in the period of the epidemic. The "unbroken peace" that the Buenos Aires Herald had noted at the inception of the Juarist period came under immediate attack during Juárez's administration in the opening days.[75] Indeed, in his opening speech the new president repeatedly espoused the Liberal doctrine on the need of developing internal commerce through the railroad. By 1888, in the middle of Juárez Celman's term, the government repeatedly sold rail concessions. The work of his home province, Córdoba, a province that had not supported him, Tucumán, and a bastion of Roca, Mendoza, demonstrated to Juárez Celman that his perception of wide national support was faltering within the context of the epidemic. [76]

Within the northwest the government's refusal to support the initiatives of sanitary cordons sent immediate reverberations through the region. As soon as the Ministry of Interior released its stance on the cordons and that no matter what the situation the constitution would not be amended. Santiago del Estero's governor initially argued that the scant number of victims in Córdoba and Santiago did not necessitate a hard-line stance on "measures of obstruction."[77] A modicum of balance was reached when the provinces, decided to transform the Recreo region into a centralized rail quarantine stop.[78] Since the railroad ran through Córdoba in the direction of the Recreo,

[74] *El Orden* November 12, 1886
[75] *Buenos Aires Herald* October 13, 1886
[76] *Buenos Aires Herald* October 10, 1886
[77] AHT-SA Book 172 1886 folio 68
[78] The Recreo is the area where the provinces of Córdoba, Catamarca and Santiago del Estero

the Cordoban medical corps oversaw the disinfection and health of all passengers.[79] While this action was hoped to offer some form of resolution to both parties since the trains continued to run and the provinces were permitted to operate autonomously within the confines of their jurisdiction, the Ministry of Interior created an uproar when it contacted and sought to press charges on a Cordoban commissary who, in the name of public health, impeded the movement of a train car. The newspaper *El Nacional*, an opponent of the government and promoter of provincial rights to supersede constitutional norms in the presence of extreme circumstances, lambasted Wilde on his assertion that Córdoba had lacked all respect to the national government, and argued that the Ministry had all rights to "address myself to an officer under the dependence of local government….In national matters I have the right to give order to all inhabitants and citizens of the republic."[80] *El Nacional* argued that Wilde had overstepped his bounds, simultaneously superseding the president and overextending his jurisdiction.[81] Within Tucumán, the process of establishing sanitary cordons and the need for Posse to assuage the anxiety that had taken hold of the province pressed for him to directly counter and question the state's contradictory tone of provincial autonomy. For Gov. Posse, the process of undermining the state functioned within a context of political rivalries and the need for the Ministry of Interior and the executive branch to consolidate the Unicato in the northwest.

[79] Under the presidency of Sarmiento, the president worked to ensure the railroad stayed in Córdoba and not enter Santiago in an attempt to further undermine the position of the Taboadas during the Rail Age.

[80] *El Nacional* November 29, 1886

[81] Ibid

The Politics of Sanitary Cordons in the Garden

In the period building up to the epidemic, the state of hygiene in Tucumán was not ideal. Reports from the period indicated that diphtheria was rampant in the capital of San Miguel. Next to this, the number of children with smallpox grew at an alarming rate. The lack of action from the municipal and provincial government exacerbated the situation. [82]

The choice to create the sanitary cordons did not solely operate in a political vacuum as a means for the provinces to contest relations with the new administration. From the provinces, only Tucumán had not voted for Juárez Celman. In Catamarca and Santiago del Estero, *juaristas* were in power. Although, Córdoba and Mendoza were *roquista* strongholds, as part of the very loose Roca-Juárez coalition, they willingly threw their support for the president. In the two yeas preceding the elections, Córdoba's 26 electoral votes had always been a guarantee for Juárez Celman, even when his votes were split with Roca, and Rocha had the majority of votes. In between, 1884 and 1885 Mendoza, under the guidance of Rufino Ortega a close ally of Roca, aligned his votes for the new president. Only Tucumán and Buenos Aires, remained the stalwarts of opposition. Visions of a unified regional response of sanitary cordons as tools to express political dissatisfaction became complicated. Moreover, an "Akernechtian" model of politics and economics forming the contours of medical practice are called into question. [83] The connection of Tucumán to the national rail services in 1876 resulted in the transformation of the province. The repeated attempts of Tucumán's senators in the

[82] *El Orden* May 18 and 19, 1886

[83] Erwin Heinz Ackerknecht, 1948. "Anticontagionism between 1821 and 1867

congress to establish protectionist laws that increased tariffs on foreign sugar demonstrates a sugar industry that was dependent on the railways to quickly move the product from the northwest to other provinces. Indeed, the FCCN, ran directly through the province's sugar belt and connected San Miguel to the main towns south of the city. Towns, such as Monteros, Simoca and La Madrid, had long ties with San Miguel, dating back to the colonial period. Like other provinces, the railroad followed old colonial trade routes and connected areas that were or were going to be developed.[84] Tucumán was also home to a branch of the National Bank. Besides the movement of sugar, the running of the railroads was important to Tucumán for food supplies. Products, such as corn and wheat, came from other provinces. While corn was produced in abundance in the period prior to the arrival of the epidemic, the development of the sugar industry removed agricultural land, with many small plots of land growing cane for local *ingenios*.[85] In January of 1887, in the second month of the epidemic, a national shortage in corn and fewer shipments from the FCCN resulted in the increase of prices in Tucumán.[86] In an article published in *El Orden* from *Sud-America*, the Buenos Aires newspaper discussed the heavy tolls the epidemic was taking on the economy of the northwest, especially Tucumán.

> Provinces such as Tucumán are on the edge of an economic abyss…it will drag with it whatever considerable capital still existent in the province. And now, the sugar industry almost lives off of loans. It is the center of credit for the

[84] Eduardo Zalduendo *Libras y rieles: las inversiones británicas para el desarrollo de los ferrocarriles en Argentina, Brasil, Canadá e India durante el siglo XIX*. Buenos Aires: Editorial El Coloquio, 1975.

[85] See Patricia Juárez Dappe *When Sugar Ruled Economy and Society in Northwestern Argentina, Tucumán, 1876-1916*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010.

[86] *El Orden* January 5, 1887

> province. All our debtors to the National Bank and their only form of payment are from their harvest.[87]

Requests for the bank to suspend payments were ignored. The epidemic created a strain on an already over-stretched economy. In the early months of 1886, *El Orden* reported that the state of the economy was not well in the province, and the National Bank had been placing pressure on local sugar growers to pay back their loans. [88]Tucumán's quick transition to the sugar industry and its horizontal organization meant that the burden of payments to the National Bank was spreading throughout the entire province. Most importantly, politics and sugar had become inextricably interwoven since the 1860s. The elite families of the period Posse, Gallo, Nogués, Avellaneda, all owned sugar *ingenios* or large tracts of sugar cane land. Through marriage, many of the families were connected. When Posse made the choice to shut down the railroads the economic consequences were evident. The act of establishing the cordons operated within a binary of liberalism and federalism, with medical theory adding fodder and scientific backing. In April of 1886, *El Orden* wrote, in response to the national elections and Tucumán awarding its votes to Bernardo de Irigoyen, that it was done in order to "maintain the *federal* structure of the constitution in middle of the imperializing *unitarianism*… and to maintain a dividing line between what is provincial and what is national. They want federalism to disappear from Tucumán, no matter how closely it is allied to the constitution, to give space for the Unitarianism of Juárez Celman."[89] The incorporation of the vernacular of federalism during the elections to uphold provincial autonomy

[87] *El Orden* January 7, 1887

[88] For more on the economy of the period and the role of the sugar industry in national terms see Donna Guy and Patricia Juárez Dappe

[89] *El Orden* April 29, 1886. Taken from María José Navajas

permeated the period of the sanitary cordons, since the provinces easily moved back and forth between upholding the federalist appearance of the constitution or the need for national unity.

The choice to establish sanitary cordons was based on pre-established practices dating back to the 1868 epidemic, when the state removed itself from the regional response to the epidemic and permitted provincial autonomy. In 1886, *El Orden* wrote that the central region of the province was spared from the cholera of 1868 for various reasons all related to the practice of creating space between sick and healthy. First, the endemic nature of malaria in the region, served as form of vaccine for cholera. "Malaria and cholera are very similar, and malaria has inoculated us from the threat of cholera…The medical community has confirmed this."[90] Besides the incompatibility of the two diseases, writers held that the province had been gifted with natural cordons of distance and persistent flooding in the areas where cholera was concentrated. These natural buffers, worked hand in hand with the cordons the provinces created. In both the 1868 and 1886/1887 epidemic the provincial government requested assistance and expertise from the local medical field. In both events, doctors advocated the need to establish sanitary cordons.[91] "They were made in virtue of public antecedents that were done in other periods, without the objection of anyone", since El Recreo was done within the confines of one province, the northwest provinces argued that the federalist constitution permitted the provinces to have full jurisdiction in the province.[92]

[90] *El Orden* 12/9/86, republished from story on 11/9/86
[91] *El Orden* 12/7/86
[92] *El Orden* 11/29/86

In the time between the two epidemics, the medical field had witnessed significant changes through the increase of doctors in the province and diminishing the presence of *curandero*s in government ledgers. By the census of 1895, only six *curandero*s were accounted for in Tucumán, a large drop from the seventy-five in 1868. The opposite was seen in the number of university trained doctors. From eight, the province now held thirty-three, with one-third being foreigners. [93]The province's unwillingness to impede the practice of *curandero*s in 1868 had shifted by the second epidemic. Working hand-in-hand with the Medical Tribunal, the provincial government, as early as 1884, pressed the rural commissaries to enforce regualtions barring *curandero*s from practicing and removing any legal protection for them in case of charges brought against the *curandero*s.[94] Newspapers published stories on *curandero*s causing harm and "exploiting" patients. With the development of the medical field, doctors from Tucumán began to have more prominent positions in local and national politics. In the second epidemic, various doctors were involved: Eliseo Cantón, Benjamín Aráoz, Tiburcio Padilla and Victor Bruland. Of these Aráoz and Padilla, both served as governors for the province, 1894-1895 and1875-1877 respectively.[95] Canton served as the federal inteventor to Córdoba in 1909 and served as National Representative for Tucumán and Buenos Aires in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies within the national congress. The medical profession became more prominent in the government, and thus

[93] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (Argentina). *Historia demográfica Argentina 1869-1914 versión digital de los tres primeros censos nacionales*. (Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 2000.) 1895 Census p. 555

[94] *El Orden* November 7, 1884

[95] Benjamín Aráoz died during the second year of his administration.

offered and gave advice to the province in moments of need. The shift in support away from *curanderos* reveals this level of influence.

La Cólera del Cólera: Cholera in the public sphere

Discussions over the politics of sanitary cordons, the place of Tucuman in the national political scene and the dissemination of medical theories took place in the various newspapers published throughout the nation. The advent of non-partisan journalism did not take place until the late nineteenth century. For the period, all newspapers in Argentina received subsidies from the government and funding from certain political parties. The newspapers were spokespersons for certain politicians and their brand of liberalism, within an oligarchic government. The PAN was not monolithic, but divided into various factions tied to a specific person or issue, though all fell under the rubric of the PAN. For example, *La Tribuna Nacional*(LTN) the official newspaper for the Roca administration and Roca's political platform from 1880-1889 received funds from the National Bank and subscriptions from national and provincial governments. Countering, the Roca-PAN faction in the LTN, *Sud-America* ran on the platform of Juárez Celman. Outside of this form of journalism stood *La Nacion* and *La Prensa*, the former had been founded by former president Bartolomé Mitre. Its wide readership and attempts at being non-partisan had permitted Mitre's paper to function without any form of government subsidy. *La Prensa's* editor José C. Paz founded the paper in 1869 as means to "consult public opinion, rather than attempt to form it."[96] The partisan structure of newspapers such as *Sud-America* shows how *Juarismo* understood the role of the

[96] Taken from Paula Alonso *Jardines Secretos* 50

constitution, governance and disease as being inextricably interwoven in the management of the government during the epidemic. The opposition from other newspapers further highlights the differing opinion each side had over the forms the national government should govern. These battles played out in the newspapers that were followed throughout the nation by all the various factions of the PAN, which situated their governance on the constitution. Countering the numerous mouthpieces of the PAN, the saitircal newspapers *El Mosquito* and *Don Quijote* became voices of active resistance and critiques of the executive branch during the epidemic For both, the epidemic created space to question the practice of governance

The anxiety that Wilde and Juárez Celman underestimated, became palpable in the press. Within the public sphere newspapers in Buenos Aires took the state's choice to suppress the sanitary cordons as a pretext to critique opposing political sides. In the early days of the epidemics, numerous newspapers applauded their efforts. *Sud-America*, an ardent supporter of Juárez Celman and a spokesperson for his faction in the PAN, applauded the state's efforts. *Buenos Aires Herald*, called the quarantines, "a humbug."[97] Opponents of the government claimed that the nation's lax response and their actions to suppress the quarantines as prophylactic responses had done more damage than good.[98] *El Nacional* in an article titled "People and Government" contended that the epidemic demonstrated how the government truly functioned, and revealed its various deficinecies. For the newspaper, the "overt ineptitude of the government has been as a result over the lack of accord in the work towards humanity…they have gone a step further and held

[97] *Buenos Aires Herald* 11/28/86
[98] Paula Alonso notes that *Figaro* and *La Patria* were also mouthpieces of Juarismo

back the generous efforts of those that have sacrificed to alleviate."[99] As the threat of the epidemic became more real, news outlets began to directly criticize the executive branch on its performance. In the criticisms of the state, Tucumán served as a proxy to question the actions and motivations of the Ministry of the Interior and the president himself.

The satirical news outlets *El Mosquito* and *Don Quijote*, in conjunction with Mitre's *La Nacion* repeatedly published pieces against Juárez Celman and the Ministry of Interior. For the opposition press, the government had become the agent spreading cholera in the nation. Pundits argued that the executive branch had permitted the need to maintain exports and had spurred the state's banning of the sanitary cordons of the northwest. In the presidential elections, Juárez Celman ran under a policy of economic development, national growth and further incorporating the provinces into economic nation building. Plans of extending credit, banking structures, national monetary system and foreign investment into the interior, were met with enthusiasm among provincial elites that sought to build local economies and limit the influence of banks, such as, the Bank Of Buenos Aires. In the president's report for the first year of his administration he held that national peace and harmony balance had come as a result of economic development any impediment to that ran counter to the needs of the nation.[100] The president further argued that "respect of the law and the constitution were key to the admirable development that impulse the nation."[101] Institutions, such as banks and railroads, would remove far off towns and regions from the isolation that had plagued

[99] *El Nacional* Jan 13, 1886

[100] Miguel Juárez Celman *El doctor d. Miguel Juárez Celman presidente de la República en el primer año de su gobierno, Octubre 1886-1887*. Buenos Aires: Imp. "La Patria", 1887.p. 10

[101] Ibid p. 11

them. The opposition newspapers used the economy's reach as the facilitator in spreading the epidemic to all corners of the nation.

During the mid-1880s land speculation and railroad expansion had resulted in over extension of credit from foreign lands. The devaluation of the Argentine peso pushed Roca to release more paper currency and lower gold reserves. With the arrival of Juárez Celman inflation had been diminished, but the new president did not return to the gold standard. Instead, Juárez Celman purposely released more paper currency to increase inflation in order to further push investors into the railroads. Unlike other sectors of the economy, foreign investments in railroads were backed by gold reserves that guaranteed maximum profits for investors and represented a modest investment for the government. For the other national industries, such as sugar, artificially generated inflation and limited gold reserves set off periods of high inflation. [102] *Don Quijote* published numerous photos in its newspapers attacking "La Bolsa." In one drawing, a bag of gold was depicted with gnats encircling it, with the phrase "This bag is the foci of infection." In another, faceless cronies in business suits protect a skeletal representation of cholera as it attacks a theater. These "*Microbios Bolsitas"* were under the control of donkeys in suits holding a sign stating "Flagelus Nostras" All three actors trampled over signs stating "hygiene" and "sanitation." The numerous depictions connected Juárez Celman and the economy directly to the disease. Like other political figures, the president was often depicted as an animal that the writers felt properly identified the person. *Don Quijote* employed the donkey for the president, *flagelus nostras*, or "our scourge" was

[102] David Rock *Argentina, 1516-1982: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.) p. 157

directly connected to cholera. While the public in the theater held off the large skeleton with bayonets, the cronies and donkeys assisted cholera in over taking the theater. Phrases such as, "For a Microbe, death goes down and gold rises." Became common to criticize the government and create associations between the management of epidemic and governance. The epidemic exacerbated economic uncertainty. In the face of needing to maintain inflation at a certain level, the government required goods to move quickly from the interior to the foreign market. Moreover, investors would have been hesitant to further invest in needed infrastructure if the government would permit the provinces to suspend their services.

The connection between the state, governance and public health became connected in the public sphere, where the public commented on government performance. The image of the donkey was also applied to *juaristas.* In the November 21st of 1886 edition of *El Mosquito* Dr. José Ramos Mejia, a member of the Buenos Aires Council of Hygiene was displayed with the body of a donkey, assisting cholera on a small ship arrive to Buenos Aires. [103] Juárez Celman was not the only person to feel the brunt of public opinion. [104] The full force of criticism fell on Minister of Interior, Eduardo Wilde. From the material published against Wilde various patterns emerged. First, within the global medical frameworks that were present during the nineteenth century, the public advocated the existence of germs and the need for the government to fully incorporate germ theory into their medical governance as the proper mode to engage with the public.

[103] Within the material of *El Mosquito* the newspaper argued that Buenos Aires was feeling the full brunt of the epidemic due to the poor control of the national government in matters of public health. It fell to the city, and its intendent to ward off cholera.

[104] *Don Quijote* November 13, 1886

Figures such as Robert Koch and Jose Penna, a leading member of the Argentine medical community, a convert to the gospel of germs and opponent of Wilde became public figures. Government sponsored public assistance clinics were linked with furthering the damage of cholera to people. For *Don Quijote* and *El Mosquito* the epidemic demonstrated a government and Ministry of Interior that did not have clear agenda on how to establish a front against cholera. Second, building on the first criticism, the public pushed the government to fully permit the practice of cordons as a suitable prophylactic response of the provinces. Lastly, the plight of Tucumán gained national attention as a vehicle to criticize and pressure state and Wilde, for legislation permitting sanitary cordons. Viewing the nation as a body, the government and government officials were seen as the bacteria infecting the nation. Events such as soldiers bringing cholera to the northwest in the post-cordon period further cemented the notion of a disconnected and mismanaged state. It fell to individuals and regions to curtail state hegemony. Newspapers pushed for the public to actively resist the state in matters of health, within this context Tucumán and the northwest were representatives of the people.

