

REINVENTING THE CITY OF THE KINGS:
POSTCOLONIAL MODERNIZATIONS OF LIMA, 1845-1930

By

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To Themis, Sebas, and Juanjo

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHML	Archivo Histórico de la Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación.
AGN, R-J	Archivo General de la Nación. Justicia.
AGN, OL	Oficios de Prefecturas.

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This study analyzes the postcolonial processes of modernization of the city of Lima, during three key historical periods: the mid-nineteenth century --usually known as the “era of guano”-- the late nineteenth and early twentieth century --post War of the Pacific-- and the 1920s --the “Oncenio de Leguía.” It historicizes the conceptions of the city and the plans to reform it, to understand how Peruvians imagined modernity and progress and attempted to create viable images of their nation. This study proposes that Lima became the center of preoccupations for postcolonial elites who attempted to make it a laboratory for the society they wanted to create for their country at large. The study thus explores how “modernity,” “progress,” and “the nation” was vicariously understood and debated by politicians, planners, engineers, criminologists, hygienists, intellectuals, and the population at large.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION: POSTCOLONIAL REINVENTIONS OF THE “CITY OF THE KINGS”

Dismounting Pizarro: Postcolonial Anxieties over History

Limeños woke up on April 26, 2003, to learn that Francisco Pizarro was absent without leave. In an unannounced measure, the Mayor of Lima, Luis Castañeda, had withdrawn the statue of the Spanish conquistador of the Inca Empire and founder of the city at two o’clock in the morning from a plaza located on a corner adjacent to Lima’s main square. The Mayor clearly did not want opposition, but could anticipate a fiery debate on such an act. Indeed, the removal of the statue of an equestrian, intrepid Pizarro would revive the heated controversy among politicians, intellectuals and common citizens that followed the 1997 city approval of the removal of this monument of Pizarro-the conqueror, and its replacement with a new depiction of Pizarro-the founder (Figures 1-1 and 1-2).

It was an architect and member of the city council, who had proposed such a change in 1997. Santiago Agurto argued that Pizarro’s plaza damaged the monumental environment of the central *Plaza de Armas*, that the statue depicted Pizarro as an aggressive, fierce conquistador “ready to murder and enslave Indians”—, and that Pizarro himself, having carried out an ignominious, condemnable conquest, was unworthy of an homage from the descendants of “our Peruvian ancestors.” Agurto described Pizarro as a “pitiless, cruel conquistador that imposed on Peru... the empire of Spain’s interests and customs,” considered unfortunate that Peruvians, “all of us mestizos,” had forgotten the “holocaust” suffered by our “maternal ancestors,” and urged fellow nationals to “recuperate our dignity, our identity and culture.” Finally, Agurto argued that “monuments were erected to the memory of beneficial acts or persons,” and that no country erected monuments to “people who remind damages or offenses to its people.” Indeed, France

had not erected a monument to Julius Caesar, nor Mexico, “our American brother,” to Spanish conqueror Hernán Cortés.¹

Agurto’s historical arguments departed from the conception that Peru existed well before Pizarro’s arrival to South America: it had been the Incas who unified the nation, and who were, therefore, fellow Peruvians. While the Incas could be Peruvianized by Agurto, the Spanish conquistadores, headed by Pizarro, had imposed a foreign, illegitimate rule over Peru and were anti-Peruvian. Agurto recognized that the conquest, at the same time, had brought a new, *mestizo*, nation into existence: reproducing a common, gendered trope on the conquest, miscegenation and the nation, Agurto called Indians the “maternal ancestors” of a nation homogeneously composed of “all of us *mestizos*.” In spite of his argument’s ambiguities on what the nation is and how it was made up, Agurto assumed that there is one identity and one culture authentically Peruvian, which Peruvians have to recuperate to regain their dignity.

The proposal received immediate support from scholars, politicians, and neighbors who considered Pizarro “a bloody, ignorant, inhuman, ambitious, genocidal, and tyrant pig raiser,”² “the first mass murderer of our history, and the great destructor of our glorious culture of the Incas,”³ and “responsible for the murder of millions of our relatives and ancestors.”⁴ In a typical fashion, an editorial for the removal of the statue divided Peru’s history in two, before and after Pizarro’s conquest. Projecting contemporary values into the past, the editorial described the Tawantinsuyo as “a solidly constituted state, efficiently organized with a communitarian,

¹ Santiago Agurto, “Propuesta para cambiar la actual estatua de Francisco Pizarro y remodelar la plazuela de su nombre,” in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto (Lima: Universidad Nacional Federico Villarreal, 1997), 14-6.

² “Por fin sacarán a Fco. Pizarro de su pedestal: aplausos a los regidores,” in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 62-9.

³ Genaro Ledesma, “No más monumentos a Pizarro,” in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 108-9. My emphasis.

⁴ Javier Lajo, “A propósito de la erradicación de la estatua: despizarremos al Perú,” *Quechuanetwork.org* (http://www.quechuanetwork.org/news_template.cfm?news_id=748&lang=s) (2003).

collectivist government... a confederate state: multinational, multicultural, and multilingual.” Inca Peru (“*El Perú Incaico*”) is seen as the time when *we* were powerful, developed, and wealthy. Peru was a well organized nation; resources were abundant and justly distributed. In short: Peru was a world power until brutally conquered by illiterate, cruel Spaniards who transformed it to what it is today.

At the same time, however, the editorial reproduced widespread paternalist –typically indigenista— images of the Indians, stating that the Spaniards “took advantage of the innocent conscience... of the aborigines.” The Spanish conquest is regarded as a decisive and crushing event that explains all future developments: Spaniards “introduced foreign customs and traditions” unsuited for Peruvian reality, “destroyed the knowledge and high technology known in the *Incanato*... and denigrated the Inkas, sanctioning that they were animals similar to man.”⁵ Peru’s “glorious” epoch had come to an end at the hands of Pizarro and his cohort, who imprinted the country’s future with those features that characterize today’s Peru: injustice, exclusion, and poverty.

Others signaled that Pizarro had “murdered Atahualpa, perpetrating regicide and deicide, because the Inca was an Emperor-God,”⁶ in addition committing “murder, kidnapping, pillage, extortion, vandalism, genocide, and more crimes for which he... deserved the death penalty.”⁷ This sixteenth-century war and human-rights criminal clearly could not receive any mercy, as he “was not motivated by a noble purpose: his main drive was pillage, personal ambition, fed by a low human nature contaminated by hatred.”⁸ Unable to place Pizarro in death row, a newspaper reader proposed not only to remove the monument, but to melt it and throw its bronze to the

⁵ “Por fin sacarán a Fco. Pizarro.”

⁶ Felipe Buendía, “¿Aún Pizarro espada en mano?,” in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 137-8.

⁷ Tomás Cáceres, “¿Desmontar a Pizarro?,” in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 125-6

⁸ *Ibid.*, 126.

ocean in a public ceremony.⁹ To complete Pizarro's public sentence, some equaled having a monument to honor Pizarro to erecting a monument to Adolf Hitler in Tel Aviv.¹⁰

But Pizarro was to find active supporters who described him as the real founder of the nation. Sharing Agurto's view of the country as one composed by "all of us *mestizos*," opponents to the statue's removal regarded the conquistador as the "founder of *mestizaje*,"¹¹ and, therefore, the originator of "authentic" *Peruanidad*. A philosopher praised Pizarro for naming the capital city of Lima after the Three Wise Men, "the white king, the "*cholo*" king, and the black king, as a symbol of the encounter of three races,"¹² and urged honoring the man who had made it possible to unite two civilizations, forming an integrated country. Others claimed that Peruvians "ought to take advantage of our two rich heritages... Indians and Spaniards are our first parents; the legacy of both is the fatherland,"¹³ because "the white adventurer and the emperor Indian, the victor and the vanquished are our blood."¹⁴ Taking the argument forward, a historian remarked that Pizarro had conquered an Empire which had also subdued and dominated other groups: the Incas and the Spaniards had both been conquerors and had created powerful Empires, which signaled Peru's historical grandeur. Indeed, this historian asked to erect a monument to Pachacútec, "the greatest of the Inca monarchs" –considered the Inca who extended the Empire's possessions to its greatest dimensions—next to Pizarro's. After all, "Pizarro and Pachacútec do not exclude, but complement each other in an integral (indo-

⁹ Ibid.. 126. The same idea is expressed by Javier Lajo. Lajo, Javier "¿Pizarro fundó el Perú? Se debe fondear esas estatua de marras," *Quechuanetwork.org* (http://www.quechuanetwork.org/news_template.cfm?news_id=747&lang=s) (2003).

¹⁰ "Por fin sacarán a Fco. Pizarro."

¹¹ Carlos Neuhaus "¿Otra mudanza para Francisco Pizarro?," in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 50-1.

¹² Aurelio Miró Quesada, "Lima y Pizarro," in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 161-3.

¹³ José Antonio del Busto, "En torno al monumento a Pizarro," in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 158-60.

¹⁴ Carlos Orellana, "Pizarro y los sentimientos de culpa," in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 101-102.

Hispanic) view of the history of Peru.”¹⁵ While a commentator praised Pizarro for the remarkable feat of conquest, “an achievement that is part of Peruvians proud heritage,”¹⁶ another highlighted that Peruvians could well be proud of both, Inca and Spanish glorious pasts, which in turn produced the harmonious blend we call modern Peru: “the most harmonious constellation of peoples that exalts the history of human solidarity. Pizarro has created the Hispanic miracle of South America, which still prays to Jesus Christ and still speaks Spanish.”¹⁷

All of Pizarro advocates shared the conception that the nation is the biological and cultural result of the conquest led by Pizarro. Some, however, took a paradoxical stand, celebrating the conquest for “connecting us profoundly and definitely with Western Greco-Roman-Christian culture... thus forming Peruvians in the most intimate aspects of family sentiments, citizen affirmation, the essential juridical order, and even in the way we ethically and spiritually conceive life itself.”¹⁸ A noted attorney and legal historian remarked that he did “not repudiate the conquest: I celebrate it, because it is from that event –undoubtedly harsh, as every other conquest— that derive my language, my religion, my insertion in the Western world.”¹⁹ Pizarro would, thus be the person who allowed for “modernity” to come to “our coasts.” internationally noted writer Mario Vargas Llosa projected his values into the past, stating that along with Pizarro came “the tongue of Cervantes, Western culture, Greece and Rome, Christianity, the Renaissance, Enlightenment, the Rights of Men, the future democratic and

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Miguel Cruchaga, “Expresan su desacuerdo con cambios de estatua,” in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, p.36.

¹⁷ Enrique Chirinos Soto, “Pizarro: Conquistador y fundador,” in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 103-5.

¹⁸ Hugo Guerra, “La estatua de Pizarro,” in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 41-3.

¹⁹ Fernando de Trazegnies, “Un Pizarro Light,” in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 70-3.

liberal culture, which is as essential and irreplaceable a component of *peruanidad* as is the Inca Empire.”²⁰

As in the need to justify Pizarro’s “regicide,” a commentator made use of contemporary conflicts with neighboring Ecuador, reminding readers that, by favoring “Ecuadorian” Quito over Cusco, Atahualpa had been a traitor to “Peru.” Atahualpa was not “a little angel...but a cruel illegitimate despot who committed atrocities in Cusco.”²¹ Pizarro thus appeared as a patriot savior who reestablished Peru’s hegemony in South America...

Name-calling could not be absent from such an impassionate confrontation. The statue supporters were called “modern Felipillos,”²² after the Indian collaborator/translator of Pizarro, while Agurto’s faction was regarded as “schizophrenic,” and was accused of having brought Peruvians back to those “awkward times of neo-*indigenista* versus *hispanófila*, from which emerged some dangerous disintegration forces against authentic *Peruanidad* throughout this century.”²³ Poignantly, Pizarro defenders suggested that Agurto’s proposal for a new, benign representation of Pizarro was influenced by the United States’ taste for political correction, labeling the proposed statue a “light Pizarro.” “now that it is fashionable to drink beer without alcohol, eat cholesterol free butter, and zero-calorie sweets... (somebody wants) a light Pizarro.”²⁴ In a bold fashion, both factions accused each other of being disloyal to Peru, either by acting in a similar way as the Indian who “betrayed” his “race,” or by denying Hispanic contributions to Peruvian racial and cultural stocks.

Five years after the ceasefire, when no one expected the move, a new Mayor finally removed Pizarro, announcing the transformation of Pizarro’s Plaza into a new Plaza de la

²⁰ Mario Vargas Llosa, “Los hispanicidas,” *El País*, 2003.

²¹ Manuel Camino, in *Descabalgando a Pizarro*, ed. Santiago Agurto, 76-7.

²² “Por fin sacarán a Fco. Pizarro.”

²³ Hugo Guerra, “La estatua.”

²⁴ Fernando de Trazegnies, “Un Pizarro Light.”

Peruanidad, to celebrate Peru's history and heritage(s). The measure, according to Lima's Mayor Luis Castañeda was "aimed at emphasizing our identity... no country in the world has erected a monument to its conqueror."²⁵ Castañeda declared that the new Plaza would be appropriate for today's Lima, a city where the Peru of "*todas las sangres*" (all bloods) gathered, adding that Pizarro's monument could only be a symbol of *Lima Antigua* (old Lima), a city "populated exclusively by Peruvians of Spanish heritage." Modeled after Mexico's *Plaza de las Tres Culturas*, the plaza was to be a representation of Peru's integration, without victors nor vanquished; in fact, without Pizarro or any reference to historical breaks, but symbolizing "history" as a continuity from which Peruvians could attain a sense of reconciliation and harmony. Crowned by the flags of the Inca Empire, Lima, and Peru, to represent the historical epochs of the Incas, the Viceroyalty, and the Republic, the new plaza will not make debates about history cease. In fact, many have voiced their opposition to the flag of the Inca Empire, not only on the grounds that it was created just in the nineteen-sixties, but because it is identical to the banner of the International Gay movement, and therefore unsuited to represent "our" imperial, and, obviously virile, Incas.

Ironies apart, the opposing views stated in the controversy were anything but new, as participants recycled long-standing debates about Peru's history and the complexion of the national community. The debate on Pizarro's Plaza and monument was historical in many ways. Participants debated on the veracity of Pizarro's depiction, analyzing, for instance, the mounted cavalier's clothing –according to Agurto, unsuited for the time of the conquest— and the shape of the horse –which, he argued, looked more like a polo stallion than a Spanish conquistador's horse. Agurto added that the statue –made in 1915- did not really depict Pizarro, but a French gothic king, and that it had been given to Mexico as a representation of Hernán Cortés before

²⁵ "Apoyan "desalojo" de Pizarro," *La República*, April 28, 2003.

making its way to Lima in the early 1940s as Francisco Pizarro. Although his arguments over empirical data raised objections, it was the significance of “conquest,” as well as the narratives of Peru’s history which prompted a great number of energetic responses. Was Pizarro the founder of Peru, or its destroyer? In fact, where do the origins of the nation lay? The storm over Pizarro’s monument is proof that the past is very well alive and carrying strong emotional burdens in Peru, as discourses related to its national identity keep failing to become the hegemonic “guiding fictions” from which to articulate the never ending anxieties over the philosophical, political, profoundly historical, and ultimately unanswerable questions of who we are as Peruvians and what the country is.²⁶

Although this debate can only be accounted for through the written records of newspapers in which we find the authorized voices of lettered people, one can safely assume that the arguments were also reproduced in school classes and street talk.²⁷ After all, monuments are erected in public places to instruct history to the masses, more so in Peru, where history books are hardly read outside academic circles. This history study that focuses on a time period more readily considered “historical” –perhaps because its study demands confronting yellowing papers found in archives and specialized collections— starts with events that only happened a few years ago precisely because it centers its attention to the processes by which “history” was made public and concrete, therefore, open to public contestation, on the streets and plazas of the capital of Peru.

²⁶ The notion of “guiding fictions” comes from Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

²⁷ Apart from debates in newspapers, the removal of the statue was profusely debated in the World Wide Web.

The city made to be Spain's bastion of colonial domination was the object of multiple transformations during the second half of the "long nineteenth century"²⁸—some of them, much alike the twenty-first century transformation of Pizarro's plaza into the Plaza de la *Peruanidad*, were modest, some drastic or pretentious—, but all of them guided by the assumption that it had to symbolize the nation. This study focuses on Lima as a concrete expression of discourses on the nation and modernity. The continuous reinventions of Lima, and the ways in which Lima was debated, imagined, represented, and envisaged, embody ongoing postcolonial anxieties about Peru's national identity, particularly, elites' ambivalence about modernity and the complexion of the national community. In short, my study will historicize the conflicting conceptions of the city to understand how Peruvian elites have imagined modernity and progress and attempted to create viable images of their nation.

History, the Nation and the Postcolonial City

The anxieties and ambiguities of the discursive formations on Peru's history, as well as the soul searching processes on Peruvian identity did not begin at the end of the twentieth century. In fact, San Martin's 1821 declaration of independence in Lima's main square—"From this moment Peru is free and independent, for the general will of the peoples..."—already contained some of the paradoxes of the Janus-faced entity we call the nation; at once, the declaration gave birth to a new creature that pre-existed its own inauguration, which "from that moment" was to be free and independent. The formation of nation states around the globe were, indeed, processes of creation of new/old nations. As Benedict Anderson argues, nations are

²⁸ The long 19th century refers to the period 1780-1930 in Peruvian historiography. Deborah Poole labels this period "the Andean postcolonial," Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

cultural artifacts that sprung from the Enlightenment.²⁹ The death of the king, the repository of a sovereignty that derived from divinity, gave rise to a conception of sovereignty as residing on the horizontal community of the nation. Former subjects of sacred monarchs who ruled “by some form of cosmological (divine) dispensation,”³⁰ would now belong to a conceptual abstraction imagined as a fellowship of equal citizens. The new nations would inherit their jurisdictions and administrative apparatuses from the monarchies or colonies they superseded, but now imagined under the novel notion of the sovereign nation.

The adjustment “from subjects to citizens” could not be automatic. San Martín’s famous 1821 decree ordering that “in the future the aborigines shall not be called Indians or natives; they are children and citizens of Peru and they shall be known as Peruvians” is a clear example of the new nations’ task.³¹ Driven by the homogenizing, enlightened, liberal impulse for assimilation, elites had to make “ex-colonial subjects into republican citizens with a national future.”³² The name “Indian” had been a colonial legal and fiscal category that established a distinctive set of obligations and privileges granted by the crown. Following ideologies of national formation influenced by classical liberal theory that carried the fundamental premise of a community made up of equals, elite *criollos*, themselves newly “Peruvians” –including San Martín, a native of today’s Argentina— abolished all colonial categories to form a fresh community of citizens. Ex-colonial subjects were no longer to be “children” of the King, but of Peru, and were to assume the abstract and individualistic category of “citizens.” San Martín’s words can easily resonate in the ears of European historians who may remember Massimo d’Azeglio’s significant statement

²⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

³¹ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente* (La Plata: Universidad Nacional de la Plata, 1950), 67. Decree issued on August 27, 1822.

³² Mark Thurner, “Peruvian Genealogies of History and Nation,” in Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero, *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

in the first parliamentary session of unified Italy: “We have made Italy; all that remains is to make Italians,” or who may be familiar with the nineteenth century broad processes of French national unification and modernization which, to Eugene Weber, meant to transform “peasants into Frenchmen.”³³ Indeed, Italians, Frenchmen, and Peruvians, all had to be made out of peasants, subjects, and Indians by dissolving pre-existing identities and by forging a sense of brotherhood under the loving aegis of the nation. San Martin’s first words, “in the future...,” express the mission creoles had to undertake, and indicates that by 1921, Indians were Peruvians to be, ex-colonial subjects potentially Peruvian, or Peruvians that simply did not know they were Peruvians. Peru had been made; patriot Creoles now had to make Peruvians.³⁴

But, how could Peruvians be made? How could a national community be developed and the aegis of the nation extended to include all potential Peruvians? Anderson has not been alone in his claim that nations are cultural artifacts that are imagined. New bibliography has remarked that nations are symbolic, imaginary representations that should be studied as part of the realm of culture.³⁵ Nations are not only matters of political theory, but, fundamentally, aesthetic, rhetorical conceptions; it is through routines, customs, and artistic expressions that nations are expressed, for they forge the notion of, and promote the sense of belonging to, a horizontal

³³ Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979).

³⁴ The official newspaper of the Peruvian Republic, *Los Andes Libres*, also expressed this need in 1821, stating that “a patriotic education is necessary for a patria to exist,” Quoted by Mónica Ricketts, “El teatro en Lima: tribuna política y termómetro de civilización, 1820-1828,” in *La independencia del Perú. De los Borbones a Bolívar*, ed. Scarlett O’Phelan (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2001), 440.

³⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983); Balibar, Etienne, and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London and New York: Verso, 1992); Clifford Geertz, ed. *Old Societies and New States: the Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1960); Tom Nairn, *Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited* (London: Verso, 1997); Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates About Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover: University Press of New England 2000) and *The Antiquity of Nations* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004); Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (London: Methuen, 1977).

brotherhood to which “sons” owe loyalty and devotion.³⁶ It is, therefore, through the labors of literati, historians, journalists, teachers, and artists, as well as the efforts of new state bureaucracies, that nations are imagined. The nation, however, cannot afford to be imagined in plural, but as a singular, discrete entity that has a peculiar character and a unique history. Hugh Seton-Watson has highlighted the role of the state in developing a form of “official nationalism,” through the formation of an intelligentsia dedicated to the creation of official art and culture.³⁷ In the foundational moments that followed the “death of the king,” nations had to be relatively quickly invented, and its representations and traditions fixed. As Mauricio Tenorio Trillo acutely observes, nationalist discourses usually allude to the notion of the nation’s “soul;” but that invisible essence has to be depicted and acquire concreteness and tangibility to exist.³⁸ The abstract, invisible entity named nation can only become national through artistic, poetic acts of representation directed to generate the emotional effect of revealing the nation’s shared character.

Indeed, nations have emblems, flags, and anthems as “sacred” symbols, as well as liturgical rituals that promote togetherness. But the horizontal community of the nation is located in a soil that is also nationalized through geographical iconography, maps, monuments and buildings. While Benedict Anderson insightfully highlighted how maps shaped the ways in which colonial and postcolonial states imagined their dominions, and underscored the role of museums in the creation of images of the nature of the human beings they united, his classic work on nationalism notoriously left architecture, urban planning, and monuments unanalyzed. Architecture and urban planning have been instrumental in projects to give shape to the imagined

³⁶ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

³⁷ Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States*.

³⁸ Tenorio Trillo, Mauricio, “Essaying the History of National Images,” in *After Spanish Rule*, ed. Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero.

national space, to symbolize and create the national culture. The mythical concept of the nation is promoted as the personification of the common soul of all citizens, and as the natural unity of territory, state, and the people. The national rearrangement of the built environment of the city, particularly of the capital city, its public buildings and open spaces, has been the center of efforts to make the dominance of new states public, that is, to provide states with a concrete and material appearance to endow new regimes with legitimacy, and thus express a vision of political power that new elites want to demonstrate.³⁹ The city's morphology is not only arranged to make the new epistemology of power symbolized and visible, but also to reform the sociability and shape citizens according to new, national principles. Monuments not only transform the urban space, but, along with the spaces that host them, become tangible shrines for the veneration of national memorable events and persons in order to generate loyalty to the nation and instill national values.

This does not mean, indeed, that the preoccupation for urban planning and architectural design was a consequence of the rise of nations. Recent bibliography has focused on urban planning and design as important tools for political and social projects in both colonial and postcolonial settings, examining, for instance the role of urban planning and architectural design as a cornerstone of French colonialism.⁴⁰ Not only have they highlighted its role in the consolidation of colonial power, but they have added complexity to the understanding of the colonial enterprise by paying attention to the ways in which the colonizers redefined and

³⁹ Win Blockmans, "Reshaping Cities: The Staging of Political Transformation," *Journal of Urban History*, 30, no. 1 (2003): 7-20.

⁴⁰ Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), and, "Tradition in the Service of Modernity," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Nezar AlSayyad, ed. *Forms of Dominance in the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992); Panivong Norindr, *Phantasmatic Indochina: French Colonial Ideology in Architecture, Film, and Literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontation: Algiers under Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

reinvented the stubbornly persistent traditions of the colonized. Other authors have explored diverse attempts to create a national identity through the use of urban design and architecture.⁴¹ These studies not only underscore the symbolic role of architectural imagery, but they also discuss the problems of forging images of the nation in postcolonial situations.

Thus, nations also *become* by the erection of monuments and buildings, as both configure the nations “face” by providing the nation with historical images available to the broad public. Undoubtedly, history is the most appropriate means for the production of images for collective cohesion and the forging of a sense of nation-ness. Asking the rhetorical, but fundamental question “which is a people’s character?,” Italian philosopher and historian Benedetto Croce provided a potent answer: “Its history, all of its history, and nothing but its history.”⁴² Indeed, new nations –which, as we have seen, pre-existed their own foundations— required history and “nothing but history.” It is no coincidence that the first chairs of history were founded in the early nineteenth century, after the “death of the king” and the appearance of nations.⁴³ The rise of a new, impersonal historical subject, the nation –“the people”—, transformed history from a courtly discipline to instruct princes on their dynastical pasts into the academic discipline to

⁴¹ James Holson, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989); Lawrence Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Spiro Kostof, “His Majesty the Pick; the Aesthetics of Demolition,” in *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, ed. Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro and Richard Ingersoll (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994); Carl Schorske, *Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Janet Berry Hess, “Imagining Architecture: The Structure of Nationalism in Accra, Ghana,” *Africa Today*, 47, no. 2 (2000): 35-56, and *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2006); David Gordon, “From Noblesse Oblige to Nationalism: Elite Involvement in Planning Canada’s Capital,” *Journal of Urban History*, 28, no. 1 (2001): 3-34; Win Blockmans, “Reshaping Cities: The Staging of Political Transformation,” *Journal of Urban History*, 30, no. 1 (2003): 7-20; Keith Eggner, “Contrasting Images of Identity in the Post-War Mexican Architecture of Luis Barragán and Juan O’Gorman,” *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 9, no. 1 (2000).

⁴² Benedetto Croce, *Teoría e historia de la historiografía* (Buenos Aires: Imán, 1953).

⁴³ Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 136. The “death of the king” is a phrase coined by Jacques Ranciere to name the formation of France’s national being. Jacques Ranciere, *The Names of History: On the Poetics of Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

provide nations usable narrations of themselves.⁴⁴ In order to become a “community of fate,” as Austro-Hungarian Marxist labeled it, or a “unity of fate,” as it was referred to by Spanish Fascist *falangista* Antonio Primo de Rivera, the nation requires a history.⁴⁵

If it is clear that the nation created history, it could well be argued that it is history that creates the nation. The nation’s “soul” and “spiritual principle,” Ernest Renan wrote, is constituted by two things “which in truth are but one,”

one lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form. Man, Gentlemen, does not improvise. The nation, like the individual, is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice, and devotion. Of all cults, that of the ancestors is the most legitimate, for the ancestors have made us what we are.⁴⁶

Renan acutely highlights that “the desire to live together” and “the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories,” “in truth are but one;” because the sense of the common possession of a past –“the fact of sharing, in the past, a glorious heritage and regrets”— makes members of the nation develop the desire to live together: history underwrites contemporary commitments.

