

Veiled Whiteness in Nineteenth-Century Honduran Constitutional Law & Citizenship¹

Blancura velada en las leyes constitucionales y ciudadanía de Honduras durante el siglo XIX

Blancura velada nas leis constitucionais e cidadania de Honduras durante o século XIX

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Race has always been central to the regulation of political membership and constitutional rights in Honduras. This study demonstrates how and why citizenship in Honduras was both restrictive in nature and based on racialized criteria. A nuanced analysis of nineteenth-century constitutions reveals that while governmental leaders did not refer to any racial groups in these legislative documents, they did describe the ideal citizen in implicitly racial terms. The provisos required for the status of citizen, including property ownership, morality and literacy, were built on concepts that have historically been racialized; notions associated with racial difference, Western values and accumulated privileges of systemic white supremacy. By delimiting citizenship in such terms, Honduran leaders characterized it as “white” and used the highest law of the State to exclude most non-European peoples from membership in the polity.

Keywords: **Citizenship; Constitutional Law; Honduras; Racialized Differentiation; Whiteness.**

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La raza siempre ha sido parte central de la regulación sobre las políticas de pertenencia y derechos constitucionales en Honduras. Este estudio demuestra cómo y por qué la ciudadanía en Honduras fue restrictiva en su naturaleza a la vez que basada en criterios raciales. Un análisis de los detalles y matices de las constituciones del siglo XIX revela que mientras los líderes gubernamentales blancos no referían a ningún grupo racial en particular en los documentos legislativos, si describían al ciudadano ideal implícitamente en términos raciales. Las cláusulas requeridas para la condición de ciudadano, incluida la de propiedad, moralidad y alfabetización, fueron construidas sobre conceptos históricamente racializados; nociones asociadas con las diferencias raciales, valores occidentales y la acumulación de privilegios basados en una supremacía blanca sistémica. Al delimitar la ciudadanía en esos términos, los líderes hondureños la caracterizaron como propia de blancos y usaron las leyes del Estado para excluir a la mayoría de los no europeos de su participación en el sistema de gobierno.

Palabras clave: **Ciudadanía; Leyes Constitucionales; Honduras; Diferenciación Racializada; Blancura.**

A raça sempre tem sido parte central da regulação sobre as políticas de pertencimento e direitos constitucionais em Honduras. Este estudo demonstra como e por que a cidadania em Honduras foi restritiva na sua natureza ao mesmo tempo que se baseou em critérios raciais. Uma análise dos detalhes e matizes das constituições do século XIX revela que enquanto os líderes governamentais brancos não se referiam a nenhum grupo racial em particular, nos documentos legislativos, o cidadão ideal era descrito implicitamente em termos raciais. As cláusulas requeridas para a condição de cidadão, inclusive a de propriedade, moralidade e alfabetização, foram construídas sobre conceitos historicamente racializados; noções associadas com as diferenças raciais, valores ocidentais e a acumulação de privilégios baseados em uma supremacia branca sistêmica. Ao delimitar a cidadania nesses termos, os líderes hondurenhos a caracterizaram como própria de brancos e usaram as leis do Estado para excluir a maioria dos não europeus da sua participação no sistema de governo.

Palavras-chave: **Cidadania; Leis Constitucionais; Honduras; Diferenciação Racializada; Brancura.**

Introduction

The province of Honduras signed its declaration of independence from Spain on September 15, 1821. This act symbolized a break from Spanish colonial rule and a transfer of power to a select group of men who commenced a series of projects in an effort to form a civilized and modern Honduras. Among those nation-building endeavors, was the creation of a constitution founded on the political philosophy of liberalism and the establishment of Honduran citizenship. This article provides a critical analysis of the conceptualization of nineteenth-century citizenship in Honduras. It explains how and why the conditions for citizenship were restrictive, exclusive and contingent on race. Through an analysis of various national charters, it will be evident how the requirements for the status of citizen –literacy, property, morality and individual autonomy– were tied to “whiteness,” European values and racial hierarchization since the early modern period². In defining the concept of citizen in these terms, Honduran leaders not only characterized it as “white,” but also utilized the highest law of the State to legitimate the exclusion of those who did not conform to this ideal: African or Afro-descendants, indigenous peoples, mixed-race groups and women. On the whole, this study attempts to add to the growing literature that has established that there is an undeniable relationship between race and citizenship,³ and that unlike the conception of non-white identities, “whiteness” does not need to be demarcated or mentioned given the dominance of Western European thinking.