"Gentlemen, I have told you,' quipped Wilde's character in drawing of *Don Quijote* 'if the microbe [cholera] returns, have no fear. I will simply send it to the interior."[105] The themes of cholera, Wilde and health mismanagement become interwoven. For the satirical newspaper, Wilde was the primary culprit of spreading cholera to the interior. *El Mosquito* created various drawings of the Ministry of Culture

[105] *Ibid*

openly celebrating his move away from there to the Ministry of Interior. [106]Depicted in a clown suit made of peso bills with his hair standing on end and using his foot to control things, Wilde was labeled with deliberately sending cholera to the interior through his deliberate attempts to destroy the sanitary cordons. In one drawing, his foot was drawn with the customary windmill on it wielding a pair of scissors engraved with the expression "Be gone sanitary cordons cutting a rope. The phrase under it read "with a phenomenal *pata* I cut the provincial cordon."[107]The use of the word *pata* over foot, which is the term used to denote an animal's foot and not a human, implies an impish dexterity in managing the sanitary cordons. The act of removing the cordons left an indelible mark on the image of Wilde. With cholera in full swing in the provinces, Wilde's image was further attacked. In one drawing, skeletons in robes were depicted with the names of the provinces of Córdoba, Rosario, Mendoza and Tucumán. "Even the dead,' stated the newspaper 'leave their tombs to harass me."[108] In this narrative, Tucumán played an important role. Its inclusion in the line of dead provinces haunting Wilde was also seen in the satirical letter a microbe that had moved from Buenos Aires and now practiced his profession in Tucumán:

I write to Wilde,
I came in the luggage of a priest.
I have snuck here and have now made chaos.
I have come to the city of *chucho* (malaria-San Miguel).
You would be surprised, there is less hygiene here than there (Buenos Aires).
At times I eat up to 100 *Tucumanos* a day.
I have arrived here and to this glory thank you.
I am strong and fat thanks to you

[106] *El Mosquito* October 26, 1886
[107] *El Mosquito* December 5, 1886
[108] *El Mosquito* January 9, 1887

To you, I owe it.
Signed,
A Microbe

In the public sphere, the events in Tucumán were directly connected to Wilde. Aspects of the governance of the period were indirectly attacked. The use of the priest's luggage as the vehicle of disease is of importance. Wilde, a member of the Generation of 80, promoted secularism and had an overall distrust of the Church as an institution. [109]The lack of hygiene in both Buenos Aires and Tucumán further ridiculed Wilde for his mishandling of the practice of hygiene in the nation. This was especially damaging for Wilde, since prior to the epidemic he had taught at the University of Buenos Aires a course on Public Hygiene and was part of the first cohort under his mentor Guillermo Rawson, to push for the inclusion of public hygiene as a concentration in the medical field. His various essays and works on the role of public and private hygiene were even used as the textbooks in hygiene courses. As Minister of Interior, a position considered the most important in the executive cabinet, he directly oversaw the National Department of Hygiene. For *Don Quijote,* on paper Wilde was the ideal candidate but his personal politics and outdated understanding of contagion had obfuscated and made ineffectual his governance.

Wilde was part of coalition of "political bacteria" that were perceived to be sickening the nation. Utilizing medical discourse, *Don Quijote* applied latinate words to various political figures drawn as horned animals, snakes and spiders closely related to the visual depictions of miasmas and germs. Latinate words were applied to politicians

[109] Later in his term, Wilde would push through legisltaiton that made education secular.

that was a play on their names and gave a clue to their public perception. This permits an understanding of how the epidemic informed the views on these figures. Carlos Pellegrini, the vice-president was given the name *Coma Pellegrilarguinis*. *Coma*, the Latin word for apathy, created an image of Pellegrini as disconnected from the process of arresting disease. Pellegrini was not Juárez Celman's first choice as a running mate. The vice-president was a loyal *roquista* and served as a connection for Juárez Celman to *porteño* political circles and as a buffer to Dardo Rocha. It is difficult to measure Pellgrini's image within the first few months of his administration, but he was involved in the removal of Juárez Celman in 1890. Juárez Celman was included in the narrative of the poisoned nation through governance. During the nineteenth century, cholera was referred to as "The Scourge of the Ganges." Thus, the new president was connected to an imagery of an epidemic reigning on the nation. The economy became the "germs" to the epidemic of Juárez Celman. While *El Mosquito* was more tame than *Don Quijote* both papers reveal a faction willing to critique the officalist line evident in other newspapers. Some, such as *El Nacional*, did push the limits in questioning of state policy, the satirical newspapers offer a polar opposite of *Juarismo*. Their lack of advertisements, numbers of subscribers and the limited run of each newspaper opposition make it difficult to offer a precise measure of each newspaper's circulation.[110] Moreover, their lack of reporting news from various corners of the nation, indirectly imply that they were not connected to the national and railroad telegraph services. Thus, both were excluded from the major

[110] In her analysis of *Sud-America* and *La Tribuna Nacional* Paula Alonso uses the abundance of material as a form of offering some form tool to measure readership. The willingness of businesses to pay for advertisements shows how much the paper was consumed.

news sources of the period. Yet, *Don Quijote* and *El Mosquito* did have sales offices in Buenos Aires that covered local and provincial subscriptions. Since both had a very limited focus and emphasized graphics over words they were open to a broad population. Illiteracy, a process that was slowly being eroded in the 1880s was still widespread. Thus, the lower sectors of society that did not participate in the Argentine education system could engage the material. For those that could not directly engage it, scholars have discussed the act of public readings or social groups that came together to discuss the most recent news. [111]In her study of the public sphere of Buenos Aires, Hilda Sabato has centered on public processions, theatres and streets as collective action. With the rise of the press, newspapers and shared news became forms for citizens to directly interact. Thus, while newspapers such as *Don Quijote* and *El Mosquito* may or may not have had a widespread readership, public places became scenes where their content was shared, or as "space of mediation between civil society and political realm." [112]

Medicine and politics intersected in the dialogue that resulted from the sanitary cordons. Tucumán and its fellow northwestern provinces watched as cholera cemented itself in the littoral. The epidemic took place during a period in which the global medical community was in a point of transition. The discovery of the bacterium directly connected to cholera, promoted an incorporation of gem theory. Yet, "converts to the gospel of germs" were not immediate. In Argentina, the epidemic of 1886, unlike 1868, created a space for opposing factions within the medical community to directly engage in

[111] Maria Jose Navajas article *The political power of the word: press and oratory in nineteenth-century Latin America*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002. espacios publicos

[112] Hilda Sábato see Part III of *The Many and the Few: Political Participation in Republican Buenos Aires*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2001. quote from p. 12

discussion. For the northwest, these discussions were mediated on aspects of contagion. Working with local medical professionals, the choice to create the cordons and suspend all rail transportation into the region, was based on an understanding that disease was contagious and carried by humans. On the other hand, Eduardo Wilde, Minster of the Interior and hygienists, based his understanding of contagion on purification and sanitation. In this sense, there was no need to create separation between sick and non-sick. Wilde's assessment of quarantines and cordons was also based on the discussions taking place at the International Sanitary Conferences. Here, doctors, bureaucrats and hygienists divided in camps. Economic and political Liberals, such as the British, held that quarantines were inhumane and were destructive to commerce and employment. The other, primarily German and French, countered that diseases were contagious and their needed to be a buffer between people. The development of Argentina through a trade based economy pushed Wilde and Juárez Celman to ensure the continued movement of goods. This method fits conveniently with Erwin Ackernecht's contention that politics forms medical practice. Yet, the northwest benefited from the railroads and participated in trade. For *tucumano* sugar growers, who dominated the provincial seats of power and the corps of elites, the railroads assisted in introducing their sugar to the littoral and challenging sugar from Brazil and Cuba, which came refined. Within the public sphere, the government choice to overlook the plight of the northwest and undermine provincial autonomy exacerbated the tense political situation that the recent presidential elections had revealed. In the middle of the epidemic, the cooperation between province and state through doctors worked to ameliorate conflict.

Chapter 6: The Diseased Garden: Rural Uprising and Politics

The events in Tucumán became national news. The daily reports of the number of dead and the battles between the province and the central government captured national attention. In the end, it was almost unanimous among the Argentine doctors that next to Mendoza, Tucumán "has been the hardest hit by the epidemic."[1] In the province, doctors sent on behalf of the Ministry of the Interior held that their work was an uphill battle. Their suggestions and choices were continually second guessed or disregarded by the people and the needs of commerce.[2] These factors transformed the province into, "a den of death."[3]

In the 1887 memory of the Ministry of the Interior, Eduardo Wilde related to the executive government that in the midst of the epidemic, the government took certain steps that did not fully fall under its purview, but in the end was under the moral obligation to take them. Further referencing the abolishment of the sanitary cordons, Wilde added that in the post epidemic period, "the government has been blamed for inaction and the extension of its role."[4] In the face of epidemiological crisis, the government held it was obliged to take severe acts of repression to "squash the resistance put up in the name of the terror and misunderstanding."[5] The diverse responses

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[1] José Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera en la Provincia de Tucumán.* Tésis (Buenos Aires, University of Buenos Aires, School of Medicine, 1887) p. 13

[2] *Ibid.,.,* p. 14

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 17

[4] *Memoria del Ministerio del Interior de la República Argentina presentada al Congreso Nacional de*. Buenos Aires: Impr. del Siglo, 1887 .p.6

[5] *Ibid.,* p.9

undertaken nationally and the work of the provinces to establish sanitary cordons demonstrated to Wilde that the central government was in need of a national commission to oversee public health equally in all regions of the nation.[6] Prior to the epidemic, related Wilde, there was no measure that established the role of the Ministry in matters of public health equally in both the capital and, "extend all the benefits to all the areas of the nation."[7] With national oversight, it would, in theory strike a balance between the provinces and the nation. These sentiments culminated in the 1887 national medical conference that took place weeks following the epidemic.

Nevertheless there was divided between the hopes of the Ministry of the Interior and the national executive branch. The Ministry of Interior's push for cohesion and consolidation significantly differed from Miguel Juárez Celman's assessment of the epidemic and his first year as president. Heralding himself as a consolidator, the president reported to the national congress that his first year had witnessed him stamping out moments of opposition and continually formulating new ways to cement the new contours of his governance in the distant interiro. The establishment of sanitary cordons and the pressure placed on *juaristas* in Tucumán during the epidemic were, for the president, attempts of the, "party of the opposition … [to] override peace, the constitution and progress."[8] These views were echoed in the national press. In offering a report on the first year, *La Tribuna Nacional* held that peace in 1886 and 1887 had emanated from the

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 14
[7] *Ibid.*,
[8] *El doctor d. Miguel Juárez Celman presidente de la República en el primer año de su gobierno, Octubre 1886-1887*. (Buenos Aires: Imp. "La Patria", 1887).p. 8

steps and needs of the central government.[9] For the executive branch the epidemic offered a moment to establish new forms of national order and governance. In closing his remarks to the congress, the president held, "I have not forgotten the principles of my program."[10]

This chapter argues that the epidemic reveals two parallel patterns of state formation within the context of the epidemic. As doctors looked to repair the damage of an overbearing state, the executive branch utilized the epidemic as pretext to further destabilize the province and establish national order through an alternative perception of national order. In short, through medical intervention in Tucumán Juárez Celman, completed what *Sud America* considered, "the unfinished work of Roca…controlling the urban and rural masses who are the under deceived control of others…to resolve the various problems of the nation."[11] The executive branch and the Ministry of Interior had differing views on the way in which federalism functioned in a unitary nation-state.[12] In matters of public health, Wilde sought to create a federalized national health care where each province was involved in national decisions pertaining to epidemics, further permitting each province to have control over finances and given wide ranging administrative autonomy. This structure was still, in the end, unitary since the National Department of Hygiene and Ministry of Interior could still override local decisions and

[9] *Ibid.,* 79
[10] *Ibid.,* p. 80
[11] *Miguel Juárez Celman presidente de la República en el primer año de su gobierno,* p. 125
[12] The development of federalism as an alternative to a unitary nation-state has produced a robust scholarship among political scientists examining Europe. As Daniel Ziblatt discusses in *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006.), scholars have established federalism's development and maturation along aspects of ideas, culture or power.

place the state at the center. [13] This process was not overbearing for the provinces, since culturally and historically Argentina had been moving towards a process of consolidation, in which through institutions, such as the national congress, the state was limited in its ability impose itself without the consent of the provinces.[14] The image of an imposing state begins to fall apart when moments of negotiated space arise, such as discussions over jurisdiction of medical supplies. It fell to doctors, hygienists and public aid commissions to mend the strands the president, the Ministry of Interior and the province were tearing apart. Indeed, personal networks over state bureaucracies are a key area in viewing the state-in-action. As Pierre Bordieu cautions, structures and aspects of the state cannot be solely applied to the state.[15]

In order to better understand the opposing aspects, it is important to examine the conflagration in Tucumán. This chapter argues that the through the exchange of medical personnel, funds, supplies and information the province and Ministry of Interior worked to move beyond the tensions that arose from the debacle of the sanitary cordons and exercise a governance that differed from the one espoused by the executive branch. Under the guidance of the Ministry of Interior, doctors Jose R. Avila, Diego Garcia and Benjamin Aráoz, eventual governor of Tucumán and close ally of Juárez Celman, were sent to the northwest to assist local doctors and hygiene commissions and act as mediators between province and nation. Their ties to their home province and experiences in Buenos Aires made them ideal candidates to understand the needs of

[13] *Structuring the State* Kindle Edition location 237 of 5260
[14] See Natalio Botana *El Orden Conservador*
[15] Pierre Bourdieu. 1994. "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field". *Sociological Theory.* 12, no. 1: 1.

nation and region. They were not the only Buenos Aires based doctors sent to Tucumán. Working through the *Comision Nacional de Auxilos de Tucumán*, former president Julio Roca, sent supplies, doctors and funds to cultivate relationships with local leaders to further strengthen ties in the province in the post election period. In the events during the epidemic, various medical factions battled over the extent of their jurisdiction and the proper method to combat cholera. In the end, the ability of the state and the provinces to establish stronger ties and have connections to banks and Wilde's connections to the medical faculty at the University of Buenos Aires were far stronger and substantive than the public assistance commissions of *Comision Nacional de Auxilos*. For local doctors, the constant dearth in supplies resulted in their need to rely on the "nationally endorsed" doctors. These divisions and tensions filtered into discussions of national politics and Tucumán's place in the president's new administration.

Following the exclusion of *juaristas* from participating in the national elections and the removal of Tucumán as another piece of the president's national coalition, the epidemic offered detractors of "Los Situacionistas" space to directly critique Posse's government on the management of province's public health, finances and the doctors. Events in the countryside, such as urban-based contentions of exploitation of the sick by *curandero*s, pharmacists selling diluted medications, the various uprisings by citizens against doctors, most vividly seen in the case of people from the small rural town of Los Sarmientos in Rio Chico, who came together to attack and kill members of the rural hygiene commission on supposed rumors to poison them through cholera medications,

and the government's destruction of various small fruit ranches due to the perception that fruit was foci of "disease and indolence" sparked widespread calls for his resignation.

In the press these battles became public spectacle. *El Deber*, representing *juarsitas* and *El Orden*, the official organ of the provincial government, battled over the non-medical consequences of the epidemic. The former, asserted that the epidemic brought to light the true nature of the Posse government as inept and authoritarian. The latter, held that in light of the great strides the epidemic continued to make, the provincial government was assisting in the development of the national medical field and cementing the patterns of cooperation between province and nation. For *El Orden* the main vector of the disease was the population that continually looked to operate outside of the suggestions of the medical field. These battles served as fodder for the 1887 Revolution. In the revolution, Posse's government arrested and suspended the publication of *El Deber*. Calling upon the assistance of the national executive branch, local *juaristas* cited the infringement of personal rights and with the help of forces from Córdoba staged a provincial coup. Juárez Celman supported the coup and pushed the national congress to pass the right for federal intervention in the province. With its passing, *Juarismo* was established in Tucumán until it fell with the president in the Revolution in the Park of 1890.