History provides the master line of the nation in order to develop a homogeneous national identity. For that reason, the history of the nation attempts to be a singular master line that highlights certain events and obliterates others. A nation needs a history, not histories. The nation is bound together not by the past itself –not by “all history,” as Croce had stated, but by the story of that past made by holding on to some events and by letting go of others. As Renan

⁴⁴ Jaques Ranciere, *The Names of History*; Mark Thurner, “Una historia peruana para el pueblo peruano. De la genealogía fundacional de Sebastián Lorente,” *Lorente, Sebastián, Escritos Fundacionales. Compilación y estudio introductorio: Mark Thurner* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2005).

⁴⁵ Otto Bauer, *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000). Primo de Rivera’s quote comes from Tomás Pérez, *Nación, identidad nacional y otros mitos nacionalistas* (Oviedo: Ediciones Nobel, 1999).

⁴⁶ Renan, Ernest, “What is a Nation?,” in *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, 1996. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 41-55.

famously added, what we forget makes us the nation that we are. A shared amnesia, a collective capacity to forget, allows for the forging of a “gathering of men bond by a common error about their origin,” as Albert Mousset ingeniously defined the nation.⁴⁷ To forget antagonisms a nation requires an official history that monopolizes the interpretation of the past. National history is a collective drama that provides elements to nationalist liturgy, promoting a sense of communion among the children of the nation, the dead and the living, and history itself becomes the sacred past of the sacred nation. Nations, thus, rest on historiographical fictions made official. But official history is not only disseminated in textbooks. History, more so in Clio’s century, was an activity restricted, erudite, with a limited capacity to disseminate. Other means (literature, the press, theater, paintings, and monuments) are utilized as a historicist iconography to carry that erudite image to the great public in the pedagogical effort to forge the national community.

New nations’ predicaments derive from the vital but conflicting need to forge the national self by imagining the past and the future in simultaneous— an ambivalence San Martín’s foundational decrees already expressed—. The need to break with the past to mark their difference with pre-existing political entities, to symbolically launch a viable new beginning, coexisted with the need to establish the essential continuity of the nation from immemorial times. Additionally, European and American nations had to become nations in a simultaneously forming *international* community. Nations were to become distinct communities –different from the societies they superseded, and different to one another— but, at the same time, had to be recognizably “national” among other nations. The tension between the drive for attaining uniqueness and the mandates of universality and cosmopolitanism, of course, has been worked out differently in different nations, but becoming national also meant to become part of the rising modern world. The task of transforming peasants and ex-subjects of monarchies and Empires

⁴⁷ Quoted in Tomás Pérez, *Nación, identidad nacional y otros mitos nacionalistas*, 123.

into citizens implied making them citizens not only of the nation states, but also citizens of the modern world, forging a culture based on what were perceived as universal values.

As Marshall Berman argues, the mandates of modernity were also felt by monarchies such as the Russian, who erected Saint Petersburg as a “window to Europe” to signify Russian’s participation in the modern world. As a result, Berman states, there developed a polarity between modern, cosmopolitan, Enlightened, secular Petersburg, and traditional, pure, sacred Moscow; the former to be Russia’s head, the latter its heart.⁴⁸ Russian’s nineteenth-century bipolar development could not be a viable model for postcolonial nation-states, which had to remake their capital cities –which were inherited from decapitated monarchies or Empires— to make them, at once, their “hearts” and “heads.” As Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo argues, the construction of national images was an intricate phenomenon undertaken in reference to other national images as much as in reference to local characteristics.⁴⁹

Having branched out of a decaying Empire, Latin American new nations’ efforts to craft images of themselves were framed by those dichotomies. Their senses of nation-ness were to be forged, of course, opposing the immediate past of Spanish imperial rule, to promote a sense of belonging to unique national communities and, at the same time, to insert themselves as part of the modern international community. The mandates of modernity imposed grand-scale cultural transformations to reform habits and eradicate traditions regarded as backward and uncivilized and not proper to the new national community *and* modern civilization, and aimed at instilling new habits that would allow the nation to compete in the universal community.

⁴⁸ Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982).

⁴⁹ Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World’s Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

These post-colonial dilemmas have not received the attention they deserve. In fact, nineteenth-century modernization efforts in Latin America have been mostly regarded as “cosmetic” attempts to mimic European powers of the time, mostly France, England, and the United States.⁵⁰ Modernity was thus “imported” and “imposed,” as elites “believed that “progress” meant to recreate their nations as closely as possible to their European and North American models.”⁵¹ Latin American elites’ drive to “ape” Europe –which was mainly expressed in the attempt to make capital cities a “copy” of Paris—⁵² was part of elites’ new subjugation to rising neo-colonial empires: elites’ imitated “foreign” doctrines –like liberalism and positivism–, built state’s institutions and experimented with new technologies of power – such as the penitentiary—modeled after European ones, and copied “foreign” aesthetic models, in their efforts to become an intermediary class in the neo-colonial exploitation of their countries, and to preserve colonial forms of domination that benefited them.⁵³ As such, Bradford Burns refers to urban transformations in nineteenth-century Latin America as attempts to build European “façades.” Similarly, Jeffrey Needell sees the transformations of late-nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro as part of an ongoing colonial relationship (the neo-colonial order), a

⁵⁰ Jorge Hardoy, “Theory and Practice of Urban Planning in Europe, 1850-1930: Its Transfer to Latin America,” in *Rethinking the Latin American City*, ed. Richard Morse and Jorge Hardoy (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1992); Tulio Halperin Donghi, “The Cities of Spanish America, 1825-1914: Economic and Social Aspects,” in *Urbanization in the Americas: The Background in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Woodrow Borah, Jorge Hardoy, and Gilbert Stelter (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1980).

⁵¹ Bradford Burns, *The Poverty of Progress: Latin America in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

⁵² Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

⁵³ Stanley Stein and Barbara Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America: Essays on Economic Dependence in Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970). For *dependentista* views of Peruvian elites, see Ernesto Yepes, *Perú 1820-1920: un siglo de desarrollo Capitalista* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1972); Heraclio Bonilla and Karen Spalding “La Independencia en el Perú: las palabras y los hechos,” in *La Independencia en el Perú*, ed. Heraclio Bonilla (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1972); Heraclio Bonilla, *Guano y burguesía en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1974), and, “El problema nacional y colonial del Perú en el contexto de la Guerra del Pacífico,” in *Un siglo a la deriva: Ensayos sobre el Perú, Bolivia y la guerra* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1980); Luís Pásara, *Derecho y sociedad en el Perú* (Lima: El Virrey, 1988); Julio Cotler, *Clases, estado y nación en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978); Javier Tantaleán, *Política económico-financiera y la formación del estado: Siglo XIX* (Lima: CEDEP, 1983); Similar essentialist views of Peruvian elites were expressed in Sebastián Salazar Bondy *Lima la Horrible* (Lima: Populibros Peruanos, 1964).

“Frenchification” used to reinforce and legitimate traditional hierarchical relations. In cases, the modernizing projects to transform capital cities has been regarded as elites’ efforts to create a European environment for their own, transforming their neighborhoods to “easily imagine themselves in Europe,” while ignoring the poor and leaving lower class sectors of the city untouched: “elites constructed public spaces directed towards themselves and the foreign tourists, diplomats, and businessmen...public spaces graced by Parisian reform were ipso facto, not intended for the unsightly poor.”⁵⁴ Removed from national realities, according to this train of thought, elites sold out their countries to the neo-colonial powers, all the while managing to hold on to the privileges they inherited from the Spanish colonial era. European ideals and models, however, could not successfully materialize and remained unsuitable for Latin American realities and can still be regarded as “misplaced.”⁵⁵

For the city of Lima, Gabriel Ramón’s study about urban reforms in Lima during the second half of the nineteenth century follows the same master line: they were part of Latin America’s economical and political subordination to England in what has been called the “neo colonial pact.” The new republics had to comply with the role assigned by the new metropolis, and elites adopted political systems and cultural traits to strengthen their relationships with England. The influence, better yet, “imperative,” of the metropolis was felt regarding the notions of progress and the proceedings to attain it; urban transformations were part of a larger process of subjection dictated from abroad.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Both quotes come from Jeffrey Needell, “Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires: Public Space and Public Consciousness in *Fin-de-Siecle* Latin America,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 37, no. 3. (1995): 538-9.

⁵⁵ Roberto Schwartz, *Misplaced Ideas: Essays on Brazilian Culture* (London: Verso, 1992).

⁵⁶ Gabriel Ramón, *La muralla y los callejones; Intervención urbana y proyecto político en Lima durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX* (Lima: SIDEA y PromPerú, 1999).

Referring to nineteenth-century projects of modernization in Peru, Peruvian lawyer and law historian Fernando de Trazegnies argued they were examples of a “traditional modernization” –that is, half-hearted efforts at modernization, constrained by autocratic and aristocratic values, which buttressed, under the guise of cosmetic modernity, the social structures and hierarchies inherited from Spanish colonialism. De Trazegnies made a contrast between European capitalist modernization, which to his eyes was “promoted from below,” and Peru’s traditional modernization, which “preserves an aristocratic social environment” because it was promoted “from above by the leading social class.”⁵⁷ De Trazegnies’ approach has been followed by historians of the penitentiary,⁵⁸ mental institutions,⁵⁹ and of Lima’s processes of modernization.⁶⁰ This approach to the projects of modernization of Lima, or other Latin American cities, is part of a narrative of Latin American exceptionalism that characterizes the region as unable to fulfill the promises of European modernity.

Departing from a sociological, monolithic idealization of modernity, which highlights the modern ideals of equality and democracy, but obliterates the contradictions of modernity and the modern drives for social control, normalization, and discipline, these authors state it only fully developed in Europe, thus tend to reduce these projects to “efforts to make things change so that,

⁵⁷ Fernando de Trazegnies, *La idea del derecho en el Perú republicano del siglo XIX* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1979), and “La genealogía del derecho peruano,” in *Pensamiento político peruano*, ed. Adrianzén, Alberto (Lima: DESCO, 1987).

⁵⁸ See Carlos Aguirre, “La Penitenciaría de Lima y la modernización de la justicia penal en el siglo XIX,” in *Mundos interiores: Lima 1850-1950*, ed. Panfichi, Aldo and Felipe Portocarrero (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, 1995); Ricardo Savatore, and Carlos Aguirre ed., *The Birth of the Penitentiary in Latin America: Essays on Criminology, Prison Reform, and Social Control, 1830-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

⁵⁹ See Augusto Ruiz, “Medicina mental y modernización, 1850-1900, in *Mundos interiores*, and *Psiquiatras y locos: entre la modernización contra los andes y el nuevo proyecto de modernidad. Perú: 1850-1930* (Lima: Pasado y Presente, 1994).

⁶⁰ Ramón, Gabriel, *La muralla y los callejones*.

as a result, everything remains the same.”⁶¹ Augusto Ruiz’s history of Lima’s mental institutions, for instance, considers that the projects to reform mental asylums were marked by two opposing tendencies: a “modern,” humanitarian, philanthropic tendency expressed in the desires to improve the patients’ conditions following the new medical tendencies developed in Europe and the United States, and a “traditional” inclination derived from colonial times, expressed in the desires for discipline and control. The plans to reform mental institutions are thus depicted as schizophrenic and destined to fail. Interestingly, the disciplinary aspects of modernity are not recognized as such by this view of the modernizing efforts, but are attributed to restraints inherited from colonial times.⁶²

Indeed, neo-Marxist and *dependentista* historians and sociologists have criticized the region’s elites for not being sufficiently modern, liberal, or nationalistic, and for stubbornly cling to their colonial positions of hierarchy. Vincent Peloso and Barbara Tenenbaum, for instance, argue that the peculiarity of nineteenth-century Latin American liberalism was the contradiction between the ideals of equality and the Creole elites’ need to limit the political participation of the majority of the population in order to keep the economic and social order that benefited them. Despite the regional variety, the authors argue that some basic convictions were shared by Latin American liberal elites: faith in representative government, the need of separate branches of government, the need to preserve human liberty, and stimulate economic activity. The ideal political system was the republic, whose body of laws should be universally applied to all the inhabitants of the state. Nevertheless, the authors argue, the application of this doctrine could

⁶¹ This poignant phrase belongs to Alberto Flores Galindo, “Independencia y clases sociales,” *Independencia y revolución: 1780-1840* (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1987), 123. It is part of his criticism to the dominant trope in Peruvian historiography, which has been crafted and followed by historians and sociologists of both conservative and leftist affiliations.

⁶² For an exception see Majluf’s path breaking work on sculpture and public space: Natalia Majluf, *Escultura y espacio público. Lima, 1850-1879* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1994).

not be complete: Latin American liberals, wanting to preserve the exclusionary privileges inherited from colonial times were unable to accomplish their liberal ideals, and thus reduced the liberal utopia to an attempt to expand political participation of the masses (specially the urban plebe), without allowing them full access to power.⁶³ Again, this perspective seems to idealize European liberalism, as if only in Latin America had liberalism met with the desire to control and exclude, lower class people. These views assume an unambiguous and ahistorical notion of liberalism and as politically and economically inclusive and progressive, and which allowed universal “full access to power,” which was allegedly misapplied in Latin America because of elite’s desires to maintain the privileges they enjoyed in colonial times. Liberalism, identified as an egalitarian discourse, could not be applied in a profoundly hierarchical society headed by elites not willing to give up their status, and was “stillborn” in Latin America.⁶⁴

Perhaps inadvertently, this scholarship assumes an unambiguous and romanticized view of European modernity (and liberalism) as socially, politically and economically inclusive, in contrast to which Latin America can only be perceived as an aberration or deviation. Given a conceptual opposition between tradition and modernity, any political system or mode of thinking that does not conform to the assumed “ideal type” of modernity or liberalism necessarily appears to be the expression of “traditionalist encrustations.” As a result, Latin America is perceived as a

⁶³ Vincent Peloso and Barbara Tenenbaum, eds., *Liberals, Politics & Power: State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1996).

⁶⁴ Florencia Mallon, “Economic Liberalism: Where We Are and Where We Need to Go,” in *Guiding the Invisible Hand: Economic Liberalism and the State in Latin American History*, ed. Joseph Love and Nils Jacobsen (New York: Praeger, 1988).

“bastard” offspring of Europe, unable to rid itself from its “colonial legacy,” and who can only be defined by its “absences” and “failures.”⁶⁵

The narrative of exceptionalism has also been deployed to analyze nation-ness in Latin America and Peru. Departing from the conception that modern (that is European) nation-states resulted from revolutions lead by national bourgeoisies, *dependentista* scholars have concluded that Latin American revolutions of independence were political events by which a privileged, but not bourgeois, Creole elite controlled the administrative systems of the ex-colonial states without forging new nations. According to influential Argentine historian Tulio Halperin, the revolutionaries were not rebels, but “heirs of a fallen power” who used the political-administrative colonial patrimony to serve their interests.⁶⁶ Referring to Peru, Heraclio Bonilla and Karen Spalding argued that “political Independence from Spain, thus, left the very foundations of Peruvian society, which had developed and solidified throughout 300 years of colonial life, intact.”⁶⁷ More recently, Nelson Manrique has repeated that, after independence was achieved, “for most creoles the problem was how to take possession of the mechanisms of power that Spaniards and colonial bureaucracy used, not to remove them.”⁶⁸ In short, Latin American Creole elites did not constitute a “truly leading bourgeoisie,” which made them unable to create “true” nations. Their will to hold on to the power inherited from colonialism made them unwilling to change the societies they now controlled. Bonilla and José Matos Mar synthesized this view, stating that “in contrast to the authentic bourgeois revolutions of eighteen- and

⁶⁵ See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). His criticism includes the original orientation of the Subaltern Studies group. For a discussion on this view of history in Africa, see Mahmood Mamani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996). For similar criticisms of Peruvian historiography, see Magdalena Chocano, “Ucronía y frustración en la conciencia histórica peruana,” *Márgenes. Encuentro y debate*, no. 2 (1987); Alberto Flores Galindo, “La imagen y el espejo: la historiografía peruana 1910-1986,” in *Márgenes*, no. 4 (1988), and Guillermo Rochabrún, “Ser historiador en el Perú,” *Márgenes*, no. 7 (1991).

⁶⁶ Tulio Halperin Donhi, *Historia contemporánea de América Latina* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986), 90.

⁶⁷ Heraclio Bonilla and Karen Spalding, “La Independencia en el Perú,” 15.

⁶⁸ Nelson Manrique, *Enciclopedia Temática del Perú: Sociedad* (Lima: El Comercio, 2004), 14-15.

nineteenth-century Europe, Independence in Peru was only a military and political event, leaving the bases of the colonial system unchanged.”⁶⁹

In their efforts to oppose previous narratives of Peruvian history, which depicted Peru as a unified and harmonious national entity, neo-Marxist historians and sociologists proposed that Peru, quite simply, was not a nation. Their influential view of Peruvian elites as a traditional, anti-national group that in essence sold their countries out to the new Empires of England, in the nineteenth century, and the United States, in the twentieth century, produced a historical narrative marked by absences, anomalies, unfulfilled promises, and lost opportunities. Narratives dominated by the themes of “lack” and “inadequacy,” that derive, as Dipesh Chakrabarty poignantly states, from the conception of “Europe” –or an ahistorical, ideal view of it—as “the sovereign, theoretical subject of all histories.”⁷⁰ In short: denouncers of ongoing colonialism seem to be trapped by the epistemological colonialism of modernity.

It is interesting to note that there exist two differing *dependentista* views of Latin American modernization. While sharing the perception that modernization was cosmetically imported from abroad, and not the result of internal developments –such as the formation of European national bourgeoisies—, and that the region ended its ties with the Spanish Empire only to become dependent on new Imperialisms, historians and sociologists, for the most part, have lamented the absence of “true modernity” in the region. In a more anthropological vein – perhaps influenced by Robert Redfield’s 1930’s writings on the transformations of “folk” societies⁷¹—, Bradford Burns laments Latin American elites’ imposition of “foreign patterns on their fledgling nations,” thus destroying the “folk” societies and thus the opportunity to create

⁶⁹ Heraclio Bonilla and José Matos Mar, “Presentación,” in *La Independencia en el Perú*, ed. Heraclio Bonilla (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1972), 11.

⁷⁰ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, .27.

⁷¹ See Robert Redfield, *Yucatán, una cultura en transición* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944); and, *El mundo primitivo y sus transformaciones* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1953).

“autochthonous” nations. While the sociological *dependentista* view idealizes European modernity, and considers it as universally “applicable,” the anthropological perspective regards modernity as a European development unsuitable for the region’s singular “reality.”

Historicizing History and National Identity Through Urban Transformations

This study systematically examines three key historical moments in which *Limeño* elites experimented, on an unparalleled scale, with urban transformations, projects of modernization, and social reform/control, in effect physically and socially restructuring and re-signifying a city that had symbolized the permanence of the colonial past, and as such had to be reinvented as the new face of a civilized, modernizing nation. These key moments are the guano era (1845-1870s), the turn of the century, or Post-War-of-the-Pacific period (mid 1890s-1910), and the Leguía “*Oncenio*” (1919-1930). These were not only moments of economic prosperity and relative political stability, but were, in many senses, foundational; the first two marked the end of intense, all-encompassing crises, while the Leguía regime was intended to be a widely recognized break with the past, and was ambitiously denominated the “*Patria Nueva*.” The three were moments of profound institutional changes, and of redefinition of the terms of integration of the country into the world market.

My study begins with the ways in which the foundational postcolonial images of Lima were established in the 1850s, when Lima was object of physical transformations and *Limeño* intellectuals published sociological and literary elaborations of the city. Peru had proved unable to achieve a stable national state until the prosperity of guano provided the conditions to solidify the “Lima state” under the leadership of President Ramón Castilla, thus bringing an end to the post-independence “*caudillo* era.”⁷² The 1850s opened a period of intense discussion about

⁷² Paul Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano: Commercial Policy and the State in Postindependence Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

Peru's national character and, social, cultural, and economic future.⁷³ Influenced by universalistic "enlightened liberal" ideals, and with a strong desire to participate in the world economy and nation-state system, Lima's liberal elites seemed to believe that true nationhood and economic progress could only be achieved by eliminating the legacy of Spain's colonial despotism. The new nation's identity was to be forged opposing the immediate past of Spanish colonialism, which was now repudiated, and constructed as an obscure, oppressive epoch. Enlightened *Limeños* sought to define themselves as modern, and attempted to found a new community based on reason, science, and political freedom, which could be part of the civilized world. The prosperity of guano and the political stability achieved after the turbulent and socially dislocating "*caudillo* era," helped to consolidate an optimistic view of the country's future. Peru's potential for development was sustained in its immense natural wealth, which was not taken advantage of by the indolent, incapable Spanish colonialism. The Creole elite had to maintain peace and order, develop scientific knowledge about its territory, build adequate infrastructure, promote foreign investment and immigration, and promote new values through education.

The nation's new beginning was promising, but imposed an enormous mission to *Limeño* elites who had consolidated their political and military dominion over the country after the defeat of the *Confederación Perú-Boliviana*. The projects of state formation and nation building strengthened Lima's hegemony: a central idea in these comprehensive processes of restructuring of the state and society was to make of Lima a torch to irradiate the metropolitan light of civilization and modernity into the entire uncivilized postcolonial nation. The task, considering

⁷³ Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú*, 6th. edition (Lima: Editorial Universitaria, 1969); Paul Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano*, and, *Imagining Development: Economic Ideas in Peru's 'Fictitious Prosperity' of Guano* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*.

that Lima had been the capital of Peru's viceroyalty, and a stronghold of Spanish dominance in South America, required a comprehensive social, political, physical, and cultural transformation. Lima became the privileged site of experimentation with modernity, the city where the new citizens of the nation were to be formed, and where a new Peruvian culture had to be invented.

While the nation's capital became the place where task of building a national future occurred, *Limeño* elites were also eager to engage in commercial activities with the consolidating new world economic powers, and were fervent believers of the need to promote the immigration of investors and of capable, European workers into what they perceived as a vast and rich, but depopulated territory. Elites perceived that their decaying capital city, which had lost the splendor of the early colonial times after the Bourbon creation of the viceroyalties of Nueva Granada, and especially Rio de la Plata, and after the turbulent years of the Independence and *caudillo* wars, offered a miserable sight to visitors.

The physical reform of the city became one of the essential objectives for the consolidation of the new regime and the constitution of the national community, its history and future. The need to transform the city into a symbol of the new nation had been felt early by liberator José de San Martín himself. The "Protector" decreed the replacement of Lima's colonial title, "The City of the Kings," for the more appropriately national "The Heroic and Valiant City of the Free."⁷⁴ The viceregal city, founded on a date near epiphany, had received its name after the three Wise Men of Egypt, but its name was way too kingly for the new republican taste. In a similar republican vein, the old *Colegio del Príncipe*, dedicated to the instruction of

⁷⁴ According to a report of the Ministry of Government published by the *Gaceta de Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, it was José de la Riva Agüero, then president of the *Departamento de Lima*, who suggested San Martín to change the name of the city to la "*Heroica y Esforzada Ciudad de los Libres*," The decree was issued by San Martín on October 12, 1821. *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 209. A document signed by Riva Agüero on October 12, 1821 communicating the Municipality the new denomination "decreed by the Protector" is at the AHML, Presidencia del Departamento, 1821-1823, doc.3. The Municipality's assembly used the denomination for the first time on October 23, 1821. A copy of the session's transcript is in Fernando Gamio, *La Municipalidad de Lima y la Emancipación de 1821* (Lima: Municipalidad de Lima, 2005), 288.

the sons of the curacas, was re-baptized as the “*Colegio de la Libertad*.”⁷⁵ The *Plaza de la Inquisición*, which hosted the now abominable Catholic tribunal, would become the “*Plaza de la Constitución*,”⁷⁶ and even Lima’s main square’s neutral name of “Plaza Mayor” was transformed into the new “*Plaza de la Independencia*.”⁷⁷ The Real Felipe Castle in Callao (Lima’s port), received the name of “*Castillo de la Independencia*,” its bulwarks, previously known as *baluartes* “*del Rey*,” and “*de la Reina*,” were transformed into “Manco Cápac,” and “*la Patria*.”⁷⁸ The royal inscriptions on Lima’s gateways, constructed as a Bourbon attempt to reaffirm their dynastic presence in the city, were removed and replaced with references to “*Dios y la Patria*,” as to announce the advent of a new civic religion.⁷⁹

In spite of their symbolism, these early republican gestures were modest in scope. The prosperity and the social and political stability of the guano era allowed for more comprehensive projects of renomination and transformation to make it the ultimate symbol of modernity and civilization. In 1861 the municipality of Lima decided to rename the streets and public spaces of Peru’s capital city. The streets of the viceregal “City of the Kings” had hitherto been named and renamed by tradition after eminent residents, memorable events, or commercial establishments, without the direct intervention of the city authorities. As a result of the new cultural politics of renomination, Lima became a map for, and inscribed memory of, the nation as streets, parks, and plazas both reproduced the national geography –receiving the names of *departamentos*, provinces, and rivers–, and indexed national events and heroes –battles, key dates, and founding

⁷⁵ Mark Thurner, “Una historia peruana para el pueblo peruano.”

⁷⁶ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 549. Decree issued on July 6, 1822 by Bernardo Monteagudo.

⁷⁷ Gabriel Ramón, *La muralla y los callejones*.

⁷⁸ Mark Thurner, “Una historia peruana para el pueblo peruano.”

⁷⁹ Manuel Fuentes, *Lima: Apuntes históricos, estadísticos, administrativos, comerciales y de costumbres* (Paris: Librería de Fermín Didot, hnos e hijos, 1867), 9.

fathers, including those of the founding Inca Manco Cápac, and the last, conquered Inca, Atahualpa.⁸⁰

Other projects were part of a more intensive “Peruvianization” of Lima. Key buildings and public spaces should now symbolize the new order and instill the republican values and national loyalty. Buildings of state institutions, in particular the “government palace,” located in Lima’s main square, had to express the state’s ascendancy over the country and its citizens, and show the rupture vis-à-vis the colonial past. Their design not only had to be functional to the buildings’ purposes, but had to fulfill the pedagogical, national aims. The rigid aesthetics of the neoclassical and, in cases, the neo-renaissantist styles were adopted as a way to conform to “universal” architectural standards and to the modern values they expressed, which elites wanted to promote: cleanliness, simplicity, discipline, and solidity. The baroque’s winding, tortuous lines were despised for symbolizing the obscurity of colonial times. By stripping the city of its colonial symbols, Lima could be transformed into a “heroic and valiant city of the free,” that is, a republican model for the nation, and a respected capital of a modern, civilized country for foreigners’ consumption.

The rupture with Spanish colonialism was expressed in monuments erected in strategic places of the city. As early as 1822, plans for new monuments to celebrate the rise of the new nation were issued. *Limeños*, however, would have to wait until the 1850s to see the first of such public sanctuaries in place. The monument to liberator Bolivar marked year one of the new nation and no effort was spared to make it grandiose: authorities were convinced that no economy could be made to symbolize the national community, and that the monument had to be worthy of the Liberator, of his feat, and of the country. Elites also erected a monument to another

⁸⁰ Juan Bromley, *Las Viejas Calles de Lima* (Lima: Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana, 2005).

founder: Christopher Columbus, who, not being a Spaniard, could be honored as a figure that brought “civilization” to the New World.