Federal and Pre-republic Delineations of Citizenship and Nationality

From 1823 to 1838, Honduras was part of the Federal Republic of Central America. It was a unified political entity comprised of a central government and the five present-day nations of Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and as indicated above, Honduras. It was formed by the respective political and intellectual leaders of the five Central American territories with the hope of creating a republic strong enough to sustain itself and to protect its borders and interests from any foreign threats. Unfortunately, the internal conflicts and differing interests of conservatives (those who wanted a strong central government and a prominent role for the Catholic Church) and liberals (those committed to more freedom for the States as well as the separation of State and Church) doomed this unifying project from the onset and caused its dissolution after less than twenty years⁴.

Although the Central American Republic was short-lived, the effect that it had on Honduran politics is indisputable. This is most reflected in the adoption of the 1824 Federal constitution as the underlying framework or prototype for its own liberal laws. The 1824 charter gave form to a Honduran governmental system based on the philosophy of liberalism and delineated what became the initial qualifications and qualities necessary for citizenship⁵. Because the core of the Central American Republic were its inhabitants, all were guaranteed the immutable rights of liberty, equality and property. Per this federal statute, a “citizen” was an individual who was either born or naturalized in one of the five Central American territories, who was married, who was at least eighteen years of age, and who had a useful trade or a known form of subsistence. This document also indicated that the status and rights of citizen could not be conferred on those who were domestic servants; who were imprisoned or found guilty of fraud; who were deemed to have physical incapacities; and who violated the stipulation that declared all men in Central America free by partaking in any form of trafficking of slaves⁶.

Honduras’s 1825 constitution, its first *magna carta* as an independent State, echoed the specific stipulations described above⁷. It established that birth or naturalization in the Honduran territory guaranteed all individuals, regardless of their racial or ethnic make-up, the status of “*hondureño*” and the civil liberties that came with it. In doing so, the State acknowledged the existence of those previously unrecognized during the colonial period and, in theory, included them as an equal and integral part of the country. Yet, this charter also made a clear and repercussive differentiation between Honduran nationality and Honduran citizenship, terms that at times have erroneously been used interchangeably; it ascertained that nationality did not automatically grant citizenship⁸. The latter, as previously indicated, had its own provisos – requisites that in general creole elites satisfied, but that most Indians, Blacks and mixed-race peoples did not meet given their then current socio-economic conditions⁹. Neither the distinction made between citizen and national nor the exclusionary nature of citizenship under Honduran law is surprising. It has been well-established that the Central American nations were the inheritors of the 1812 Spanish Cadiz Constitution, which had made a similar differentiation when defining Spanish citizenry¹⁰. Moreover, political leaders were plagued with the issue as to what role the different racial groups would play in the nation-state they sought to create. This was a matter of great concern because at stake was the preservation of the authority held by members of the elite class as well as the development

and survival of a prosperous Honduras. That is why Honduran leaders created a constitution that clearly defined and distinguished the rights and privileges of a national from that of a citizen; they used legislation as a political tool to instill in all Hondurans the belief in and need for the nation-state while at the same time restricting access to suffrage to those whose nature they considered had made them more apt for power.

The dominant belief among the ruling class was that the make-up of the American Indian, African and mixed-race populations had inherently made them inferior to the European populace¹¹. It was a prevailing meme that had been used since the age of colonialism as a justification for the enslavement or subjugation of the non-European masses, and one that during the nineteenth century was interpreted as a threat to the image of a civil and modern nation-state¹². Nevertheless, per the constitution, no Honduran could be enslaved nor outright precluded from partaking in Honduran citizenry unless he did not satisfy the necessary requisites. To this, we must add the fact that most of the country's population was made up of non-European inhabitants¹³, –of those whose nature was believed to be base— but to condemn them to a perpetual inferiority was to also condemn the country to doom. Race, even when not explicitly mentioned in Honduran law, was at the core of this matter. Which brings us to three important questions that were debated by political leaders as part of their efforts to reconcile their racially prejudiced beliefs with the then current reality of the nation-state: Can the constitution of the Black, indigenous and racially-mixed peoples of Honduras change or improve? Can the masses be molded into Honduran citizens? And if so, how? The answer to all these questions involved the utilization of education in some capacity.