The various topics covered in the reports on the epidemic and the reports of young doctors completing their fieldwork in Tucumán, offer a unique window into everyday perceptions of cholera and the various ways in which the disease filtered into unrelated

issues. In the narratives of the disease, citizens attached social, cultural, political and economic contexts to speak on a variety of subjects. In an analysis of advertisements, it also shows how the healthy and the sick engaged with the formation of the medical field and professional disputes between doctors and pharmacists. In these areas, citizens freely oscillated between being *sanitary citizens* and *unsanitary subjects*.[16] The attempt by the provincial governments to regulate citizens in matters of health was continually questioned and required doctors to adapt and reformulate their interaction with diseased citizens. Doctors from the province and the state, offer a window into how the state was perceived and acknowledged in peripheral regions of the nation. While formal medicine was intimately tied to the emerging national institutions that educated, codified and regulated those involved in the art of healing, their ability to engage with the populace was greatly limited. The abundance of popular medicine and homeopathic remedies that were intermeshed with personal networks of citizens closed off the state from participating in the exchange of medical information and healing and reveals that the state's engagement at the ground level was overall limited. In this epidemic, like the one of 1868, the provincial government shifted from being purely bureaucratic to more medical in its composition. Indeed, many of the municipalities of the rural regions incorporated hygienists and doctors into their councils. In peripheral rural regions, doctors traveled to assist the sick and creates links while doctors were willing to travel

[16] I borrow these terms from Charles L Briggs and Clara Mantini-Briggs. *Stories in the Time of Cholera Racial Profiling During a Medical Nightmare*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2003. Their work on the 1992-1993 cholera epidemics in the Delta Amacuro in eastern Venezuela assisted in their development of the binary between citizens and subject in public health. Sanitary citizens were those who incorporated modern medical concepts and behaviors to avoid disease and unsanitary subjects that either freely or incapable of taking care of themselves; thereby, potential harming the collective whole. P. xvi

and work in smaller settlements and become agents of the state. This created what can be considered a "chain of clients" from the president, to the Minister of the Interior, to the provincial governor and trickling down to the various health and hygiene commissions created in the numerous provinces. While a hierarchical pyramid is present, this chapter shows that for an analysis of the state, the smooth transition from one level down to the next was filled with problems of a state attempting to expand its control and falling short in the peripheries. This takes on another dimension when the acrimonious relationship between province and state is taken into consideration. An analysis of purely government records would automatically create the image of what J. Arch Getty defines as "well-organized and rational modern state."[17] The informal networks that operated within the bureaucratic structures are where the medical field consolidated to assist the province of Tucumán. In many ways, the state was absent from these interactions. As Victor Bruland noted in his report on the epidemic to the provincial government, administrative rivalries arose from *porteño* and Cordoban doctors arriving to Tucumán seeking to impose their position in local medical commissions and alter their practice, further adding that:

> I do not minimize the efforts of Dr. [Benjamin] Aráoz, but it is my duty as former Director of Public Assistance to vindicate the incontestable merit of Tucuman's medical cohort gained during the epidemic. Certain *porteño* newspapers have attempted to give all the glory of the disappearance of cholera to doctors sent to Buenos Aires, making the work of our young doctors to be sad and limited. [18]

[17] J. Arch Getty. *Practicing Stalinism: Bolsheviks, Boyars, and the Persistence of Tradition*. 2013. preface

[18] *El Orden* March 1, 1887

Instead, Dr. Bruland noted that the consolidation among rival doctors was assisted due to provincial and national doctors having similar educational backgrounds and sharing classes together in the Medical School of the University of Buenos Aires. Moreover, outside of doctors sent by the Ministry of Interior, public organizations *Comision Nacional de Auxillos de Tucumán* (CNAT) and Red Cross sent doctors and the CNAT also constructed a hospital in San Miguel. The varying medical practices, goals and overseers required doctors to create medical networks to compensate for state limitations. Upon their arrival to Tucumán, outside doctors had to work with local powers to practice within province-funded hospitals and to engage with the local community. Simultaneously, both local and national doctors worked to expose a hesitant public to technical medical practices and further cement the place of doctors to cure next to popular medicine. [19]

An Insalubrious City

Throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, San Miguel was considered a dirty and insalubrious city within an even unhealthier province. In 1882, Paul Groussac noted that the province was in a state of poor hygiene. "Hygiene, to this day,' he noted, 'has been one of the areas public administration has more often overlooked."[20] The French traveler Emilie Daireaux echoed these sentiments when he arrived to Tucumán in the late 1880s. [21] Writing on the location of Tucumán and its environment and salubrious conditions, he stated: "[Tucumán is] Under a hot climate and

[19] *Ibid.*,

[20] Paul Groussac *Memoria histórica y descriptiva de la provincia de Tucumán*. (Buenos Aires: Impr. de M. Biedma, 1882.)

[21] Emile Daireaux, *Vida y costumbres en el Plata*. Buenos Aires: F. Lajouane, 1888.

physically draining atmosphere. Amid the fumes of the marshes [they] till the soil, plant [sugar] cane and harvest malaria."[22] Following 1876 and the rapid development of the sugar industry, health conditions deteriorated. Deaths records collected in the main churches of San Miguel, demonstrated a consistent increase in the amount of deaths registered from 1876 to 1890, with certain years having high peaks.[23] Dr. Jose Roque Avila, who wrote his dissertation under the guidance of the head of the National Department of Hygiene, Pedro A. Pardo asserted that living conditions in the city were abysmal. Areas such as *La Tablada* and *La Laguna* which were situated six blocks from the main plaza were comparable to modern-day shanty towns. Consisting of a two block radius, this area was the city's slaughterhouse and poultry lot. The uneven and unpaved streets, gave way to large puddles forming that overflowed in the rainy summer months in which the epidemic took place. On the days it did not rain, Dr. Avila noted that trash and refuse would collect in these ditches that gave off "emanations of decomposition…covered in algae."[24] The houses measuring roughly four square meters were to Avila, "primitive housing and akin to an encampment of Indians."[25] The ground was the same dirt floor found on the outside of the home. Made of either tin found in the garbage piles of the city, but predominately of *quincha* and covered in hay roofs, the

[22] *Ibid.,* 427

[23] María Paula Parolo, Daniel Campi and María Estela Fernández's "*Auge Azucarero, mortalidad y políticas de salud en San Miguel de Tucumán en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX*" in Estudios Socialies vol 38, 2010. There were peaks in burials in 1878, 1882, 1883 and 1884. The numbers of deaths during the cholera epidemic are not accounted for since the city was more or less empty, choleric bodies were cremated and many people did died at home and privately buried.

[24] José Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera en la Provincia de Tucumán* p. 21

[25] *Ibid.,*

houses were not made to withstand harsh weather conditions. [26] While the roof did protect the inhabitants from wind and the sun, they were not waterproof and it often rained inside. Animal skins served as front doors, interior dividers and beds. Housing up to six family members, many also rented out spaces to laborers from the countryside of neighboring provinces. It was in these areas where the first cases of cholera in San Miguel were concentrated. The lack of toilet services permitted choleric dejections to pool and filter into local water supplies or the water used to wash fruit and vegetables. The fear of the disease pushed many of the inhabitants of the area to flee into the countryside. For Avila, this movement expanded disease vectors into regions that did not have any direct connection to rail lines or waterways.[27] The "poisoning" of the environment was not exclusive to only the urban and rural poor that encircled the city. Employees from the various lazarettos that were constructed in response to the disease used the Rio Salí, a river that ran north and south parallel to the city and connected to various waterways that provided water for drinking, irrigation and transport for all of Tucumán, western Santiago del Estero, Catamarca and northern Córdoba, as a watershed. Under the order of the municipality, the occasional choleric cadaver was thrown on the banks of the river and medical waste found its way as well.[28]

Housing in the rural zone was similar to what found in the countryside, especially in the seasonal housing of *conchavos* coming to work the sugar harvest in the *tucumano* sugar belt. In the lands given to temporary workers arriving to ingenios during the zafra,

[26] Quinhca is a housing material composed of mud mixed with wood, cane or reeds. The local sugar fields most likely provided free housing supplies with old canes. The word is Quechua.

[27] José Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera en la Provincia de Tucumán* 21-23

[28] *El Orden* January 23, 1887

such workers were permitted to build modest temporary huts. Food was provided, but some attempted to grow small *huertas* for basic sustenance outside of the limited rations provided by the *ingenio.* "Epidemics punish these poor people…such as cholera."[29] Sanitation was a constant struggle that was overall loosely controlled by the ingenio owner. A report from the National Department of Labor in 1910 on the living and working conditions of sugar workers noted that bosses were constantly battling against their workers to enforce hygiene and general cleaning practices, but were more or less powerless. Daily baths and weekly disinfections through lye became mandatory. With regard to medicine, observers of the period noted that folk religiosity and popular medicine were much more common than any reliance on scientific medicine. In the *ingenios* of Jujuy, children ran barefoot and wore rings believed to protect them from ailments. [30] The interaction of various people and belief systems in the sugar *ingenios* created areas of cultural exchange.

The measures taken did not dissuade the public from entering into a state of panic. In response, many left the city to hide in the countryside. Commerce came to a standstill as peons from the sugar and railroad industry left their work to avoid the disease. During the nineteenth century various characteristics on cholera developed. Medical scientists held that cholera was incompatible to regions endemic with malaria. Thus, areas such as

[29] Emile Daireaux, *Vida y costumbres en el Plata*. 440-441

[30] María Paula Parolo, Daniel Campi and María Estela Fernández's "Auge Azucarero, mortalidad y políticas de salud en San Miguel de Tucumán en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX"

Tucumán did not to take precautions when cases similar to cholera breakout.[31] In his report on his time in Tucumán, Dr. Diego Garcia a young medical student at the University of Buenos Aires, argued that cholera was in constant contention with malaria and acted as a natural buffer to it reaching epidemic proportions.[32] Italian doctors had advanced this contention when they observed that cholera only appeared in periods where malaria cases fell. Thus, "the intermittent fever that characterized malaria, spikes immediately before a cholera epidemic and conclude after it has appeared…malaria reappears after the epidemic has concluded."[33] Only recently, had Robert Koch identified the bacterium that was directly responsible for cholera. In dealing with patients, Avila noted that, many thought the cramps, fevers and chills from cholera was a gastro-intestinal ailment that came into contact with malaria or typhus and transformed into cholera.[34]The endemic nature of malaria in Tucumán gave national and provincial doctors a false sense of safety. Feelings of security due to natural prophylactics were not exclusive to Tucumán or the medical field.[35] *El Orden* worked to assuage fears of cholera and an epidemic by arguing for the benefits of history and malaria. Harking back to 1868, the newspaper held that the province's previous contact with cholera was short and limited to one backcountry region. Second, the abundance of malaria in all areas of the province acted as a natural buffer on cholera gaining a foothold in Tucumán. These ideas

[31] *El Orden* 12/5/86 and Diego Garcia, *El Cólera: Estudio preparado sobre observaciones recogidas en Tucumán en la última epidemia.* Tésis (Buenos Aires, University of Buenos Aires, School of Medicine, 1887

[32] Diego Garcia *El Cólera* p.12 and 37

[33] José Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera en la Provincia de Tucumán* p.47

[34] *Ibid.,*

[35] See Mariola Espinosa, *Epidemic Invasions Yellow Fever and the Limits of Cuban Independence, 1878-1930*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press.2009.) Chp 2 discusses that during the late 1890 outbreaks in the southern US, numbers regions took different responses to malaria based on preconceived notions of immunity based on geography, weather and other natural causes.

filtered among the citizens of Tucummán. Dr. José Roque Avila noted in his report that many *Tucumanos* took the belief of incompatibility of malaria and cholera as a scientifically based truth. Complicating matters for local doctors, Avila added that the majority of citizens were not clear on the differences between cholera and a strong case of diarrhea. Similar patterns were evident in the Argentine medical field, which had established various forms of cholera based on degrees of severity.

In an article entitled "Unnecessary Panic" the writers of *El Orden* speaking behalf of the provincial government attempted to alter public opinion on the threat of cholera. Citing fear on the possibility of conflagration as "unwarranted," the press was hesitant to classify cases of death by diarrhea as cholera. Reporting on two suspicious recent deaths in San Miguel, the newspaper held that the deaths were due to"gastro-intestinal disorders." Althought, medical scientists had discovered the root of the disease in bacteria, the numersou detractors of germ theory still looked for an explanation of how individuals came into contact with the bacteria. Ranging from hereditary to social and moral causes, doctors looked to areas such as class, gender, profession and location as the true roots to disease. The first story created a connection between fruit and disease that was advanced by *El Orden* during the scope of the epidemic. Dating back to the 1868 epidemic, doctors and hygienists saw fruit as part of a corpus of foods that were to be avoided in the summer months, due to the miasmatic gases the fruit carcass emitted or its diarrheic properties. Common among the urban and rural popular classes, fruit came to symbolize notions of backwardness and indolence with ties to the region's Hispanic-colonial past. This story illuminates how elites' incorporation of all things North

American and European did not trickle down as quickly to the popular classes. An unnamed teenage girl ate overripe figs, "which we know caused diarrhea" and succumbed to the ailment. Like the moral reformers of Buenos Aires, morality and disease was intertwined among the moral hygienists of the city. As part of a subculture of the late nineteenth century, morality, disease and sexuality were combined as part of national elites creating a national race of proper, healthy and clean citizens that were adaptable to the national project of modernizing the nation.[36] The second anecdote was of a woman who lived on the fringes of San Miguel. She was said to have taken, "liberty and abuses of dietary needs. The next morning she left uncovered." Implying immorality in relation to behavior and the consumption of fruit, *El Orden* argued that both cases gave similar symptoms to cholera and could easily be interpreted as cholera, but were not the disease. Offering now basis for their assertion, the newspaper warned the inhabitants of San Miguel the proper behavior and moderation were the only things needed to avoid contact with disease. [37] For *El Orden*, these actions were imperative in order for citizens to compensate for the national governments mishandling of the sanitary cordons and poor management of the ports of Buenos Aires. Since cholera was "apolitical," it was important to not rely on the relief efforts of the national government, and instead to look to the individual level of disease prevention.

[36] See, Julia Rodríguez. *Civilizing Argentina Science, Medicine, and the Modern State*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006)

[37] *El Orden* November 9, 1886

Cholera arrives and stays

As panic festered and inhabitants of the city left, the National Army's Fifth Cavalry arrived at the southern edges of the city. Traveling to the north to suppress an Indian rebellion in the Chaco region, the cavalry was sent to remove the sanitary cordon. As they arrived on November 28, 1886 to the San Felipe station a few miles south of San Miguel, they were greeted by members of the Red Cross and the local chemist Federico Schickendantz and Dr. Eliseo Cantón.[38] News had notified the authorities in Tucumán that various soldiers on the train had demonstrated clear signs of cholera. When the medical team arrived, a sergeant and two soldiers were the ones stricken with the disease. In anticipation of the news, the Red Cross and the Medical Tribunal had rented out a few rooms from the hacienda of Don Emilio Palacio that was within walking distance of the station, converted into a lazaretto to house the sick and assist in their recuperation. By nightfall the train left with supplies and food from Tucumán and moved north to Salta. The next day, Juan Bazán, a soldier originally from La Rioja, succumbed to cholera, while under the care of Dr. Cantón. [39] The remaining soldiers who arrived in the advanced stage of the disease, passed away upon their arrival to Tucumán. The last possessions of the dead were burnt in order to limit the possibility of exposing more people to cholera. As the train moved through the northern regions of Tucumán and southern Salta, various cases among soldiers and rail workers were reported. As more

[38] In "Córlera y Revolucion" Carlos Paez de la Torre identifies Carlos Lowerhard, Matias Zalazar, Juan Ninci, Américo Alvarez and Luis Crippa as the Red Cross team. The Sergeant from the Fifth cavalry was Benjamin Caballos, and the soldiers Escipión Romero, Juan Tatigas and Juan Bazán.

[39] *El Orden* 11/29/86

soldiers died, the train stopped to bury its dead. In the areas it stopped, cases of cholera were reported days later.[40]

In under a week, cases of cholera began appearing in San Miguel. The following week natural and manmade vectors spread it to the surrounding countryside. The time between the first deaths from soldiers to the eventual initial deaths in the city was expected. The few doctors that were willing to label the cases as cholera held that cholera required an incubation period. This period was the most opportune time to take action, any period after made it more difficult to stamp out the disease. The first cases were a day laborer Felipe Robles who died with seven hours of arriving to the lazaretto where the soldiers had died. [41]This was followed with the death of a young boy who lived across from the central market place within blocks of the main plaza, fell ill and died. This incident was followed by the death of a tramway driver whose route circled the main plaza. Cholera was seen as a disease of the poor. Jose Roque Avila, a young doctor from the University of Buenos Aires sent on behalf of the national government to work under Dr. Benjamín Aráoz and a student of Dr. Pedro A. Pardo head of the National Department of Hygiene, reported that in the first weeks of the epidemic cholera deaths averaged one every two days. While Córdoba had been able to stave off the epidemic from reaching larger proportions, in Tucumán, "time was left to run with no hygienic measures being taken."[42]

[40] José Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera en la Provincia de Tucumán* p. 18
[41] Ibid
[42] José Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera en la Provincia de Tucumán* p. 20

Cholera's arrival was not without its own political intrigue. *El Orden* questioned why the military convoy was only sent to Tucumán and not its fellow cordon initiators Santiago del Estero and Catamarca. Situated within Catamarcan territory, it would have, according to the *tucumano* press, fallen to that province to receive the cavalry. Moreover, the local press cited the president's recent open telegram to the nation that argued for the right of provincial autonomy. Nevertheless, following disapproval from the Ministry of the Interior, the provincial government notified doctors at Recreo to cease their operations and return to their provinces. This telegraph was never received and Eduardo Wilde ordered the movement of the cavalry to the north. [43] A rising suspicion grew that the telegraph offices of both the national telegraph service and of the *Ferrocarril Central Norte* (FCCN), both under the management of *Juaristas*, had purposely held back the telegrams in hopes of having the executive branch intervene through military action and depose the Posse government.

In the weeks preceding its arrival, the provincial government began to take steps at a time that *El Orden* considered "confusing and a breakdown in national coverage on the development of disease in various cities of the nation."[44] Under Posse, the Medical Tribunal, comprised of local doctors and chemists, was called to action to, "immediately improve the medical and hygienic conditions of the province, in light of a possible epidemic invasion."[45] Operating relatively autonomously from the provincial government, the Medical Tribunal called upon rural and urban doctors to establish

[43] *El Orden* February 11, 1887
[44] *El Orden* November 9, 1886
[45] *El Orden* February 11, 1887

province-wide precautionary measures. With respect to rural doctors, operating in isolated regions, it was important to establish channels of communication so they could keep abreast of developments in San Miguel. [46] The Medical Tribunal, however, did not have financial autonomy. Financial matters, payments, ordering of supplies, and the shipment of supplies to the numerous hygiene commissions in the countryside, still required approval from the provincial government.

As in 1868, the plans of the provincial hygiene commissions were replicated and met with agreement in other provinces of the region. Absalon Rojas, Governor of Santiago del Estero responded with, "we think it is important that all the provinces come to some accord on hygiene measures."[47] Yet, things were much different in 1886. First, the provincial government, through the various health commissions in the province, took on a more active role in assessing how hygiene conditions were throughout the province. Unlike 1868, when the management of public health fell to the numerous commissaries, by 1886, the commissaries worked with local hygiene commissions and placed in a more secondary role. The expansion of the provincial government into the more distant regions and the increase in provincial doctors resulted in the elimination of each town creating their own health measures. Through the Medical Tribunal a more uniform prophylactic policy was established that sought to battle disease through sanitation and the removal of infectious material: fruit, trash and isolating the sick. Second, the Medical Tribunal linked itself to the *Consejo Nacional de Higiene* (National Council of Hygiene) thereby

[46] *ibid.,*
[47] *El Orden* November 9, 1886

creating a connection with an institution much more closely tied to the national executive branch. This was a significant development from 1868, when the lack of a national health institution pressed the provinces to create rudimentary organizations at the provincial or regional level. The reach of the national hygiene commissions was still limited. The form of communication between Tucumán and the National Department of Hygiene was narrow. During the epidemic the occasional telegram, did not go beyond relating the "sanitary states of the city" and listing the number of deaths in Buenos Aires. While channels of interaction were created, the NDH and the CNH were primarily confined to the city of Buenos Aires. Bureaucratic growth consolidated the numerous municipal hygienic commissions in the capital and pushed both into the province of Buenos Aires. But this process was not smooth, although the NDH appropriated the *Consejo de Higiene Provincial*, internal bickering and divisions limited its functions.[48] Under auspices of the Ministry of the Interior, the NDH looked to take the initial steps in consolidating the various medical organizations under one singular oversight committee. Yet, in order for the medical field to merge together, the NDH required the willingness of the provinces or cohesion through alternative mediums. The Ministry of Interior's utilization of the medical faculty at the UBA to bridge the gap between province and state gave positive results in a slow progression to unification. With connections to medical assistance at the national level, the Tribunal centered on local focis of infection.