Public spaces also had to conform to new (inter)national standards. The use of streets and plazas was regulated to avoid chaos and to fortify the presence of the state. The construction of a new Central Market was intended to end the traditional use of plazas as vending fairs. New and renewed promenades and parks would not only transform the environment, but also eradicate and replace *Limeños*' unenlightened habits of socialization, public manners, and customs. Along with a growing preoccupation for the city's *ornato*, elites attempted to regulate and standardize public behavior, taste, and traditions. The infrastructure of streets, promenades and plazas had to have evident indications of where to sit, where to stand, where to direct the gaze. Having been inherited from colonial times, and therefore perceived as barbaric or backward, *Limeños* leisure activities as well as entertainment activities had to be modified. Elites attacked such “barbaric” festivities as carnivals and religious processions, and promoted “high culture” entertainment, such as opera and the taste for classical music. The musical bands of the military corps, for instance, played Viennese waltzes, pieces of opera, along with patriotic marches to entertain crowds in parks and plazas during weekends. Opera and theater companies were given subventions and incentives to come to Lima, with the condition to lower their prices and thus give poor *Limeños* the chance to refine and cultivate their taste.

Public space was defined as “sacred” space that belonged to the national community. As such, it was declared that the state had the right and the duty to care of it and regulate its use. Campaigns were launched to clean streets of vendors, beggars, vagrants, gamblers, alcoholics; but also to improve the sanitary condition of an unhealthy city that did not have a domiciliary water and sewage system, and which did not count with a centralized, efficient service of

garbage disposal or street cleansing. While provisions were made to provide those services, the notion that public space was sacred had to be inculcated in the masses: a good citizen had to venerate it and collaborate with state institutions to its beautification and preservation. The houses façades, for instance, had to be painted and kept clean. The old, crumbling city's layout was considered unsanitary: its narrow streets colluded with Lima's humid weather impeding the circulation of winds and produced an undesired accumulation of noxious air that weakened the bodies and minds of *Limeños*. The old streets, narrow, unpaved, and gashed by ditches, contributed to the general unhealthy environment of the city, most importantly, it was believed that narrow streets had the effect of narrowing *Limeños* minds. New streets, *paseos*, and parks were carefully designed to provide for open space where the inhabitants of the city could socialize, entertain themselves, and breathe healthy air.

The growing preoccupation with the sanitary conditions of the city combined with the perception that its population was stagnant. To put a remedy on Lima's demographic problems, experts recommended hygienic measures, such as exercises, the cleaning of rooms, baths, and hygiene of clothes, food and beverages. Hygiene was taught at schools, since elites considered that it was through education that the population would modify their unsanitary habits.

Plans were made to thoroughly restructure the educational system and make it appropriate for the country's new needs. The first law of education (1850) declared that education was a guarantee for freedom and republican regeneration, but also for order and progress. New educational establishments were opened by state and private initiatives for pupils of all walks of life. To cover for the absence of educators imbued with new pedagogic methods and with state-of-the-art knowledge, foreign teachers were hired, many of which were in charge of instructing new teachers. Not only were the lower classes targeted by these educational plans

and policies of control: elites perceived that their own habits had to be reformed, and that the development of the country demanded the acquisition of inexistent capacities in science and technology. Outstanding university students of different fields of the arts and sciences were encouraged to continue studies abroad, receiving stipends from the state in exchange for their future efforts to use acquired knowledge and experience in Peru. The specialized knowledge required for the reformation of new public buildings and public spaces –for their design and construction— was not to be found in Peru either. Foreign architects and engineers were hired abroad and brought into the country, and contests for the design of monuments and buildings were entirely organized in Europe.

The reform of *Limeño* habits demanded the increase of the state’s vigilance over public spaces and the population, as well as the reorganization of the mechanisms of coercion. A new Penal Code was enacted and a new police force was organized, as the institutions of the state launched a campaign to eradicate the vices of vagrancy, alcoholism, and gambling. Vigilance systems were put in effect, to gather information on the population –residence, occupation, nationality—; a new literary genre was born: the report on the living conditions of the population. Experts of different disciplines, criminologists, hygienists, architects, engineers, along with journalists, produced detailed “knowledge” on the population, describing and classifying it in order to design a rationalized administration of it. A medico-legal-police machine was put in place to assess and classify the population, to diagnose its maladies, and plan its reform and moralization. Most maladies were attributed to the legacy of *coloniaje*, but elites also anticipated that certain social problems would arise from progress and industrialization and aimed to prevent them.

By the 1870s, the notion of what was public enlarged and penetrated into every aspect of the population's lives. If streets, plazas, and open spaces were hitherto considered as part of the state jurisdiction, but the houses' insides were left to the will and care of their proprietors, positivistic preoccupation for social development and the construction of a stable, orderly nation, eliminated the notion of a private sphere. The state had now jurisdiction to inspect the most intimate details of the population, as their bodies themselves belonged to the nation. Individual liberty, it was thought, had to be put aside. Since it was the mission of a strengthened central government to guide the nation toward progress, no restrictions to the institutions of the state were recognized. The promotion of the values of discipline, self control, vigor, hard work, and respect for norms was also thought as instrumental to the development of a new economy: new industries demanded the formation of a disciplined, reliable, obedient proletariat, subdued to the new conceptions of time, work, and authority.

Along with the pedagogy of public space and the reformation of the educational system, a new penitentiary was built to fulfill the aspirations of the new "*civitas*." The penitentiary, which opened in 1862 and was modeled after Philadelphia's panopticon, was the largest, most imposing, and costly edifice of nineteenth-century Lima. It was made to host prisoners from the entire nation, and was intended to, at once, exert a moral influence on the population, demonstrate Peru's achievement of civilization, and reform criminals into hardworking, law-abiding citizens. Prisoners would be instructed in a trade in the penitentiary's workshops, and their reeducation was to be guided by the simple principles of the institution's motto: "silence, obedience, labor." More than a site for the reclusion of inmates, the Penitentiary was a social laboratory for the society elites wanted to forge: one ruled by the progressive severity of the state and formed by docile, obedient, and hardworking bodies/citizens. At once, the penitentiary was

an example of modernity, and had an exemplary intention for the population modernizing elites wanted to civilize.

Lima was thus reformed to construct the future of the nation. The historical narrative that Peruvianized the Incas, constructing the Inca Empire as the glorious past of the nation, and which despised the immediate past of the obscure, oppressive, and backward colonial era, found its way into history textbooks but could not find a physical expression in a city that was refounded as modern as the nation had to become.⁸¹ Enlightened, liberal projects of transformation intended to construct a functional society for contemporary world, which meant a new beginning that could not make use of traditions, styles or aesthetic references from the colonial or pre-colonial past. Lima was at the center of such efforts, as Peruvian modernizing elites of the mid-nineteenth century struggled to make a fresh, new, national start from *tabula rasa*. These foundational attempts were deeply anti-historicist, or at least showed elites' desire to mark the rupture with the past as a way to pave the nation's route to future and history.

Examining the way European writers portrayed Spanish America during the years preceding the revolutions of Independence, Mary Louise Pratt has argued that America was reinvented by Europeans in the nineteenth century as “a world whose history was the one about to begin.”⁸² Peruvian elites confronted the essential predicament of creating a new national community out of the shambles of a decaying colonial power that had lost all international prestige. National identity was necessarily constructed in opposition to Spanish “backward” colonialism, especially by the mid-nineteenth century, when it was clear that Peru's future was to be republican. This meant that the colonial past could not be the usable past of the nation. The

⁸¹ For an analysis of Peru's foundational mid-nineteenth century historical narratives that Peruvianized the Incas to provide the nation with a glorious classical era comparable to that being constructed by Europeans, see Mark Thurner, “Peruvian Genealogies of History and Nation.”

⁸² Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 126.

past era of the Incas was indeed constructed as magnificent; as the usable past that signaled Peru's grandiose future, and Creole elites spoke of "our ancestors" the Incas while lamenting the fate of the "miserable" contemporary Indians. The mandates derived from the need to be part of contemporary, modern world, however, predominated in Lima's early processes of reinvention, as elites "transcultured" –selected and invented from– European perspectives, styles and aesthetics as they strove to create images of their nations.

The transformations of the city, however, were not uncontested. Along with the changes appeared a romantic, nostalgic view of the old, colonial city and its traditions and local flavor. The lamentations about the vanishing "typical" Lima, that were expressed in incomparable terms in José Galvez's *Una Lima que se va* in 1921, would have its origins in the mid nineteenth century by certain *Limeños* –even liberals like Ricardo Palma— and foreign visitors as well. Most importantly, the absence of local references meant that the desired symbolism of the physical reshaping of the city could not always be interpreted as first intended. Designed to signify civilization and the national community, monuments and public spaces soon had to be fenced and protected against misuses, vandalism, and robbery. The renomination of public space did not make *Limeños* abandon the old designations. Elites' projects, which were limited by the state's inefficacy and weakness, and restrained by the end of the guano prosperity, could not install a hegemonic culture fundamentally because it could not converse in an understandable rhetoric to all *Limeños*, much the less to Peru's predominantly rural, Indian population.

The end of the guano boom was followed by an event that still marks Peru's historical anxieties. The War of the Pacific (1879-1883) is probably the event most studied by scholars,

and, along with “conquest,” the one most present in popular imagination.⁸³ Part of this sense of trauma comes from the fact that Chilean forces occupied Lima between 1881 and 1883, not only leaving a sense of defeat, decay and impotence, but forcing an “institutional reordering of society.”⁸⁴ The war produced doubts about Creole’s competence to lead the nation to progress, and even about Creole’s racial makeup. Indeed, anarchist thinker Manuel Gonzalez Prada inaugurated a criticism to *Limeño* elites that would influence generations to come: to him, the defeat was the direct responsibility of Lima’s “plutocracy” whose mentality was still colonial (Gonzalez Prada stated that every “white” man was like “a Pizarro, a Valverde, or an Areche”), and who had been unable to create a real, unified nation.⁸⁵ Three years before, in 1905, José de la Riva Agüero, one of Peru’s most prolific “reactionary” historians, argued that the defeat of Peru in the war of the Pacific had been caused by the absence of a leading class that could unify and guide the nation after independence.⁸⁶ The defeat of the war of the Pacific produced a historiography dominated by *ucronia*, that is, by reflections of what should have happened but never occurred –marked by a sense of “historical frustration”—, and a sociology that predominantly compared Peru’s society with an ideal of modernity to lament the country’s

⁸³ According to Alberto Flores Galindo, Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire, the wars of Independence, and the war of the Pacific are the three topics most studied by Peruvian historians. Alberto Flores Galindo, “La imagen y el espejo.”

⁸⁴ See Heraclio Bonilla “El problema nacional y colonial del Perú,” *Un siglo a la deriva*; and, *Guano y burguesía*.

⁸⁵ Manuel Gonzalez Prada, *Horas de Lucha* (Lima: El Progreso Literario, 1908). Gonzalez Prada is referring to Pizarro, the conquistador, priest Valverde, who accompanied Pizarro and played a major role in Atahualpa’s capture, and Antonio Areche, *Visitador General del Perú* who was in charge of the crown’s troops who defeated Tupac Amaru’s rebellion in 1782.

⁸⁶ José de la Riva Agüero, *Carácter de la literatura del Perú independiente* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1965) (1905). The characterization of Riva Agüero as reactionary is not gratuitous: it was Riva Agüero himself who proclaimed not to be conservative, but reactionary. See Luís Alberto Sanchez, *Conservador, no, reaccionario, si: notas sobre la vida, obra y proyecciones de don José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, Marqués de Montealegre y Aulestia* (Lima: Mosca Azul, 1985).

“unfulfilled promises,” and “lost” decades or centuries: the type of social thought that still dominates Peruvian imagination.⁸⁷

Some thinkers echoed Chilean nationalist discourses elaborated after and during after Lima’s occupation, which portrayed *Limeños* as effeminate, uncivilized, and racially impure and inferior.⁸⁸ Racist conceptions against the Indians that had spurred attempts to improve their “decadent race” through miscegenation with white Europeans, were now directed towards Creoles: intellectuals like Hildebrando Fuentes, Juan de Arona, Clemente Palma, and Javier Prado, stated that Peruvian Creoles –sometimes referred to as “whites”— were “a lethargic race, of poor blood and muscular vigor, indolent, vicious, who surrenders to pleasure and courtesan customs,” who needed to receive the vigor, intellect, scientific spirit, serenity, and energy of “Germanic” race.⁸⁹

The economic expansion based on the development of exports and substantial foreign investment in production by the end of the century, gave rise to a vital period of modernization and recuperation after the generalized postwar crisis. Positivism’s modernizing impetus, well synthesized in its motto “order and progress,” combined with the need to rebuild the national pride, as new modernizing elites reinitiated the mission of remaking Lima to lead the nation in the path of modernity and civilization. The drive of modernization of the late-nineteenth century and early twentieth century followed similar principles of the earlier period, but acquired more intensity: a sense of greater urgency to achieve progress through the development of industries

⁸⁷ Note that the separation of historiography and sociological thought is somewhat arbitrary: most Peruvian historiography is in fact sociological history. For criticisms of this dominant approach to Peru’s society and history see Magdalena Chocano, “Ucronía y frustración”; Alberto Flores Galindo, “La imagen y el espejo: la historiografía peruana;” and, Guillermo Rochabún, “Ser historiador.”

⁸⁸ For an analysis of Chilean nationalist discourses during and after Lima’s occupation, see Carmen Mc Evoy, ““Bella Lima ya tiembles llorosa del triunfador chileno en poder”: una aproximación a los elementos de género en el discurso nacionalista chileno,” in *El hechizo de las imágenes: Estatus social y etnicidad en la historia peruana*, ed. Narda Henríquez (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2000).

⁸⁹ Javier Prado, *Estado social del Perú durante la dominación española* (Lima: Imprenta de El Diario Judicial, por M. Agois, 1894).

and through cultural transformations dominated *Limeño* elites, who felt that the achievements of the previous era had been meager, that country had not realized its destiny, and that it had fallen backwards in comparison to other South American nations; a feeling underscored by the defeat against Chile.

The feeling that neither Independence nor the guano wealth had made Peru develop its magnificent potential merged with the optimistic sense that the country had a new opportunity: the new political stability and economic growth allowed for a new beginning in a country generously blessed with natural resources but which still lacked the proper infrastructure and human capacity. Along with the preoccupation for developing the required abilities and talents for industrial expansion, the concern for the development of a national identity became an obsession: the defeat of the war was attributed to the country's divides and the absence of an integrated national community.

As Renan acutely observed, for the construction of a national memory “grieves are of more value than triumphs, for they impose duties, and require a common effort.”⁹⁰ The war provided the nation with new symbols of heroism, and with a sense of victimization readily available for the construction of a historical narrative of moral triumph. Contrasted with the leaders of the Independence movements, the new heroes had the fundamental advantage of being unquestionably “Peruvian.” While a monument to honor Bolivar appeared in Lima thirty-five years after the consolidation of Peru's independence, and San Martin was only immortalized in bronze only a century after the Declaration of Independence, a plan to construct a shrine to honor Colonels Francisco Bolognesi and Alfonso Ugarte, as well as Admiral Miguel Grau, was executed rapidly, and new plazas and avenues soon received their names and monuments. Those three figures not only represented courage and heroism, but incarnated the drive to struggle in the

⁹⁰ Ernest Renan, “What is a Nation?,” 41-55.

most unfavorable conditions. The country's post-war conditions were indeed most unfavorable, and the new heroes' image was instrumental for the new efforts for unification, reconstruction and development.

Lima was experiencing a process of rapid demographic growth. The central city's demographic density alarmed authorities and experts, and plans were made to regulate and control its future expansion. A new avenue that connected the capital with the neighboring town of Magdalena opened new areas for the city's development. The new neighborhoods were carefully planned to include open areas for recreation, and wide streets to allow for the circulation of new means of transportation: automobiles, urban railways and tramways. New technologies marked the development of the growing city, but also altered the old center, as electricity was introduced, and key avenues were enlarged and turned into boulevards that became new commercial and financial centers. French architectural styles, such as the *Art Nouveau* dominated in the new public and private buildings, and the design of streets and boulevards followed the principles of Baron Georges Eugene Hausmann remodeling of Paris, although by the early twentieth century Buenos Aires had become the emblematic South American intermediary of the "capital of the nineteenth century." Other influences were also felt in these projects of renewal. The renovation of the symbolic *Plaza de Armas* in 1901, carried out by the municipal administration of Federico Elguera, however, as well as the design of Lima's first horse race track, followed English standards.

In contrast to the old city, new neighborhoods were designed to segregate the population according to their social class. The *barrios obreros*, located in areas adjacent to the increasing industries, were designed to provide for inexpensive, comfortable and hygienic housing to the new proletariat. These designs followed the recommendations made by engineers, architects,

and hygienists that carefully studied the living conditions of the poor. Their reports expressed the growing concern about the influence of the habitat on the morality of the population, and they unanimously claimed that a disciplined, restrained workforce could not be formed if contemporary unsanitary living conditions were maintained. Supported by state and municipal legislation, experts penetrated into the private spheres of the population –which were increasingly defined as the state’s jurisdiction— and detailed the physical and sanitary conditions of the houses and how *Limeños* occupied them, prepared their meals, slept, and raised their children. Following positivist ideas that privileged the common welfare over individual liberties, experts believed that state agencies’ authority had to be exercised not only in the urban network, on the streets or houses’ façades, but in the interior of houses as well. It was believed that houses had to be rationally designed to avoid crowding and to provide beneficial air and light; their decorations had to please the eye, but not distract. The housing conditions of the lower classes scandalized experts, who compared the houses of the poor to “caves from prehistoric epochs,”⁹¹ whose unpleasant, depressing environment, argued the experts, made workers prefer to go to bars or socialize outdoors, where they acquired vices and “demoralizing” habits. Some experts also argued that poor houses were centers of corruption and misery because workers did not have the desire to improve their living conditions. In words of leading engineer Santiago Basurco: “they only seek to have as much money as possible to spend in alcohol...”⁹²

Reports expressed that the environment had a pernicious influence on the habits and moral of a population whose race was naturally inclined to excesses and idleness. Experts expressed that “Indians”’ pusillanimous temper, and “blacks”’ proclivity towards vice and

⁹¹ Santiago Basurco and Leonidas Avendaño, “Higiene de la habitación. Informe emitido por la comisión nombrada por el gobierno para estudiar las condiciones sanitarias de las casas de vecindad,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, 3, no. 4-5 (1907): 84

⁹² Santiago Basurco, “Construcción de casas higiénicas para obreros,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Obras Públicas*, 1, no. 2 (1905): 63.

anarchy, were at the same time expressed in and reinforced by their living conditions. In some cases, experts also criticized the housing conditions of wealthier *Limeños*, stating that they too lacked hygiene and buttressed “white” Creole’s racial disposition towards inaction and hedonism. Improving the living conditions of the population, following the mandates of modern hygiene, was an essential duty of the state to avoid further “degeneration of the race.” The “improvement of the race” became an obsession of modernizing elites. All plans for intervention on the city’s infrastructure, and the population’s education and habits, were colored by a racialist rhetoric in which an environmental, Lamarckian notion of race dominated social thought of experts: changes would not only better the living conditions of contemporary population, but improvements would also be transmitted to future generations.⁹³

The creation of a numerous, virile, and vigorous population demanded profound changes in the educational system. The main objective of the new Law of Education of 1901 was to promote more practical individuals, inclined towards sciences and economic activities. It was stated that education in Peru had not been really transformed since colonial times, still placing its emphasis on the development of memory and on the humanities: students were inclined to become lawyers and poets, and not towards more practical, useful, and development-oriented careers. The education of the lower classes also had to help develop an entrepreneurial spirit, and prepare children in productive trades. While Lima’s university schools of medicine, engineering, and agriculture received special attention from the state, a new School of Arts and Trades was created to train the “*hijos del pueblo*” in trades such as printing, carpentry, and construction.

⁹³ For an explanation of environmental, Lamarckian conceptions of race, see Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

A new proletariat also aroused from growing industries. New unions, most of them dominated by anarchist figures, were part of the civilizing drive of the modernizing elite. Workers launched campaigns to educate themselves, and to reform their habits. Through “temperance” campaigns they could claim that they were part of civilization. In fact, workers’ speakers claimed that they were more modern, civilized, and patriotic than *Limeño* elites, who could not rid themselves of their seigniorial, essentially non-bourgeois culture.

Primary education became compulsory, as the authority of parents could not be greater than that of the state. The education of women also acquired unprecedented importance. If males’ education was inclined to productive activities, the education of females was centered on reproductive ones. Women’s bodies had to be developed in a healthy manner because they were the sites where the reproduction of the population and race took place. The emphasis on the physical education of men was placed on the development of strength, virility, disciplined bodies. The physical education of women had one main objective: to make future mothers apt to bear healthy citizens for the nation. The principles of hygiene were to be taught at schools, but girls received additional courses on healthy pregnancies and *puericultura*, the care of infants.

Women’s bodies thus became a privileged field of state intervention. A new *Hospital de Maternidad* was erected to control pregnancies and deliveries; a decree mandated that pregnant women had to register in the *Maternidad*, to be closely monitored by physicians. Doctors recommended that pregnant women should not pay attention to any advice given by non-professionals, in particular, should not listen to their own mothers, who could only transmit deficient knowledge based on superstition. Doctors inspected women’s bodies in detail, and reported about their abilities to be good mothers.

The aims to create of an orderly, hygienic environment, and the formation of disciplined, rational individuals, were expressed in continuous campaigns against popular customs, recreational activities, and lifestyles. The so-called “social question” captured the attention of reform-minded politicians, planners, engineers, criminologists, and hygienists: an army of reformers attempted to organize, clean, and educate a city they diagnosed as chaotic, decrepit, and unsanitary, and inhabited by a languid population whose beliefs and customs were absurd and barbaric. Some of these experts, however, believed that the condition of Lima and its population was in many ways better than those of industrialized cities: these specialists –most of whom had studied in Europe— stated that “progress” carried its own dangers, producing social maladies yet unknown to Lima. The view of modernity and progress was ambiguous even for Federico Elguera, the emblematic lawyer, literati, and journalist who became Lima’s Mayor in 1901 and who is widely known for promoting and leading a radical transformation of the city. Elguera’s fascination for modernity was mitigated by his fears that old ways of sociability were being replaced by impoverished impersonal relations that produced solitude.

During this period, Lima experienced a remarkable transformation. Not only did the city grow at an unprecedented pace; but new spaces and technologies radically transformed the life of *Limeños*, producing anxieties and uncertainties. The installation of electricity could be praised for its magical effects on the city, but newspapers reported on accidents on a daily basis. Changes brought uncertainty for *Limeños* who saw their environment and basis for subsistence alter rapidly, demanding rapid adaptations. Some members of the elites also worried about the emergence of a monotonous city undistinguishable from other modern cities in the world. While some praised the transformation of Lima in a “modern and commercial city, with large and

rectilinear avenues . . . and uniform houses of monotonous simplicity,”⁹⁴ others angrily complained about “the modern uproar and the pretentious vulgarity of the new buildings,” as well as the “artificial and dangerous” foreign influences that were making Lima lose its particular flavor and identity.⁹⁵

The Leguía regime known as the *Oncenio* (1919-1930) was intended to be a widely recognized break with the past, and was ambitiously denominated the “*Patria Nueva*.” Augusto Bernardino Leguía, a sagacious politician and entrepreneur, led a modernization process that included social, economic, political, and administrative reforms, sustained by an economic bonanza based on foreign investment and loans. After Leguía’s rupture with the *civilista* party that had taken him to power for a first period between 1908 and 1912, he declared that his main political objective was to “not only to liquidate the old state of affairs, but also to detain the advance of communism.” Leguía felt that the old *civilista* “aristocracy” had proven unable to lead Peru to progress and that a coalition between capital and labor, along with strong state intervention in the economy, could both enhance modernization and attend to the new social demands of a growing middle class and proletariat.

Leguía’s economic policies generated a greater demand for labor in construction and other services, which in turn promoted a wave of rural migrants into Lima: the city’s demographic growth acquired dramatic dimensions, as the population raised from an estimate 106,000 inhabitants in 1900 to 376,500 in 1931. New economic activities appeared, and social changes went along. Leguía promoted the intensification of the participation of U.S. capital and technicians in Peru’s economy: having worked for a U.S. insurance company in New York, Leguía admired North American “practical” and entrepreneurial spirit and believed Peruvians

⁹⁴ Francisco García Calderón, *Le Perou Contemporain: Etude Sociale* (Paris: Dujarric et Cio. Editeurs, 1907), 11.

⁹⁵ José de la Riva Agüero, *La Historia en el Perú. Tesis para el doctorado en Letras* (Lima: Imprenta Nacional de Federico Barrionuevo, 1910), 221.

would benefit by using it as a model. This practical man's modernist impulses merged with a special interest in Peru's history and national identity. His regime gave unprecedented support to historical and archaeological research and purchased private collections to create Peru's first modern archaeological museums.

By the 1920s historical narratives were changing the perception of the past. Nineteenth-century historical discourses had been predominantly anti-Hispanic –perhaps because the new nation's identity had to be forged in opposition to the colonial past from which it had emerged. Anti-Hispanism was also reinforced by Spain's occupation of Peru's *guano* islands between 1864 and 1866, a campaign that was responded by a coalition Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. The *Combate del 2 de Mayo* that took place in Callao and which sealed Spain's defeat, was immediately conceived as Peru's second independence: a new plaza and monument to immortalize Peru's triumph was inaugurated in 1874, in Peru standards, a record six years later. Anti-Hispanic sentiments are expressed by the fact that Peru did not have complete diplomatic relationships with Spain until 1923.

By the 1910s, and especially the 1920s, however, a combination of factors allowed for the elaboration of a historical narrative that reconciled the nation with its colonial past and Spain. The War of the Pacific had created another "other" in opposition to which Peru's identity was to be forged. Chile appeared as a closer and more dangerous "other," displacing Spain as an oppositional figure. By the 1920s several international events had radically altered historical and sociological thought: the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), the World War I, and the Russian Revolution. The atrocities of World War I had produced a sequel of pessimism throughout Europe, as confidence on progress was severely undermined, and some voices crafted a critical

narrative of modernity, stating that “the decline of the West” was inevitable.⁹⁶ The triumph of the Bolshevik revolution, and the rise of labor movements throughout the world produced feelings of anxiety in the West; the fact that the Russian communist regime had declared itself to be atheist only increased fears among Peru’s elites, most of whom defined themselves as Catholic. The Mexican revolution promoted a renovation of *indigenista* discourses, but, at the same time, became an example of the violence and instability that could also occur in Peru if social and political transformations were not enacted: reformation was to be made from above, in order to avoid revolution from below.

Nineteenth century historiography, with some notable exceptions, had constructed the Inca Empire as the usable, glorious past that provided the nation with an Imperial pedigree. Spanish colonialism had been constructed following the lines of the “Black Legend,” as an obscure era of foreign rule that had left a legacy of backwardness, which was emblematically incarnated by the Indian population. “The Indian” had been reduced to servitude and vice by Spanish colonialism, and constituted “our miserable indigenous race,” an obstacle to Peru’s progress, but also an object for Creole’s national, civilizatory mission. In the 1920s, this historical narrative was questioned by figures who attempted to reconcile the nation with its colonial past. José de la Riva Agüero, for instance, maintained an Incaist *indigenismo* that highlighted Inca dominance in South America, but added that the early Habsburg colonial era also gave Peru a noble past of which Peruvians had to be proud. Riva Agüero’s *Hispanista* discourse highlighted that Peru’s viceroyalty was the most important possession of the most powerful Empire, and that the nation had to be proud of being the favorite son —“*hijo predilecto*”— of Spain, our noble “*Madre Patria*.” Both, the Inca, and the colonial pasts gave

⁹⁶ Oswald Spengler, *La decadencia de occidente: bosquejo de una morfología de la historia universal* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1976) (1918).