Because the notion of soft inheritance was widely-known and accepted in Honduras, it was believed that the nature of non-European peoples could be altered. The constitution of Honduran nationals could be improved through educational projects and molded to fit the image of a civilized citizen¹⁴. The use of education as the chosen means to achieve cultural and racial improvement is expected because many members of the Honduran intelligentsia –including Jose del Valle, a *criollo*, scholar of jurisprudence and established leader of the old colonial regime¹⁵ – had strong ties to the French intellectual milieu and were quite familiar with the theory of inheritance of acquired characteristics, which by this period was linked to French naturalist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck and his notion of transmutation. Per this theory, it was assumed that permanent changes and improvements to an individual or group could be effected, over time, through social and environmental engineering¹⁶.

As a strong proponent of an environmentalist approach for turning the masses into citizen, del Valle called for the establishment of schools in all places, from cities to villages, to ranches, out in the country and even in jails so that public instruction could reach all children or men who were at the intellectual level of a child. The goal was for inhabitants to learn to read and write, to become versed in the fundamental ideas of the arts and sciences, and above all to be transformed into responsible citizens. In terms of instructional models, schools in Honduras were to emulate the Hazelwood schools in England, which utilized the Lancasterian method of education. Del Valle advocated for the use of this instructional system where advanced students served as mentors for beginners because he was fully aware of the lack of qualified educators and

economic resources¹⁷, especially in remote areas, where most indigenous communities lived¹⁸. Lastly, del Valle specified that all learning environments were to be clean, attractive, the model of hygiene and conducive to learning¹⁹. In the end, this educational project was largely unsuccessful, –many of the indigenous peoples rebelled against any form of instruction and the difficult terrain made it extremely difficult for most of the populations to be reached— but the State continued to use an environmental approach in many of the civilizing actions that it enacted throughout the nineteenth century²⁰. Education, whether it be literacy development or trade training, continued to be an important element for preserving the belief or myth that everyone was improvable²¹ and became an essential condition for citizenship during the post-federal period.

Citizenship & Race in the Early Honduran Republic

With the dissolution of the Central American Federation and the advent of the young republic, the status of citizen became more exclusive and restrictive. Legislators nuanced the initial criteria set forth in the 1825 constitution and added ancillary requirements for citizenship with every new national statute. The State continued to require its citizens to be at least eighteen years of age and have some form of financial resource for sustenance, but beginning with the 1839 constitution specified that access to citizenship predicated on the holding of property and the demonstration of moral conduct²². Besides these additional requisites, this charter also made a distinction between active and passive suffrage. It stipulated that while the fulfillment of the conditions for citizenship allowed an individual the right to vote in governmental elections, it did not guarantee him the opportunity to run for office; the passive vote had its own criteria. This difference is worth noting because it created hierarchical categories within citizens themselves, and limited the pool of possible government officials to a limited number of Hondurans. In 1839, the restrictions for passive voting rights were mainly age related, but similarly to citizenship itself, the number of provisos would only increase over time²³.

The 1848 Honduran constitution is known for having some of the most restrictive voting laws and for introducing literacy as a condition for citizenship. This charter increased the legal age for the status of a citizen from eighteen to twenty-one years. In addition, citizenship was limited to heads of households, property owners and those who possessed a degree in law, medicine or theology²⁴. Yet, if an individual did not meet the required property criteria, he could still be granted citizenship if he could read and write²⁵. In other words, literacy could serve as a substitute for material assets. The value attributed to education is made even more evident by two specific stipulations: 1) beginning in 1860, per article 9, no Honduran would be able to exercise the rights of citizen if he was not able to read or write and did not possess basic arithmetic skills; and 2) literacy was required for passive suffrage. The offices of mayor, governor, judge and president were to be filled by lettered men, and in the case of the latter three, by those who had a good amount of capital²⁶. Because education (as previously indicated) was associated with the nation-building ideals of civility and progress, the ability to read and write as a requisite for holding political office should come as no surprise. But it is also important to note that this proviso was

part of the overall political strategy of writers of this constitution to ensure that only members of the elite class could make the law and exercise power. That is why the writers of this national law made it a point to grant the president the power to appoint all civil, judicial and military officials²⁷; in doing so, the head of the state would serve to strengthen the stronghold that the elite *criollos* had over the rest of the Honduran population.