[48] Ricardo González-Leandri "Breve Historia del Departamento Nacional De Higiene. Estado, Gobernabilidad y Autonomía Médica en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX" in. *Un Estado con rostro humano: funcionarios e instituciones estatales en Argentina, desde1880 hasta la actualidad*. Ed. Ernesto Lázaro Bohoslavsky and Germán Soprano. (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2010.) Pp. 59-85 The bickering is seen in Pardo and Wilde's falling out during the 1886 epidemic and the inability of Wilde to have more control over the NDH

The Tribunal began disinfecting and bleaching the streets, brackish water was drained and it monitored the quality of the environment and food.[49] Doctors were placed at the *Mercado del Sud* and the *Mercado del Oeste* to inspect crops, meats and produce sent from the countryside to sell in San Miguel. Neighborhood watch groups were created to monitor the hygienic practices of the inhabitants. Although its intentions were clear, the neighborhood inspectors often overlooked their duties. *El Orden* published a note from the Tribunal, reminding it inspectors to not forget their duty. [50] In the countryside, the management of the municipal hygiene commissions was left to each individual council, but they kept a close tie with the work being done in the capital. The head of the Monteros municipality, a central town in the south central region of the province, wrote to the provincial government notifying that a lazaretto was being built at the edge of the town, but also requesting any guidance from San Miguel in terms of disinfecting, removal of dead bodies and a report on the sanitary conditions of the region. [51]

Medical Associations and Rivalries

Increased cooperation and communication between provincial and national health institutions during the epidemic was dotted with various points of conflict and national doctors questioning the quality of provincial doctors. Problems went further when Posse created a competing public health commission, Commission of Public Assistance, next to the Medical Tribunal. The goal of the division was to create sufficient coverage in the rural zones without overextending the municipal-based Medical Tribunal. In this

[49] *El Orden* November 24, 1886
[50] *El Orden* December 15, 1886
[51] AHT-SA Book 172 1886 Folio 325

structure, the Tribunal was confined to San Miguel where it reported directly to the municipality and the Minister of Governor Ignacio Colombres. The Commission of Public Assistance held authority over the rural hygiene commissions. Unlike the Tribunal, the CPA was only responsible for reporting to the provincial government, and in theory, superseded the municipal-centered Medical Tribunal. [52] Questions over jurisdiction arose. San Miguel was not located in any singular provincial department. Moreover, the exact limits of the city were vague. While towns like Yerba Buena were next to San Miguel, and had their own independent municipal council, thereby under the purview of the CPA, it fell within San Miguel's sphere of influence. The extent of the national public assistance commissions was even more nebulous. Members and supplies of the Red Cross and the *Comision Nacional de Auxillos,* which was replaced with the *Comision Nacional de Auxillos de Tucumán*, moved throughout the province. Under the guidance of the Medical Tribunal or the CPA, more often than not, they operated relatively free from any attempts for the provincial government to regulate and focus their assistance.[53] Initially, there was a mutual need for each other, but eventually this consent died out.

Victor Bruland, a French doctor who had been settled for many years in Tucumán, was the president of the Medical Tribunal and director of Commission on Public Assistance. In his final report to the governor on the accomplishments of the CPA, he concluded that its role and influence were not as pervasive as once hoped.

[52] AHT-SA Book 173 1887 Folio 334. Members were doctors Luis de la Peña, David Posse, Eliseo Canton, Jacocbo Garica, Alberto Soldati, Pedro Catalan Tiburco Padilla, Jr.
[53] AHT-SA Book 173 1887 Folio 334. Members were doctors Luis de la Peña, David Posse, Eliseo Canton, Jacocbo Garica, Alberto Soldati, Pedro Catalan Tiburco Padilla, Jr.

Disorganized and continually short of funds and personnel, it, like all other attempts of extending the influence of the capital to the rural regions, had failed. In both the rural and urban regions, doctors connected to the CPA, refused to see patients after certain hours and were overall hesitant to work collectively against the epidemic. Geographic and theoretical divisions had driven a wedge in the *tucumano* medical community. The incorporation of doctors from Buenos Aires only served to further divide these camps. While doctors such as Bruland had engaged the emerging germ theory, miasmatic practitioners and their stance on cholera moving through the air, found a healthy cadre of promoters. This internal bickering had created fertile ground for the province to limit itself in the ability to quickly stamp out cholera. For Bruland, two problems within the province assisted in its development. First, the internal squabbling between doctors on contagion theory impeded the government from actively promoting citizens to boil their water. Bruland asserted that this oversight allowed cholera to fester and spread among the female working class of *lavanderas*. Their constant contact with water and dirty choleric materials, such as sheets, undergarments and clothes placed them in direct contact with diseased material.[54] Bruland's attempt to spread information on the correlation between disease water and *lavandera* throughout the province was met with resistance. Miasmatic doctors countered that any bacteria found in the water was purified by the sun, thus eliminating this connection. Among proponents of germs, water was seen as the primary disease vector that could be controlled. This, nevertheless, was not an advent of the 1880s or of the medical sciences. As early as the 1868 epidemic doctors applauded the popular

[54] *El Orden* March 1, 1887

classes' practice of boiling water for consumption, for their daily yerba mate, as one crucial form of daily hygiene. Miasmatic doctors also looked to water as a spreader of disease, but it did not eclipse the role of fruit and immorality as the prime disease vectors among the lower classes.[55]

lavanderas worked as one of the many house servants that took care of household duties for the provincial elite and *clase decente*.[56] Comprised of the urban and rural poor, many were also from the families that came to Tucumán during the sugar harvest and worked to supplement the wages men earned as day laborers. The lack of any employment outside of working on the sugar fields pushed many to find employment in the city or small towns near the ingenios.[57] It was rare, however, for many to have long term employment in any single house or to be employed in one household. *El Orden* remarked on the difficulty in finding house employees, noting "those that are lucky, raised a *chinita* for the last fifteen or twenty years, in order to have her serve them in the future."[58] While an integral part of the running of a household, the upper and middle classes of the province had an overall negative attitude towards *lavanderas*. "They are lazy and indolent,' remarked *El Orden* and further added, 'the domestic service amongst us is comprised of thieves and corrupt individuals."[59] Often only working for a month or

[55] For in depth discussion see chapters 2 and 4 on the experiences of army doctors in Paraguay.

[56] Mary Ann Lizondo's work*The Impact of the Sugar Industry on the Middle Class of an Argentine City: San Miguel De Tucumán, 1869-1895*. Thesis (Ph. D.)--George Washington University, 1982, 1982, discusses in detail the trickledown effect of the sugar industry and the emergence of a proto-middle class that emanated from *la clase decente*. For Lizondo, the positive growths from the sugar industry assisted in the growth of professional sector of merchants, doctors and small shop owners.

[57] Emile Daireaux, *Vida y costumbres en el Plata*.

[58] *El Orden* February 25, 1887

[59] *ibid.*,

two at a time, the women quickly moved to the employment of another family. The *lavanderas* employed the water wells found throughout the homes of many in San Miguel. The German naturalist Herman Burmeister remarked that next to an orange tree, the water well was the most common trait of all the homes of San Miguel, regardless of social class. This fear was not without some basis.

The partial data compiled in the hospitals created during the epidemic demonstrates unequivocally that no other profession was as affected as those involved in the domestic sector. Among the 164 women who were accounted for in one of the four hospitals in San Miguel, eighty-nine worked in some aspect of the home.[60] There, the employed women quite possibly could have come in contact and spread cholera to other households and their own home where they came to wash clothes, prepare food and rear the children. The lack of sanitary conditions in these areas permitted choleric dejections to intermix with water utilized for drinking, cooking, cleaning and bathing. In Tucumán, doctors connected water and cholera outside of the realm of direct consumption. For doctors, *lavanderas* became dangerous spreaders of disease. "In all epidemics it has been noted the high mortality among *lavanderas* than any other profession…Argentine cities do not posses hygienic washing, where the clothes are not only washed but also disinfected. Here [Tucumán], as in other parts, a primitive system is used to wash clothes, which can contribute to the propagation of a contagious diseases during an epidemic."[61] The focus on *lavenderas* and their profession demonstrates that, while miasmas and

[60] Mucamas, lavanderas, costureras and cocineras
[61] Diego Garcia *El Cólera* p.41

germs were still being debated, in everyday practice among the young medical corps, a germ theory of disease was becoming commonplace and filtering down into the form in which women washed clothes. Moreover, it demonstrated how the medical field, citing scientific rigor sought to extend its reach into the private sphere. This, nevertheless, became a common problem for doctors since the sick and the healthy regularly moved or hid from doctors, or went into hiding in the countryside to create distance between sick and healthy.

Next to overlooking the disinfection of water, Bruland argued that the CPA and Medical Tribunal lacked a coordinated protocol on how to manage cholera in the early days of the epidemic. The early days of spotty coverage permitted its rapid spread in all areas of the province. For examples, in the first days the Medical Tribunal concentrated its efforts on a cholera infested tenement house on the edge of central San Miguel. Working with local police, the sick were evacuated from the building while it was disinfected; the inhabitants were held in quarantine for six days in the central plaza. Outside of housing, there was a miscommunication on which organization would provide for the people while they wereforcibly held. Problems soon arose. In the movement of people to the quarantine zone many simply did not follow along with the demands of the medical officials. Once there in the plaza, many simply left after being dislodged and looked for new housing. Thus, a concentrated disease zone was opened and spread by the same people that looked to stop cholera. It was not until the end of the epidemic, when the CPA and Medical Tribunal began to earnestly reorganize and synchronize through plans of how to properly dispose of choleric cadavers that a consolidated effort was

formed, by then, however, the epidemic had petered out and the death tolls slowly came to an end. [62] Yet for Bruland, this miscommunication and oversights were expected as the medical cohort was forced to double in size and scope in a short amount of time. If anything, it worked to help mature and improve the medical services in Tucumán. This sentiment was shared among all doctors, especially a few from Buenos Aires with close ties to the president.

Buenos Aires doctors were far more critical of Tucumán's medical corps. Benjamín Aráoz published scathing reports on local doctors, months after Bruland's testimony. For him, provincial doctors had a, "vague understanding of miasmas, so they were limited in their understanding of the differences in various diseases, especially cholera. For them, it was hard to pinpoint and say 'yes, this is cholera, no this is malaria.' The lack of any uniformity in treatment or medication in the northwest continually acted as an impediment." For Aráoz and the Ministry of the Interior the lack of uniformity in the provinces required a consolidation emanating from the state to improve medical services in the interior and strengthen the ties between both regions. Yet, the state also had to contend against organizations that worked outside of the scope of the state. Some like the Red Cross were willing to align themselves with the state, while others offered only a loose affiliation with the state.

The plight of Tucumán was not exclusive to only local organizations. The Red Cross, an international organization, in its infancy in Argentina, arrived to Tucumán

[62] *El Orden* March 1, 1887

providing medical assistance in the transportation of the sick from their homes to the hospitals. On behalf of the Ministry of the Interior, the Red Cross worked with national doctors[63] and the *Hermanas de Caridad.* The Sub-Comision Nacional de Auxillos de Tucumán (SCAT) was a subsidiary of the Sub-Comision Nacional de Axuxillos. The SCAT was composed of *Tucumanos* living and working in Buenos Aires with access to national credit through the bank and connections for donations. Unlike the general *Comision Nacional de Auxillos*, donations for the Tucumán sub-unit was not funded with any public donations collected from the general community, but solely from members of the coalition. For the SCAT this permitted the group to channel funds to the specific needs of their native province. [64] The SCAT was able to function independently due to the backing it received Julio Roca, who worked with local officials to situate the organization in a position beneficial to Posse. In Buenos Aires, Roca served as an intermediary between Posse's government and the national government and various public aid programs. Working with Bartolome Mitre, Roca collected over 500 beds to be sent to Tucumán and he secured a personal loan of 30,000 pesos that added to the 20,000 the SCAT had collected to serve as donations to assist in the province. [65] Outside of funds, the SCAT sent three doctors, twelve medical assistants, boxes of medicine, mineral water and medical tools. For the SCAT, its goal of assisting its home province coalesced with the need to "unite [medical] action."[66] While the smallest province in the

[63] Some of the doctors listed in the Ministry of Interior's report for the epidemic were José Avila, Juan B. Justo, Geronimoo del Barco, A. Bozetti, Cornelio Santiallan and Alfredo Madrazo.

[64] AHT-SA Book 173 1887 Folio 27

[65] *El Orden* Telegrams January 5-6, 1887

[66] AHT-SA Book 173 1887 Folio 26

nation, organizations such as the SCAT demonstrate the level of influence Tucumán had in Buenos Aires.

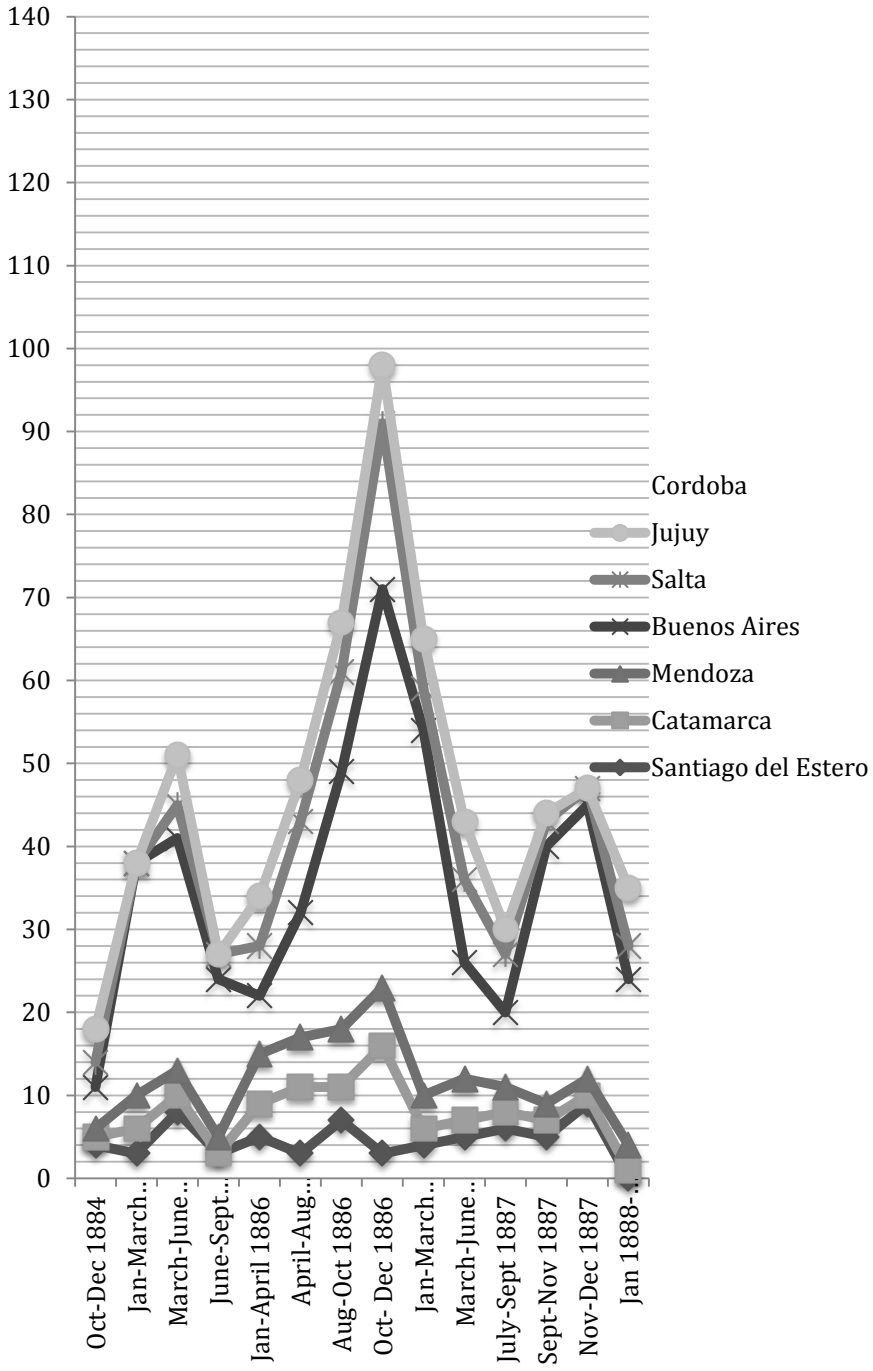
For Roca, the work to assist the province also had political motives. The events leading up to the recent presidential elections had almost excluded the former president from any semblance of influence in the province. Seeing the epidemic and public assistance as an opportunity to extend his reach, Roca worked to create further distance between Posse, and the *juarista* government and local support for the president. Wilde, countered these moves by also offering similar supplies. With the telegraph lines and railroads at his disposal, all supplies from the capital to the northwest were required Wilde's approval to be transported on government-owned lines. One of the first measures Wilde passed was the free transportation of supplies and doctors on the railroads. Serving as a vital tool, the amount of telegrams that entered the province before, during and after the epidemic, verify the increasing presence of the national government in Tucumán and the slow decrease in inter-regional cooperation. As the data shows, the provinces began exclusively communicating with Buenos Aires and inter-province communication was reduced to basic information. In the weeks of the sanitary cordons of the northwest and the establishment of the area of Recreo as the regions quarantine zone, the level of communication between Santiago del Estero and Córdoba to Tucumán, were as high as the amount from Buenos Aires. By the beginning of 1887, increased interaction and cooperation with the national government and public assistance organizations the

presence of northwestern provinces decreased. Buenos Aires remained constant.[67] (see Table 6.1) In Tucumán, towns from all corners of the province utilized the telegraphs to communicate news on the deaths and releases from the hospitals or any pertinent information needed to improve local conditions.