Peru the “most authentic titles for predominance in South America.” Independence was constructed by Riva Agüero as the result of a “growth crisis:” Peru had to leave the protective bosom of its Spanish mother as grown-ups leave their parents’ home once they are ready for autonomy.

The consolidation of Peruvian archaeology and the appearance of new middle-class intellectuals –many of whom came from provinces— revitalized and reshaped an *indigenista* historical perspective. Julio C. Tello, a physician and archaeologist who had been born in a humble family in Huarochirí, and who became a Harvard graduate, crafted a discourse that criticized Spanish colonialism for “destructing the foundations of our nationality.” “The conquest” not only had removed the Indian’s progressive drive, but had caused a cataclysm that destroyed the autochthonous *Madre Patria*, “our grand and only mother.”

The 1920s propitiated debates among different conceptions of the nation, elaborated from dissimilar perspectives and to support diverse political projects. The Leguía regime, however, made use of all of them, and promoted *indigenismo*, and *hispanismo*, while keeping the desire to take the nation to modernity. Perhaps his practical spirit understood that history could be an amorphous, but functional discourse on national identity, while the future had to be constructed in more practical and coherent terms. Leguía considered himself to be the Indian’s redeemer; in some occasions, however, his references to history were identical to Riva Agüero’s: highlighting the role of our *Madre Patria*, Spain, in bequeathing Peru its constitutive character, race, language and soul.

Leguía multiple uses of history were central in the celebrations of the Centennials of Independence (1921), and the Battle of Ayacucho (1924). Leguía decided to use the occasions to consolidate his regime and to publicize Peru in the world. The aim to make a great celebration

that would enlarge Peru's international prestige spurred an unprecedented drive for the transformation of Lima. In a few years, the city changed more than ever before. New avenues opened areas for the city's expansion, and new state and private buildings were erected following diverse styles, most notably, a neo-colonial style that recovered the previously loathed baroque, while a neo-pre-Hiapanic style recreated Tiahuanaco and Inca motifs. The neo-colonial found its way in major public buildings and some elite mansions; the neo-pre-Hispanic style did not find its way into many structures, but influenced monuments, decorations, furniture, and jewelry. Both styles were cultivated by architects. In fact, the most important neo-colonial building, Lima's Archbishop's Palace, and the most important neo-pre-Hispanic one, that of Peru's National Museum of Archaeology, were designed and constructed in simultaneous by the same architect and inaugurated the same week, for the celebration of the Ayacucho battle, in 1924. To make things more ironic, the architect who created both symbols of *Peruanidad* happened to be Polish, one of the European architects hired in to promote the development of the field in Peru.

In what follows, I trace the projects of transformation of Lima and explore the language of urbanism, exploring, in an ethnographic vein, how "modernity" was vicariously understood, debated, and used by politicians, planners, engineers, criminologists, hygienists, intellectuals, and the population in (and against) the re-foundational national projects. Perhaps more poignantly, my study seeks to make visible the inherent tensions, ambivalence, and ironies of such imaginings and deployments.



Figure 1-1. Pizarro Monument. Removed on April 26, 2003



Figure 1-2. Pizarro Plaza and monument before removal. Graffiti reads: “Pizarro mass murderer the Tawantinsuyo repudiates you”

CHAPTER 2 MODERNIZING THE MODERN

Although General José de San Martín had declared Peru's independence on July 28, 1821, the new republican order was far from consolidated in the chaotic, unstable period that followed the declaration. While Spanish forces held power in most of the interior until the late 1824 Ayacucho battle, the patriot government could hardly maintain control in the republic's postcolonial capital: the old City of the Kings was threatened by war, revolts, banditry, famine and sickness. Commercial routes and the mercantile network that articulated Lima with interior cities and mining centers remained interrupted. Royalist and patriot armies devastated nearby haciendas, imposing quotas on *hacendados* or simply appropriating harvests and cattle, and granting freedom to slaves willing to join their ranks. Maroons and bandits followed, as mechanisms of control relaxed or disappeared altogether. The city was in the hand of "montoneras;" troops of mounted men who razed the city and its hinterland, looting shops and residences. Food scarcity appeared, producing massive hunger and sickness: prices of staple goods soared. Horses and mules had to be slaughtered to cover for meat deficit, but that did not prevent the appearance of death: outbursts of yellow fever and "vómito prieto" (dark vomit) terrified Limeños. It is in the midst of anarchy and fear that Bernardo Monteagudo --long-time friend and advisor to San Martín, whom the Supreme Protector had named Minister of War and Navy, as well as Minister of State and Foreign Relations, and left in charge of Peru's government during his historic journey to Guayaquil to interview with Simón Bolívar-- decided that the new republic needed a new history.

A New History for a New Nation: A Trajan's Column in the *Plaza de la Constitución*

On July 6, 1822, Monteagudo decided that the plaza hitherto known as *Plaza de la Inquisición* had to be officially renamed and known as the *Plaza de la Constitución*. The

building that had hosted the Holy Office had, by then, become house of the High Chamber of Justice and site of the future Congress, charged with writing Peru's first constitution. To Monteagudo, the new Republican state should preserve the building as a concrete reminder of the transition to the new republican epoch. Once an odious site "where so many victims have groaned in pain under the empire of superstition and political tyranny," it was now to be the memorable place "where the High Chamber administers justice, respecting laws that emanate from nature" and where Peru's first Congress would assemble. It was appropriate to preserve a building where "the most illustrious patriots" had been imprisoned, to conserve "memory of the causes and epoch of this change." By virtue of its preservation and new use, the Inquisition building was to symbolize the contrast between the dark era of Spanish colonialism and the just, "natural" national order.

To accentuate the contrast, the plaza which in the past "many have approached trembling with horror" now would offer a monument "whose magnificence will increase every year." Monteagudo ordered the erection of a monument modeled after Rome's Trajan's column, crowned by an equestrian statue of Peru's Protector and whose pedestal would have gold letters showing the date of the Declaration of Independence. While the base of the column would inscribe the date of the installation of the Constitutional Congress, the column itself would be empty. Every year, a golden bronze ring with the inscription of the most memorable events of it was to be added "for posterity, to find in them the history of the events that have influenced its destiny."⁹⁷ It is apparent that the project was important to Monteagudo, for the decree made

⁹⁷ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente* (La Plata: Universidad Nacional de la Plata, 1950), 549. Decree issued on July 6, 1822.

clear that “in any circumstance, it is necessary to have the same degree of courage to undertake what is important for Peru’s glory, as to sustain its liberty.”⁹⁸

Monteagudo had an acute sensitivity towards history. In 1809, and at the tender age of nineteen, the *Tucumeño* had written a celebrated Incaist, patriot lampoon in which Atahualpa, the unfortunate Inca sentenced to death by Pizarro in 1533, and Ferdinand VII, the Bourbon king of Spain imprisoned by Napoleon Bonaparte’s army in 1808, maintained an improbable but amicable dialog in the Champs Elisées. In this dialog the enlightened Ferdinand admits America’s right to obtain freedom from a foreign rule that had brought ignorance, misery, and degradation to Peru.⁹⁹ By 1822, Monteagudo had also founded the *Sociedad Patriótica de Lima*,¹⁰⁰ enacted San Martin’s decree to organize Peru’s National Museum,¹⁰¹ and prohibited the exit of objects found in archaeological sites from Peru. If Spain had attempted to “erase all vestige of the ancient civilization and grandeur,” the new Republic would preserve “the venerable remains we still possess, produced by the art of the subjects of the ancient Inca Empire.”¹⁰²

An acute observer of society, Monteagudo was aware of the urgency of the moment. A fractured republic had emerged from the old colonial order, one in which “the diversity of conditions and the multitude of castes, the strong aggression between them, the diametrically different character of each of them... the difference in ideas, habits, customs, needs, and in the ways to satisfy them, present a picture of hatred and irreconcilable interests, which threatens

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Bernardo Monteagudo, “Diálogo entre Atahualpa y Fernando VII en los Campos Elíseos,” in *Pensamiento Político de la Emancipación (1790-1825)*, ed. José Luis Romero and Luis Alberto Romero (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1977), vol. I, 64-71.

¹⁰⁰ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 281. Decree issued on January 10, 1822.

¹⁰¹ See commentary by the *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 377.

¹⁰² Ibid., 377.

social existence,” as he would later express in his memoirs on Peru.¹⁰³ Monteagudo’s work as head of the *Juzgado de Secuestros*, a court established in 1821 to prosecute royalist Spaniards, which received accusations on alleged conspirators and fugitives, made him well aware that forging a national identity was a harder task than giving birth to a political entity. In the twelve bundles that gather the documents of the *Juzgado*, the term “Peruvian” is mentioned only twice. When asked for their “patria” (fatherland), all of the accusers answered indicating their place of birth, or defined themselves as “American,” “patriots,” “citizens,” or “*limeños*.”¹⁰⁴ The diverse and fragmented society that surfaced after the oppressive and divisive era of Spanish colonialism required a unifying myth that would forge a common “Peruvian” identity, that is, to create citizens with “national consciousness.” To Monteagudo this unity could only be provided by a demonstrative history.

To carry out the vital task of forging a sense of unity under the notion of national belonging, Monteagudo believed the history of the new/old nation could not be confined to lettered “Peruvians to be.” The Plaza and old building where the Holy Office had functioned would become a walking scenario where spectators from all walks of life could behold the sensations produced by the material remembrance of the triumph of “nature” and “reason” over “tyranny” and “superstition.” The new Plaza would serve to recall the dark colonial past along the lines of the “Black Legend” –an obscure era of illegitimate rule of arbitrariness, exploitation, ignorance, and pain— and to envision the national future as an era of justice, heroism, progress, and openness.

¹⁰³ Bernardo Monteagudo, *Memoria sobre los principios políticos que seguí en la administración del Perú y acontecimientos posteriores a mi separación* (Santiago: Imprenta Nacional, 1823), 18-19.

¹⁰⁴ Alberto Flores Galindo, *La ciudad sumergida. Aristocracia y plebe en Lima, 1760-1830* (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1991), 173.

All of these elements were to be symbolized by, and in, the Plaza and its monument modeled on Trajan's column. San Martin's statue and the date of the declaration of Peru's independence inscribed in gold letters would mark the beginning of year one of the sovereign era. The base would show the date of the installation of Congress not only to mark the establishment of the rule of law, but to mark the birth of the new entity of the nation, one that could not be created by the will of a single person, but only by "we, the People," expressed by Congress. The monument would thus embody the republican desire to displace royal sovereignty towards the people represented, inscribing "the name of the people" to displace the formerly hyper present "name of the king."¹⁰⁵ The abstract concept of the nation had to be promoted as the personification of the common soul of all citizens, as opposed to the monarch. The symbols of the *Ancien Régime*, however, could not be entirely erased; the new era required them to be kept alive, if only to transmit different meanings, as reminders of the colonial "opprobrium."

The "most memorable events" were to be successively inscribed on the empty column, creating a sequence held together in, and by, the intelligible totality of the nation. They would acquire meaning by their connection to one another, creating a larger system of signs, which in turn would become a meaningful and instructive story/history. The emptiness of the column expressed optimism about the future: the linear time of the nation was to be the vehicle of a continuous, meaningful story of ascension to a high destiny that seemed plausible when contrasted with an immediate past, allegedly characterized by caste separations, unreason, backwardness, and suffering.

¹⁰⁵ Mark Thurner, "Una historia peruana para el pueblo peruano. De la genealogía fundacional de Sebastián Lorente," in *Lorente, Sebastián, Escritos fundacionales de historia peruana. Compilación y estudio introductorio* by Mark Thurner (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2005).

Monteagudo's *Plaza de la Constitución* and Trajan's column was a public history of the future, for the past was unreason "and the future alone was the time which they could envision as that of the triumph of reason over unreason, perfect unity, redemption."¹⁰⁶ To Monteagudo, the history of the new nation was a blank page to be written on. Independence was to be inscribed to signify the rupture, the passage towards history and posterity. On the other hand, the column expressed the drive to place the nation in the universal time of nations, a new "contemporary" epoch itself in the forming international community. Indeed, the use of Trajan's column as a model to represent Peru's break with Spanish colonialism and the birth of the national community was not fortuitous, for it claimed coevalness with the imagined community of modern and *international* mankind.¹⁰⁷ By using Rome's classical era as the symbolic source to build Peru's future shrine of history, Monteagudo was not simply expressing an impulse to "copy" colonial powers to be, but ascribing to the "universal" values of reason, political freedom, and national unity. And so, rather than locating the nation's history in empty, secular time, the nation's Trajan clock would register the sacred temporal frame of a universal contemporaneity whose upward spiral was founded on the republican appeal to ancient Rome.¹⁰⁸

The new Plaza would not only insert the nation in contemporaneity through the new/old, ancient/modern historical references, however. Monteagudo's design was also intended to cleanse and reorder a Plaza that after the closure of the Inquisition Tribunal had been occupied by an unwieldy mass of street vendors. The chaotic, unpleasant view of the Plaza "embarrassed pedestrians." Produce was scattered on the floor and filth agglomerated, producing disarray

¹⁰⁶ Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

¹⁰⁷ The concept of coevalness comes from Johannes, Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

¹⁰⁸ Mark Thurner, "Peruvian Genealogies of History and Nation," in *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas*, ed. Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

“without any method or comfort.”¹⁰⁹ Monteagudo promptly ordered their removal, since to allow vendors in the Plaza that would host the new Congress was a sacrilege. Indeed, Monteagudo intended to promote new customs and habits among Lima’s population, for the new nation needed not only a new history but virtuous citizens if it were to achieve progress and civilization. To promote his ideals of cultural renovation, Monteagudo would reform all aspects of the public sphere; in particular, however, the public areas of the city had to be reordered and disciplined. In a time in which the nation was emerging from Spanish colonialism, constructing its sense of identity in opposition to that past, and trying to achieve progress and modernity, all social disorders and maladies were judged to be colonial legacies to transcend. In short, the new Plaza would also mark the advent of a republican civilizing mission.¹¹⁰

Monteagudo’s plaza of history and order did not materialize, however. After meeting with Bolívar in Guayaquil, San Martín retired to Europe. The task of liberating Peru from the Spanish menace, and of administering her territory, now fell into the hands of the Liberator from Caracas. Monteagudo was forced to abandon Lima, exiled to Quito, only to return months later to be the victim of an obscure assassination.¹¹¹ The chaos and instability of the early postcolonial years would last for decades. The long period of birth pangs characterized by *caudillo* wars that would only end in the 1840s thanks to the more stable conditions granted by the wealth of *guano*, placed Monteagudo’s project on hold. Nevertheless, his vision is illustrative of the postcolonial predicaments Peruvian elites faced in the foundational moments after the fall of Spanish colonialism.

¹⁰⁹ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 517-8. Decree issued on June 18, 1822.

¹¹⁰ Monteagudo issued other decrees to order Lima’s public areas and change *Limeños’* habits. A decree issued on May 21, 1822, for instance, limited bell pealing to five minutes “unless they peal to honor a great event in favor of Independence, for which they must last ten minutes.” *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 465.

¹¹¹ The decree for Monteagudo’s exile was issued on December 6, 1822. He was named “enemy of the state.” *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 773.

In this chapter I explore how *Limeño* elites, buttressed by the unprecedented period of political stability and economic growth of the 1840s and 1850s, revived Monteagudo's project. Like Monteagudo, mid-nineteenth century elites were convinced that a comprehensive institutional reform of the state apparatus was insufficient to build a viable society, and they chose Lima as the privileged site for pedagogical experiments for the formation of a new national civitas.

Already and Not Yet Modern: An Ambiguous Synecdoche for Peru

The old, now national, capital city had it seemed seen nothing but disasters until the 1840s. The City of the Kings' dominance over South America had suffered an earlier hard blow with the eighteenth-century creation of the Viceroyalties of New Granada and Rio de la Plata. The loss of the silver mines at Potosi and the rise of other urban centers like Buenos Aires led to a decline in the importance of Lima in the empire. The Bourbon regime's modest modernizations of the city, the major work of which was the construction of Lima's first cemetery in 1808, could not stem the loss of much of the early colonial splendor and wealth of Lima.¹¹² The Independence and *caudillo* wars furthered Lima's decadence. The once powerful colonial bureaucracy had not been entirely reformed, as the city was frequently occupied by, and in the hands of, military troops and bandits, and without stable political or police authorities.¹¹³ The economic decadence and the absence of control mechanisms during the first twenty-five years of Peru's republican life combined to create a distressing, devastated view of the city's infrastructure and population. Swiss traveler Jacob von Tschudi described Lima in 1842 as a city

¹¹² For a review of Bourbon urban reforms of Lima, see Gabriel Ramón, "Urbe y orden. Evidencias del reformismo borbónico en el tejido limeño," in *El Perú en el siglo XVIII: La era borbónica*, ed. Scarlett O'Phelan (Lima: Instituto Riva Agüero, 1999), 295-324.

¹¹³ By the mid 1840s, Peru had had twenty different governments and operated under ten constitutions or charters. Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú*, 6th. edition (Lima: Editorial Universitaria, 1969), VI, 2644. Jorge Pareja Paz-Soldán, *Las constituciones del Perú (exposición crítica y textos)* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1954), 83-85.

whose population “has very considerably decreased since the declaration of independence. This is sufficiently proved by the fact that several parts of the city are now totally uninhabited: the houses falling to decay, and the gardens lying waste”¹¹⁴ while to British official John Mc Gregor, by 1845 in Lima “everything looks poor and devastated now, a pitiful change from the city’s previous splendor and wealth... this appearance could be observed in the city, but also in its inhabitants.”¹¹⁵

Both Rolando Mellafe and Richard Morse have argued that Hispanic American cities became “ruralized” during the turbulent years after Independence, as urban, bureaucratic structures suffered decay and power flowed to the agrarian domain.¹¹⁶ In Peru’s case, the dissolution of the *Confederación Perú-Boliviana* in 1839 had left no doubt that the old colonial capital was to be the center of power of the postcolonial republic. In the words of Peruvian historian Jorge Basadre, the defeat of the Confederation had allowed Peru to enter a period of “consolidation:” “Peru’s territorial future and its future as a nation-state were clear, as it was clear who would be its ruling elite. Nationality was now to be defined from Lima.”¹¹⁷ Ironically, the *caudillo* era and the wars of the *Confederación* had proved that the city built by much hated *conquistadores* to be the center of power and commerce of the South American colonies, was the only one that could hold the Republic together.

Limeño elites had earned an uncontested rule over Peru. This meant that they had to organize a viable state, promote a sense of national community, and define Peru’s social and

¹¹⁴ J.J. von Tschudi, *Travels in Peru, on the Coast, in the Sierra, Across the Cordilleras and the Andes, into the Primeval Forests* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1854), 63.

¹¹⁵ John Mc Gregor, “Bosquejo general del Perú (1847)”, in *Informes de los cónsules británicos*, ed. Heraclio Bonilla (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/ FLBIP), 163.

¹¹⁶ Rolando Mellafe, “La desruralización de la ciudad hispanoamericana en el siglo XIX,” in *Historia y futuro de la ciudad iberoamericana*, ed. Solano, Francisco (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985), 75-88; Richard Morse, “Latin American Intellectuals and the City, 1860-1940,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 10, no. 2 (1978): 219-238.

¹¹⁷ Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú*, 6th. edition (Lima: Editorial Universitaria, 1969), II, 191.

cultural future. The economic prosperity obtained through the exportation of guano allowed for an all-encompassing restructuring of the state apparatus. The *Ley de Organización Interior de la República* (1856) divided the territory in the political jurisdictions of *departamentos* and provinces, and a new law established the roles of public functionaries. New Civil and Penal Codes were enacted in 1852 and 1863, respectively. A new Gendarmerie Corps was created in 1855, and the military was reorganized and equipped, with new military schools. National Censuses were taken in 1850, 1862, and 1876. Public finances were ordered –Peru had its first national budget in 1846— and the state launched a campaign of public works to build necessary infrastructure throughout the country. A stable political order –at least in Peruvian postcolonial terms—and the restructuring of the state, however, could not be enough to solidify the new state’s legitimacy. To deal with the multiple social fractures of Peruvian society, and to establish the bases for the development of the modern, a more “civilized” republican society would have to be created.

Like Monteagudo’s early and aborted example, multiple projects to transform Lima during the guano era (1845-1870s) had all of these civilizing objectives in mind. Plans for urban renovation did not only respond to demographic pressures, although the city’s population did increase by almost fifty percent between 1792 and 1859 (from 63 thousand to around 94 thousand). The number of built squares remained almost identical (212 in 1859, compared to 211 in 1792) and the agricultural areas within the city walls remained unurbanized, as was the case with other areas in the vicinity of Lima.¹¹⁸ City planners would design projects for the

¹¹⁸ As Paul Gootenberg states, census numbers for nineteenth-century Peru must be handled with care. Numbers on Lima, however, seem to be more reliable than those for the rest of the country. See Paul Gootenberg, “Population and Ethnicity in Early Republican Peru: Some Revisions,” *Latin American Research Review*, 26, no. 3 (1991): 109-157. Numbers for Lima’s population and built squares come from Gabriel Ramón, *La muralla y los callejones: Intervención urbana y proyecto político durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX* (Lima: SIDEA y Prom Perú, 1999), 30, 51.

city's expansion into the extramural periphery, and officials and architects would also evaluate the housing conditions of the population, but these preoccupations would climax later. For now, perceived need was to reinvent Lima as a republican capital for the entire nation.

The guano era (1840s-1870s) was surely a time for optimism. Revenue from the export sales of the natural bird dung fertilizer increased 757 percent between 1845 and 1853, allowing for Peru's impressive macroeconomic growth –on an average 9 percent annually beginning in the 1840s¹¹⁹-- and for a corresponding increase in Peru's national budget, from 5 million pesos in 1850 to 21 million pesos in 1861.¹²⁰ The Guano affluence allowed for the creation of an “illusion” that Peru was poised at the doorstep of a hitherto elusive and remote modernity. As Basadre stated, referring to the government of Ramón Castilla, an “air of grandeur” reigned based on the feeling that the years of colonial isolation and stagnation had been left behind.¹²¹ Indeed, foreign-exchange earnings from guano exports became so abundant that it was now widely believed that Peru would erase the sorry legacies of its colonial past. An 1849 editorial of the newly founded newspaper *El Progreso*, edited by the *Club Progresista*, expressed these sentiments in typical fashion: “Peru is near that period of maturity and vigor that marks the peak of a people's life, a period based on order and the most solid foundations, which brings to social life all the benefits man is entitled to have during his mansion on earth.”¹²²

If political independence had been obtained in the early 1820s, the riches of the trade would permit the fulfillment of the Revolution's promise of a new beginning under the auspices of a rational and orderly administration. For the editors of *El Progreso*, then, Peru still needed to

¹¹⁹ Paul Gootenberg, *Imaginar el desarrollo. Las ideas económicas en el Perú postcolonial* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1998). Shane Hunt, “Guano y crecimiento en el Perú del siglo XIX”. *HISLA, Revista de historia económica y social*, 4 (1984): 35-92.

¹²⁰ Carlos Contreras and Marcos Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo* (Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales, 2000), 108-110.

¹²¹ Jorge Basadre, Jorge, *Historia de la República*.

¹²² *El Progreso*, July 28, 1849.

completely remove colonial institutions and substitute them with a liberal administration that “emanates from reason.” Indeed, the postcolonial period of *caudillo* rule and “anarchy” was now interpreted to be the result of a social and regional fragmentation established during the *coloniaje*, while Peru’s economic miseries were deemed to be a consequence of an incapable, indolent colonialism that had failed to develop the country’s “infinite” natural resources.¹²³ This was, therefore, a unique period to attain “real independence” from colonial times.

In 1860 Manuel Morales, Minister of the newly created Ministry of Public Works, expressed a similar optimism in nearly identical terms:

A new period of welfare and fortune will begin for Peru. The precious and infinite elements with which Providence has endowed our *Republic* will be able to develop... Order and peace will take root with the reform of institutions... The political convulsions that have shaken the country have not allowed most of our peoples [*pueblos*] to benefit from civilization. It may be said that their inhabitants remain almost in the same pitiful ignorance and abjection that was imposed on them by the *conquistadores*.¹²⁴

With the aid of guano revenues Peru would now find its “natural destiny.” Filled with optimism and flush with pesos, *Limeño* elites promptly launched a campaign to civilize the ignorant and degraded *pueblos* of Peru. Civilization, as understood in these postcolonial years, could only be attained by the Republic, despite the fact that in Peru’s case the instability of the early post-independence years had prolonged the effects of colonialism. Morales’s reference to the “backwardness” of the *pueblos* made it clear that civilization had to emanate from Lima, a city where important elements of the *Ancien Régime* survived. Lima became, then, the exemplary object of projects of nationalization and modernization, for it was the only city that could define nationality and modernity for the rest of Peru.

¹²³ “Las causas generales que han determinado la suerte del Perú,” *El Progreso*, July 28, 1849.

¹²⁴ *Memoria que el Ministro Estado en el Departamento de Obras Públicas y Policía presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1860* (Lima: Tipografía de Justo Montoya, 1860), 3-7. My emphasis.

The ambiguity of Lima as being “already” and at the same time “not yet” modern is made clear in the works of one of the most prolific Limeño intellectuals of the nineteenth century: Manuel Atanasio Fuentes. His *Lima: apuntes históricos, descriptivos, estadísticos y de costumbres*, published in Paris in 1866 in simultaneous editions in French, English, and Spanish, was written to prove to European readers that in the “short period of forty-two years” since the end of colonial rule civilization had progressed mightily despite the post-independence period of internal war. “The short periods of relief that Peru has enjoyed... have been enough to extinguish those old [colonial] customs that could be used by our enemies and those who defame us.”¹²⁵ Fuentes wants his book to correct the impression Europeans have gathered from travelers’ accounts which depicted Peruvians as “savages” and Peru as a backward, barbaric, and immoral society. While he admits that “it would be absurd to say that the American states are at the same level of the ones in the Old World,” at the same time Fuentes asserts that “Lima’s society has nothing to envy in the most advanced capital.”¹²⁶ Notably, Fuentes describes Lima as an “advanced capital” to demonstrate that Peru and Peruvians have been unjustly exoticized by misinformed Europeans. Lima’s civilized society now made it a convenient synecdoche for the entire country, and so worthy as an active agent in the processes of transforming and civilizing Peru.¹²⁷

The ambiguity which is so central to Fuentes’s text –that civilized Lima is both a model and synecdoche for Peru at large-- will be an integral part of the modernizing projects to transform Lima during the guano period and beyond. These projects would at once prove that Lima –synecdochely, Peru— was already modern and but also the privileged site for

¹²⁵ Fuentes, Manuel *Lima: apuntes históricos, descriptivos, estadísticos y de costumbres* (Paris: Librería de Firmin Didot, 1867), iv.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, v.