Unlike the first two constitutions of the early republic, the 1865 and 1873 charters did not include any new restrictions or major changes to the concept of citizenship. They mainly served to reaffirm or to slightly nuance the stipulations found in the national statute of 1848²⁸. For example, both constitutions emphasized literacy as a requisite for active and passive vote and continued to make property-ownership or wealth obligatory for standing for office. In addition, in each charter, we can observe an increase in the annual income amount that was required of all men who held a political office²⁹.

Up to this point, we have shown how the conceptualization of citizenship was both restrictive and exclusive, but how was it also contingent on race? None of the Federal or Post-Federal constitutions mention the term “race” nor make any explicit reference to racial categories³⁰, but such apparent absence does not signify that race was not considered when establishing who would be granted the rights of citizen in Honduras³¹. If race was not a factor then why did most, if not all, individuals who exercised these privileges come from the *criollo* or “white” class? And, how did the same elite faction continue to dominate while the other “races” remained subordinates as they had been during the colonial period? Drawing from academic Richard Dryer’s studies on whiteness, sociologist Steve Garner argued that given the dominance of Western European thought over the last five centuries, “whiteness” does not need to be demarcated or mentioned³². Whiteness is also the position from which judgments are made, against which difference is created, and “rendered invisible under the weight of accumulated privileges”³³ and constitutional language.

The ownership of assets or property as a precondition for citizenship is not surprising given that it is something that can be traced to ancient antiquity³⁴ and the classical economic theory.³⁵ Nevertheless, the notion of property itself merits further understanding and should be circumscribed within the debate surrounding race and differentiation. According to Cheryl Harris, in “Whiteness as Property,” race and property are two deeply interrelated concepts for various forms of property and property rights have been historically racially contingent and associated with whiteness³⁶. Property, in the unidimensional sense, is typically thought of as a reference to objects owned by an individual or the rights of an individual with respect to those objects, but the concept of property also designates “the rights in ‘things’ that are intangible or whose existence is a matter of legal definition, ...embraces everything to which a man may attach a value and have a right [to], ...one’s physical self and one’s reputational interests”³⁷. The various formulations of property are mentioned because while property –in terms of land, wealth, and physical objects– and the use of this concept to limit citizenship to a select few are both recognizable in the Honduran constitutions, what is not as palpable is that citizenship itself is a form of property³⁸ and that the ascriptive criteria for citizenship reflected a “white,” western ideology. There was a great economic, political and reputational value attached to the status of citizen; it conferred an

individual with certain benefits and entitlements which allowed him to live a virtuous life,³⁹ and which were all the more significant because they were denied to the majority of the population⁴⁰ and served to reaffirm as well as recognize the importance of belonging to the group in power⁴¹. In other words, property and citizenship are both mutually constitutive⁴² as well as formulated on the basis of the dual right to exclude and not to exclude⁴³. It is precisely the complexity and incongruity of these two notions that allows us to begin to understand how the same national law that granted all inhabitants the right to property since the beginning of the Central American Federation simultaneously worked to systematically limit access to it to a select few *criollos* by contributing to and legitimating the gate-keeping meaning of property and citizenship.

Like property, the demonstration of morality as a requirement for citizenship was the result of the interaction between ideas surrounding European superiority and race. The term morality itself has been embedded with different meanings over time. It has come to signify civility, prevention of sin, uprightness, and since the period of discovery or onset of modernity has been conceptualized “in terms of stocks or breeds of humans [race in the modern sense]”⁴⁴. The reason for this association is that the encounters between Europeans, Amerindians, Africans (and others) led to the emergence of Europe as an entity and the epistemological formulation of European identity in opposition to the newly “discovered” peoples⁴⁵. The European or white race was defined and differentiated from the Indian and Black races with the first being described as civil, rational, aesthetically pleasing and moral, and the latter as generally lacking in those traits. Human difference had been intellectualized prior to the age of discovery, but what changed during this period, was that not only were certain characteristics, including morality, worked into signifiers of difference, but they were also considered to be naturally ingrained or innate to certain races⁴⁶. Morality became a racial trait believed to be inherited by members of the white race and a mode of establishing white supremacy over the other races. It is important to note that while the rise of science as well as the revival of classical ideals pertaining to aesthetics clearly served to justify the subordination of non-European groups⁴⁷, law was also utilized for this same purpose. Various forms of legal statutes, including national constitutions, were designed to recognize the “expectations of whites built on the privileges and benefits produced by white supremacy”⁴⁸, and that is certainly what occurred in Honduras; whiteness was inscribed in Honduran constitutions by including morality and other racialized ideal qualities.