The province constructed three hospitals in San Miguel: Monteagudo, Rivadavia and San Roque. The Buenos Aires hospital was managed and funded by the SCAT. The numbers compiled from the hospitals must be taken with caution, since each hospital utilized different methods to compile their information. The Monteagudo hospital was the most administratively efficient. In its daily numbers sent to the governor, it listed an entrance log with age, nationality, profession, gender, state of disease and civil state. San Roque, on the other hand, simply listed amount of patients, daily deaths and remaining living patients. Material collected in the lazaretto Buenos Aires in its first three weeks of existence shows that the majority of the sick were men. Unmarried individuals were almost double the amount of cases reported to the hospital, at 143 over 72. Children and the elderly were the leas affected of all the age groups. Doctors in Tucumán established four stages for cholera. The primary areas for potential death were in the second and third stages. Of the amount of sick taken to the hospital, seventy-seven percent of them arrived in the most agonizing stages of the sickness. For those that came in this stage, nine of ten succumbed to the disease. In the final phase, doctors were unable. to save any of the few that arrived in these late stages.

[67] Data compiled from the AHT-SA Books 1885-1887 170-179

Telgrams Entering Tucumán from other provinces, 1884-1888
Table 6.1



For pregnant women who arrived in the late stages, doctors held that aborting the child would permit the mother to survive. The remaining data contains contradicting evidence as to whether this was practiced. Aráoz's report to Wilde confirms that this was a possible way to save the choleric mother, considering it a, "prime [form] to combat cholera", but maintaining that it was never practiced.[68] Diego Garcia confirms that in the Buenos Aires hospital, during the early stages when it was under the direction of *tucumano* Luis de la Peña, six women were given abortions. Of the six, four died, but due to some form of brain aneurism. It is unknown how prevalent abortions were in the hospitals, or if they were consensual. Material from the *Coleccion Folklore* mentions the existence of home remedies that could be used to induce a premature labor or late menstrual cycle.[69] For example, parsley is widely mentioned in the collections from Tucumán. The natural emmenagogue found in parsley assists the uterine wall in shedding excess lining, thereby causing menstruation. The process to seek out a country doctor or to ingest large quantities of parsley in either tea or direct consumption was chosen by each woman. It is difficult to know what pressure was placed on the woman in the hospital, if she willingly permitted or if the fear of cholera made her more willing to have the fetus removed. A look at northwestern culture implies that on religious grounds, the women would have disagreed with the procedure. Moreover, the presence of the *Hermanas de Caridad* a Catholic organization, would have disagreed with the procedure. In Juan Bialet Massé's work on the Argentine working class of the early twentieth century, he commented that the working class of the northwest practiced a loose

[68] Memoria del Ministerio del Interior p. 145
[69] Ibid

Catholicism that operated outside of the church as an institution, but were deeply involved in the various belief systems that Catholicism establishes. [70] The act of baptism, one of Catholicism's most important sacraments, is when the child is absolved of original sin and made a member of the church. To die without baptism would result in the child being in purgatory for eternity. Moreover, the death of a child required certain cultural practices as part of a proper burial. Referred to as *Angelitos*, wings of paper were made, while the parents were not permitted to cry in fear that the tears of the family would weigh the wings down and impede the child from ascending to heaven. [71] The burial, which would last over the night, involved various games, drinks and prayers as part of the wake. This process was central to the proper burial practices needed to ensure that the child would successfully pass from this life to the next. Hospitals, however, were few and far between. Prior to the epidemic, Tucumán was home to only one hospital. For many, this was their first interaction with someone from the medical professional field. This created a sense of distrust for hospitals.

The apprehension towards hospitals and convalescent homes was not exclusive to Tucumán. *Don Quijote*, a Buenos Aires-based newspaper, published numerous pieces and cartoons warning its readers to avoid the hospital's "experimental" procedures that ultimately caused more harm than good. Drawings such as the man's body resembling an accordion and being electrified were added with phrases stating, "Recently released from the convalescent home" or pictures of doctors with donkey heads beaten, inflating,

[70] Juan Bialet Massé *El Estado de las Clases Obreras Argentinas a Comienzos del Siglo*. (Córdoba, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1968.) p. 29

[71] Encuesta de Folklore de 1921, Tucuman Hereinafter CEFA

baking and giving poison to patients became common images for a distrustful public. Rivalries and divisions within the national medical field curtailed the ability of the Argentine medical field to fully engage with the public. While the ties between the Medical Faculty and state became strengthened in the 1860s under Minister of Interior Guillermo Rawson and further cemented during Eduardo Wilde during the 1886-1887 epidemic, there abounded various curing methods, homeopathic treatments, unregulated medications and the abundance of *curanderos* who were country doctors, healers and university trained doctors who never finished their degrees.

In 1870, Wilde wrote that the old guard of doctors with ties to the oligarchy had succeeded closing themselves off from all new medical methods, achieving exorbitant stipends from the government and never practicing their profession. [72]Further creating competition, the state never took a hard-line stance against popular medicine or looked to regulate their practice. The *curanderos* willingness to be accounted for in the census of 1867 and 1895 and their close association with governors, shows their open practice. Their use of both traditional medicine and popular medicine permitted them to be more accepted medical officials.[73] Most importantly, popular medicine was not exclusive to the rural and urban poor. Many elites and members of the *clase decente* also partook in accepting medical advice from all sectors of the health care system.

[72] Ricardo González Leandri *Curar, persuadir, gobernar: la construcción histórica de la profesión médica en Buenos Aires, 1852-1886*. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1999.) 18-23

[73] Ibid 53 and Steven Paul Palmer *From Popular Medicine to Medical Populism: Doctors, Healers, and Public Power in Costa Rica, 1800-1940*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.)

Number of attended and deaths in the four hospitals of San Miguel.
Table 6.2

	Attended	Releases	Deaths
Monteagudo	512	241	271
Buenos Aires	316	187	129
Rivadavia	237	163	74
San Roque	206	127	79

Data compiled from Diego Garcia, *El Cólera: Estudio preparado sobre observaciones recogidas en Tucumán en la última epidemia.* Tésis (Buenos Aires, University of Buenos Aires, School of Medicine, 1887

The unwillingness of *tucumanos* to go to the hospitals created difficulties in tabulating how pervasive the disease was and the percentage of deaths per sick in any areas outside of the hospital. Doctors estimated the population of the city during the epidemic at around 40,000. A mortality rate of 47.17 per 1,000 connects directly with the 1,887 bodies that were buried near the hospitals. [74] The data available for the number of deaths is ambiguous and hospital deaths varied. Dr. Jose Roque Avila states in his final report that 512 were housed at Monteagudo. Total deaths for Monteagudo were 221. For the San Roque hospital he recorded between 75 and 79 deaths. Dr. Benjamin Araóz and his team of doctors from Buenos Aires, estimated that roughly 3,432 caught the disease and were never treated in any of the hospitals in San Miguel, with a total of 1,412 in the countryside of San Miguel. [75] This presents roughly 7,600 sick with 3,511 deaths in a population of 40,000. Thus 20% of the population contracted the disease with a 46% death rate. [76] Doctors did, nevertheless, track the number of deaths per day and placed a close correlation between the weather, environment and disease contagion. The highest

[74] José Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera*
[75] Araóz offers a caveat to these numbers by stating that there is a rough 15% error margin. José Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera* 24-25
[76] *Ibid.,* 37

amount of deaths took place from mid-December to mid January. From December 18 to January 17, eighty-nine percent of all deaths occurred and were promptly buried. In this month, an average of 54 people died per day. By February, deaths had sharply dropped to less than one a day. [77] Doctors, such José Roque Avila, placed close attention on the correlation between "meteological observations" and spikes in deaths following moments of rain. Taking place in the humid summer months of northwestern Argentina, the ninety-seven day epidemic, had nineteen days of rain, often clumped together in three days of down pour. Incorporating miasmatic practice, Avila argued that, "When temperature and above all, humidity rises…it favors the decomposition of organic material deposited in the ground. This causes the debilitation of organisms and favors the development diarrhea. During the epidemic, I observed that days after it rained, the temperature and the amount of deaths rose."[78] Earlier in his report, Avila had discussed in detail the validity of Koch's work on germ theory. In Tucumán, with the poor salubrious conditions and inhospitable atmosphere, an explanation of deaths rising in the days following a downpour required an answer to understanding contagion and the increase in deaths. The high cases of malaria and its connection to humidity and mosquitoes were linked to understanding the movement of the disease in times of humidity. The incorporation of meteorological data also assisted in compensating for irregular and spotty data collection in other areas. Authorities in Tucumán never established a detailed procedure in which all hospitals, hygiene commissions and doctors were to compile and present information collected.

[77] Data compiled from José Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera* p. 26
[78] Ibid 45

The difficulty in compiling data was further compounded in the loose ties between doctors. Doctors from Buenos Aires, especially those sent under the Ministry of Interior did not practice in the city. Arriving and immediately being placed under the stewardship of the Posse government, these doctors were sent to towns such as Bella Vista, where letters from civil leaders discussed in detail the great strides the epidemic was making and the dearth in medical supplies. Like San Miguel, local leaders of Bella Vista's reach were severely limited once the sick were concentrated in the edges of the town. [79] Deaths, medical assistance and sick were more or less unknown. The hygiene commission of San Antonio Quisca, a town located near the southeastern border with Santiago del Estero, wrote to the governor requesting supplies and to report that plans of outlawing the consumption of fruit had been unsuccessful, since the majority of the inhabitants lived on the outside of the town and "there is nothing else to really eat out there."[80] The very rural areas were not alone, the municipality of Monteros, one of the province's larger secondary cities wrote to the governor, "we have almost no presence in the countryside where almost daily deaths occur that are occulted from us. The people have purposely absconded from us where they go to ingest large amount of fruits, which is the primary spreader of disease."[81] In administrative terms the province and state had been slowly expanding into the countryside through the railroad, credit systems and now through public health, but sustained engagement was still lacking.

[79] AHT-SA Book 173 1887 Folio 1-3
[80] *Ibid.,* Folio 178
[81] *Ibid.,* Folio 145

Very little is none of how doctors reacted to the disease in the countryside. The few instances we have of doctors writing of their role of interacting with the peripheral countryside demonstrate a very minimal engagement. Working in the small town of Bella Vista and Los Sueldos, Dr. José Sobrecasa wrote to the provincial government requesting more supplies to assist local cholerics. In the correspondence, he goes on to detail that in the most recent days he had been successful in treating numerous patients. The doctor, however, was unaware of what services if any were available to those outside of the city. He wrote, "can you report that medical services are available in the countryside? Places like Amaicha and Las Talas have all had cases were people die and no one knows, because they do know services are available. I am sometimes sent to areas I have no idea where they are." [82]The letters sent to the provincial government usually only contained the amount of sick and dead, requests for money and supplies, and the overall inability for hygienic commissions to do much due to geographical or fiscal complaints. This, in the end creates an image of resistant and neglected rural area that doctors dared not venture to and a people antagonistic to modernity. This, however, is somewhat misleading. Letters and reports from doctors and hygienists in the rural regions, reveal that the popular classes had local cultural forms of curing the sick[83], prophylactic responses and burying the dead that, at times, coalesced with medical responses.

In mid-February, the SCAT and government sent Diego Garcia to Ramada, Burruyacú. The town is located some twenty miles northeast of the capital. As late as

[82] *El Orden* February 8, 1887
[83] See chapter 4

1882, the land was under the ownership of Rufino Cossio, who raised cattle and poultry in La Ramada. For Paul Groussac, one of Tucumán's earliest historians and eventual director of the Argentine National Library, Burruyacú was dotted with large secluded estancias under the ownership of Tucumán's elites. Besides Cossio, the Posse family owned various estates, along with Victor Bruland. Next to the poorest department of Trancas, Burruyacú did not figure much in importance for the province. Outside of the sugar and citrus zone, it was an important to the province's pastoral and agricultural economy. [84] Operating on the periphery of the rural areas, the engagement of the region with doctors demonstrates that local culture easily incorporated medical practices in their daily hygienic affairs. Garcia only dealt with forty-nine patients. Like other areas of Tucumán, the majority of the sick were men—thirty-one—, between the ages of fifteen and thirty. Occupationally, all were either day laborers or peons at the *estanicas* of the area. [85] Similar to the previous epidemic, rural doctors tended to large portions of the rural population. In La Ramada, Garcia was responsible for some 1,500 people that were spread out as far as ten miles. [86] Upon his arrival, Garcia, working with the local commissary, noted that the first deaths were concentrated in an area known of La Ramada parallel to the Camino Real, a stream and a local cemetery. Garcia established a cordon between this area and the other regions of La Ramada. The Ministry of the Interior, the National Department of Hygiene and a large portion of the medical field frowned upon the practice of cordons. Nonetheless, Garcia applauded their effectiveness

[84] Paul Groussac *Memoria histórica y descriptiva de la provincia de Tucumán*. (Buenos Aires: Impr. de M. Biedma, 1882.) 441, 587 and 661

[85] Diego Garcia *El Cólera* pp. 49-50

[86] *Ibid.,* 37

and, moreover, placed them with no resistance. In reality, their effectiveness was minimal when the people of the infected region dumped trash, fecal matter and bathed in the stream. Downstream, the families that consumed water that had not been boiled reported a cholera outbreak of nine patients, three of which were children. In conjunction with the work being performed in Mendoza under the *Comisison Nacional de Auxillos* and local water filtration systems, Garcia used his experiences in La Ramada to argue that water was the main form of disease dissemination, and the hygienic practices of boiling water transformed from a personal practice to a nation-wide practice enforced through the state and its medical sector.[87] But the rural regions were not homogenous. In La Ramada, locals were more willing to partake in Garcia's plans, but resistance arose over the practice of burying the dead

Letters from the peripheries reveal that besides dwindling basic supplies, hygienic practices of burying the bodies of the deceased was difficult. [88] The chart below details the number of bodies buried in San Miguel for the duration of the epidemic. The cadavers were those that had died in the four hospitals in the capital and the few that were collected from the carts that encircled the city asking for the dead to be brought out, or the medical inspections of doctors' uncovering dead bodies. After being collected, many were taken to numerous cemeteries, covered in lye and quickly buried and buried various meters into the ground. Like the numbers of the attended, these figures must be taken cautiously since many of the dead were dealt with in the same private manner as children

[87] Ibid., p. 38
[88] AHT-SA Book 172 1886 folio 145

or were simply never buried. The hygiene commissions of Naranjo Esquina, in Rio Chico, wrote to the Gov. Posse that shortages in assistance and funds had resulted in numerous dead bodies being unable to be buried. Lying exposed for up to eight hours, the commission held that "no one wants to deal with the dead bodies."[89] The panic over the hours shows that most bodies were buried within one to possibly two hours after death had occurred. The cases of the Tribunal of Medicine dumping bodies into the Rio Salí also illuminates how the medical sector sought to quickly and efficiently depose of the dead. Burial, like marriages, births and other life events were filled with customs and processes that were completed in order to ensure a proper burial.

Deaths per month based on daily inhumations from hospital records
Table 6.3

	Deaths per Month
December	1056
January	796
February	22
March	13
Total	1,887

Data for both charts compiled from information collected by José Roque Avila *Historia del Cólera en la Provincia de Tucumán.* Tésis (Buenos Aires, University of Buenos Aires, School of Medicine, 1887)

In response to the lack of suitable areas to bury the sick, the provincial government, working through the municipality began exercising eminent domain, on large farm lands on the edges of San Miguel that had not paid property taxes. In a region known as "La Quinta Normal" D. Antonio Solares had gone two periods without paying taxes to the city. The province responded with paying Solares, the occupier of the land,

[89] Ibid., Folio 127

and the Solares Solare family owners of the land, a sum of 1,500 pesos for a portion of the land to be used for the burial of the dead. The fear of occupying the space with the dead forced many of Muanaga's peons to abandon their work and leave the harvest unfinished. In a letter to the provincial government, Muanaga held, "all of this has produced incalculable damage, and has given me complete insecurity of the harvest that I have not collected... of sugar, alfalfa and small cattle holding."[90] Solares further added that since he was still under contract to the property owner for another four years, it would be impossible for him to pay any taxes or to force a buyout in his contract. Requesting damages from the government, in the sum of eight thousand pesos, half of which would go to the landholder and to pay for the destroyed harvest, Solares argued that under the civil code of the province, the value of the land, must also include the cost of the produce being grown on the land. Moreover, he argued that the only result of the epidemic had been the government attempt to sequester portions of the land for the holding of the deceased. This permitted him to exercise the option of "in extreme measures the renter of a property may request the elimination of a contract or the depreciation of rents required."[91] Acting as arbiter, Governor Posse ruled that the government was only responsible in paying any direct damages and recovering the loss in property value, especially when the area of the bodies only occupied a small portion of the allotted land of "Quinta Normal." In the end, Solares lost his case and was given a settlement of one thousand five hundred pesos and land once used for corn and manure was transformed into a temporary ditch for bodies to be collected in and burned. More

[90] Ibid., Folio 393
[91] AHT-SA Book 173 1887 Folio 413

illuminating from the case however, is the story of the lands that encircled the Solares property. Neighboring the farmland were property holdings from some of Tucumán's largest families. Ricardo Viaña, member of the Medical Tribunal held land west of Solares. To the west, the Aráoz family held a tract of lands that paralleled all of Quinta Normal.