¹²⁷ Fuentes refers to Lima as a *país* (country) in several occasions. See, for instance his *Estadística general de Lima* (Lima: Tipografía Nacional de M.N. Corpancho, 1858), 67.

interventions intended to make modern that which was not yet modern. In the mind of its elites, then, Lima itself was divided, for a large part of its population's cultural traits had to be modernized. The lower sectors of Lima's society were also part of the uncomfortable legacy of colonial times; their Peruvianization and modernization not only was imperative *per se*, but could serve as a trial case for the future mission of bringing the *pueblos* into the modern time of the nation. Interventions in Lima, therefore, would be a crucial measure of Peru's national future.

A (Fenced-In) Liberator, the Signs of the Zodiac, and Christopher Columbus

By the mid-nineteenth century, modernizing projects in Lima would acquire renewed vitality. New monuments and plazas, and changes in the nomenclature of streets and public spaces would transform the face of the city and create a spatial narrative of the nation's history. Ironically enough, the same Plaza where Monteagudo ordered the erection of the Trajan's Column crowned by San Martín's equestrian monument would now host Lima's first monument: an equestrian Bolívar. Growing suspicion about San Martín's possible constitutional monarchist inclinations had led liberal and republican *Limeños* to momentarily abandon plans to immortalize his figure, and the political tide of opinion now favored the *Caraqueño* Liberator.

By 1825 Peru's Congress changed the destiny of the Plaza, ordering the erection of a Monument to the Liberator from Caracas "which will perpetuate the memory of the heroic events with which he gave peace and freedom to Peru," and named Deputy Pedro Pedemonte in charge of establishing the first contacts with artists in Europe.¹²⁸ While the foundation stone was placed on December 8 of that year—as part of the commemorations of the first anniversary of the Battle of Ayacucho—by 1852 no monument had yet been constructed. The stability of the Peruvian state would allow President José Echenique to revive the project. Echenique issued a Supreme

¹²⁸ Decree issued on February 12, 1825. Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República*, 2580-2581.

Resolution which noted that the monument must be created “with artistic vein and peculiar genius; it must aim at a certain future.”¹²⁹ A supplementary Resolution named Bartolomé Herrera, who was about to depart to Rome to settle disputes with the Vatican, Plenipotentiary Minister in Europe charged with commissioning a design that “must be approved by the Milan Academy.”¹³⁰ Herrera announced an open competition for proposals for the design of the statue and the pedestal, for which sixty four projects were presented. Adamo Tadolini was elected finalist along with Filippo Guaccarini and Rinaldo Rinaldi. The equestrian statue presented by Tadolini was chosen by Herrera along with seven members of the San Lucas Academy, although the pedestal design of Guaccarini was preferred by the jury.¹³¹ Tadolini was a renowned disciple of Antonio Canova, the celebrated neoclassical sculptor who had created equestrian statues of Spanish Bourbon Emperors Ferdinand I and Charles III, as well as wax molds for an equestrian sculpture of Ferdinand VII with the help of his disciple.¹³² He had also sculpted Napoleon with the assistance of Tadolini, and so was intimately familiar with Napoleonic iconography. Tadolini’s bronze statue of Bolivar followed the rules of neoclassical naturalism, and is clearly inspired by Jacques Louis David’s painting of the Corsican crossing the Saint Bernard. The statue was worked in plaster in the workshop of Antonio Canova in Rome and cast in Munich in the Royal Foundation. The pedestal was completed in marble in Rome and included iron bass relief plates representing the Battles of Junín and Ayacucho.¹³³

By December 1859, when the monument was inaugurated, the Peruvian state had paid 4824 pesos to Tadolini, 12113 pesos for the smelting, 5375 pesos for the marble pedestal, 800

¹²⁹ “*Con índole artística y peculiar genialidad y que apunte hacia un porvenir cierto.*” Decree issued on October 5, 1852. José Gamarra, José, *Obras de arte y turismo monumental: Bronces, estatuas (de pie y sentadas), bustos, obeliscos* (Lima: Ku, 1996), 39.

¹³⁰ Alfonso Castrillón, “Escultura monumental y funeraria en el Perú,” in *Escultura en el Perú*, Colección de Arte y Tesoros del Perú (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 1991), 329.

¹³¹ Rafael Pineda, *Tenerani y Tadolini, los escultores de Bolívar* (Caracas: Ernesto Armitano, 1973), 130.

¹³² *Ibid.*, and Rafael Pineda, *Las estatuas de Simón Bolívar en el mundo*, Caracas: Centro Simón Bolívar, 1983.

¹³³ José Gamarra, *Obras de arte y turismo monumental*, 39.

pesos for the iron bass relieves, 6730 pesos for the transport to Lima, and 5000 pesos to erect the statue in the *Plaza de la Constitución*, which would be rebaptized as *Plaza Bolívar*.¹³⁴ The enormous weight of the statue (10.6 tons) made it difficult to transport from the port of Callao to its final destination. The Lima-Callao train (inaugurated in 1851) was used to carry the statue to the San Juan de Dios rail station, and from there it was taken to the Plaza with the use of a *Decauville* railway under the direction of Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán, who had been using the temporary rails for the construction of Lima's new Penitentiary.¹³⁵ The project had also suffered an alteration. According to the original specifications, the pedestal had to show an inscription on its front reading: "To Simón Bolívar, *Libertador*. Erected in 1852 under the presidency of General Echenique." But because of delays the monument was inaugurated by Field Marshall Ramón Castilla, who had overthrown Echenique in the "Liberal Revolution" of 1854. Now in his second term of office, Castilla had the inscription changed to read thus: "To Simón Bolívar, *Libertador*. The Peruvian Nation, year MDCCCLVIII." If the projects of erection of monuments and transformation of the urban sphere are revealing of an era's transcendental ideals and predicaments, they are also subject to more minor political appetites and desires for posterity, like Echenique's. Castilla's choice was certainly more appropriately Republican, expressing the spirit of the 1854-1855 liberal revolution against his predecessor.

No efforts or cost would be spared to construct the monument. In the end, the monument to Bolívar cost the state 34841 pesos, not including the cost of the massive iron fence that would keep the masses at a respectful distance, and its transportation and installation. Between October 1859 and December 1860, all public works in the relatively prosperous Department of Ica, for

¹³⁴ For information on the costs of the monument, see *Memoria que el Ministro de Estado en el Departamento de Obras Públicas y Policía presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1860*, Lima: Tipografía de Justo Montoya. 1860, Mateo Paz Soldán, *Geografía del Perú: Obra Póstuma del D.D. Mateo Paz Soldán* (Paris: Librería de Fermín Didot, 1862), vol. I, 297, and Alfonso Castrillón, "Escultura monumental," 329.

¹³⁵ Mateo Paz Soldán, *Geografía del Perú*, 298.

example, amounted to a meager 975 pesos,¹³⁶ while in 1858 all public works in the Department of Ayacucho –the site of the final liberating battle— had cost a ludicrously low 250 pesos.¹³⁷

As Majluf states, the Bolívar monument was part of a larger project, for the Plaza was entirely remade, new benches were installed, gardens rearranged, and the adjacent streets repaved with flagstone.¹³⁸ (Figures 2-1 and 2-2.) With this project *Limeño* elites would not only honor the memory of Bolívar and his deeds. The *Plaza Bolivar* –which forgetful *Limeños* still called the *Plaza de la Inquisición*— was now made part of new historical narrative which announced coevalness with the contemporary, modern world of nations. Like Monteagudo’s unbuilt column and his forgotten *Plaza de la Constitucion*, the new statue of Bolivar was neoclassical and the space around it cleaned, civilized, and its use regulated. The desire to consolidate the national community through a built historical narrative had to “aim at a certain future.” This meant, first, that the monument had to be made in Europe and, second, that it had to be appreciated in Lima.

It is clear that the “Peruanization” or modernization of Lima was perceived as a crucial endeavor that allowed no economy. Between October 1858 and December 1860, the state spent 85730 pesos in the flagstone paving of some of the capital’s streets; 5603 pesos in the erection of Columbus’s statue; and 369000 pesos for the construction of the new Penitentiary. Lima’s public works during that fourteen-month period cost 583616 pesos in a total budget of 664045 pesos for the public works of the whole country, that is, about eighty-eight percent of the entire budget for the sector.¹³⁹ This was not peculiar, considering that, in 1857, Lima had received 341936 pesos of a total 401501 pesos budget for the entire country; eighty-five percent, without

¹³⁶ *Memoria que el Ministro de Estado, 1860.*

¹³⁷ *Memoria que presenta al Congreso Extraordinario de 1858 el Ministro de Gobierno, Culto y Obras Públicas* (Lima: Tipografía Nacional, 1858).

¹³⁸ Majluf, Natalia, *Escultura y Espacio Público. Lima, 1850-1879* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1994).

¹³⁹ *Memoria que el Ministro de Estado, 1860.*

taking into account the 180,000 pesos spent in the construction of the penitentiary that year.¹⁴⁰

The effort to forge the national self by transforming the capital city of Lima overshadowed other national urgencies as elites and the guano-rich state elevated Lima's ascendancy over the country to unprecedented levels.¹⁴¹

The monument to Bolívar was soon followed by a dozen sculptures representing the signs of the zodiac, and one monument to honor Christopher Columbus. As with the Bolívar monument, these sculptures would serve to crown the renovation of public spaces; this time, however, these spaces would be located in peripheral areas of the city. No documents are available to reconstruct the complete history of these monuments, but it was Bartolomé Herrera who made the arrangements for their construction during his 1852-53 sojourn in Rome. Herrera was commissioned to obtain "12 statues of average size and merit, representing the months of the year."¹⁴² The statues, made with Carrara marble in a classical style in Rome by less famous Italian artists of the Canova School, were placed on the other bank of the Rímac River, along the *Alameda de los Descalzos*—a promenade constructed in 1611 by the Viceroy Marquis de Montesclaros, and rebuilt in 1770 by Viceroy Amat. It was an effort to civilize the area, which showed signs of deterioration and of having been enveloped by wild brush. The symbolic value of the renovation did not reside in the sculpted signs of the zodiac—indeed, they were placed with no respect to the celestial and mensal order—but from the modern space in which they stood. Before the statues had arrived in 1856, merchant Felipe Barreda was commissioned to completely remodel the Alameda into a modern *paseo* or promenade. The promenade's ground was leveled and paved and fifty marble benches and one hundred iron vases were placed at

¹⁴⁰ *Memoria que presenta al Congreso Extraordinario de 1858.*

¹⁴¹ Most Peruvians today blame Spanish colonialism for the *centralismo Limeño*—the concentration of bureaucracy and expenditures in Lima. I propose that it is a postcolonial phenomenon.

¹⁴² Alfonso Castrillón, "Escultura monumental," 334.

regular intervals. Green areas were transformed and placed under the care of a professional gardener, Antonio Borsani; three thousand flowers and shrubs were planted, and its drainage ditches were carefully channeled.¹⁴³ To complete the remodeling, iron fences were placed to surround the park, and sixty gas lanterns purchased in Paris by Peru's General Consul were installed.¹⁴⁴

The remodeling ended on September 12, 1857, and the promenade was popularly christened *Alameda nueva* to mark the difference with the *Alameda vieja*. The difference between the old and the new *Alameda de los Descalzos* could not be more striking. Its spaces were now regulated, as walkers, horse riders, and carriage conductors had individual paths, with specific targets for directing the gaze and sitting. Indeed, Barreda turned in a proposal to make sure that users respected his design. Those entering the Alameda riding horses on pedestrian zones were to be penalized, and carriage conductors were to be fined if they caused harm to the *paseo*. The proposal also recommended prohibitions for the general public: no pulling up of flowers or fruits, no throwing fruit peels, etc. Dogs were prohibited, as well as small children without "caretakers who may respond for the damages they may produce."¹⁴⁵ "Nature" would be disciplined and controlled too. The new space would mark the break with colonial times, reinforce the presence of the state, and make *Limeños* part of the universal culture of civilization (Figures 2-3 and 2-4).

The importance of these objectives can be measured by the funds spent on the project. According to the *Ministerio de Obras Públicas*, the statues cost 50000 pesos; shipping from Genoa to Callao cost another 3093 pesos, their transportation to the promenade 200 pesos, and

¹⁴³ Natalia Majluf, *Escultura y Espacio Público*, 22-3.

¹⁴⁴ *Memoria que presenta al Congreso, 1858*; Syra Alvarez, *Historia del mobiliario urbano de Lima, 1535-1935* (Lima: Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, 2000), 13.

¹⁴⁵ *Proyecto de penas para la policía del paseo de la Alameda de los Descalzos*, AHML, Municipalidad, doc. Alamedas y paseos, 18/09/1857.

their erection 6000 pesos. The sixty posts and gas lanterns cost 1374 pesos, and the erection of the iron fence, 11800 pesos.¹⁴⁶ We do not have information on the cost of the other elements included in the project, but Fuentes quotes a report from the *Ministerio del Interior* that states that the project had a total cost of 119047 pesos.¹⁴⁷ In contrast, the budget for public works in the entire Department of Cusco amounted to 19927 pesos.¹⁴⁸

As for the Columbus monument, Herrera seemingly hired Salvatore Revelli in July, 1853 without announcing a competition for proposals. Revelli was a notorious sculptor who had participated in the erection of a famous monument to Columbus in Genoa (inaugurated in 1862) and who had the statue ready for shipment to Lima by 1855.¹⁴⁹ Because of a delay in the artist's payment, *Limeños* had to wait until 1860 to receive the monument, and it was inaugurated in August of that year. The location for the monument was decided by Castilla's government in a Supreme Decree issued in May, 1859. Columbus would make his home on the Acho Promenade, another park across the Rímac River which was also created by Viceroy Amat. It too would be remodeled into a modern and elegant *paseo* for the edification of *Limeños*.

Rivelli's Columbus was not a *conqueror* to be loathed, but an intrepid explorer and scientist who had borne civilization to the continent; a universal character who had heralded America's entrance into the world. In a moment in which Peruvian and Latin American, as well as European writers were reinventing America as a land with a new beginning,¹⁵⁰ Columbus stood both as a proof that America was part of the civilized world and as a symbol of the civilizational drive of the postcolonial elite. Located in an untidy peripheral park that was now

¹⁴⁶ *Memoria que presenta al Congreso, 1858.*

¹⁴⁷ Manuel Fuentes, *Estadística general*, 661.

¹⁴⁸ *Memoria que presenta al Congreso, 1858.*

¹⁴⁹ Alfonso Castrillón, "Escultura monumental;" Rodrigo Gutiérrez, Rodrigo, *Monumento conmemorativo y espacio público en América Latina* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2004).

¹⁵⁰ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

transformed into a civilized *paseo*, the statue was a symbol of the “already” and the “not yet” modern. The statue was made in the neoclassical style, depicting Columbus in the act of discovery, standing next to a seated naked female Indian who represents “America.” She kneels and admires his fatherly figure. She also holds a cross and lets an arrow drop from her hand, symbolizing her conversion to civilization and evangelization (Figure 2-5). The total cost of the monument, according to Mateo Paz Soldán, brother of Mariano Felipe, who was in charge of the erection of the pedestal and the statue, was 10000 pesos; the statue itself had cost 4609 pesos.¹⁵¹ and the accounts of the *Ministerio de Obras Públicas* state that the erection of the monument cost 5603 pesos.¹⁵²

As with the *Descalzos* promenade, this new *paseo* was aimed at providing *Limeños* with an orderly space in which to spend their leisure time in a cultured, regulated, and supervised way. The environment was to exert a pedagogical influence over the population. *Limeños* would no longer be inspired by “nature” in the promenades but by the high culture transmitted by the monuments and by the disciplined environment. The *paseo* would put Lima *a la par* with the European metropolis, but it was also meant to express the epistemological shift from colonial to republican times. To Anglo American traveler George Squier, who arrived in Peru in 1862, the objective of transforming the *Alameda de los Descalzos* into a *paseo* comparable to parks in other important cities had been achieved: “In every respect, this *paseo* is a tasteful and most creditable work, worthy of any metropolis.”¹⁵³ *Limeño* elites, ever so attentive to foreigners’ judgments of themselves and their capital city, surely treasured Squier’s words. The regulation of public space served to mark Lima’s entrance into modern world and to announce it to

¹⁵¹ Mateo Paz Soldán, *Geografía del Perú*, 297.

¹⁵² *Memoria que presenta al Congreso*, 1858.

¹⁵³ George Squier, *Peru Illustrated or Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* (New York: Hurst and Company, 1877).

foreigners. An 1852 editorial in a *Limeño* newspaper synthesized what the renovation of public *paseos* meant at home:

Public *paseos* are barometers that indicate the culture of the *pueblos*, and are called to exert a happy influence over the arts, and to promote the increase and development of the relations. Every government should turn its protective attention towards them, because the intelligent foreigner that visits a city for the first time, judges its progress and its degree of civilization by its external appearance.¹⁵⁴

The *paseos* would help transform and cultivate *Limeños*, promoting artistic sensibility and better interpersonal relations, and they would also serve to improve the way foreigners judged Lima. By looking at the civilized way *Limeños* spent their free time, the foreigners would be convinced that they were already part of the civilized world. The *paseos* were also exemplars of a new conception of public space, since it now “belonged to the nation” and so should be regarded as a sacred space. An 1860 newspaper editorial expressed this sacred notion of public space clearly:

An owner of a property may make use of its interior as he sees convenient. As for the exterior, however, he may not do what he pleases; he has to submit himself to the Civil Construction Code, which prescribes a degree of uniformity. Property owners must understand that the public part of the city is sacred, and that it may not be damaged at all.¹⁵⁵

A Republican “Palace of Pizarro”

By the mid-nineteenth century, the buildings of the most important state institutions were not only remains from the colonial era; they offered a decadent view of that period. The Republican government’s executive building, previously called “the Royal Palace of the Viceroys,” now served as the presidential mansion and it housed the five ministries of the executive power: International Relations and Public Instruction; Public Finances, Industry and

¹⁵⁴ “Paseos públicos,” *El Intérprete del pueblo*, April 29, 1852. Quoted in Natalia Majluf, *Escultura y espacio público*, 29.

¹⁵⁵ “Crónica de la capital. Comisión de ornato público,” *El Comercio*, March 28, 1860. Quoted in Natalia Majluf, *Escultura y espacio público*, 29.

Commerce; Justice, Police and Public Works; War and Navy; and Government, Worship and Charity. The Englishman Robert Proctor had visited Lima between 1823 and 1824 and was struck by the building's miserable appearance. While there were traces of a bygone grandeur, the building looked more like a hovel than a palace, not only because it was old but because of the unappealing shops crowded around its front steps:

It is an old plastered and unsightly edifice, of a reddish colour, with the principal gate onto the Plaza and three other entrances into three separate streets, each of which forms one side: shops of the lowest description such as those of our English dealers in marine stores and old iron, occupy what may be termed the ground floor of the two principal fronts of this building: hence the whole has an appearance of wretchedness and poverty-struck grandeur.¹⁵⁶

By the mid-nineteenth century, the building's appearance had not improved. On the contrary, the passage of the years had furthered the process of deterioration. By 1854, Jacob von Tschudi was appalled by the tasteless "palace," especially by the small shops on its front, where the most diverse and odd things were sold, including drugs and even dog-killing poisons:

It is a square building, and the front next the Plaza is disfigured by a long range of shabby little shops (called *La Rivera*), in which drugs are sold... On the south the building has no entrance and it presents the gloomy aspect of a jail... A few long flag-staffs, fixed on the roof of the palace, do not add to the beauty of the edifice. The interior of the building corresponds to the outward appearance, being at once tasteless and mean.¹⁵⁷

The descriptions of local observers were similar. For example, it was hard for the geographer, astronomer, and mathematician Mateo Paz Soldán (1862) to find anything pleasurable in the building. Where Tschudi sees a building comparable to a jail, Paz Soldán sees one that looks like a chicken coop whose interior was irregular:

The Government Palace is in front of the Botoneros portal, and it has a most humble façade and with small shops called *La Rivera*, on top of which there is an old and extravagant balcony difficult to describe... It is urgent to get rid of the

¹⁵⁶ Robert Proctor, *Narrative of a Journey Across the Cordillera de los Andes, and of a Residence in Lima, and Other Parts of Peru, in the Years 1823 and 1824* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1825), 120-1.

¹⁵⁷ J.J. von Tschudi, *Travels in Peru*, 52.

balustrade or chicken coop in front of it and replace it with an elegant iron fence... What we call Palace is a confusing, intricate, and heterogeneous agglomeration of halls that are disproportionate in their dimensions, being of different construction forms, and which make a real labyrinth.¹⁵⁸

For his part, Fuentes merely stressed that the building “preserves its primitive form, which is undoubtedly far from what is convenient for the house of Peru’s government,” before excusing himself for not providing a more detailed description: “we abstain from describing it because our pen would resist making a sad and unpleasant depiction”¹⁵⁹ (Figures 2-6 and 2-7). *Limeño* elites knew that the building, located in Lima’s main square, had to be transformed into a national symbol of the new era both for the consumption of foreigners and Peruvians. The palace should communicate the modern state’s ascendancy over the country and its citizens, stress the rupture with colonial times, express the arrival of stability and prosperity, and be comparable to similar buildings elsewhere in the world. For some, a future government palace had to be constructed along classical Greek architectural patterns. Liberal and freemason novelist Julián Manuel del Portillo expressed the idea in the newspaper *El Comercio* in 1843. In an article entitled “Lima one hundred years from now,” Portillo imagines the future palace as a “beautiful and majestic building, edified according to the style of the day, which I believe would be more Greek than any other.”¹⁶⁰

On July 20, 1862, President Castilla issued a Supreme Resolution ordering the erection of a new Government Palace along with a Palace for Congress. The project was assigned to the French Architect Maximilian Mimey, who had been hired as Architect of the State and who with Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán had drawn the blueprint for the new Penitentiary then under construction. Mimey and Paz Soldán, Director of Public Works, would be in charge of the

¹⁵⁸ Mateo Paz Soldán, *Geografía del Perú*, 291-2. Emphasis in the original.

¹⁵⁹ Manuel Fuentes, *Lima: apuntes históricos*, 14.

¹⁶⁰ Quoted by Natalia Majluf, *Escultura y Espacio Público*, 31.

project's execution with a budget of 3.8 million pesos.¹⁶¹ Castilla repeated his intentions in his annual address to Congress, stating that his administration had decided to build a Palace of Justice in the lot then occupied by the Santo Tomás military quarters, and to “demolish the house of government.”¹⁶² Castilla's proposal was debated by Congress, since some deputies objected to it on the grounds that the amount decreed by the executive exceeded the budget established by Congress for public works and was, therefore, unconstitutional. Congress did not object to the construction of the palaces, but considered the government had exceeded its attributions and was therefore attempting to bypass its authority. Some, like Representative Loli, were clearly in favor of the Government's plan, however: “If this is about the construction of a palace, I agree with the government. Instead of hurling millions into the ocean, it would be better to erect a building adequate to the country, because the existing one is the house of a beggar in a prosperous city.”¹⁶³

The Castilla regime, however, could not force Congress to approve the expenditures for the project, and so the idea of a new palace had to wait another ten years to reappear, this time in a proposal presented in the Senate. On September 13, 1872, the Senate debated a new proposal presented by Senator García y García for the construction of two palaces, one for the Executive, and the other for the Legislature. The proposal had been reviewed and approved by the Senate Committee of Treasury and Public Works before heading to the full chamber. In the chamber, however, some senators objected to the project on the grounds that it increased the Treasury's deficit. García y García explained that the cost for the construction of both buildings should not

¹⁶¹ *Memoria que el Ministro de Gobierno, Policía y Obras Públicas presenta al Congreso Nacional de 1862* (Lima: Imprenta de “La Epoca,” 1862).

¹⁶² “Mensaje que el Libertador Presidente de la República Gran Mariscal Ramón Castilla, dirige a la Legislatura Ordinaria el 28 de julio de 1862,” *Mensajes de los presidentes del Perú. Recopilación y notas por Pedro Ugarteche y Evaristo San Cristóval. 1821-1867* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1943), vol. 1, 350.

¹⁶³ *Diario de Debates del Congreso Ordinario del año de 1860* (Lima: Tipografía de “El Comercio,” 1861). Chamber of Deputies, September 10, 1862.

exceed three million sols, which would be obtained through the sale of the old Government Palace, as well as the buildings of the Senate –none other than the old Inquisition building— the Consulate Tribunal, the Guadalupe and Santo Tomás military quarters, and some lots that belonged to the state along the Rímac River. These were “old buildings and lots that do not benefit the state, and with their sale we will be able to construct new and useful buildings.”¹⁶⁴ García y García’s proposal generated a long and heated debate. Senators agreed that the buildings were necessary, but some insisted on discussing the availability of funds for the construction, the new location for the buildings, and the future of the lot occupied by the old Government Palace.

The Government Palace occupied a central position on Lima’s Main Square or Plaza Mayor. As in other Spanish American cities, the Main Square was the home of the most important administrative, religious, and residential structures. Early postcolonial attempts to mark the rupture with colonial times had not challenged the square’s preeminence. The Main Square had been officially rebaptized *Plaza de la Independencia* –although *Limeños* still called it *Plaza Mayor*— and the building that had once housed the Viceroy was now used by the Presidents of the Republic. Now, however, only two senators insisted that the new Government Palace should stand at the same central location. Senator La Fuente was one of them. Still, he was certain that “the works are necessary, because the premises used today are not only old and inadequate, but mar Lima’s and all the nation’s reputation.”¹⁶⁵ And when Senator Salazar repeated that the Palace “must be located in Lima’s center,”¹⁶⁶ Senator Althaus replied that the capital had to create “new centers.” Not only should the public buildings be relocated, but

¹⁶⁴ *Cámara de Senadores. Diario de los debates de la Legislatura de 1872*, (Lima: Imprenta de “El Comercio,” 1872), 188.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 189.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 190.

commerce too should reach to the periphery of the city, where it could promote the construction of new neighborhoods, which in turn would have the beneficial effect of making real estate and housing prices fall. Althaus imagined a de-centered, republican city without a concentration of public buildings and commerce, and he believed that relocation could be used to plan the city's growth. This plan became imaginable only in the early 1870s, when the (colonial) city's walls were being torn down and new areas being opened for development. In this debate at least, no senator proposed to construct the government's headquarters outside Lima.