As previously indicated, in addition to morality and property, standards pertaining to marital status, literacy and physical capability also became requirements for Honduran citizenship. With every new constitution, additional provisos were added, but what is most important to emphasize is that these concepts have historically been racialized and that the interactions between them and the articulation of citizenship played a critical role in excluding from membership in the polity all those who did not fulfill the established criteria. The ideal citizen was male, civilized, literate, propertied, morally superior, physically able and white. Given the numerous restrictions, it is no surprise that various late nineteenth-century written records and demographical counts indicated that only a very small pool of eligible men were able to exercise the right to vote or hold office in Honduras.⁴⁹

TABLE 1: STATISTICS PERTAINING TO CITIZENSHIP REQUIREMENTS AND RIGHTS IN HONDURAS

	Total Population	Number of Males	Literacy Level: Reading	Literacy Level: Reading and Writing	Moral and Physical Incapacity	Right to Active Vote	Right to Passive Vote	Number of State Officials
1881 census	307,289	150,679	44,473 (14.5%)	26,533 (8.6%)	No record	38,973 (12.7%)	17,976 (5.8%)	2,747 (0.89%)
1887 census	331,917	163,075	38,583 (11.6%)	19,042 (5.7%)	4,990 (1.5%)	28,350 (8.5%)	17,706 (5.3%)	1,425 (0.43%)

Source: Antonio Vallejo, *Primer anuario estadístico correspondiente al año 1889*, Tegucigalpa, Editorial Universitaria, 1997, pp. 136-137, 146,148-149, 151, 154-156.

For example, as indicated in **Table 1**, a large majority of the population was illiterate and had no access to political power. The 1881 census (the first official population count after independence) reveals that of 307,289 inhabitants, only 14.5 percent of the entire population had the ability to read and less than 9 percent of Hondurans knew how read and write. Also, according to this census, 38,976 men or 12.7 percent were eligible to vote in elections and 17,976 men or less than 6 percent could be elected as public officials. Despite an increase in population, the 1887 census showed that there was a decrease in the number of people who were deemed literate: 38,583 knew how to read and 19,042 were able to read and write. There was also a decline in overall numbers and percentages pertaining to voting rights, 28,350 (8.5 percent) men were entitled to an active vote and a mere 17,706 (5.3%) citizens were granted passive voting rights. The decrease in the number of eligible men who could participate in elections is clearly due to the increasing number of restrictions enforced by the constitutions, including the exclusion of those considered to be physically or morally inferior. That is also why less than 1 percent of the entire population controlled all political posts, and inequality continued to dominate in Honduras throughout the nineteenth century.

Conclusion

Following Honduras's independence from Spanish rule and a disbanded Central American Federation, the *criollo* class carried out a series of political and intellectual measures aimed at the creation of a government that was civil, modern, sovereign and white. Under this imagined liberal republic, all Hondurans were to enjoy the protection of the law and had the duty to obey it, but only a small number of men were granted citizenship. Nineteenth-century constitutions reveal that, while no racial descriptors were included, race continued to be crucial to the delineation of state membership and was utilized by the dominant class to exclude non-European groups from the polity. The criteria required for active and passive electoral rights were based on historically racialized concepts as well as privileges founded on white supremacy; the notion of property

ownership, moral and physical beauty, literacy, and individual autonomy had been traditionally associated with Western values, masculinity and whiteness. Overall, ideas of racial difference and hierarchization were embedded in the highest law of State and without a doubt contributed to the exclusive and restrictive nature of Honduran citizenship.

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Notes

¹ Part of the research for this article was previously conducted by the author to complete his doctoral dissertation (Lara, 2012), which looked at the different processes and discursive practices that shaped the national character and identity of the Honduran people.