The creation of large burial spaces where bodies were dumped and quickly buried also created problems in the proper burial practices common amongst the inhabitants of the northwest. The *Collection Folklore* recounts numerous instances on the manner in which families took care of the dead. Repeated patterns among the stories show that burials and death were a community affair and the process often took days, since it took nine days for the recently deceased to complete the journey from the living world to the afterlife. In those days, it was crucial for friends and families to complete last wishes and perform the wake and burial. Incompletion of these tasks could hinder the soul of the dead. The village of Paja Colorada reported that families were obliged to leave a rosary and water in a room for nine days. During those days, the deceased would return to the room to drink water and pray the rosary.[92] The connection with nine days was noted in Simoca, a little over one hundred kilometers southwest of Paja Colorada. For nine days, a dead body may rummage throughout the house. If noises were heard, it was a message to the family that the spirit was communicating to the living that their death was painful and was requesting for the family to pray to assist in the ease of their suffering.[93] In Los

[92] CEFA Roll 9 Tucumán Paja Colorada
[93] Ibid Simoca

Gomez, the nine days were for the dead body to roam the areas he or she had inhabited to in their past. The location of the death was also important to the popular classes of Tucumán and sheds light into the low numbers of deaths reported in the official record. The region of Los Gomez could not clean the spot where the dead had passed for nine days. If the spot was changed, the soul would remain forever in purgatory.[94] The people of Finca Mohe, held that the dead must be buried in the same area in which they died. Like Simoca, water is placed near the body, but a crucifix is included. The house must not be disturbed and the closest family members may not comb their hair.[95] In San Antonio Quisca, where the epidemic took numerous lives, the area where the person died was important to the family. In order to avoid the soul form being lost, a "*gritador*" was summoned to arrive at the location and call the person's full name out three times, in order for the soul to return and be properly buried. If this act was not completed, the body could not be buried, and the soul would be lost forever.[96] The various regions of Tucumán all demonstrate that the wake and burial required significant steps be performed. In Tala Pozo the wake of a dead body lasted over the night, with the deceased placed in the center of the room. The family formed a circle around the body. The eldest member related stories of the deceased as *aquardiente* was passed to everyone. The burial was in the morning and upon returning home, a ceremonial mate was shared amongst everyone. [97] The body also required a proper preparation before being buried. In Santa Ana, people of the region were instructed to tie the hands and feet of the body, and

[94] Ibid
[95] Ibid 53 Finca Mothe
[96] Ibid, San Antonio Quisca
[97] Ibid Tala Pozo

removing the boots as it was being buried. A story of the region told of a wife who had not performed these duties for her deceased husband. In the middle of the night, the wife left the wake and the husband rose from the dead and chased the wife, until she found refuge in a church. The story closed with the dead body telling the wife, "be grateful to the few straps you have attached to my hands, but not my feet, if not I would reach you and teach you to complete the will of your dead husband."[98] The stories given to the Folklore Collection demonstrate that the numerous areas of Tucumán had customs and methods in which to care for family members following their death. As an obligation to their eternal rest, the steps were crucial. To overlook them could cause repercussions from a bad harvest, poor luck and even death. In the midst of an epidemic, with the threat of death intensified, it was imperative for the bodies to be properly buried. As Dr. Bruland noted, initially many of the people of San Miguel were reluctant to engage with the hospitals of the city, but reports from the rural regions show that distrust had grown. Dr. Aráoz echoed these sentiments in his report to the Ministry of Interior, "Tucuman is one of the least hospitable provinces of the nation, and need much investment in its infrastructure. The people of the province made things worse, they looked suspiciously at the medical advice given, and they preferred their own methods of healing."[99]

While there was some skepticism on medical practices, the treatment of the dead shows one area where "traditional" and popular medicine was directly opposed, while the formation of cordons in La Ramada demonstrates an understanding. What this verifies, is

[98] Ibid Santa Ana
[99] *Ibid.,.,* p. 122

that the popular classes freely moved in and out of their personal practices and incorporated non-traditional medicine. This was further possible since the provincial and national government never took a hard line stance against the practice of *curanderismo.* Various reports were published in *El Orden* on *curandero*s exploiting people during a tumultuous period. Ones, such as Cesar Oscar Ravacini a *curandero* from Concepcion, who according to the paper was popular throughout all of central Tucumán, was said to have been requesting two-hundred pesos a month as a retainer for unlimited medical consultations, visits and medication against cholera. His prices were exorbitant, but for *El Orden* the lack of a certified medical degree, "paperwork attesting to his ability to practice medicine", and attachment to the Tribunal of Medicine complicated any possibilities of oversight over Ravacini. The paper pushed for the province and Tribunal to fine him and eventually arrest him, if he continued to exercise his profession. Yet, Ravacini also had an important ally. Going on record, Dr. Bruland noted that he was aware of Ravacini, but he practiced more as small-time surgeon, midwife and medications dealer in the outskirts of Concepción. He routinely frequented San Miguel purchased medicine from the numerous pharmacies and *boticas,* and sold them to the people of his home area. The events of La Ramada, cemeteries and Ravacini demonstrate that the concerted effort to quell cholera was limited due to the medical responsibility itself being divided among the various doctors that came to assist. Efforts to minimize disagreement were on the average unsuccessful. Yet, despite these limitations the medical field still grew. The experiences of the epidemic, especially in the national peripheries and rural regions assisted the Argentine medical field in having first-hand experience

with contagion theories. While sanitation theory based on an understanding of disease emanating from "impurities" or personal maladies still had its adherents (such as Eduardo Wilde), the medical field from the middle to the lower level was quickly transforming and calling into question the older medical cohorts. The numerous medical theories created tension in Tucumán.

Poisonous Medicine

At the end of the nineteenth-century the national medical community was divided over the extension of state power, contagion theory, prophylactic responses and treatments. In Tucumán, the government oversaw the management of all but one of the hospitals. The government did not intervene in the direct management of the sick and thus each hospital a doctor utilized various methods in caring for the sick. The Rivadavia Hospital treated women with a mixture of quinine and toxic mercury chloride. As a medical cocktail, the quinine was specifically intended to minimize the possibility of malaria developing and worsening the patient. Mercury chloride was the most common treatment for cholera in Tucumán. The San Roque used mercury chloride and added doses of morphine, cocaine, quinine and mustard dye that were administered via injection. The Monteagudo Hospital, the largest of the four wasunder the management of Eliseo Cantón. There, Cantón stepped away from chlorides, quinines and morphine and took a more homeopathic approach focusing on antiemetics and tonics to minimize the discomfort of cholera. Results were poor. Over fifty percent of Monteagudo's patients succumbed to the disease, while the remaining hospitals averaged thirty-seven percent combined.

Access to medicine was not confined to the hospitals. Next to doctors, university trained pharmacists also provided medication to the public. Seeking to carve a space within the medical services, trained and untrained pharmacists were direct competition for doctors.[100] Seeing pharmacists in a more subordinate role to physicians, the pharmaceutical field was open to a much wider audience through the abundance of advertisements in newspapers. The field, however, had its problem. Like doctors of the mid-1800s, the field was feeling the pains of growth, difficulty in regulating, consolidating and developing within the medical community. Pharmacists lacked the connections to political and social circles that doctors had been privy to since the earliest days. In 1864, the association *Farmacopea Nacional* sought to gain government support in creating a national pharmaceutical council to assist in the regulation of medications and create closer bonds with Argentine doctors, as part of the modernization of the nation.[101] But the government gave minimal support responding further from the medical elite and promoting the image of the pharmacists as "quacks" and duping the public. [102]

Competition for pharmacists and doctors to extend their reach also came from the abundant material of home medicine manuals that were common in Buenos Aires as early as 1850 and offered cures for diseases as grand as tuberculosis and also compiled various popular medical practices.[103] Through increased trade with Europe and North America, the majority of pharmaceutical supplies and tonics came from foreign suppliers.

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[100] Ricardo González Leandri *Curar, persuadir, gobernar:* p. 151

[101] La Revista Faramcetuica 1864 72-73

[102] Diego Armus*The Ailing City: Health, Tuberculosis, and Culture in Buenos Aires, 1870-1950.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.)Chp 1

[103] Ibid 27

Advertisements made use of vague terms and doctors to establish their legitimacy in medicine and science. During the cholera epidemic, various Buenos Aires based distributors placed various advertisements in *El Orden*. Often vague in their language and marketing themselves as cure-alls, the advertisements often carried the approval of foreign doctors. Lowell, Massachusetts based Dr. Ayer, approved pills, which were intended to clean the blood and cure any disease that ranged from stomach diseases, diarrhea, rheumatism, colic in babies to menstrual cramps. Seeking to cure the, "disorders of the organs involved in digestion" Dr. Ayer's pills would work at the source of the problem and clean the organs. Unlike others, Dr. Ayers pills did not state the ingredients the pills contained. Outside of Argentina, other pharmacies were more secretive of their prescriptions, often guarding them and confiding them to only family members.[104] Utilizing different font, all were intended to draw the reader to the advertisement. The company *Farmacia y Drogueria de Gibson, Rolon y Cia* from Buenos Aires, placed a large advertisement for their tonic composed pepsin, an enzyme to assist in the digestion of foods, and cocaine liquor. The formula, exclusive to Gibson, was intended to cure throat and stomach ailments; "uniting the properties of pepsin the stimulating tonic of cocaine, is considered a powerful element to combat the stomach diseases." In Tucumán, the pills were only available from the Pharmacy of Cárlos Beaufrere and Co.[105] Consumers, however, had multiple options to combat "stomach diseases" outside of Beaufrere. The laxative pills of Parisian doctor, Dr. Dehaut, were to be combined with

[104] See Sherman Cochran. *Chinese Medicine Men: Consumer Culture in China and Southeast Asia*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006.

[105] *El Orden* Feb 5, 1887

proper nutrition and moderation to assist in the proper digestion of food. For the medications offered, the connection to proper nutrition and the listing of ingredients offered consumers an understanding of the medication they could utilize. The syrup of the Parisian House J.P. Laroze used oranges, orange zest and range citrus oil of the bitter orange, a strain common in Tucumán, and numerous medications that covered tuberculosis, syphilis, tumors, and stomach irregularities. The use of natural and commonly known ingredients gave the sick a wider array with to work to cure the sick before going to the hospital, as a final option. [106]

The Tribunal of Medicine, Public Assistance and Hygiene Commissions coordinated with *boticas* to offer free medication to the hospitals and lazarettos throughout the province, but numerous other *boticas* not connected to local powers began producing tainted medication. Laudanum is a morphine that contains all strains of opium and portions of codeine. Strongly addicting, in Argentina doctors regularly used it on cholera patients to relax the abdominal muscles and to alleviate sever bouts of cholera. In the first half of January of 1887, when the epidemic was at its zenith, local newspapers began publishing news on various *boticas* selling diluted, tainted or false laudanum, or as some noted, mixed it with wine. The medication was especially important since all Argentine medical associations recommended it as the first line of defense against cholera. The provincial chemist, Frederico Schickendantz, who formed part of the Tribunal of Medicine, collected ten samples throughout San Miguel. Of these only three proved to be laudanum and seven were entirely adulterated. The provincial chemist

[106] *ibid.,*

argued that the specimens collected were not to the specifications to international measures of proper laudanum mixture. The Tribunal responded with putting a notice that any pharmacist that continued falsifying the medication would receive a three-hundred peso fine. [107] The sale of diluted or poorly mixed medication was not exclusive to Tucumán or the epidemic. As the demand for medications increased, foreign manufactures fell short of demand. This spurred Argentine pharmacists to buy foreign patents to produce and sell medication. Yet, more often than not, they were illegally made with almost no oversight. [108] The case of diluted laudanum reached as far as Buenos Aires. In a story published in *La Union*, the *porteño* newspaper depicted a province in turmoil. Stating that locals preferred doctors from Buenos Aires rather than Tucumán while among the population "complete anarchy, all rule and no one obeys and thus nothing is completed." The piece further added that local doctors were ill equipped to provide services, while first and second class laudanum was sold. [109] For *El Orden* the work of the pharmacists was equivalent to criminal activity. The pharmacists, however, had their allies. In another area to counter the government's newspaper, *El Deber* depicted them as key members in the art of curing. The "honorable and accredited" *boticario* and *curandero* Mr. Garin of Monteros had worked in the region in the early days of the epidemic after the local doctor had left the city. Defenseless, the city turned to Garin for assistance. [110]

[107] *El Orden* 1/14/87
[108] Diego Armus*The Ailing City:* p. 29
[109] *El Orden* January 20, 1887
[110] *El Orden* February 8, 1887

Tensions from the epidemic were not confined to the regulation of medication. They transferred over into the patterns of food consumption, the destruction of small ranches and eventually open resistance and uprising in the *tucumano* countryside. In these areas the tension between political opponents further grew and spearheaded open confrontation.

The Political Divisions within the Epidemic: Fruit as contagion of indolence, gluttony and rural uprising

On January 12, 1887 Governor Posse formed the health commission (*Comision Sanitaria)* in order to, "suggest to the government effective urgent measures to be adapted to combat the epidemics."[111] The public health program in Tucumán during the epidemic was vertically organized, headed by the health superintendent. Who this was in 1886 is not stated in the sources but Minister of Government Ignacio Colombres was the person in contact with all the provincial and national health entities and represented the province in matters of health. Below Colombres was the Director of Public Assistance, Benjamin Araóz and independent beneficiary societies the *Sub-Comision de Auxilios de Tucumán* (SCAT) based in Buenos Aires. Yet, coordination amongst the various national and provincial medical cohorts was not a smooth process. In Benjamín Aráoz's final report to the Ministry of Interior, he held that, "To the effects of the epidemic, we can add the tense situation due to politics and civil unrest, which augmented the anguish of such a sad situation. Distinguished men attempted to work together, but differences collided and

[111] *Ibid.,* 28

their work was limited."[112] Aráoz held that the consistent lack of funds and poor quality of local doctors were a constant strain on the effectiveness of the group.

Benjamin Aráoz sprang from one of Tucumán's oldest elite families.[113] At a young age, he moved to Buenos Aires to engage in his studies and eventually joined the Medical Faculty. By 1886, at only thirty years old, he had served in the medical naval corps forays into the Patagonia. During his time in the capital, writing for newspapers he had supplemented his income. Intermingling with the political, social and economic elite in Buenos Aires, Aráoz cultivated a friendship and correspondence with Miguel Juárez Celman. Studying under Pedro A. Pardo and Eduardo Wilde, Aráoz was directly connected to the executive branch and the heads of the Argentine medical field. [114] Through Juárez Celman's allies in Tucuman, such as Carlos Piniero and numerous members of the Posse family, Aráoz worked to maintain *juarismo's* "loyal members" and such for potential members in Tucumán and Buenos Aires. [115] The conclusion of the recent national election and the continued exclusion *juaristas* from local powers filtered into various aspects of the epidemic. These political antagonisms present between Posse's government and the opposition manifested in discussions of funding and management of the epidemic

[112] Memoria del Ministerio del Interior, p. 120

[113] One key member was Gregorio Aráoz de Lamadrid, who had fought with both Manuel Belgrano and José de San Martin in the battles of independence. Following this who assisted in the Unitarian movement in the northwest and functioned as governor in numerous provinces.

[114] AGN-Seccion Juárez Celman Correspondenica personal

[115] AGN-Seccion Juárez Celman Correspondencia 1885 Folder 1966 #003540. Carlos Piñero to Miguel Juárez Celman, September 11, 1885.

The political divisions present before the epidemic were adapted and transformed during the conflagration. Utilizing cholera as a proxy, opposing sides appropriated the epidemic as a means to criticize and undermine each other. The partisan newspapers were divided between *El Orden*, the official mouthpiece of the Posse government and anti-*juarismo*; *El Deber* under the editorial guidance of Silviano Bores a loyalist *juarista* and lastly, *La Razon*, which promoted the election of Dardo Rocha to the presidency and aligned itself to *El Deber* following the election. On the eve of the election a truce was formed between the papers to quell any personal attacks on each other or to exacerbate an already tense situation. By the opening week of 1887, the truce was broken when *El Deber* published various articles citing the mismanagement of funds dedicated to public assistance. [116] Arguing that over 79,000 pesos were missing, *El Orden* broke down how many funds were being utilized on the various projects, under the direct guidance of the provincial government. The paper further argued that, and a sentiment Benjamín Aráoz had echoed, the province was in financial ruin. For *El Deber* , the work of the Posse government demonstrated the existence of a government unfit to rule. With claims of "incompetence" and "no attempt to improve health, simply destroy", the opposition pushed for the resignation of the government and the demand to hand over the management of the public health sector to national institutions more equipped to manage the health of the city. [117] The government held that the opposition offered little assistance in a period of necessity. Through the provision of thirty-six days of meat and corn for the urban poor and the afflicted of the city, the government still held that it was continually

[116] *El Orden* 1/8/87
[117] *El Deber* January 20, 1887

under the need to, "defend the government from malignant attacks from press blinded by hate."[118] In response to the seventy-nine thousand pesos missing from the provincial coffers, a detailed list was given of rough estimates of expenses that included the various hospitals, public assistance programs and medication. This sum did not include the movement of supplies to the rural departments. In the transition from Santiago Gallo's government to Juan Posse's, the *situacionista* was successful in maintain control of the governor's house, but provincial control had been stalled when the opposition had gained control of the legislature. *El Orden* argued that the eradication of the epidemic was the responsibility of the government, but the repeated requests from the governor's house had been unfulfilled and left, "the province defenseless."[119] In a final act, to disassociate from an unruly opposition, the government held that any criticisms should be given to the Tribunal of Medicine and not the provincial government.

Fruit: Source of Disease and Indolence

In the opening days of January of 1887, the frustration and despair with the epidemic had reached their boiling point. Editorial pieces that sought to calm citizens on the quick downward spiral of the epidemic were placed next to telegrams and stories on thirty choleric deaths in one night, or twelve bodies being dumped in the river and washing ashore almost 300 miles southeast into Santiago del Estero. At the same time, the language within the press also changed. With the removal of the sanitary cordons, hygiene and personal cleanliness became the most common approaches advocated but

[118] *El Orden* February 15, 1887
[119] *El Orden* February 10, 1887

had given little to no results. The competition and mismanagement among the various health commissions made life in Tucumán "mortifying."[120] Repeated attacks from the opposition depicted the Posse government as deliberately spreading cholera, and purposely withholding aid only further exacerbated the tense situation. In short, the state and provincial government role as overseer of hygiene had failed. In the press the blame for the continued plight of the province was transferred from the disease as an agent that could be handled to the popular classes deliberately looking to spread the epidemic. For doctors, fruit became the primary disease vector. Popular and widely available, the press pushed for the provincial government to burn down all the fruit ranches in the immediate zones surrounding San Miguel.

"Hopes were high in the cholera was coming to an end,' wrote *El Orden*, 'But the occasional day has over fifteen dead bodies. We have talked to medical doctors and they have said that only in the rarest cases the dead have not been as a result of fruit."[121] Following the sugar boom in Tucumán, fruit production still continued to be dominant in various regions of the province. Figs, watermelons and oranges and the skin was discarded and it was still believed released noxious gases or decomposed in the numerous water deposits that dotted the city. The derailment of the local economy had created sharp corn and meat shortages. Under the provincial government, corn and meat cooperatives were created to pass out food to the poor. The news outlets had hoped that this would dissuade the public from eating fruit. But, "the ignorant keep on eating their fruit, they

[120] *El Orden* January 12, 1887
[121] *ibid.,*

are like animals they do not want to see that fruit is poisonous."[122] For the popular classes where fruit was part of daily diet, ritual and culture, terms such as "glutton, ignorant, indolent and stupid" were commonly applied. Vignettes were posted of people caught eating figs and apricots, picked from the main plaza falling into an epileptic fever and immediately passing away. With the mounting threat of fruit, the municipality confiscated the carts of fruit sellers that entered the city daily. Entire crops were destroyed and confiscated. For urban hygienists, the rural zones were depicted as rife with cholera due to the abundance of fruit fields and its common consumption. "Cholera is leaving us here [San Miguel] but due to fruit there is cholera in San Antonio Quisca."[123] Fruit, however, was part of the physiognomy of the province. Like German Burmiestier writing in the 1850s, Emilie Daireaux in the 1880s could not help but note the abundance of wheat, corn and citrus trees on both public and private land. The large amount of Quechua speakers among the rail employees, showed to Daireaux a social chasm in society. Food, like language and profession, is directly tied to ethnic, social and cultural identities. Moreover, it tied one to a certain place in society.