Once senators had agreed that the Palace should be relocated within Lima, Senator Calonge opposed the sale of the old government palace, on the grounds that the lot was located at the city's heart, and that it could well be used by the state to construct an elegant "*pasage*"—an Anglicism— which would be, in Calonge's words, "our capital's best adornment... like those that adorn almost all the capitals of foreign states," and which would be surrounded by stores and apartments that the state could profitably rent.¹⁶⁷ Calonge's proposal was quickly supported by Senator Vivanco: "our ancient and almost useless palace, once converted into a spacious and elegant *pasage*, could become the best adornment for our capital."¹⁶⁸

Some non-*Limeño* Senators proved hard to convince. Peru was experiencing some financial difficulties—the guano boom was showing signs of going bust—and the project might provoke a tax increase. Senator Alegre of the Department of Ancachs (later Hispanized as "Ancash") expressed that the country had more urgent needs, and that it would be difficult for Senators from the provinces to face their constituents, who lived in a poverty that was unknown to those who dwelled in Lima "where the nakedness of the poor and the tears of the unfortunate do not reach their sight, nor hurt their ears." Alegre complained that Lima's opulence had made

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 188.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 189.

her Senators insensitive to the poverty of the *pueblos*, and he contrasted the “wealthy” capital of “salons and feasts” to the miserable *pueblos* where the “mournful complaints of the hungry and the unprotected are heard.” The Senator’s words expressed anguish about the growing, Guano Age distance between Lima and the interior provinces, a sentiment that would be voiced repeatedly in the debates over public works projects in the capital. While *Limeño* Senators held that the new projects would benefit the entire nation –for Lima was a synecdoche for Peru— Alegre and others argued that these projects would merely increase the gap between the capital and the nation, fomenting resentment in the interior, and undermining their own electoral bases. Alegre complained that “the senators who stay in Lima do not know or understand how painful it will be for us when we return to our respective provinces. You do not know how we will be received by the *pueblos* once they know we have done nothing except study how to distress them with heavier and unjustified taxes.”¹⁶⁹

García y García had to repeat his pledge that new taxes would not be imposed, for “bad and useless properties will be sold to obtain improvements that are indispensable. They will also adorn the city, and will help us get rid of the continuous and deserved mockery from foreigners, who experiment repugnance when they see these buildings. In other countries, those buildings are, almost always, the best adornment in the city.”¹⁷⁰ García y García’s argument was hard to challenge, not only because the buildings that housed the executive and legislative were in fact in deplorable condition, but because his appeal to the ways foreigners perceived Lima and Peru hit a sensitive postcolonial-national nerve. No opposition was expressed thereupon. Many, including Senator Secada would enthusiastically support García y García’s reasoning, stating that the new buildings would

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 191.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 191.

raise the reputation of our country, because the existing buildings cause continuous sarcasm for our backwardness, our indolence, and our indifference. I will support this heavy contribution in exchange for not preserving these buildings, which, before the eyes of a proud foreigner, are insulting and derisive to Peru... we ought not to forget that every foreigner goes to see these buildings as soon as he sets foot on our streets.

Indeed, according to Secada no objections could be made to the project on the basis of cost. The symbolic advantages of the project would always exceed any monetary measure, which was something that any nation should know:

When trying to satisfy this kind of needs, no nation stops to examine if the state coffers are replete or empty...or if it is in the brink of bankruptcy... What would happen to the reputation of the Peruvian nation if this insignificant amount condemns us to keep our old and indecorous government palace and the old and inadequate premises where the Legislative Body celebrates its meetings?¹⁷¹

This argument proved too powerful and the proposal was immediately approved. The reputation of the nation as a whole was at stake, and the construction of the new palaces was regarded as a matter of national interest. If the palaces would benefit the entire nation, the provincial senators and the *pueblos* had nothing to oppose for they too would enjoy the benefits. The Senate agreed that the cost of the buildings should not exceed three million sols, however, and that the area occupied by the current *Palacio de Gobierno* must be used by its purchaser to construct a “public passage” or mall according to a blueprint provided by the central government. Althaus’s idea for a future, de-centered city, however, proved too drastic for the Senators, and the final bill did not specify where the new buildings should be erected.

Eight months after the debate in the Senate, the Executive Branch initiated plans for the construction of the new Government Palace. In May, 1873, Manuel Pardo’s administration issued a Supreme Resolution authorizing the expenditure of two million sols to construct palaces for the Executive and Legislative powers. The decree stated that the Central Board of Engineers

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 192.

and Architects of the State, created only six years earlier, would be in charge of the implementation of the project, and specified that a competition for proposals must be announced in Europe. The Board was “convinced that the most efficient way to obtain well studied proposals, in harmony with the grandeur of such constructions, is to appeal to the best architects in the world, for them to take part in a competition of proposals...”¹⁷² By then, a French architect, Maximilian Mimey –hired in the 1850s as Architect of the State— and a Polish engineer, Edward Jan Habich –hired in 1869 as Engineer of the State— had been in charge of a number of construction projects, and they attempted to transmit their knowledge to Peruvian pupils and workers. Mimey was acclaimed for the design and construction of the Penitentiary (inaugurated in 1862) and he enjoyed a reputation as a capable architect. The grandeur needed for the government and legislative palaces, however, seemed to demand the participation of “the best in the world.” In September, 1873, a new Supreme Decree announced that the government had decided to engage Mimey, “who has just returned from Europe,” to draw the blueprints and execute the construction of the buildings. Announcing a competition in Europe proved too costly, and Mimey was already available and receiving a monthly salary. That he had just returned from a voyage to Europe and had most surely gathered the latest trends there would now be most useful for the design of the Palaces. Although the bill approved by Congress had specified that the lot occupied by the government palace had to become a “modern passage,” the September Executive Decree stated that the Central Board still had to determine the best way to make use of it.¹⁷³

¹⁷² *Memoria sobre las Obras Públicas del Perú. Presentada al Supremo Gobierno de la República por la Junta General del Cuerpo de Ingenieros y Arquitectos del Estado* (Lima: Imprenta Liberal de “El Correo del Perú,” 1874), 56.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 56.

No records of the Mimey blueprints for the palaces have been found. The ambitious project demanded time and resources, and the wealth of the Guano period was coming to an end. Peru would face a new crisis in the mid 1870s, only to engage in a dramatic military confrontation with Chile in 1879. In the meantime, the Government Palace was still the object of criticism by travelers. English scientist Thomas Hutchinson described it with irony months before the initiation of the War of the Pacific:

It requires a large appreciation of Republican liberty to persuade oneself that the palace of the head of the government could be occupied as this is at its base in the side facing the plaza, as well as that up the Calle del Palazzo, or Palace Street, with little huckster shops in which are seen gridirons for sale, and old hatters stores adjoining. 'The divinity that doth hedge a king' is certainly sadly wanting in the case of the surroundings of a Peruvian President, as the old palace of Pizarro painfully testifies.¹⁷⁴

After all the debates, the Government Palace did not change its decrepit appearance during the Guano era. Hutchinson's words also registered the limits of the politics of denomination carried out by Peru's postcolonial founders, for he refers to the building as the "old palace of Pizarro." The republican name of "Government Palace" seems not to have caught on. The founding, popular name of the building that housed Peru's Executive --built in the early seventeenth century and rebuilt after the 1687 earthquake--¹⁷⁵ was not easily displaced, and indeed still rolls off the lips of Peruvians today.

The Universal Language of Peruanidad/Civilización

Other peripheral areas were progressively civilized with the construction of monuments or public buildings during the Guano period, and especially in the 1870s, when the city walls were torn down and planners began to project the city's expansion. The first monument of this

¹⁷⁴ Thomas Hutchinson, *Two Years in Peru, with Exploration of its Antiquities* (London: Sampson Low, 1878), I, 312.

¹⁷⁵ Eduardo Martín-Pastor, *De la vieja casa de Pizarro al Nuevo Palacio de Gobierno* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos Torres Aguirre, 1938).

kind was dedicated to the *Combate dos de Mayo*, a naval battle which took place in the vicinity of the Port of Callao fourteen kilometers from Lima. This battle pitted Peru Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador against Spain's Armada on May 2, 1866. The battle sealed the break with the former and now decadent colonial empire, and the event was soon regarded as a "new" national independence and one moreover that was won primarily by Peruvians (and not by Argentine and Colombian Grenadiers, as was the case with Independence).¹⁷⁶ Mariano Ignacio Prado's administration took quick steps to commemorate the event by issuing a Supreme Decree to that effect the day after the battle. The decree was "destined to consecrate in perpetuity the memory of the 2nd of May."¹⁷⁷ Guayaquil poet and philosopher Numa Pompilio Llona, who was traveling to Paris, was commissioned to engage an artist for the monument in the French capital. Llona announced a "universal competition" for proposals, which were examined by a commission headed by the famous Swiss artist and art historian Marc Gabriel Gleyre. Gleyre had mentored the Peruvian artist Francisco Laso. The commission was composed of Llona, the Peruvian ambassador in Paris Francisco Rivero, the renowned French architects Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc and Félix Duban, and the sculptor Jean-Joseph Perraud of the Parisian Academie des Arts.¹⁷⁸ Thirty-six project proposals were received in plaster scale models, mostly from French sculptors, but also from an Italian and a Pole, and the jury announced its decision on February 24, 1868. All of the proposals were considered noteworthy –all were exhibited temporarily in the Main Hall of the *Palais de l'Industrie* in Paris— but the one presented by sculptor Leon Cugnot and architect Emile Oscar Duillaume was the winner. They proposed a

¹⁷⁶ For instance, the *Sociedad de Fundadores de la Independencia*, created in 1855, was immediately renamed as *Sociedad de Fundadores de la Independencia, Vencedores del Dos de Mayo de 1866 y Defensores Calificados de la Patria*.

¹⁷⁷ *La legislación y los heroes nacionales* (Lima: Congreso del la República del Perú, 2005), 8.

¹⁷⁸ According to Natalia Majluf, the terms for the international contest were made public on July 17, 1866. The names of the members of the jury are in José Gamarra, *Obras de arte*, 165.

marble Doric column on a base of four bronze figures representing *la patria*, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador. The column was crowned by a figural representation of Victory, with arms raised and carrying a sword, and a palm, symbolizing martyrdom. There are also bass reliefs representing Peruvian combatants, and a sculpture of a wounded José Gálvez, who died in combat and was immediately elevated to the category of national Hero.

The construction of the monument took four years. The marble was worked in Carrara, Italy and the bronze figures were produced in the Fhierar workshop in Paris. A simulacrum of the monument, using the pieces that were ready, was erected and exhibited in the Champs Elysees in Front of the Palais de l'Industrie in Paris between May and June, 1872, during Paris's Beaux Arts Exposition, before being dismantled and shipped in pieces to the port of Callao from Le Havre and Genoa.¹⁷⁹ The total weight of the monument was four hundred tons,¹⁸⁰ and it reached Lima between 1873 and 1874. The place elected by the Manuel Pardo administration in 1873, after a study performed by the Central Board of Engineers and the Architect of the State, was the old "*ovalo de la Reina*," a small oval plaza near the Callao Gateway, which was considered the most beautiful and impressive of the nine gateways of the city walls.¹⁸¹ The Gateway had been constructed by Viceroy O'Higgins and paid for by the *Tribunal del Consulado* at a cost of 343000 pesos. It had been designed by engineer Luis Rico, and had three arches and Ionic columns, adorned with the coats of arms of the Crown, the Viceroy, and the *Consulado*. The central arch carried an inscription in Latin that read *Imperate Carolo IV anno*

¹⁷⁹ Natalia Majluf, *Escultura y Espacio Público*, 15.

¹⁸⁰ José Gamarra, *Obras de arte*, 168.

¹⁸¹ *Memoria sobre las obras públicas del Perú presentada al Supremo Gobierno de la República por la Junta Central del Cuerpo de Ingenieros y Arquitecto del Estado* (Lima: Imprenta Liberal de "El Correo del Perú," 1874).

M.DCCC.¹⁸² The arch was destroyed as part of the demolition of the city walls carried out by U.S. entrepreneur Henry Meiggs in May, 1874. The demolition made it possible to expand the *ovalo* to host the large “Victory monument” and to make it a *ronds-point* for the future thoroughfares that would surround modern Lima.¹⁸³ The cost of the awards, marbles, and bronzes in Europe was 69604 sols; by 1874 the government estimated an approximate cost of 69554 for the erection of the monument in Lima, and an additional 14685 sols for the construction of the Plaza. According to the numbers provided by the 1874 Ministry of Government, Police, and Public Works, the cost for the complete Plaza Dos de Mayo was 153844 sols.¹⁸⁴ It is not certain that this figure includes the thirteen iron posts and gas lanterns, the eight Carrara marble benches, and the iron chain that surrounded the monument.¹⁸⁵

The monument was finally inaugurated on July 29, 1874, by President Mariano Ignacio Prado. Peru now had a national monument for its new independence. It was a neoclassical column designed in France by French artists, made in France and Italy, assembled first in the Champs Elisées—one may wonder if Monteagudo’s Atahualpa and Fernando VI were able to enjoy its preview there—and shipped to and erected in Lima to represent modern Peruvianness. My irony here should not be read to imply that there were more authentically “Peruvian” ways available to represent Peruvianness. *Peruanidad* was as much “under construction” as were the monuments to Bolivar, the signs of the zodiac, Columbus, or *Dos de Mayo*. The new plazas and paseos were attempts to represent the nation that elites desired: one that spoke the universal

¹⁸² Manuel Fuentes, *Estadística general*, 656. In 1801, Hipólito Unánue also provided a detailed description of the gateway. Hipólito Unánue, “Discurso histórico sobre el Nuevo camino del Callao, año de 1801,” *Colección documental de la Independencia del Perú* (Lima: Comisión Nacional del Sesquicentenario de la Independencia del Perú, 1974), 427.

¹⁸³ Jorge Bernales, *Lima, la ciudad y sus monumentos* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano Americanos, 1972), and Alberto Regal, *Historia de los ferrocarriles de Lima* (Lima: UNI e Instituto de Vías de Transporte, 1965), 20-1.

¹⁸⁴ *Memoria que presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1874 el Ministerio de Gobierno, Policía y Obras Públicas sobre los diversos ramos de su despacho* (Lima: Imprenta de “El Comercio,” 1874).

¹⁸⁵ Syra Alvarez, *Historia del mobiliario*, 66.

language of civilization. The symbolic value of the Ovalo or Plaza de Dos de Mayo was highlighted by the fact that the Callao Gateway was torn down in this very spot. The aesthetic references to the “provincialized” colonial past had to be demolished to but also recalled (here by association with the site) in the construction of a modern and universal *Peruanidad*.

Paradoxically, the Gateway had been a key part of the Bourbon attempt to assert modernity in the colony, it too had expressed an enlightened, universal language through neoclassical architectural signs. The colonial modernity of the eighteenth century was now resignified as obsolete, and it would be displaced by the postcolonial national modernity of the nineteenth century (Figure 2-8).

Building these universal symbols of *Peruanidad* was expensive. The cost of the Dos de Mayo monument was assumed by a Peruvian state in deep financial trouble, but a consensus had been reached about the greater value of national civilization. In August 1868 congressional representatives discussed the budget to construct monuments to the memory of Colonel Pedro de La Rosa and Master Sergeant Manuel Taramona, the “first Republican heroes” who had died in 1822 in Iquique during the wars of Independence.¹⁸⁶ Congressman Gálvez expressed his sentiments: “When it is a matter of commemorating such glorious events, economic objections cannot be raised. We must erect something worthy of the people we want to honor, worthy of the reason they are to be honored, and worthy of the country itself.” Gálvez was followed by *Señor* Bernales: “The monument under debate honors all of us. With its erection, we intend to perpetuate the memory of martyrs of patriotism... considering the honor it will give all of us, the construction of this monument, no matter how much it costs, will never be too expensive.”¹⁸⁷

Such was not the case throughout the whole republic, however. Minor monuments were erected

¹⁸⁶ They were officially declared heroes in 1823. Manuel Odriozola, *Documentos Históricos del Perú* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1873), vol. V, 316-317.

¹⁸⁷ *Diario de debates. Cámara de Diputados*. August 10, 1868.

in other cities –marble fountains in Trujillo and Huaraz in 1867, a monument-fountain in Ayacucho in 1852 and a monument to honor Colonel Gálvez in Piura in 1866, for example.¹⁸⁸ These were comparatively small monuments that resulted from the initiatives of Prefects or wealthy private citizens, and did not include the central government in their design, execution, or financing. Early in 1825, Simón Bolívar himself had ordered the erection of an obelisk to Liberty in the *pampas* of Quinua, the site where the Battle of Ayacucho had taken place one year before.¹⁸⁹ That project was reactivated in 1863 by Juan Antonio Pezet’s administration, and then in 1870 by Congress.¹⁹⁰ It never materialized. Provinces could wait for their monuments. But not the former “City of the Kings.” Lima was visible to the world and its nation, and so it only she could make Peru both modern and national.

“A(nother) Garden to Aromatize the Capital”

Lima’s preeminence as the privileged center of an already/not yet Peruvian modernity did not go unchallenged. Provincial elites resented the fact that Lima’s postcolonial symbolic and material power had left their *pueblos* unattended and “in the waiting room,” and they disputed Lima’s claim to being a synecdoche for the nation. A lively congressional debate in 1868 on the creation of a botanical garden in Lima may serve to illustrate the point. The Chamber of Deputies received a proposal from the Instruction Commission to build a botanical garden in Lima with a budget of 100000 sols. This project was meant to regularize the previous action of the central government, which had decreed a year before to use land that belonged to the San Carlos school to found a botanical garden, and had already allowed the expenditure of 26465 pesos to purchase plants for it.¹⁹¹ Deputy Arias presented the proposal, arguing that the

¹⁸⁸ Natalia Majluf, *Escultura y Espacio Público*, 12.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁹⁰ *La legislación y los héroes nacionales*, 8.

¹⁹¹ Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima* (Lima: Consejo Provincial de Lima, 1945), 73.

establishment of such an institution would benefit Peru greatly as a source of scientific knowledge that would be instrumental in the exploitation of the country's resources:

It is said in a proverbial way, that Peru is very rich; and it is indeed. But, what does that wealth consist of? Is it only our *guaneras*? Undoubtedly not. Providence has deigned to fertilize Peru's three kingdoms lavishly. Its minerals are superior...its vegetal kingdom is fecund... all these elements of wealth will be available to us once the Botanical Garden is in place, and once we have a Central School of Mining.¹⁹²

But some provincial representatives opposed both the idea and the budget it required.

Representative Esteves argued that the Botanical Garden was an extravagant luxury for Lima, and that the provinces had more urgent needs:

The reasons stated by Mr. Arias are very good, when speaking about Lima. When we speak of the interior, however, things are different. If we decide to give flowers and grow gardens to aromatize the capital's atmosphere, we should at least get rid of the weeds and thorns in the interior where there are more important unfortunate needs.¹⁹³

Esteves's words were an alert to elites that the expensive projects to transform or modernize Lima were in fact deepening the chasm between the capital and the interior provinces.

Arias calmly replied that the improvements carried out in Lima would benefit the entire nation:

Mr. Esteves has said, among other things, that the Botanical Garden is an improvement that only the sons of the capital will enjoy... That is not correct. The benefits obtained from the research carried out in the capital, in medicine, the natural sciences, and all the branches of knowledge, will mostly benefit the citizens of the south.¹⁹⁴

Arias's argument expressed a prevalent idea among elites: Lima's educational, scientific, medical, military, judiciary, and penitentiary institutions would be "national," that is, they would serve the entire nation. On the one hand, people from "the interior" who required access to these "national institutions" could travel to the capital city; on the other, it was believed that those

¹⁹² *Diario de debates. Cámara de Diputados* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado: 1868), 631. October 29, 1868. Discusión del dictamen de la Comisión de Instrucción sobre la construcción de un jardín botánico en esta capital.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 631.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 631

institutions served the nation, creating knowledge or technology that could be disseminated across the country. The Botanical Garden was supposed to be a “national” scientific institution charged with producing necessary “theoretical and practical knowledge” that would be applied to the development of Peru’s natural resources. As Mr. Arias argued, “the botanical garden is not only a recreational establishment. No! Its objective is higher and greater. It is to offer Peru a new source of knowledge, which will be instrumental for the exploitation of our rich jungles.”¹⁹⁵

Other representatives from “the interior” argued that scientific research did not necessarily have to be carried out in Lima. After all, researchers and students could conduct fieldwork in all of the country regions, especially in “the jungle.” The expedition approach and the idea of fieldwork in the Amazon rainforest was nourished in the nineteenth century by the image of the region as a vast and mysterious treasure chest that hid countless unknown botanical species and other natural resources waiting to be discovered and exploited. It was also seen as an unpopulated or “savage” area that had been neglected by Spanish colonialism. Its untouched wealth inspired continuous dreams of a “new colonialism” that, in many ways, received the influence of the English and French colonial enterprises in Africa (which were, in turn, discursively modeled in reference to Iberian “old” colonialism).¹⁹⁶ The connection between these colonial and postcolonial desires for possession is evident in Arias’s response:

It has also been said that we do not need a Botanical Garden, because we have one in our vast jungles, and that it is there where research must be done. It is true that the jungle is a natural botanical garden; but because of its magnitude. Because of its size, it is impossible, or at least very difficult to build a school of natural sciences next to the tiger, in front of the panther, in the midst of the roars of the lions, and surrounded by an endless number of venomous insects...¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 631.

¹⁹⁶ This is one of Mark Thurner’s arguments in his “After Spanish Rule.”

¹⁹⁷ *Diario de debates. Cámara de Diputados* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1868), 631.

Apparently, Arias imagined an Amazon rainforest populated by African species! In any case, the desire for a Botanical Garden in the guano era was in itself a *Limeño* imperial aspiration vis-à-vis the Peruvian “interior.” All of Peru’s botanical species would now be collected and contained in an enclosed area within the capital city. Representative Távvara participated in the debate with a succinct, bold argument that in fact synthesized what all representatives who supported the idea had in mind: “we need to have a botanical Garden because every civilized country has one.”¹⁹⁸ Távvara’s words ended the debate, and the proposal was approved. The Botanical Garden was founded within the city’s walls and placed under the jurisdiction of the Faculty of Medicine, and its first plants included the specimens of an orchard that belonged to the San Carlos School. Additional plants and seeds were obtained from the *Société Nationale D’Acclimatation de France*, which received Peruvian species in exchange. The Garden was directed by Sebastián Barranca, a naturalist and philologist, while the French professor Jean Baptiste Martinet was placed in charge of the classification of species and the creation of a master list of plants that the institution should possess.¹⁹⁹ German naturalist Carlos Klug was hired to install the nurseries.

Lima now had a Botanical Garden. This Garden served scientific purposes, but more importantly it would “aromatize” the city and make it like “any other civilized country.” Still, the 1868 Botanical Garden was not the first such garden founded in the City of Lima. A previous, colonial Botanical Garden had been founded by Viceroy Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos in 1791 as part of the Bourbon enlightened and naturalistic drive to promote useful

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ J.B.H. Marinet’s research was published in 1873 under the name *Enumeración de los géneros y especies de plantas que deben ser cultivadas ó conservadas en el Jardín Botánico de la Facultad de Medicina de Lima, con la indicación sumaria de su utilidad en la medicina, la industria y la economía* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1873).

science in and from Spanish America.²⁰⁰ The famous scientific expedition to Peru headed by Hipólito Ruiz and José Antonio Pavón between 1777 and 1788 included disciple botanist Juan José Tafalla and *designador* (taxonomist) Francisco Pulgar. Tafalla and Pulgar stayed in Lima after 1788 to gather and send material back to Spain, and to develop botany in the Viceroyalty of Peru.²⁰¹ Tafalla soon gathered a collection he denominated “Flora Peruana,” which was the first group of species of the botanical garden he created with the assistance of Pulgar, and Francisco González Laguna, a priest of the order of *Los Agonizantes*, renowned naturalist, and collaborator of *El Mercurio Peruano*.²⁰² By 1815, the garden held samples of five thousand species that Tafalla had gathered in expeditions to the entire Viceroyalty.²⁰³ This garden, which was located in one of the lots contiguous to the Hospital San Andrés, seems to have fallen victim to the violence and instability wrought by the independence and caudillo wars, and by the 1850s it had disappeared.

The drive to create a botanical garden during the guano era derived from an enlightened desire for knowledge, from a desire to maximize the exploitation of Peru’s natural resources, and from the aspiration to be part of a universal community of nations that characterized itself as scientific and civilized. Paradoxically, those were the same motivations that had inspired Spanish and Creole naturalists to create the first Botanical Garden with the sponsorship of the

²⁰⁰ The Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid had been founded in 1755 to gather species from Spain’s colonies. A scientific expedition to New Spain ended in the foundation of the Real Jardín Botánico del Palacio Imperial de Nueva España in 1788. See: Graciela Zamudio, “El Real Jardín Botánico del Palacio Imperial de Nueva España,” *Ciencias*, no. 68 (2002): 22-27.

²⁰¹ Hipólito Unánue, “Introducción a la descripción científica de las plantas del Perú,” en *Colección documental de la Independencia del Perú* (Lima: Comisión Nacional del Sesquicentenario de la Independencia del Perú, 1974), vol. 1, 252; Estuardo Nuñez, *Viajes y Viajeros extranjeros por el Perú; Apuntes documentales con algunos desarrollos históricos-biográficos* (Lima: Consejo Nacional de Ciencias y Tecnología, 1989), 162-3.

²⁰² Rodolfo Pérez Pimentel, *Diccionario biográfico del Ecuador* (Guayaquil: Universidad de Guayaquil, 1993), 10; Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, “Nation and Nature: Natural History and the Fashioning of Creole National Identity in Late Colonial Spanish America,” paper presented to the XX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Guadalajara, Mexico; Hipólito Unánue, “Introducción a la descripción científica de las plantas del Perú,” en *Colección*, vol. 1, 253.

²⁰³ Rodolfo Pérez Pimentel, *Diccionario biográfico*.

Bourbon state. Although to call Tafalla a “Spanish” naturalist –as opposed to “Creole”—obscures the fact that Tafalla created the first Department of Botany in Lima, was part of a vibrant “Creole” intellectual community in Lima and across the Viceroyalty of Peru, and was a close friend of Hipólito Unánue and other collaborators of *El Mercurio Peruano*, and remained in Peru until his death in 1805. In 1871, Unánue announced that Tafalla would be in charge of the botany reports in *El Mercurio*, and even if no article was ever published under his signature, Unánue commented that Tafalla sent illustrations and detailed descriptions of species to the *Sociedad Académica de Amantes del País*.²⁰⁴ As Cañizares-Esguerra has argued, the natural history of men like Tafalla and González Laguna played a key role in fashioning Creole patriot identity by providing American elites with the tools to imagine their realms as separate and distinct national spaces.²⁰⁵

Notably, during the 1868 debate on the initiative to create a Botanical Garden for the nation, the colonial-era Garden inaugurated under the enlightened Bourbon regime passed unmentioned. The project of postcolonial national modernity would be founded on the erasure of earlier colonial modernities. The postcolonial reinvention of Lima repeated the desires, styles, and rhetoric of the enlightened Bourbon project and its Spanish and Creole naturalists. In this and other cases, Bourbon enlightened projects were erased or destroyed to make room for postcolonial enlightened projects that were similar in their objectives and styles. Postcolonial national modernity was a repetition of the Bourbon imperial project, but it had to be represented and discussed as a “new” initiative in a new nation that would thus enjoy a new beginning with a boundless future.

²⁰⁴ Hipólito Unánue, “Introducción a la descripción;” Rodolfo Pérez Pimentel, *Diccionario biográfico*.

²⁰⁵ Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, “Nation and Nature.”