² David Theo Goldberg, "Modernity, Race, and Morality", Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg (eds.), *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context*, Malden, Blackwell Publishers, 2002, pp. 283-306; Stuart Hall, "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power", Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (eds.), *Formation of Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992, pp. 275-332; Deborah A. Thomas, "Racial Situations: Nationalist Vindication and Radical Deconstructionism", *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 28, N° 3, 2013, pp. 520-521.

³ See Diego A. von Vacano, *The Color of Citizenship*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 3-25.

⁴ Marvin Barahona, *Evolución histórica de la identidad nacional*, Tegucigalpa, Editorial Guaymuras, 2002, pp. 55-62, 230-234; Darío Euraque, *Conversaciones históricas con el mestizaje y su identidad nacional en Honduras*, San Pedro Sula, Centro Editorial, 2004, p. 130.

⁵ Marvin Barahona, "Honduras. El estado fragmentado (1839-1876)", Arturo Taracena and Jean Piel (eds.), *Identidades nacionales y Estado moderno en Centroamérica*, México, Centro de estudios mexicanos y centroamericanos, 1995, pp. 98-99, available in: <http://books.openedition.org/cemca/3222>. As indicated by numerous scholars, the initial notion of citizenship was essentially a codified version of the long-standing Hispanic tradition of vecindad that dominated the social and political structure of colonial communities. In the Hispanic tradition, a vecino was generally a person who resided in a community, who was head of household and above all lived an honest way of life. Vecindad was essentially a territorial and juridical concept, tied to values of the community. See Federica Morelli, "Entre el antiguo y el nuevo régimen. La historia política hispanoamericana del siglo XIX", *Historia Crítica*, N° 33, 2007, pp. 135-136; Hilda Sabato, "On Political Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Latin America", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 106, N° 4, 2001, p. 1292; Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003.

⁶ Federal Republic of Central America, *Constitución federal de 1824*, Articles 13-21, Antonio Ramón Vallejo (comp.), Colección de las constituciones políticas que la República de Honduras se ha decretado, New York, Chamberlin, Whitmore & Ca, 1878, pp. 11-13. All references to Honduran constitutions are drawn from this compilation.

⁷ Honduras, *Constitución política del Estado de Honduras de 1825*, Articles 8-13, pp. 60-61.; Barahona, 1995, *op. cit.*, pp. 98; Jordana Dym, *From Sovereign Villages to National States: City, State, and Federation in Central America, 1759-1839*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 2006, pp. 205.