By the nineteenth-century, different modes of food consumption began to emerge that paralleled the regions further incorporation into world markets and migration changes. Within Argentina, Tucumán's secondary place in the arrival of immigrants created vast differences between the criollo cuisine common in the northwest and the Spanish and Italian cuisine making headway throughout the littoral. The fruit, stews and

[122] *El Orden* January 15, 1887
[123] *El Orden* January 20, 1887

diet eaten in Tucumán differed from the breads and pastas eaten in Buenos Aires, or the French fare Miguel Juárez Celman had at his presidential banquet in Córdoba. French cuisine went through a revival in the eighteenth century as a global *haute cuisine.*[124] Argentina, like other Latin American regions had a sharp division in the lives and foods consumed in the urban and rural zones. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the numerous Basque bakers that defected to Mexico City had made the *bollilo* the main starch and eclipsed the tortilla in the capital city. Working across class lines, bread became part of the modern and urban identity that was heavily influenced by European assimilation. [125] The low immigration into the region and the isolation of the rural populace, assisted in the further cementing of Hispanic culture from the colonial period. Elites, with their attachment to European culture and desire to transform Buenos Aires into a vision of an American Paris, were a sharp contrast from the more bucolic and slower pace of life of the Argentine interior. The attack on fruit represented an intended shift in the provincial "nutritional regime"[126] The rise in wheat and beef as symbols of luxury were easily incorporated into larger urban areas that received influence from an ever changing social milieu. The attempt to exclude pre-Columbian and Hispanic foods was a deliberate process in various zones as a way of pacifying regions. These plans were

[124] Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *Que Vivan Los Tamales!: Food and the Making of Mexican Identity*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.) 60

[125] Robert Weis *Bakers and Basques A Social History of Bread in Mexico*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012.)pp. 5-8

[126] John C. Super and Thomas C. Wright. *Food, Politics, and Society in Latin America*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985.)Taken from John C. Super "The formation of nutritional regimes in colonial Latin America"notes they are "local [foods which assure daily existence by satisfying its tastes, which assure is persistence in a given way of life." P. 1

met with resistance. Outside of Mexico City, for example, rural folk continued to consume corn over wheat.

With the development of agro-industries, such as sugar in Tucumán or wheat in Buenos Aires province, land once portioned off for fruit and traditional crops came under attack. In southern Tucumán, the concentration of sugar land moved and encroached on large ranches that planted watermelons, figs, oranges, squash, grapes, corn and lemons. In the south from 1881 to 1896, the small number of *ingenios* still accounted for large sugar production. The need to transport food from the outside also created a disassociation between food and the consumer. Wheat, however, could be transformed into a variety of foods that were easily introduced into newly arriving populations. The introduction of meat was difficult since meat prices saw a 130% price increase.[127] An upswing in Argentine beef consumption would not take place until the 1940s and 1950s, when meat began to be catered to local over foreign markets. [128] Thus, in the 1880s, meat was a luxury item. In the more rural areas where the seasonal labor came from the area to work the sugar harvest, workers were given a small ration of meat daily. Travelers from the period noted, the quantity was never sufficient and bread was even more uncommon. In order to achieve their daily caloric intake, laborers utilized the small plots of land given to them, to plant an assortment of vegetables and prepare soups.[129] In the summer months, fruit was abundant, while in the winter fruit gave way to squash, pumpkins and other more winter vegetables. *Locro*, a butternut squash and corn based stew dating back

[127] Juan Bialet Massé *El estado de las clases obreras argentinas a comienzos del siglo*. p.11
[128] Natalia Milanesio, "Food Politics and Consumption in Peronist Argentina". *HAHR - Hispanic American Historical Review.* 90, no. 1: 75-108." p.76
[129] Emile Daireaux, *Vida y costumbres en el Plata* pp. 436-438

from the colonial period, was commonly cooked in the small one room temporary housing constructed. This food, however, was almost exclusive to the popular classes. Emili Daireaux, a French traveler stated that the dish was, "only good when starving."[130] Besides food, fruit and vegetables also served important medical functions. Embedded within an understanding of the body, food and the environment operating in a constant flux between cold and hot, certain foods, teas and mixtures had purportedly beneficial medical qualities. [131]

Like 1868, the government never took any concerted action against the fruit growers and fruit sellers. The occasional story of a fruit cart being confiscated by the municipality paled in comparison to the stories of an "indolent" population that was perceived as almost purposely willing to spread the epidemic throughout the province. Moreover, by the 1880s, the medical field had substantially changed from the 1860s. The dominant focus on germs, personal hygiene and clean environments had moved past the connection between decomposing material and insalubrious environments. The few works that did engage a discussion of fruit, did not create a connection between disease and fruit, but called attention to the need to properly prepare food or choose produce that was not overly ripe, or the need to cook food thoroughly. Different from the 1868 epidemic, was the lack of rural hygiene commissions outlawing all forms of fruit. In the end, this outdated practice was confined to a very small, but vocal cohort of reporters in *El Orden* and the Red Cross. News outlets grew frustrated with a government that was

[130] *Ibid.,* 440-441
[131] For more see chapter 4

unwilling to sit and listen to the advice of the press and doctors. Posse's government argued that since it had delegated all its powers to the Tribunal of Medicine, thereby it excluded itself from receiving any brunt of the criticism. In the end, reports concluded that the state of medical affairs in the province were not the best organized and the hygiene of the province remained at low levels.

Problems arose between the Red Cross and the provincial government. In the opening days of the epidemic, the Red Cross offered its assistance to the Ministry of Interior in alleviating the cholera outbreaks. In Tucumán, the national organization worked closely with hygiene commissions and the Medical Tribunal assisting doctors and transporting patients from their homes to the lazarettos. As the epidemic took on a larger scale, the Red Cross requested from the province access to its own lazaretto. The province denied this request as part of a practice of keeping a more local response over the management of the hospitals. In moments of austerity, the repeated tensions between both parties revolved around the need for payment and the shortage of supplies. Filtering into the press, *El Orden* held that the provincial government had done everything within its power to assist the Red Cross, but they "have abused their power often asking for things for free because of their position."[132] Tiburcio Padilla further quipped in an open letter to the province thanking all those that had worked to help with the epidemic, "so many have helped, how can we pay all of them?"[133] The *rochista* newspaper, *La Razon,* called attention to the government's sole reliance on priests and medical doctors and

[132]*El Orden* February 4, 1887
[133] *El Orden* February 14, 1887

overlooking the hygienic practices of everyday citizens. The Red Cross's news of the provincial hospitals' dumping bodies and sewage into the river pushed Posse's government to exclude the Red Cross from assisting the province. This was, according to *El Deber* a deliberate attempt by the province to "declare war on the on the humanitarian institutions."[134]

The Red Cross demanded that all payments for its services be paid in full since members of the organization had paid for the running of various lazarettos from their own funds that were created on the large land plots outside of San Miguel. Prior to the Red Cross's request, the citizens of the Red Cross had attempted to collect the funds directly from the Public Assistance, but the demand had been denied. The Red Cross held that since the organization had been involved from the earliest days of the epidemic, and that the governor had guaranteed to provide funds for the Red Cross's lazaretto, it was only proper that Posse fulfill his promise. Moreover, letters between the three parties confirmed that the government through the Public Assistance would pay all expenses. The problems between the Red Cross and the province went beyond financial strains. Initially Posse guaranteed personnel assistance from the San Miguel police commissioner, but he had reneged on his promises. [135]

Tension between the Red Cross and representative of the provincial government were also present in non-medical situations. Guillermo Schmidt, treasurer of the Red Cross in Tucumán and local merchant and sugar operator in San Miguel, wrote to the Ministry of the Interior on the suspension of commerce in the city and the effect it had on

[134] *El Deber* January 20, 1887
[135] AHT-SA Book 173 1887 Folio 431 and 432

his business. For twenty-three days the FCCN had held lumber in their depot that Schmidt had ordered. At the zenith of the epidemic all peons of the city fled the city and commerce was a complete stand still. "This situation had obligated me to cease my mercantile operations, my tile factory and processing my sugar plants." Nevertheless, the chief of the rail station was charging Schmidt 2,530 pesos for storing the lumber in the depot. In the letter Schmidt argued that due to the fleeing of the peons he should not be responsible for the charge, but most importantly, "As a member of the Red Cross, I have worked with cholerics and contracted it in one of the lazarettos. This debilitated me for days." Utilizing his position in an organization commissioned by the national government and his contraction of the disease, Schmidt intended to use these as motives to supersede the need to pay for supplies that had not been delivered.[136] While the railroad was under the control of the Ministry of Interior, the management of the line and rail stations fell to local powers. Schmidt's choice to direct his complaint directly to Wilde and the Ministry of Interior may imply that his initial request to the provincial government had not been met favorably. In the end, the national response was similar. Wilde wrote that he would be required to pay since he himself had also left the region when the epidemic hit its stride, and he had not utilized his own peons to remove the lumber from the train depot.

Los Sarmientos

In the 1920s, the Argentine folklorist Juan Antonio Carrizo traveled through Tucumán compiling songs for his *Cancionero Popular de Tucumán*. Within the collection, three songs dealt directly with the 1886-1887 epidemic. The first *Attend, my*

[136] Minitry of Interior 1887 Legajo 1 January 20, 1887

gentleman exhorted its listeners to "remember the the pestilence God has sent us, in the year of eighty-seven…The Red Cross came, saying they came to cure; to the sick still sick, they would burn them alive."[137] The fear and despair the epidemic created is further evident in *The Long-tailed Comet.* "It was a shame to see this punishment from God…children have been left without mothers and mothers without children…cholera came, to remind us there is a God, to finish off all Christians."[138] In the material produced from the epidemic, a connection was created in popular culture between the disease, public assistance and Christianity. *The Catholic Christians* offers a glimpse into the events that transpired and the connection between fear, injustice and public assistance. "Catholic Christians, now try to defend themselves, seeing so much injustice. They have a right to oppose."[139] The lyrics of the song further demonstrate the natural distrust for the "rich" and "foreigners" of the region, that under the guise of assisting the people, have instead stolen from the people. "They make the people believe and they finish off the inhabitants and they then leave off with everything. God will say, 'this should not be done. I should act against those that deceive, they cure but cannot save anyone. *They have the right to oppose.*"[140] The events that transpired in the countryside epitomize the various problems and tensions during the epidemic. Following the attack on foreigners, *juaristas* within Tucumán ascribed the uprising to attempts of the Posse government to destabilize the region and employed the epidemic as evidence of rural xenophobia, backwardness and the need for federal oversight to maintain the peace. In more cultural

[137]Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Juan Alfonso. *Cancionero popular de Tucumán*. Buenos Aires: A. Baiocco y cía, 1937. song 194 p. 469

[138]

[139] *Ibid.,* song 197

[140] *Ibid.,* 470-471

terms, the events in the town of *Los Sarmientos* shows the continued divide between urban and rural lifestyles. These regions, unlike the central zones of Tucumán, lived off economies more akin to the pre-sugar period. The encroachment of San Miguel-based sugar growers and foreign financiers created an unstable region. In addition, the expansion of public health facilities venturing into the rural, pre-established modes of healing came under assault. "Modern" medicine conflicted with more homeopathic, plant-based healing common among the rural and urban poor. The vestiges of this profound event have stayed in the songs that remain to this day.

On January 9, 1887 the commissary for the department of Rio Chico sent a series telegrams to San Miguel. Writing succinctly, news broke that a *montonera* had risen up and killed three members of the provincial Red Cross comprised of Argentine and Spaniards: Antonio Andrina, Jorge Day, Fermin Urrutia and Nabor Zelayaryán. The story, wrote commissary Mespules, was that "they (the rebels) believed they were going to be poisoned under the pretext of curing cholera."[141] On the day of the attack, the Red Cross moved into Los Sarmientos as a precautionary measure. Unlike, the neighboring zones, Rio Chico had reported very few cholera cases. Upon their arrival to Los Sarmientos, the locals related to the Red Corss "We wish to kill the authorities and the poisoning gringos, who are protected by the government." [142] They further added that they feared the Red Cross would enter into the region and destroy the fruit they had stored from their harvest. The health commission stated that locals would not be required

[141] *El Orden* January 9, 1887 telegram
[142] *El Orden* January 11, 1887

to take any medication or hygienic precautions. These pleas fell on deaf ears and the people of the town began firing their revolvers and yelled "kill, los *gringos masones*, because God forgives."[143] The Red Cross workers scattered. Zelayaryán was caught, forced to sign a document, "I swear in the name of God and Holy Mary promising to continue and judgment to those that formed the group. To not permit damage against the religion, and not permit fumigations and poisonings. Signed, Nabor Zelarayán, Mayor and commissary." He was released twenty-four hours later and had his wallet stolen. Day was shot over the right eyebrow and died on the scene. Posse responded with a small contingent of one hundred men, sent via railroad to establish order. The next day a group of soldiers and commissaries entered the region to persuade the masses to return their homes. Results were positive, and many returned home, while a few escaped east to avoid imprisonment. The damage, however, was done. From here, uprising occurred in San Antonio Quisca, where, "the most prestigious men of this district ... threat the hygiene commission of here and in Monteagudo, under the fear of supposed fumigations and poisoning." Other reports from San Antonio, described how locals worked to suspend the work of the local lazaretto. In Simoca, peons attacked a garrison and hygiene commissions to steal a horse.[144]

Opinion was divided over the cause and motive behind the attacks. *El Orden*, still reeling from the various reports of government corruption from the opposition, argued that the uprising was an overt attempt by the opposition to destabilize and remove the

[143] Noemi Goldman. "El Levantamiento de Montoneras contra "Gringos" y "Masones" en Tucuman, 1887 Tradicion Oral y Cultura Popular." *Boletin del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana "Dr. E. Ravignani"* 3: 47-78. 51

[144] AHT-SA Book 173 1887 Simoca Folio 190 San Antonio de Quisca Folio 275

local government and rearrange the provincial political order. The harshest criticisms came from *El Deber*. The *Juarista* newspaper held that the plot was the culmination of a series of calculated moves that originated in the national election period. For the opposition paper, the Posse government was behind the crimes as part of a government policy of xenophobia and anti-Spanish sentiment. Aligning itself with the Spanish consulate in San Miguel, *El Deber* published articles calling for the "the right for protection of all foreigners in Tucumán." [145]The government's inability to protect the civil liberties of the Red Cross and Spanish citizens in the countryside demonstrated that law and order had been replaced with the "capricious will" of Posse.[146] Through the newspaper, Posse's government quickly worked to overturn public opinion against the government and its depiction as xenophobic, by appealing to the Spanish Vice-Consul. Following the attack, the Spanish Consul Desiderio de Aguayo traveled to Rio Chico as part of a political mission to ensure to fellow Spaniards the safety of rural Spaniards. The Minister of Government, Ignacio Colombres, argued that even though it did not recognize the office of Aguayo, the constitution of the province protected the civil liberties of all inhabitants of the province. Seeking to distance itself from the label of xenophobia, Colombres wrote to Aguayo stating that "the constitution's right given to all national and foreigners, cannot, in this case, be considered undermined."[147] Posse administration's willingness to incorporate foreigners into government and forces sent to the interior demonstrated that there was no plot against foreigners. Moreover, *El Orden* added that

[145] *El Deber* January 29, 1887
[146] *Ibid.*, January 31, 1887
[147] *El Orden* January 31, 1887

charges of xenophobia were misguided, especially when Argentine nationals had also been killed in the attack and foreigners were also among those that survived. [148] The ultimate blame was to be placed on the hygienic measures that had backfired and the pressure it had put on the consumption patterns of fruit in the countryside.

Working through the various Spanish channels present in Buenos Aires, *El Deber* linked with *El Correo Español* and *La Ciencia Cristiana* bringing the events in Tucumán to national attention. For Spaniards watching events unfold in Tucumán, the attacks tarnished the image of an open country seeking to populate itself with people from Europe. Hindering possible immigration and investment, *El Correo Español* wrote, "the *tucumano* government, has not been able to rise to the situation and its duties of attending to the complaints of the maligned and threatened foreigners…religious fanaticism and a rudimentary institution of conservation have permitted an anti-foreigner resentment with the people of Los Sarmientos."[149] Conditions worsened with *El Deber* advancing the notion that members of the provincial government had been involved in the attacks. Placing the majority of blame on the commissary of Rio Chico, reporters of the opposition had uncovered stories of a commissary leading a band of men to the church near the Marapa River where religious iconography was taken and used in a procession, "intended to the free the nation from Miguel Juárez Celman and his party of foreigners, masons and anti-Catholics."[150] In the build up to the uprising, the newspaper reported an increase in small crimes in Rio Chico and Chicligasta and ""they were meeting in the

[148] *El Orden* February 4, 1887
[149] *El Deber* January 29, 1887
[150] *El Deber* January 20, 1887

pulperias in Aguilares to concrete a plan to finish off the *gringo mazones.*"[151] The criminals, however, were supposedly protected and never brought to justice. During the attack, the opposition called attention to the fact that only members of the Red Cross that were foreigners had been harmed in the attack, and members of Nabor Zelayrán family were among the those in Los Sarmientos.[152] As in San Antonio de Quisca, whose leaders were members of the local elite, the attacks in the countryside were not solely comurised of the rural poor, but regional figures that, like the commissaries, had been able to rile up support during elections and offer employment on their lands. Rebuttals, to these accusations were minimal. *El Orden* held that, there was no solid evidence that tied local and provincial powers to the attacks. Moreover, the oppositions unwillingness to hand over its source to the provincial police, called into question the validity of these stories.