The Modern Demolition of the Modern

The English traveler Thomas Hutchinson, who visited Lima in 1871, believed the city's physiognomy had changed so much in the previous decade that older descriptions of it were now completely out of date: "Lima has been well described, and by many writers –by Ulloa, Frezier, Stevenson, Markham, Bollaert, Paz Soldan, Dr. Baxley and by a score of others. But the City of the Kings has had so much in transition about it that what was written about it, even so as late as ten years ago, cannot hold good to-day."²⁰⁶

Lima was being postcolonially nationalized, or to use a synonym, postcolonially universalized. Processes and debates on these transformations expressed the desire to reject the colonial past. Architecture also was to express the arrival of the new time of the nation, as neoclassical styles predominated in monuments, sculptures, and buildings. This was a paradoxical choice, considering that neoclassicism had been introduced during the enlightened Bourbon colonial period, as seen in the neoclassic Gateway to Callao that was demolished to erect the neoclassic Dos de Mayo Monument. *Hospital Dos de Mayo*, constructed between 1868 and 1875, using a radial design similar to that of the *Penitenciaría* (analyzed in the next chapter), broke with the tradition of colonial hospital architecture however, which had been similar to that of the convents and monasteries. It was also constructed following state-of-the-art sanitary principles and adopting the pavilion system, which allowed for therapeutic illumination and ventilation.²⁰⁷ It was built by the *Sociedad de Beneficencia Pública de Lima* under the direction of Manuel Pardo –who would later be President of Peru. None of the proposals presented in the open competition called in Paris satisfied the jury, and Pedro Gálvez, Peru's Ambassador in that city chose the blueprint designed by architect Mateo Graziani, who directed

²⁰⁶ Thomas Hutchinson, *Two Years in Peru*, 305.

²⁰⁷ José García Bryce, "Aspectos de la arquitectura en Lima, 1850-1880," *Kuntur. Perú en la cultura*, no. 4 (1987).

the construction along with Swiss Michele Trefogli, Architect of the State who had been hired by Castilla's administration in 1860 and who had participated in the construction of Lima's Penitentiary.²⁰⁸

The Hospital boasted an Arch of Triumph for an entrance and a building that resembled a Roman Temple, with four columns and no decorations: a monument to rigid discipline that expressed the values elites wished to instill in the population. Fittingly, this modern Roman Temple has its clock (Figures 2-9 and 2-10). Despite all the innovations of the hospital, *Limeño* churchgoers could find it strangely familiar. Since the neoclassical style was not introduced to Peru after independence but rather in the late eighteenth century, many of Lima's churches had been transformed before 1821. Many façades and altarpieces had been completely remade, or else they combined the earlier baroque style of the seventeenth century with new, neoclassical elements. Matías Maestro, priest, architect, painter, and sculptor was the most active developer of the neoclassical style in Lima. He was hired by congregations to remodel their churches to conform to the architectural style then in vogue, and also by the colonial state to build, for example, Lima's first cemetery and also a Gateway (both in 1808) that, ironically, looked very much like the Hospital Dos de Mayo's Arch of Triumph. The postcolonial universalization of Lima, however, required a discursive negation of the colonial modernity of the Bourbon regime.

The transformations of Lima reasserted the capital's preeminence vis-à-vis the rest of the country. Lima became an expensive synecdoche for Peru, and this role provincial elites resented. By 1872, for example, the Chamber of Deputies furiously debated the new Municipal Law. Representative Basadre raised his voice of protest: "This Capital is the spoiled girl of all *departamentos*, the heir of all of Peru's treasures. The departments of the South do not have the

²⁰⁸ Pedro Oliveira, "Apuntes para la historia del Hospital "Dos de Mayo," *Memoria administrativa que presenta a la Sociedad de Beneficencia Pública de Lima su Director Sr. D. Carlos Ferreyros, correspondiente al año económico de 1896* (Lima: Imprenta Liberal, 1896).

expensive institutions Lima has; splendid schools, palaces, charity institutions, great hospitals, etc.” Representative Andraka immediately replied that “if Lima, for example, has a School of Medicine, it is to serve all departments, because it is impossible to build a similar one in each of them. If Lima has great public institutions, it is to serve all inhabitants of the republic.”²⁰⁹ If it was true that the Peruvian state was unable to construct first class institutions throughout the entire country, it is also true that much was spent for symbolic purposes. The benefits of these symbols or monuments of modernity, however, were supposed to reach the other *departamentos* for “the richness of Lima disseminates in all directions and extends to and comprises all the confines of the Republic. Lima has become a truthful sign of Peru’s worth and represents it in foreign nations.”²¹⁰

The Lima transformations were not made for cosmetic reasons but to create a sense of national community and, as we will see in the next chapter, to develop the human resources of industrial capitalism. Not all reforms produced the effects desired by planners, of course. Projects were planned and executed by an often incoherent state, and by inconsistent and often corrupt administrations. They often did not accomplish their objectives because of the “proliferating illegitimacy” of *Limeño* spatial practices,²¹¹ by the subaltern *parole* that bent the *langue* of law.²¹² Reports on the use of reformed spaces, for instance, reveal the dismay of functionaries at the people’s appropriation of them. Shortly after their erection, monuments were fenced so as to protect them from robbery and vandalism. One may wonder what these monuments, which were erected –after their design and construction in Europe— to symbolize

²⁰⁹ *Diario de los debates de la Cámara de Diputados* (Lima: Imprenta de “El Nacional,” 1872), vol. II, 454. Debate on chapter seven of the Law of Municipalities, November 8, 1872.

²¹⁰ *Diario de Debates del Congreso Ordinario del año de 1860* (Lima: Tipografía de “El Comercio,” 1861), 167. Chamber of Senators. January 29, 1861.

²¹¹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

²¹² Homi Bhabha, “DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of Modern Nations,” *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Peruvian community might have meant to the general public (Figures 2-2 and 2-3). In a report sent to the mayor in 1877 the guard of the “civilized” *Alameda de los Descalzos* called for additional police support, without which, he claimed, would be forced to close the *paseo*’s gates:

It is impossible to keep gardens and public *paseos* in good condition, if the action of the police forces does not assist in this respect... Public destroy the plants, pull up the flowers. This fault is committed very frequently by people whose education and status should make them solicitous to strive for the *paseos*’ maintenance... To avoid these acts, you must ask the *Prefectura* for two permanent guards for the *Alameda de los Descalzos*, without which this inspection will be obliged to put a stop to the entrance of public to such a garden.²¹³

Something similar happened to the 1861 renomination of Lima’s streets. Streets in Lima had been named according to use and tradition. Some carried the name of a neighbor, others were known after memorable events, particular signs, the street’s form, etc. In 1861, the municipality decided to regularize names by officially baptizing the full length of streets with a single denomination, and using the names of Peru’s departments, provinces, and rivers –although two streets received the venerable names of the first and last Incas, Manco Capac and Atahualpa, respectively.²¹⁴ Nothing could be more synecdochal than this measure. Now the entire nation was nominally contained in the capital city! This attempt to make Lima an inhabitable map of the entire nation was not successful, though, and had to be reinforced at a later stage. *Limeños* stubbornly stuck to the old denominations, much to the dismay of the city authorities. Famous writer Ricardo Palma commented on the street names:

In spite of the attempt to officially re-baptize them, no *Limeño* uses the new names, and they have plenty of reasons. As for myself, I never make use of the new denominations: first, because the past deserves some respect, and abolishing the names that inspire historical remembrances does not lead us anywhere; second, because such prescriptions of the authority are like wet paper and will

²¹³ AHML, Municipalidad, Alamedas y paseos, March 21, 1877.

²¹⁴ For complete information on the process, see Juan Bromley, *Las Viejas Calles de Lima* (Lima: Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana, 2005).

only make people forget what already entered our memory throughout centuries.²¹⁵

The *Alameda de los Descalzos* would also be the object of nostalgic lamentations both by foreigners and Limeños alike. In 1860 French traveler and Consul Léonce Angrand nostalgically recalled the promenade he had seen in Lima twenty years before, which had now been transformed into an unrecognizable “garden.” The promenades, wrote Angrand, should not be called “gardens” for they ought not to be “subdued and disciplined” but instead maintained as bucolic spaces, characterized by simplicity and informality.²¹⁶ Palma, a romantic liberal, believed that

today’s promenade, with its statues, fences and fountain may well be more artistic, but not more poetic than the promenade of our childhood. Today, it is something we have already seen in Europe and in other cities in America. But it’s not typical, it’s not *Limeña*. Today’s promenade is worth little more than a cigarette *butt*. It is a promenade with pretensions of civilization and nothing more. I wish I could entertain myself in the semi-savage promenade of yesteryear.²¹⁷

Palma nostalgically thought that the civilized *Alameda* had lost the sensual attractiveness of his childhood. He shared elite anxieties over the rapid transformations of Lima. A reporter of the newspaper *El Comercio* commented upon a religious procession in 1860 in similar terms, lamenting that girls now dressed in a European, oppressive, and flavorless way:

The procession for Saint Rose was lively and well attended. Two things were missing, however: a reminder of what is gone and might not exist anymore... The *tapadas* were hardly seen... Our *señoritas* have abandoned their incomparable dress. The delicate waists of the girls in the procession were strangled by rude corsets... Dressed the French style, and serious as the cold daughters of Albion, oppressed by the weight of today’s customs, the girls seem to throw a furtive look, which –betraying their forced dress— was full of vivacity and mystery...²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Ricardo Palma, *Tradiciones Peruanas Completas* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1952), 388.

²¹⁶ Léonce Angrand, “Carta sobre los jardines de Lima” *Imagen del Perú en el siglo XIX* (Lima: Editorial Milla Batres, 1972), 165.

²¹⁷ Ricardo Palma, *Tradiciones Peruanas* (Madrid: Calpe, 1923), 299. Emphasis in the original.

²¹⁸ *El Comercio*, September 1, 1860.

Nostalgia was an elite by-product of the rapid transformations of Lima and *Limeño* habits. Some, like Palma and later historians and commentators, interpreted these changes as the attempt to “copy” European cities and styles. My argument throughout this chapter has been different. Elites wished to define Peru as a nation coeval with the international community of “civilized” or “advanced” nations. They did not simply copy or mimic Europe. Instead they engaged the universals of a hyperreal Europe, and postcolonially constructed a hyperreal Lima as the national center from which modernity could expand across the hyperreal “country.”



Figure 2-1. Plaza de la Constitución – featuring Monument to Bolívar unfenced



Figure 2-2. Fenced liberator



Figure 2-3. Entrance to the reformed Alameda de los Descalzos



Figure 2-4. Reformed Alameda de los Descalzos

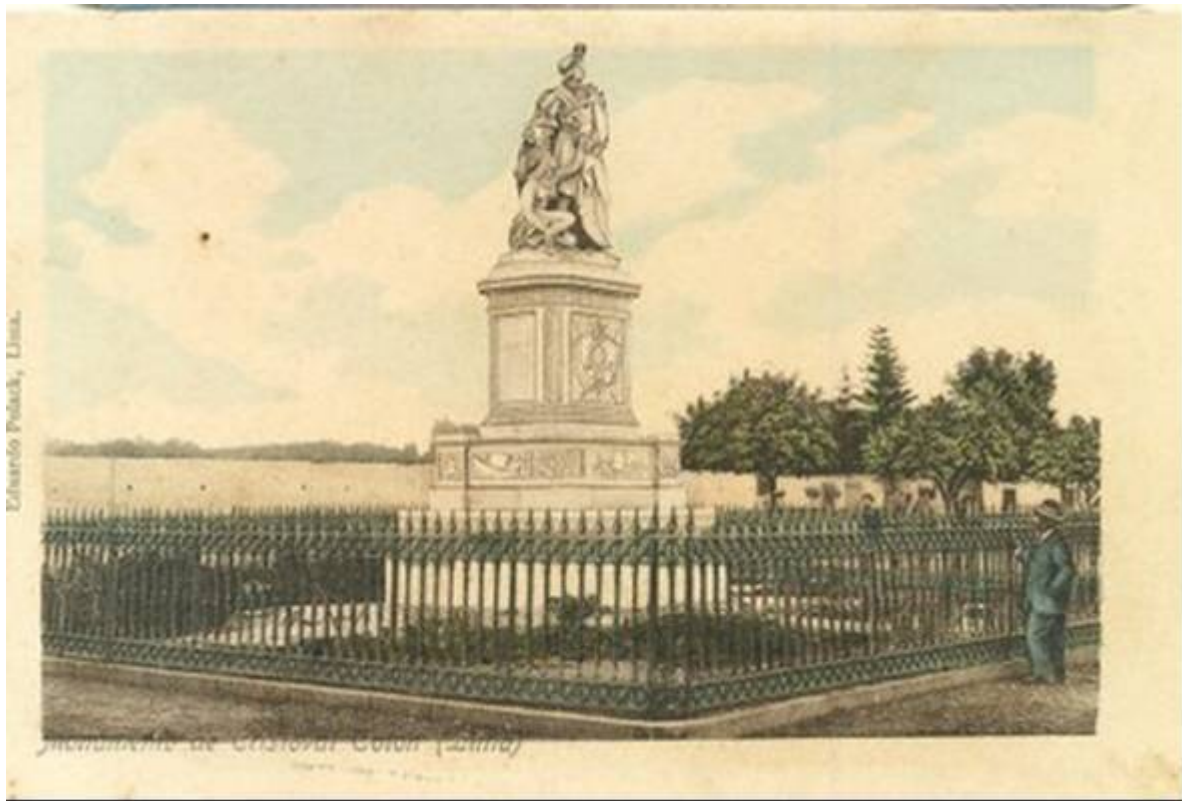


Figure 2-5. Columbus monument at the Alameda de Acho



Figure 2-6. Plaza Mayor – Government Palace to the left (1860)

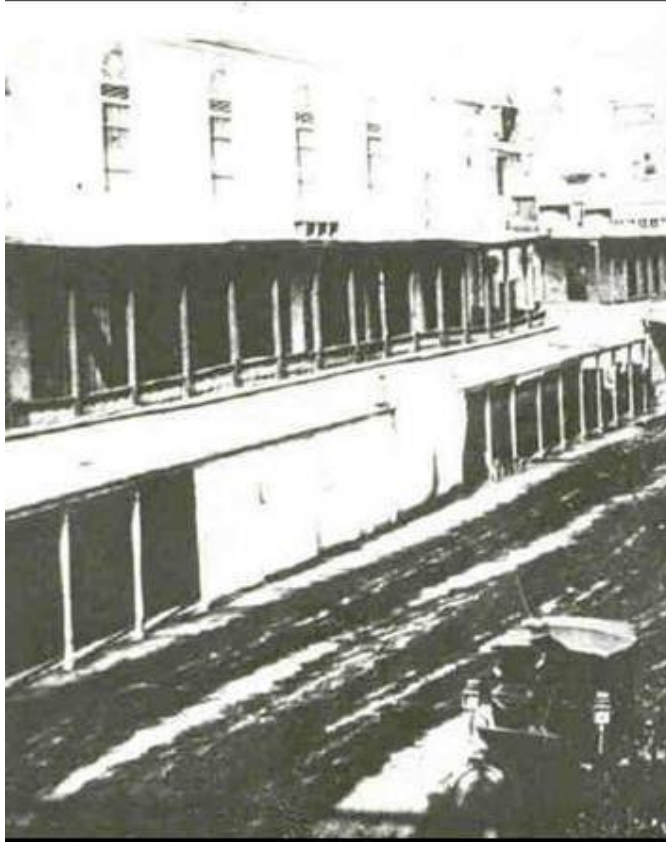


Figure 2-7. Government Palace, 1879



Figure 2-8. Dos de Mayo Plaza



Figure 2-9. Dos de Mayo Hospital (Under construction)

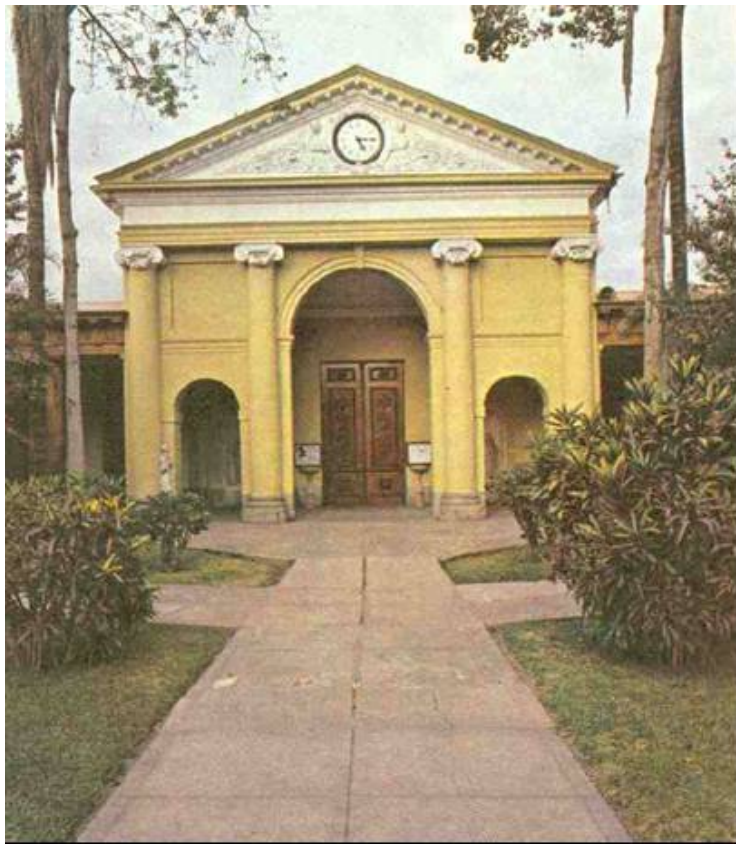


Figure 2-10. Dos de Mayo Hospital. Front Building

CHAPTER 3
THE TIME OF THE NATION AND THE TIME OF CAPITAL

A Republican Penitentiary for a Republican Society

Mid-nineteenth century *Limeño* elites were unable to build a Republican government building, but they succeeded at erecting a modern, impressive penitentiary that became the “first modern construction” in Lima. The architectural style and design was decided upon by Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán, then a young lawyer and judge who had served as a diplomat in Colombia. Before returning to Peru, Paz Soldán was commissioned by the government of President José Rufino Echenique to travel to the United States, where he would study different penitentiary systems and the designs of several prisons in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, and the District of Columbia. After a fruitful stay in the United States, in which he placed special emphasis on the observation of the institutions’ architecture, internal discipline, the roles of the employees and directors, the treatment received by the inmates, and financial aspects, Paz Soldán returned to Peru to study the state of prisons in Peru. His experience as a lawyer and judge in Lima, Callao, Cajamarca and Cuzco had given him a clear idea of Peru’s judiciary and prison systems. With the results of his research, Paz Soldán wrote a detailed report, entitled *Examen de las Penitenciarías de los Estados Unidos*.²¹⁹

The book contains a comprehensive description of eighteen institutions in the United States. Paz Soldán was especially impressed by the Auburn and Philadelphia penitentiaries. Auburn’s striking extension and façade was complemented by an efficient system of administration that produced a monetary surplus. Inmates worked in shoe, carpentry, weaving, and tool-making workshops, which allowed the institution to obtain its own funds, and inmates

²¹⁹ Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán, *Examen de las Penitenciarías de los Estados Unidos: Informe que presenta al Supremo Gobierno del Perú su Comisionado Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán* (New York: Imprenta de S.W. Benedict, 1853).

to learn a trade and accumulate earnings. The panoptical architecture of Philadelphia's Eastern State Penitentiary²²⁰ also made a powerful impression on Paz Soldán. "When I was in this institution, I felt emotions that are difficult to explain... in my dreams to improve my *patria's* penal system, I imagined that famous building in the city of Lima. My heart filled with joy, not seeing the executioner's scaffolds but instead a work of civilization and philanthropy."²²¹ The Auburn system established a working regime in workshops during the daytime and solitary confinement at night, with enforced silence at all times. It was based on the reformation of inmate morality through strict routines and regimentation, but also included elementary education every night and lessons by clergymen. The Philadelphia regime placed emphasis on the most absolute isolation of prisoners. Inmates could leave their individual cells every fortnight, blindfolded and only to take a bath; solitude was intended to promote spiritual reflection and change without unnecessary distractions.

After reviewing the main characteristics of U.S. penitentiaries, jails, and prisons, Paz Soldán's report reviewed conditions in Peru's prisons. Although he had been commissioned to travel to the U.S. to gather the necessary information to suggest improvements to Peru's jails and prisons, Paz Soldán believed that he could only carry out his duties by taking into account Peru's existing institutions. According to Paz Soldán, Peru's penitentiary system was poor, and existing prisons could not be remodeled. New ones had to be built according to state-of-the-art penitentiary principles that did not seek to punish criminals, but instead to reform inmates so as to make them into functional members of society. In his report, Paz Soldán reviewed the Auburn and the Philadelphia systems, registering the objectionable aspects of each one for Peru. The Auburn system allowed inmates to relate to each other, which might obstruct their reformation or

²²⁰ The Eastern State Penitentiary was built between 1823 and 1835 by architect John Haviland. It is considered the world's first penitentiary.

²²¹ Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán, *Examen de las Penitenciarías de los Estados Unidos*, 68.

indeed facilitate the organization of a mutiny. Still, the Philadelphia system of solitary confinement was more deficient. Complete isolation, noted Paz Soldan, “is diametrically opposed to universal manners and to man’s instincts... solitude increases anti-natural inclinations and secret vices.”²²² Paz Soldán held that “man” was “essentially social and communicative, all of his passions have a natural, non-dangerous relief when accompanied by his fellow men.” Solitary confinement would promote “hatred against those who oppress him, against the society that –let us say it frankly—buries him alive.”²²³

The characteristics of the Peruvian population also had to be taken into account if Peru was to create a suitable penitentiary system. For Paz Soldán, Peru’s penitentiary system and the design of any prison building should adjust to modern principles *and* to local characteristics and needs. The penitentiary could not simply be a copy of what he had seen in the U.S. His analysis of Peruvian society, however, followed contemporary or universal sociological ideas about “race.” He considered that Peru’s population was divided “by nature” into three main *castas* (a colonial classificatory term that denominated mixed blood groups but which now was becoming increasingly interchangeable with *raza* or “race”) “each with a peculiar and distinct character.”²²⁴ The “white man” was human and indulgent, sociable, inclined to morality and a lover of progress. White inmates, therefore, had to be “punished without scorn, preserving his dignity, and treating him with gentleness and patience.”²²⁵ The Auburn system was the best for “*el blanco*,” whose innate character leads him to “unite with men, to whom he is generally superior.”²²⁶ In contrast, “the Indian” was indolent, indifferent, lazy, and filthy. Indian inmates would actually enjoy solitude and idleness in confinement, which would only “accentuate his

²²² Ibid, 106.

²²³ Ibid, 107.

²²⁴ Ibid, 100.

²²⁵ Ibid, 100.

²²⁶ Ibid, 112.

anti-social and semi-savage condition, which is a comfortable habit for him, but one opposed to the nature of society, to its needs and its progress; an Indian would leave the cell at the end of his sentence in the same condition he had entered; and that is not the goal of the Government.”²²⁷

The Auburn system’s emphasis on shared labor was the most suited to reform “the Indian,” for it would make him sociable and hardworking at once. The “black man” or “*el negro*,” in spite of his “cruel instincts,” learned easily, was grateful when treated well, and was willing to work for the “enjoyments of life” once he had a chance to experience them. He was also talkative, “which means that silence will be the hardest punishment for him.”²²⁸ Indeed, “isolation would drive the *negro* to commit suicide.”²²⁹

The characteristics of each “caste” or “race” and Peru’s need to reform its population lend Paz Soldán to believe that the Philadelphia system was not applicable to Peru. Philadelphia’s Eastern State Penitentiary’s architecture, however, could be reproduced in Lima with minor modifications to include Auburn-like workshops, mess hall, library, and chapel, to combine the strict vigilance of the inmates’ conduct with labor and educational practices that would serve to “moralize” or reform bad habits. Lima, then, should have a panopticon, and its exterior should be an “*architecture parlante*.” Paz Soldan believed the external appearance of the prison must accord with the building’s purpose. It must look firm, “solid, durable, and it has to have a serious and severe aspect. It must not have decorations, useless ornaments, or architectural luxury.” Paz Soldán drafted an initial blueprint for the future building with these considerations in mind²³⁰ (Figures 3-1 and 3-3).

²²⁷ Ibid, 111.

²²⁸ Ibid, 110.

²²⁹ Ibid, 112.

²³⁰ Ibid., 120.

The penitentiary should transform the inmate and return him to society as a functional worker and citizen, but it should also communicate a stern lesson. The combination of reclusion and labor would make “the treacherous assassin, the impudent thief, the troublemaker, the dissolute man, and even the one that provokes scandals know that there is a curb to their offences and disorders.” Inmates would end their reclusion having learned a trade, possessing petty capital, and having internalized strong moral principles to pass on to their children. The penitentiary, then, should be a “house of education and correction,”²³¹ that would “control not only their bodies but their own conscience.”²³² In Paz Soldán’s “house” inmates could not communicate with each other orally or by signs. Their bodies could gather in the workshops and mess hall, but their “souls” would remain in absolute isolation. They would also receive “moral, religious, elementary, and industrial education.” Inmates would receive sermons by chaplains who “should never preach any particular doctrine,” however—Paz Soldán believed individual beliefs must be respected—but only inculcate morality “because morality is only one and universal, and the basic principles of all religions are the same.”²³³ The education for inmates should include reading, writing, arithmetics, and penal laws, and a library should be available to them to stimulate the “desire for enlightenment.”²³⁴ Inmates would also be reformed through the repetitive transcription of mottos, which would induce them to amendment after acknowledging and loathe their guilt.²³⁵ Workshops were to be constructed for inmates to internalize the principles of obedience, discipline, and hard work, and to learn a useful trade. Finally, mild

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 115.

²³² Cecilia Méndez, “Penalidad y muerte en el Perú,” *Márgenes. Encuentro y debate*, no. 1 (1987): 188.

²³³ Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán, *Examen de las Penitenciarías de los Estados Unidos*, 125.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 125.

²³⁵ Peru’s National Archive holds 1864 sheets of “*planas*” —phrases inmates had to transcribe repeatedly. The phrases carry messages that would instill ethical values to inmates and would make them reflect on their guilt. Some of them are “After God, the *patria*, and honor,” “persevere and you will surmount any difficulty,” “bad friendships corrupt the human heart, and throw you into an abyss of vices,” “if you want to be appreciated by society, be virtuous and honest, try to live a moral life, setting good examples to everyone,” and “pure conscience gives happiness to man.” AGN, R-J, 242, Penitentiary.

misdemeanors were to be punished “with humanity and patience,” while punishments for serious offences should be “moderate, but enough to instill fear to avoid the repetition of the offense,” and applied “with no anger or fury but rather with the cold blood of a father who corrects, and not with the desire for revenge of the tyrant who oppresses.”²³⁶

Paz Soldán had to wait until 1855 to see his dream of a modern penitentiary come true. The Castilla regime ordered its construction on October 20, following the drafting of a final design that Paz Soldán had developed with the assistance of Maximilien Mimey, and which combined the work-disciplining advantages of the “Auburn system” with the panopticon architecture of the Philadelphian prison. The projected building was to be the largest ever constructed in Lima. Its front would be 158 meters long (518 feet), with a width of 114 meters (374 feet), for a total surface of 18012 square meters (193879 square feet). The massive structure would include seven cell blocks, four for inmates –two for males, one for female interns, and one for minors— for a total 280 cells,²³⁷ and three for workshops, larders, mess rooms, bathrooms, etc. Cell blocks had two floors for regular cells and underground chambers for punitive cells (Figure 3-4). Other facilities included a central watchtower, administration offices, apartments for the directors, kitchens, cafeterias for guards, a library, a chapel, a hospital, and a meeting hall. The granite perimeter walls were 12 meters tall (39 feet) and 3 meters wide (9.84 feet) at its base and 1 meter wide (3.28 feet) at its highest point.²³⁸ The projected budget reached 530000 pesos.²³⁹ The Castilla administration also named a commission presided by Paz Soldán to select the site for the construction of the building. Paz

²³⁶ Ibid., 133.