- ⁸ Jordana Dym, "Citizen of Which Republic? Foreigners and the Construction of National Citizenship in Central America, 1823-1845", *The Americas*, Vol. 64, N° 4, 2008, pp. 479-481.
- ⁹ Herzog, *op. cit.*, pp. 158.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-163; M. C. Mirow, *Pre-constitutional Law and Constitutions: Spanish Colonial Law and the Constitution of Cádiz*, 12 Wash. U. Global Stud. L. Rev. 313, Vol. 12, N° 2, 2003, pp. 313-337, available in: http://ecollections.law.fiu.edu/faculty_publications/110.
- ¹¹ Glenn Anthony Chambers, *Race, Nation, and West Indian Immigration to Honduras, 1890-1940*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2010, p. 32.
- ¹² In his introductory chapter to *Juristas de la independencia*, Pérez Callos indicates that the supposed inferiority of non-European groups was one of the main justifications for excluding them from fully exercising political power in most, if not all, new Latin-American nation-states. See "Las ideas jurídicas: Los juristas iberoamericanos y los procesos de independencia", José María Pérez Collados and Samuel Rodríguez Barbosa (eds.), *Juristas de la independencia*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2012, pp. 13-44.
- ¹³ Barahona, 1995, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-114.
- ¹⁴ Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. 33; Marvin Barahona, *Pueblos indígenas, Estado y memoria colectiva en Honduras*, Tegucigalpa, Editorial Guaymuras, 2009, p. 146.
- ¹⁵ Jorge Luján Muñoz, "Los juristas de la independencia en Guatemala", José María Pérez Collados and Samuel Rodríguez Barbosa (eds.), *Juristas de la independencia*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2012, pp. 360-364.
- ¹⁶ Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender and Nation in Latin America*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991, pp. 24-25.
- ¹⁷ For a detailed discussion of the reasons for the lack of economic resources in Honduras and its effect on education during the nineteenth century, see Darío Euraque's "Los juristas de Honduras en la independencia y la fundación de su primer estado: Contextos coloniales y poscoloniales", José María Pérez Collados and Samuel Rodríguez Barbosa (eds.), *Juristas de la independencia*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2012, pp. 394-404.
- ¹⁸ For a more detailed description of del Valle's philosophy on the use of the Lancasterian system of education and his connection to English philosophers who advocated this form of education, see Miriam Williford, *Jeremy Bentham on Spanish America: An Account of His Letters and Proposals to the New World*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1980.
- ¹⁹ Eliseo Pérez-Cadalso, *Valle, apóstol de América*, Tegucigalpa, Editorial Universitaria, 1999, pp. 112-114.
- ²⁰ Barahona, 2009, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-146.
- ²¹ Charles A. Hale, "Political and Social Ideas in Latin America, 1870-1930", Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vol. 4, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 367-442; Lucy Taylor, "Client-ship and Citizenship in Latin America", *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 23, N° 2, 2004, p. 216.
- ²² Honduras, *Constitución política del estado de Honduras de 1839*, Articles 9-12, pp. 83-84.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, Articles 20, 47, 52, 59, 71, pp. 85-97.
- ²⁴ Euraque, 2012, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-407. Euraque argues that before 1848, the constitution did not require a professional degree for holding some of the highest offices, including that of judge, because the nation-state lacked the necessary institutions of higher education to prepare its citizens. The national university was not established until 1847, and it did not award degrees until the 1850s.
- ²⁵ Honduras, *Constitución política del estado de Honduras de 1848*, Article 7, p. 113.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, Articles 9, 24-25, 39, 43, 51, 58, pp. 113, 116-128.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, Article 46.4, p. 123.
- ²⁸ Barahona, 1995, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100. According to Barahona the same holds true for the ensuing constitutions that were enacted in the nineteenth-century.
- ²⁹ Honduras, *Constitución política de la República de Honduras de 1865*, Articles 13-14, 23, 31, 37, 43, 53; pp. 145-159; Honduras, *Constitución política de la República de Honduras de 1873*, Articles 13-14, 23, 32, 39, 45, 55, 57; pp. 176-191.
- ³⁰ Dym, 2008, *op. cit.*, p. 488.
- ³¹ Von Vacano makes a valid point by arguing that "the disappearance of colonialism" did not mean the end of race; the concept of race continued to be a factor, *op. cit.*, pp. 159.
- ³² Steve Garner, *Whiteness: An Introduction*, London, Routledge, 2007, pp. 34-35
- ³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 35.
- ³⁴ Ayelet Shachar and Ran Hirschl, "Citizenship as Inherited Property", *Political Theory*, Vol. 35, N° 3, 2007, p. 262
- ³⁵ Goldberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 291.
- ³⁶ Cheryl I. Harris, "Whiteness as Property", *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 106, N° 8, 1993, pp. 1725-1727.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1724-1735.
- ³⁸ Shachar and Hirschl, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-282.
- ³⁹ By 1865, Honduran leaders explicitly reiterated such ideal when they included in its constitution that citizens were those who had "*propiedad que les asegure un modo de vivir honesta y decentemente*" [property that assured them of an honest and decent way of life]. See Honduras, *Constitución política de la República de Honduras de 1865*, Article 13, p. 145.
- ⁴⁰ Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 1744.

⁴¹ The value attached to whiteness was so great that sometimes litigations took place if an individual, who considered himself white, was referred to as anything but white; being called a mestizo or Black was considered an insult to his reputation. See Peter Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*, London, Pluto Press, 1997, p. 29.

⁴² Christian Lund, "Property and Citizenship: Conceptually Connecting Land Rights and Belonging in Africa", *Africa Spectrum*, Vol. 46, Nº 3, 2011, p. 74

⁴³ Shachar and Hirschl, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

⁴⁴ Wade, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Goldberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-295; Hall, *op. cit.*, pp.275-332; von Vacano, *op. cit.*, pp. 7.

⁴⁶ Wade, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁴⁷ Goldberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-293.

⁴⁸ Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 1731.

⁴⁹ Among the various newspapers was the *Organo Oficial del Gobierno*, which specified that the literacy and property restrictions had created a very small pool of men who could obtain political offices. See Barahona, 2009, *op. cit.*, p. 138.