The events in Los Sarimentos demonstrated that the political divisions that were present prior to the epidemic and had manifested themselves during the discussions of the sanitary cordons found new ways to permeate society. While the new president's position was solidified at the national level, local powers still looked for ways in which to express their dissatisfaction with the incumbent government's plans to exclude the opposition from the provincial power structure. In the beginning of the epidemic, the natural need to stop cholera naturally pushed opposing members to temporarily suspend natural rivalries. Los Sarmientos presented a space to formally end the political armistice. At the national level, the patterns of cohesion among the medical field became more fortified. While the

[151] *El Orden* January 31, 1887
[152] *El Deber* January 20, 1887

presidency established ways to solidify its control in the recalcitrant provinces, the epidemic created spaces for rivals to interact.

The Sub-Text of Governance

In the mid-1880s the state looked to new actors, in this case, doctors, to foster new forms of national consolidation. Language serves as a fertile ground to see how patterns subtly arose, between both epidemics. Embedded within the health discourse of the 1868 and 1886 epidemics, it is possible to discern the active role the interior had in combating the disease. The state utilized cooperation at the regional level to replicate patterns of cooperation at the national level. This relationship established the state as a negotiated space between the province and state and not as an entity with a monopoly over the peripheral regions. Instead, the provinces and mid-level political institutions in Buenos Aires sought to form a state in which all parties benefited. The 1886 epidemic, unlike the 1868 event, tested a state that openly welcomed input from the provinces. This input assisted in formalizing the public health system in the republic and established a space in which provincial and national doctors and politicians could interact.

An analysis of the discourse in correspondence between the port city and interior reveal the subtleties and everyday practice of national cohesion. [153] The language employed in the letters, telegrams, and speeches verifies the social life of language as being connected to the current political climate of center-periphery relations. Within the confines of the epidemic, the custom of formal letters was neglected in exchange for hard

[153] AHT-SA Book 173 1887 173 folios 1-2

facts. No longer was geopolitical hierarchy enforced. During the civil wars of the 1850s through early 1870s, Buenos Aires based politicians referred to the interior as backward or dissident, by the time of the 1886 epidemic a more cohesive language among mid-level politicians was being used that counteracted the contentious phrasing Juárez Celman utilized.

In a letter sent from Buenos Aires' mayor Torcuato de Alvear to Governor Posse and Minister of Government Colombres, Alvear offered his moral support to the tiny province. Since Buenos Aires had already suffered a similar epidemic, the mayor recommended the province keep pace with the new scientific practices of collective hygiene emanating from the Argentine schools of medicine. Moreover, Alvear stated that Buenos Aires had concentrated on improving the hygiene of the people and region, through the creation of proper draining to expel bodily waste more efficiently Invoking a more personal form of language, Alvear used "brothers", "friends" and "compatriots" to refer to the people of Tucumán, continuing to state that positive strides made in northwest would benefit the entire republic. [154] As the epidemic reached its mid-point and the hospitals began operating round the clock, the language within the exchange of information became more succinct and less formalized. The pompous and frivolous introductions seen in the letters beginning with "Greetings to his Excellency, the Governor" were shortened to "Greetings to the Governor" or simply abandoned. Meanwhile, telegrams omitted introductions and went directly into exchanging facts and

[154] AHT-SA Book 172 1886 folio185

hard data. The NDH provided Colombres with the daily national death tolls. Terms such as "national," "*El Pubelo"* and "*La Patria"* became commonplace within the telegrams.

Wilde reiterated these statements in a telegram to Posse saying that the national government and its ministries would provide all the assistance possible in order to expel cholera from the region. [155] The liberal structure of the Ministry of Interior and its *laissez-faire* management style permitted the province to operate with minimal national intervention in provincial health policies. Indeed all appointments to regional health commissions were initiated by Wilde, but could only be finalized by Posse's government. [156] Wilde framed his role as minster of the Interior based on the structure of the constitution; thereby, seeking to ensure a provincial autonomy respectful of shared authority.

Rufino Ortega, Mendoza's governor, sent a telegram out to his fellow northwestern governors on news that the congressional meetings in Buenos Aires had argued that his province had been practicing a "backward" and "primitive" form of public health. Ortega stated to Posse that the province was doing everything possible with its limited resources and minimal national support. It also had been utilizing techniques that had shown positive results in Catamarca, Santiago del Estero, and Córdoba. If this telegram is placed within the context of the transition to Juárez Celman's administration and his plans for phasing out Roca's provincial networks, this takes on a whole new meaning. Ortega had been a Roca loyalist serving under him in the Conquest of the

[155] Ibid folio 373
[156] This was practiced in the districts of Familia and Los Sueldos.

Desert. Following the culmination of the Conquest, Ortega was appointed governor of the wine producing province. Government subsidies into the viti-industry had further solidified this bond and created another bastion of *roquistas*. [157] Juárez Celman never made a push to depose Ortega. Roca's continual control of the congress and lack of even partial justification would have made this move quite difficult. Thus, *juaristas* looked for other ways to undermine Ortega's rule in the northwest. Ortega's gubernatorial period ended in 1887. During his closing remarks to the national legislature, Ortega commented on the relations between the national government and provinces being cordial and beneficial to both parties in areas such as the creations of laws, public works and the combined effort to fight the epidemic. [158] This cordial relationship was mediated through national governmental entities operated in a manner that contradicted Juárez Celman's policy.

Medical Sanitary Conference of 1887

By March, the number of deaths and cholera cases dramatically dropped and the epidemic was considered over among the provincial government and the Ministry of Interior. As late as April, cases were still being reported in the countryside. Aguilares wrote to the provincial government fearing that cholera had returned to the region.[159] In the short span of the epidemic, the Ministry of Interior's methods of governance witnessed a rapid transformation. Through the sanitary cordons Wilde sought to, "squash the resistances put up in the name of terror and misunderstanding….and give [national]

[157] AHT-SA Book 172 1886 Folios 195-198
[158] Anuario Biliográfico de la República Argentina 1887, Volumen 9. Edited by Enrique Navarro Viola Secretario de la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales de Buenos Aires. (Buenos Aires 1888) p. 376
[159] AHT-SA Book 174 1887 Folio 59

authorities a unified action."[160] Following these events, the government realized that itself had assisted in propagating a misunderstanding of the proper roles of health and government. The lack of any measures that properly established the role of the national government at the national and local level complicated matters for the government to exercise its power.

It was the consensus of the press that Tucumán and Mendoza had suffered the most. Outside of these provinces, the epidemic was felt but not to extent of the west and northwest. "When the epidemic presented itself there was an initial moment of hesitation," noted *Sud America*, 'we could not adopt a united action due to the multiple problems that became present."[161] This sentiment was not exclusive to the newspaper linked to the national government, *El Nacional* commenting on the work of the provinces and the national government added that "the ineptitude of the government has been the result of the lack of accord in the work towards humanity."[162]

The national government responded to these claims with calling all provinces to convene a national medical conference under the guidance of the Ministry of Interior. In the press release, the Ministry of Interior held, "the epidemic has demonstrated our deficiencies in public hygiene and the dearth of sanitary services for the provinces." [163] Ensuring compliance with the constitution, the Ministry further argued that the national government must remain limited in its role in the provinces, but any extension of the national government into the provinces in matters of public health, must come from the

[160] Memoria del Ministerio del Interior, 1887 p. 9 and 14
[161] *Sud America* March, 15, 1887
[162] *El Nacional* January 13, 1887
[163] AHT-SA Book 173 1887 Folio 374

conference that included national and provincial representatives. For the national government, the work of the Sub-Comision de Auxillos and Red Cross demonstrated that clear channels of exchange and local management with national assistance were beneficial structures during the epidemic and, for the government, were the prime reason cholera came to an end. Within this discussion, the national government, once and for all, sought to completely eradicate the use of sanitary cordons. "only general and specific hygienic precautions,' stated the letter to the provinces, 'are efficient in curtailing or mitigating the effects of disease. These measures must be quickly applied."[164]The main purpose of the conference was to collect the data from all the provinces and create an official national sanitary law, that "would balance the attributions of the national government and the governments of the provinces…it is the role of the national government to arrive at a solution for the good of all the inhabitants of the nation."[165] Concentrating on salubrious construction, establishing public health protocol and the use of prophylactic responses at the port that did not hinder trade, but maintained the importance of health, representatives convened for three months in Buenos Aires.

At the close of 1887, the Ministry of Interior published its report on the medical conference in its *Memoria* to the executive branch. Posse sent Miguel Esteves as the representative for Tucumán to the conference, but the report only contains Aráoz's transcription of the events of Tucumán. Aráoz, an ally of Wilde and Juárez Celman concluded that local and national medical powers had greatly collided in Tucumán. Outside of the natural resistance and hesitation of the popular classes, the lack of willing

[164] *ibid.,*
[165] *ibid.,*

personnel and the exhaustion of all funds early on resulted in their limited reach. For him, the doctors of Tucumán were far behind those of Buenos Aires who had received extensive training in the School of Medicine and were in constant contact with new medical theories from North America and Europe. But Tucumán had also shown Aráoz that social and environmental conditions in the northwest, limited the applicability of Europe contagion theories to Argentina. This, in combination with the variation in treatments, practices and methods of the numerous doctors required a form of oversight that would guarantee a national medical authority. [166] Under Aráoz various doctors moved around the region. Like the soldiers in the army and the railroads traversing new regions of the growing nation, doctors also served at creating links between citizen and state. Unlike the doctors of the provinces, the medical officials sent by the Ministry of Interior, Sub-Comision de Auxillos or Red Cross lacked the strong ties to local conditions that possibly hindered their practice. Doctors, such as Cornelio Santillan were moved from San Miguel to Simoca to Monteagudo. Others traveled much further distances; José Avila worked next to Aráoz in Tucumán, Salta and Jujuy. Their movement into neighboring provinces expanded the scope of the state into matters of health. [167]Their reports demonstrated to the Ministry of Interior that the more regional form of public health practice utilized in 1868 and in the initital period of the epidemic in 1886, removed the state from having a say in prophylactic and managerial matters. The natural limitations of the constitution pressed the state to take, "certain steps that did not fully fall

[166] Memoria del Ministerio del Interior, 1887 p.145
[167] Ibid p.123

under its purview."[168] Thus, it fell to doctors to repair the strands of national cohesion that the epidemic had torn apart.

Disunity and the need for a vertical structuring of the national health field was also stated in the press. *Sud America* held that the National Department of Hygiene was the natural assessor of the Ministry of Interior. The newspaper further stressed the fact that the epidemic had not spread due to permitting the epidemic from following its natural inclination to find new hosts, but from the lack of unity. Using Buenos Aires as an example, the city alone had the municipality, the medical council, public assistance, the NDH, the maritime prefect, the sub-prefect of La Boca, various parochial hygiene commissions, medical military corps and lastly, the Ministry of Interior all offering their advice on the proper method to arrest the development of cholera. Similar patterns were seen in the provinces. [169] Offering a new structure, the newspaper proposed a federalized institution, under the stewardship of the NDH that would have offices in all the principle regions of the nation. This would permit the NDH to give quick and uniform responses in matters of national catastrophe. Widening the scope of the NDH, the paper pressed for the department's ability to overstep the Supreme Court and local powers. While the paper acknowledged that this was unconstitutional, it concluded that the national constitution should be amended to allow them to take precedence over the rights of the province.[170] In the case of Tucumán, this would assist in the putting an end to the violence and personalism that was associated with the province.

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[168] Ibid p.6
[169] *Sud America* March 15, 1887
[170] *Ibid.,*

The structure proposed by *Sud America* was not too distant from the one made in the years following the epidemic in the NDH charter of 1900. In it, certain key aspects arising from the 1887 conference and laws enacted gave the NDH more say and further reach in matters of public health.[171] The administrative and bureaucratic restructuring of the period concluded that the NDH must be an independent institution in order to meet the public health needs of the republic. Within the hierarchy of power, only the Ministry of Interior stood between the NDH and the president. On January 22, 1900, Roca signed the new decree into law. The charter required that all legislation on epidemics, quarantines and health information be sanctioned by the NDH. This established a uniform response to any and all attacks on the collective health of the republic. Similar to the exchange of medical personnel during the 1886 epidemic, the NDH now controlled the movement of doctors throughout the country with all informational exchanges going directly to the NDH or Ministry of Interior. Article thirteen is the most pertinent revision directly related to the sanitary conference of 1887.[172]

> Upon the declaration of an epidemic within the Argentine republic, the National Department of Hygiene will adopt all measures in order to stop its spread. In accordance with local authorities within whose jurisdiction the epidemic exists. [173]

In Juárez Celman's opening speech of 1888 to congress, the president praised the national health institutions for "restoring tranquility" in the far regions where the disease

[171] Argentine Law n. 2.829
[172] Juan Carlos Veronelli *Medicina, gobierno y sociedad: evolución de las instituciones de atención de la salud en Argentina*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial El Coloquio, 1975.) pp. 47-51
[173] *ibid.,* 48

had spread, since the provinces alone had been unable to properly stop the disease. Juárez Celman argued that "They [provinces] watch with complacency the action of national authority."[174] The new structure of the NDH demonstrated a key aspect of how the State exercised power and still worked to maintain the autonomy and jurisdiction of the provinces, and the key role the provinces had played in building the state in the context of public health, but also brought attention to problems the state had in exercising its power. In this sense, the words of Juárez Celman show a complete disconnect between the executive branch and the middle strata of the state.

The structure of the NDH, however, emanated from the work that the provinces had completed in the preceding years. In the 1868 epidemic in the absence of state able to assist the provinces under attack from cholera, key provinces took the lead to act in its place. Offering the contours of a network, Tucumán and Santiago del Estero acted as mediators and established prophylactic responses for north, west and central Argentina. During the 1886 epidemic, the provinces looked to repeat these steps as a result of the positive gains achieved in the previous contagion. A more robust state and economy, worked quickly to limit an abundance of differing prophylactic response. This was met with resistance, and new forms of medical governance were created. A closer look into the management of public health, demonstrates how provincial politicians made up for their small population by injecting themselves into the governmental mechanisms of the state and creating new areas for mutual cooperation to take place. [175] The work of Nicolas

[174] *El Doctor D Miguel Juárez Celman, presidente de la República en el Primer Año de su Gobierno: Octubre 1886-1887* Buenos Aires, 1887

[175] Mark Alan Healey, The Ruins of the New Argentina: Peronism and the Remaking of San Juan After the 1944 Earthquake.(Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2011). P. 9

Matienzo, Benjamin Araóz, Pedro A. Pardo and Julio A. Roca attest to this process. Outside of individuals, the *Sub-Comission de Auxillos-Tucumán* demonstrates the influence of provincial politicians, elites and doctors in building medical bureaucratic frameworks for the state to co-opt. In an analysis of the epidemics, a more unified public health system arose that operated outside of the political upheavals and discordant political life that characterized nineteenth and twentieth century Argentine politics. In the realm of health, the provinces assisted in the development of a state that worked to guarantee life and permit the exercise of power at the local level, under national oversight. Medical governance offers a new glimpse in studying the development and building of the state in peripheral regions. Events such as *Los Sarmientos* reveal how the provinces were continually working to integrate peripheral regions into projects of the state. Here, where the grasp of the state weakened, it fell to the provinces and agents of the state, this case doctors and hygienist, to establish the authority of the state.

Epilogue

In June of 1887, national forces under the direction of the national government arrived in Tucumán under Salustiano Zavalía as federal interventor, removed Juan Posse on charges of corruption and abuse of power. Upon the restoration of order, the *juarista* candidate of Lidoro Quinteros was elected governor, where he would stay until 1890. The literature has asserted the dominance of the state through political and military means, the events that transpired months after the epidemic are the culmination of the disunity between Posse and Juárez Celman, triggered by the epidemic.

This dissertation has shown that through an analysis of non-military events, in this case epidemics, a new image of state formation is present. Traversing the political history from the consoldation of the state in 1862 until the end of the nineteenth century, it demonstrates that the state is more than a military entity, but also one that seeks to guarantee the lives of its citizens. In 1868, while in war, in debt and overall weak, the state had to delegate its role to the provinces. In the northwest, Tucumán and Santiago del Estero worked together with their fellow northwestern provinces, established medical networks and each province quarantined itself from their neighbor. The creation of sanitary cordons received no complaints from Buenos Aires. The Paraguayan War drove a wedge in the fledgling nation and cholera served as an event that brought together previous rivals. In Catamarca, a federalist strong hold, the disease permitted Antonio Taboada, an ally of Bartolomé Mitre to make headway into the recalcitrant province and demonstrate the benevolence of *mitristas* and indirectly, the state. This process was

replicated within the province of Tucumán itself. In the 1860s, the provinces were as disjointed as the nation. San Miguel, the provincial capital, had a very loose grasp on the rural regions. Utilizing commissaries for each of the provincial departments, the political structure was military in nature. Like at the national level, this structure was incompatible with the needs at the outbreak of the epidemic. The loose coalition required the provincial government to enact regulation that standardized prophylactic responses and public health measures. In the composition of provincial politics, the role of the hygienist and the medical doctor became more pronounced. Doctors, hygienists and medical scientists, imbued with their professional sentiment looked past the limitations of political rivalries and reveal that public health can be divorced from politics. This separation is not always smooth.

By the 1880s with the development of the state into a more robust and expansive institution, cholera once again visited Argentina. The expansion of the rail system made the threat of cholera even more pressing in Tucumán, as it was directly connected to Buenos Aires by the FCCN line via Córdoba. Replicating measures from 1868, the erection of sanitary cordons received immediate disapproval from the national executive branch. In a battle of constitutional law, the central state argued that intra-national borders were under the jurisdiction of the state, thereby disallowing any law that impeded the movement of people or things across borders. Moreover, the state held that in moments of crisis national needs took precedence. Charges of the state over-reaching itself and undermining the constitution became common, and Tucumán came to represent to anti-*Juaristas* a symbol of resistance.

In the grips of the epidemic, state and province were forced to formulate new methods of interaction and cooperation. The previous patterns of governance were no longer suitable for the context of the 1880s. Stepping away from the platform of the president, the Ministry of Interior concluded that the state had, in fact, overstepped its bounds and it called upon the assistance of the provinces to find new ways to strike balance between state and province in matters of public health.

Revisionist interrepattions questioning the autonomy of the state have produced a healthy scholarship that has convincingly argued for a state formed from below. The story of the two epidemics confirms this, but also argues for the idea of the state as a negotiated space. For the provinces, it was not a question of resisting Buenos Aires, but finding ways to create cooperation between both parties. While national politicians bickered and contended with each other, doctors laborerd for the improvement of the national medical field. In the middle strata of society, doctors communicated and often disagreed amongst each other about standardization. However, for doctors, their professional allegiances and the medical theories they adhered to informed their political sympathies. This politic worked in favor of cohesion and moved past disagreement.

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