²³⁷ Manuel Fuentes, *Estadística general de Lima* (Lima: Tipografía Nacional de M.N. Corpancho, 1858), 671. Mateo Paz Soldán, brother of Mariano Felipe, however, states that the original blueprint was designed to host 316 inmates, Mateo Paz Soldán, *Geografía del Perú: Obra Póstuma del D.D. Mateo Paz Soldán* (Paris: Librería de Fermín Didot, 1862), 296.

²³⁸ Mateo Paz Soldán, *Geografía del Perú*, 296.

²³⁹ Manuel Fuentes, *Estadística general*, 671.

Soldán's report recommended a healthy location with dry soil, isolated from buildings or factories but near the city, to facilitate its supply and the easy sale of manufactured products made in the workshops. The cornerstone was set on January 31, 1856 by President Castilla on the southern limits of the walled city, away but relatively close from the populated center, a location that Mateo Paz Soldán—brother of Mariano Felipe—regarded as one with the “healthiest air” in Lima.²⁴⁰ Commemorative medals of gold, silver, and copper were minted for the inaugural ceremony.

The construction of such an enormous building demanded an unprecedented mobilization of funds, workers, technology, and resources over a span of six years. Paz Soldán had three kilns for bricks made, and a continuous kiln for lime, and he laid a three-mile *Decauville* railway to transport granite and limestone from the quarry located in El Agustino. Granite rock and refractory bricks had never been used in Lima (most buildings were made of adobe, wood, and tile), and the continuous kiln and the railway were also the first of their kind in Lima. The construction also demanded a large skilled workforce impossible to find in Peru. Consequently, nine stonecutters, five bricklayers and a blacksmith were hired in Europe on four-year contracts in the first three years of the project. It might have been the excitement of the dimensions and novelties included in the construction, as well as its rapid progress—Paz Soldán worked fast and energetically, constructing the railway, for example, in only twenty-seven days—what inspired Castilla to order Paz Soldán to enlarge the penitentiary in 1858. An excited Paz Soldán reported:

The *Libertador* and Grand Marshal Ramón Castilla ordered me to enlarge this edifice as much as possible, because it is a building to which Peru directs its hope...and that the Penitentiary must be a living monument of his enthusiasm for public works, and worthy of Peru's grandeur.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ Mateo Paz Soldán, *Geografía del Perú*, 297.

²⁴¹ *Memoria que presenta al Congreso Extraordinario de 1858 el Ministro de Gobierno, Culto y Obras Públicas* (Lima: Tipografía Nacional, 1858), 52

The new penitentiary would now have a breadth of 189 meters (620 feet), a depth of 152 meters (499 feet), for a total area of 29010 square meters (312268 square feet), and cells for 312 inmates. Notably, Paz Soldan believed it would be convenient to enlarge the building even more, to host 478 inmates!²⁴² By the end of 1858 nearly 30 thousand tons of granite and limestone and a million bricks had been consumed in the construction.²⁴³ The building's doors, windows, and other components were made in Europe and shipped to Lima before its inauguration in 1862.²⁴⁴ According to historian Jorge Basadre, the total cost of the building was in the neighborhood of 600 thousand pesos,²⁴⁵ but the annual *Memorias* of Public Works for 1858 and 1860 report an expenditure of 550 thousand pesos in only two years.²⁴⁶ By the end of 1858, Paz Soldán believed 805 thousand pesos in excess of the original budget would be required to finish the building, projecting a final cost of 1335000 pesos.²⁴⁷

The building was inaugurated on January 31, 1862 with great expectations. The Castilla administration ordered the *Casa de la Moneda* (national mint) to coin a silver medal that, on one side, showed the effigy of President Castilla with an inscription showing the dates of the placement of the first stone and the inauguration; and, on the other side, a figure of the *panopticon* with the names of Paz Soldán, director of the works, and “Maximiliano” Miney, the architect. Fittingly, the seal of the Peruvian Republic crowns the scene, hovering above the penitentiary. All the efforts and expenses put into the construction reveal that the penitentiary was clearly a matter of great symbolic and national import. (Figure 3-2).

²⁴² Manuel Fuentes, *Estadística general*, 676.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 672. According to Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, 30 thousand tons of stones were used in the construction. Paz Soldán, however, reports having used those many stones by the end of 1858. Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de la ciudad de Lima* (Lima: Consejo Provincial de Lima, 1945).

²⁴⁴ Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú (1822-1933)* (Lima: Orbis Ventures, 2005).

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ *Memoria que presenta al Congreso Extraordinario de 1858 el Ministro de Gobierno, Culto y Obras Públicas* (Lima: Tipografía Nacional, 1858); *Memoria del Ministro Estado en el Departamento de Obras públicas y Policía presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1860* (Lima: Tipografía de Justo Montoya, 1860).

²⁴⁷ Manuel Fuentes, *Estadística general*, 677.

Peru's largest and most costly building would occupy a crucial symbolic place in Lima's project of postcolonial modernization. It would serve to moralize and civilize the population, in particular, the lower "castes" of society who elites such as Paz Soldán regarded as "anti-social," "semi-savage," "lazy," or guided by "cruelty instincts." Paz Soldán held, for instance, that "the Indian" lacked hygienic habits and argued that the fact that "he" did not use a bed to sleep on was proof of his uncivilized character and paucity of moral values.²⁴⁸ The penitentiary would be a factory of civilization, eradicating those habits which were "opposed to the nature of society," and instilling cultured habits, respect for the law and authority, and work discipline. Life at the penitentiary was to be guided by the severe principles of the institution's motto: "Silence, Obedience, Labor." This motto was inscribed over every threshold in the building. The penitentiary was a social laboratory for the society elites wanted to forge. One ruled by the progressive severity of the state and conformed of docile, obedient, and hardworking citizens. This vision was clear to Paz Soldán, who used the construction of the Penitentiary to carefully observe his workers' habits and to conceive new methods to further reform them.

In order to closely manage a large number of workers, which represent the most ignorant component of our society, I decided to thoroughly observe their inclinations and character, their common habits, and the way these could be corrected. I can affirm that no task is easier than to completely improve this part of society. To correct their faults and even to contain them when they were dominated by passion, anger, or drunkenness, it has been enough to send an employer to reestablish order immediately, without having to use any means of coercion."²⁴⁹

The building's dimensions as well as its severe and solid appearance would also exert, according to Paz Soldán, a pedagogical purpose and was appropriately called by him and other commentators "a monument." The word "monument" as used by contemporary observers

²⁴⁸ Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán, *Examen de las Penitenciarías de los Estados Unidos*, 110.

²⁴⁹ Mariano Felipe Paz-Soldán, Director of Penitentiary. July 22, 1862. *Memoria que el Ministro de Gobierno, Policía y Obras Públicas presenta al Congreso Nacional de 1862* (Lima: Imprenta de "La Epoca," 1862).

alluded first to the extraordinary magnitude of the edifice, but it may also have referred to its pedagogical purpose. “Monument,” after all, derives from the Latin verb “monere,” which means to “remind” and/or “to warn.” The penitentiary would thus be a monument to “remind” citizens of the presence of the state, and to “warn” them about its capability to capture and reform bodies and minds, and to impose its internal social order on the society beyond its walls.

The penitentiary system was also informed by new concepts of society and new techniques or means to control the population. A new juridical order was emerging, as a new civil code was promulgated in 1852, and the death penalty was abolished in 1856 by the government of Ramón Castilla. The latter reform was part of a series of changes in penal legislation since Independence intended to replace the severe punishments applied during colonial times. The Protector San Martín, for example, had abolished punishment by lashes soon after his Declaration of Independence, since “far from correcting [such punishment only] strengthens the victim’s bond with crime, making him lose all sense of shame and self-esteem.”²⁵⁰ Republican penalties were to be applied not as measures of retaliation, but with the aim to reform. Criminals would be reintegrated into society as productive members after a period of confinement that would correct their deviant behaviors. In 1822, Monteagudo had envisaged a jail that would be “a monument to philanthropy” and which would stand in stark contrast to “those sepulchers for living men that carried the name of jails, where inmates were submerged...because the maxims of the Holy Office served as models to all tribunals in Spain

²⁵⁰ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente* (La Plata: Universidad Nacional de la Plata, 1950). Decree issued on May 22, 1822. Peru’s first three constitutions allowed a moderate use of the capital law, but Congress did not specify when it could be applied. Juan F. Olivo, ed., *Constituciones Políticas del Perú, 1821-1919* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1922). See also Pedro L. Alvarez Ganoza, *Orígen y trayectoria de la aplicación de la pena de muerte en la historia del derecho peruano* (Lima: Editorial Dorhca, 1974).

and its Colonies.”²⁵¹ Two years after the inauguration of the penitentiary, Senator Santisteban expressed a similar sentiment in an argument against a proposal to reinstate the death penalty:

All the tendencies in philosophy and in the constitutions that are based on liberal principles tend to make cease the empire of the executioner, to demolish the gallows and to erect monuments to civilization to protect society. What would that monument to culture, which has been erected in Lima with great sacrifices, mean if the scaffold is maintained?²⁵²

A civilized society could not maintain uncivilized ways to punish offenders. The penitentiary was, therefore, a “monument” to the Republic that symbolized the triumph of civilization over barbarism. This “monument” was intended for the consumption of the local population as well as that of the rest of the world. It would serve to announce that Peru was part of the civilized world, that it had left the inhumanity of colonial rule—let us now remember Monteagudo’s words on the Inquisition—and its obscure tortures and scaffold. Paz Soldán summarized this civilizing spirit after the inauguration of the institution:

This work has the highest importance. It will exert a moral influence on society, it will be a monument that will honor those who have erected it forever... It will give other nations a positive idea of our civilization, and it will be a warranty against the wrongdoers and an effective way to contain their evil instincts, without using the dreadful spectacle of the scaffold. It will not be necessary that law, to preserve the existence of the social body against those who walked away from the path of justice, use its sharp blade to make bleeding heads fall. Once captured and taken to this office, where the reform of the moral being takes place, they will be returned to society transformed into useful men. The law will thus fulfill its high purposes using noble and humanitarian means.²⁵³

“Silence, Obedience and Labor” Outside the Penitentiary’s Walls

As we have seen, early postcolonial efforts to “Peruvianize” public spaces, such the new *Plaza de la Constitución*, included a reform of the popular use of public space. Monteagudo in

²⁵¹ Bernardo Monteagudo, *Esposición de las tareas administrativas del gobierno desde su instalación hasta el 15 de Julio de 1822* (Lima: Imprenta de Manuel del Rio, 1822), 12.

²⁵² *Diario de debates del Congreso del año de 1864* (Lima: Imprenta de “El Comercio,” 1864).

²⁵³ *Memoria que el Ministro de Gobierno, Policía y Obras Públicas presenta el Congreso Nacional de 1862* (Lima: Imprenta de “La Epoca,” 1862), 39-40.

particular, actively attempted to transform and “moralize” the habits of *Limeños*, issuing decrees, for instance, to regulate the ringing of church bells,²⁵⁴ prohibit cockfights,²⁵⁵ curb the use of mourning dress,²⁵⁶ determine where to bury corpses,²⁵⁷ regulate theater players—who should not offend “public morality”—as well as the audience—indecorous smokers would be punished with a two month jail sentence—²⁵⁸ and to transform “republicanized” Plazas by evicting street vendors.²⁵⁹ It was essential to rid Lima of the “abuses of the old regime,” for “war had to be waged” not only against Spaniards but more importantly against “the vices of their reign.”²⁶⁰ These efforts were resumed during the Guano era with greater vigor. Monteagudo was unable to carry out his plan to cleanse the Plaza of vice. Indeed, in the mid-nineteenth century Lima’s plazas hosted a multitude of vendors, water carriers with their donkeys—which drank from the plaza’s fountain—and crowds of people from all walks of life, particularly on weekends and holidays.²⁶¹ The Main Plaza was still unpaved and dusty. It was an open, chaotic space without specific paths for the circulation of pedestrians, carriages, or horse and mule riders, it had no “green areas” and no drainage canals. The buildings surrounding the plaza were irregular and, according to contemporary descriptions, “indecorous.” By the Guano era, “intervention” in the Plaza became a necessity, not only because it was the home of the national and municipal governments but because it was now desirable that all urban spaces and bodies be regulated and controlled (Figure 3-5).

²⁵⁴ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 465. Decree issued on May 21, 1822.

²⁵⁵ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 331. Decree issued on February 16, 1822.

²⁵⁶ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 267.

²⁵⁷ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 153. Decree issued on October 25, 1821.

²⁵⁸ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 234.

²⁵⁹ Also see *Colección de leyes, decretos y órdenes publicadas en el año de 1821 hasta el 31 de diciembre de 1830* (Lima: Imprenta de José Masías, 1831), 152.

²⁶⁰ See *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 331 and 465.

²⁶¹ Max Radiguet wrote the most lively and eroticized description of Lima’s Plaza Mayor in 1841. See Max Radiguet, *Lima y la sociedad peruana* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 1971) (1856).

To transform the Plaza Mayor vendors had to be eradicated. In 1852, the Castilla regime had built a Central Market to avoid crowd gatherings in all plazas in the city, and to make sure food was managed and sold under sanitary conditions. A new slaughterhouse was also built outside the city walls in 1855. Both the market and the slaughterhouse obeyed state-of-the-art sanitary codes. Yankee traveler and antiquarian Ephraim George Squier described the market as “better in many respects, and more commodious, than any now existing in New York,” and recommended a visit to the slaughterhouse “if for no other reason than as showing how much more neatly and efficiently the act of slaughtering the animals is accomplished than with us.”²⁶²

The transformation of the Plaza was now possible, and by 1857, the Castilla administration gave signs of its intention to transform the Plaza into a “boulevard or park as large as the space allows” by commissioning the Italian architect José Tiravanti, who had arrived in Lima in 1850 to draft the design.²⁶³ Years later, in 1858, the Municipality designed a project to pave the Plaza with stone slabs, create and fence green areas, and channel its irregular ditches. The commission in charge of the project argued that:

Similar parks have been constructed in a number of cities in Europe and the United States, with the aim to correct the air that flows rarefied in places where population has concentrated, and where there is not sufficient space to let air circulate freely.... Most houses, stores and commercial businesses gather around that plaza, and they require wide and free space to operate. Furthermore, frequent necessary troop concentrations take place in the Plaza for the celebration of civic and religious festivities.²⁶⁴

None of these projects were executed. The balconies surrounding the Main Plaza, however, were made uniform that same year.²⁶⁵ By 1863, an open contest for the remodeling of

²⁶² George Squier, *Peru illustrated or Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* (New York: Hurst and Company, 1877), 54-5.

²⁶³ AGN, OL, 403 Carta del Ministro de Gobierno, Culto y Obras Públicas al Ministro de Estado en el despacho de Hacienda, May 13, 1857.

²⁶⁴ AHLM, Comisiones Especiales, Ornato.

²⁶⁵ Natalia Majluf, *Escultura y espacio público. Lima, 1850-1879* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1994).

the Main Plaza was won by Francisco Pietrosanti. Pietrosanti's proposal included paving of white and black stones, a garden surrounding the fountain and protected by an iron gate, as well as statues representing the four seasons, and ornamental vases for flowers guarded by more iron fences.²⁶⁶ Sixteen marble benches were included; clear paths for pedestrians signaled where to stroll; the Plaza became a park for pedestrians, separated from surrounding streets, where carriages and horses could now circulate.²⁶⁷ Since a system of potable water was being gradually implemented throughout the city, the water fountains in Lima's plazas, including that in the Plaza Mayor, began to disappear or became ornamental objects.²⁶⁸ The remodeling gave the Plaza Mayor a uniform, rigidly symmetric, regulated aspect, which clearly regulated the use of the space.²⁶⁹ Indeed, strollers were given indications about where to walk, where to direct their gaze, where to sit; they would also know, of course, what not to do (Figure 3-6). This kind of urban intervention was clearly aimed at regulating the population, promoting new uniform habits to replace the disorderly crowds formerly found in the plazas. A newspaper editorial quoted by Natalia Majluf highlights the importance of such a project for Limeño/Peruvian society: "to standardize the customs is to establish the basis for peace and progress... The march of civilization essentially tends to uniform the customs..."²⁷⁰

Urban planning was also aimed at eradicating undesirable occupants from the streets, especially those considered "vagrants" and whose "idleness" was now considered intolerable under the republican order. Some spoke of a relationship between slaves and the manumitted

²⁶⁶ Ibid..

²⁶⁷ Syra Alvarez, *Historia del mobiliario urbano de Lima, 1535-1935* (Lima: Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, 2000).

²⁶⁸ In 1855, the Castilla administration signed a contract with the *Empresa del Agua*, which had to change the existing clay piping system for a network of iron pipes. Works began in 1857. This allowed for some *Limeños* to have running potable water in their houses. See, Syra Alvarez, *Historia del mobiliario*.

²⁶⁹ Natalia Majluf, *Escultura y espacio público*.

²⁷⁰ "Contacto de los pueblos," *El Progreso*, July 28, 1849. Quoted by Natalia Majluf, *Escultura y espacio público*, 32.

population with idleness and crime. Representative Bieytes expressed those feelings in a congressional debate on the proper ways to repress vagrancy: “Anyone can see thousands of manumitted, who used to work in estates, surrendered to vagrancy, theft, scandal, and to life in taverns...”²⁷¹ The republican order, and the liberal emphasis on work as the cornerstone of national prosperity, required responsible, disciplined citizens and workers, and politicians and reformers increasingly repudiated “idleness” as a cultural burden inherited from colonial times. The Law for the Internal Organization of the Republic, issued on January 5, 1857, established that all public functionaries must keep their *poblaciones* free of vagrants. A wide and ambiguous definition of vagrancy was adopted:

Those who do not have a known trade or occupation, or an honest and known way of life, those who have the habit of visiting gambling houses or who surrender themselves to drunkenness, those sons who are supported by their parents or live out of inherited goods and who live in idleness and abandonment... those who do not have a known residence, those who, not having a physical impediment to have an occupation dedicate themselves to beg, those workingmen and artisans who do not work out of laziness or vice, and the beggars who do not have a license.²⁷²

Idleness was criminalized and spoken about in a medical rhetoric, as a growing “cancer” that had to be excised to maintain the health of the social body. The Minister of Public Works and Police, Manuel Morales, expressed this view in a typical fashion:

I believe it is appropriate to call your attention toward a calamity society experiments; a painful disease, and the leprosy of the social body, which swiftly disseminates its unfortunate influence throughout the healthy part, and which demands a prompt and efficient remedy. I am speaking about vagrancy, which is the cause of most vices. The vagrant is a useless, onerous and pernicious member of society, because he spends the time he should use in a profitable occupation, in vices or crime, and he perverts others with his corrupting influence. The orgies of the plebe –which are, almost always, promoted by the vagrants— are sources of immorality and corruption, where crimes are planned, where distinguished

²⁷¹ Cámara de Diputados 4 de marzo de 1861. *Diario de Debates del Congreso Ordinario del año de 1860* (Lima: Tipografía de “El Comercio,” 1861), 823.

²⁷² *Diccionario de la Legislación Municipal del Perú. Compuesto por Juan José Calle* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1910), 3, 281.

criminals lecture the least expert, and from where the evildoers depart to all directions to carry out their tenebrous plans.²⁷³

Morales's words were typical because they reflected the disciplinary aspects of the Lima elite's republican project but also because they were illustrative of a sociological diagnosis and lexicon then in gestation. Sociological discourse conjured the subject of *la plebe* as an identifiable sector of society which was to be named in the singular and described in clinical and psychological terms. Politicians and social commentators developed a precise notion of "the plebe." "The plebe" had acquired laziness and dissipated habits during colonial times and these had festered during the post-independence caudillo era. It was considered necessary to restrain their "instinctive" impulses towards excess and debauchery and take measures to transform them into self-disciplined, law-abiding citizens and reliable workers, and to firmly punish their "immorality."

Manuel Atanasio Fuentes was one of these civilizing sociologists who produced "knowledge" about Lima's population, and in particular *la plebe*, through detailed statistical and prose discourses on, for instance, their leisure activities, hygiene habits, and physical and mental illnesses.²⁷⁴ All this "information" was explicitly created with the purpose of engineering and administering the population. As Fuentes noted, "it would be dangerous to base administrative measures on inaccurate and incomplete works... Careful, systematic statistics are an indispensable requisite for good economic and administrative management in all branches of public service."²⁷⁵ Fuentes reported on the "pernicious tendencies" and "primitive instincts" of *la plebe*, which "needs to be energetically and vigorously contained within the limits of order and

²⁷³ *Memoria que el Ministro de Estado en el Departamento de Obras Públicas y Policía presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1860* (Lima: Tipografía de Justo Montoya, 1860), 41-2.

²⁷⁴ The Central Council of Statistics was created in 1848.

²⁷⁵ Manuel Fuentes, *Estadística general*, 32.

moderation.”²⁷⁶ Such “containment” could be achieved through stricter regulations and penalties against idleness and intemperance, state vigilance of public spaces, “education” and indoctrination, in addition to the embodied pedagogy exercised by those vigilant “monuments” of civilization discussed above.

To remedy “vagrancy,” the Decree of April 7, 1866 declared primary education compulsory and established sanctions for parents, legal guardians, and employers who did not provide for the education for their children, pupils, or servants, or who did not register and send them to public schools. By July, 1873, stricter measures were taken against children who did not attend school. They were to be interned in a boarding school on the navy frigate *Apurímac*, placed in the Military School, or in the School of Agriculture.²⁷⁷ Still, in 1876 the Minister of Government, Aurelio García y García stated that “the effects of idleness and vagrancy are unfortunate and increasing,” and so proposed a set of measures “to extirpate this sinister germ that carries immorality and misfortunes to the Republic.” He would reduce the number of holidays “which now account for almost one fourth of the civil year,” regulate religious ceremonies in which there are “profane and licentious demonstrations for several days,” and persecute “idle” people and vagrants “under all circumstances...creating a tax, though moderate, to force even the most indolent individuals to work.” Other measures were aimed at “opening attractive horizons to ambition” through education and for “promoting love of labor and property” with the opening of state-funded industrial workshops.²⁷⁸

Gambling was another detestable vice scheduled for eradication. As early as 1822 Monteaugudo had reported on his efforts to rid Lima of gambling, emphasizing the colonial

²⁷⁶ Manuel Fuentes, *Estadística general*, 601

²⁷⁷ Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República*, vol. 8, 82.

²⁷⁸ *Memoria del Ministro de Gobierno entregada el 4 de Agosto de 1876* (Lima: Imprenta de “El Comercio,” 1876), 88.

regime's guilt for promoting it, and contrasting colonial permissiveness with republican firmness. Interestingly, Monteagudo speaks of gambling in the past tense, as something the republic had "already" resolved. At the same time, however, his speech indicated that the problem was "not yet" eradicated and required the constant vigilance of the state. He referred to gambling as "that abominable passion that used to conspire against all virtues, and which enjoyed impunity and was even promoted by the government. It is persecuted today in an inexorable way."²⁷⁹ By 1869, gambling was again a matter of public interest. Minister of Government, Police and Public Works, Rafael Velarde, expressed anguish over the state's inability to control it in a letter to the Prefect of Lima: "the government knows that in spite of the frequent regulations to prosecute gambling in this capital, there are several houses in which such criminal livelihood is encouraged, causing terrible damage to society, perverting the youth and ruining many fathers."²⁸⁰ Vagrancy and gambling were now expressions of the immorality of *la plebe* that had to be surveilled. The National Guard created by Bolívar in 1825 was reorganized successively in 1845, 1852, 1855, and 1873, not only because of differences among administrations but as an expression of the perception that control of the population had not yet been achieved.²⁸¹ After the 1873 reorganization, the newspaper *El Guardia Nacional* editorialized that "freedom and order are the foundations for the edifice of the Republic. If one of those foundations yields, the edifice collapses."²⁸²

The central state and the municipality of Lima became through direct hiring and tax incentives the main sponsors of new activities such as opera, ballet, and mime. The perceived

²⁷⁹ Bernardo Monteagudo, *Exposición de las tareas administrativas*, 15-6. The decree prohibiting gambling was issued on January 3, 1822. *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 271.

²⁸⁰ Ministerio de Gobierno, Policía y Obras Públicas. Al prefecto del departamento de Lima, August 11, 1869. *Boletín oficial de leyes, decretos, resoluciones y oficios del gobierno. Segundo semestre de 1869* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado), 129.

²⁸¹ For a review of those reorganizations, see Rómulo Merino, *Historia policial del Perú en la república* (Lima: Imprenta del Departamento de Prensa y Publicaciones de la Guardia Civil, n/d).

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 12.

need to promote such activities was so great that the Ministry of Public Works and Police, for example, was placed in charge of the *Teatro Principal*, owned by the central government. A 1860 report by the Minister of Public Works and Police indicated the interest of the state in promoting cultivated leisure activities among the masses. Theater would now acquire a pedagogical mission: “Considering the degree of civilization and culture reached by this capital, theater could not fulfill its important duties of educating and moralizing the *pueblo*, if the government does not offer a special protection.”²⁸³ Peru’s central state would thus sponsor cultural activity, regulate its content and functioning. In 1849 a new Code had been issued to control theater activity, regulating its inspection, vigilance, protection, and promotion. The code attempted to promote the taste for high culture and rid the population’s inclination towards popular and spontaneous leisure activities. It allowed for the censorship of plays that could “pervert the taste or fill the spectators with pieces indignant for a civilized *pueblo*.” It also allowed the censorship of plays that could “excite passions or ideas that threaten public order,” for plays should not transmit ideas contrary to the “moral and appropriate customs, the social order and families or specific persons.” The *reglamento* also stated that a directive board would be in charge of hiring the artists. National theater was also promoted with the establishment of four annual prizes for “national” dramaturses. The code regulated the ways the public could behave. *Limeños* should wear appropriate outfits when attending civilized spectacles, and the audience should not promote public disorder or interrupt the performance of the artists.²⁸⁴ By 1872 the municipality of Lima, now in charge of the regulation and promotion of theater, released a Code of Municipal Police, which stated that municipal authorities could shut down

²⁸³ *Memoria del Ministro de Estado en el Departamento de Obras Públicas y Policía presenta el Congreso Ordinario de 1860* (Lima: Tipografía de Justo Montoya. 1860), 22.

²⁸⁴ *El Peruano*, February 1, 1849.

“any performance or entertainment” which contained “allegories, ornaments, or advertisements that could excite, in special circumstances, passion or the disruption of public order.”²⁸⁵

State or municipal sponsorship allowed *Limeños* to enjoy European cultural products. Hiring artists or subsidizing opera, music concerts and recitals, and ballet presentations, the state would help transmit “a sense of spirituality and embellishment” that would transform Limeños’ taste and morality.²⁸⁶ Opera companies and divas from Italy, France, and the United States enjoyed great success in Lima since 1846; concerts, ballets and mimes also acquired such popularity that seasons were extended. Historian Jorge Basadre narrates anecdotal and passionate confrontations between fans of different opera companies as well as popular agitation (in crowds of two thousand people!) over the presence of a famous diva.²⁸⁷

The state and the municipality also became involved in the formation of an intellectual community through subsidies and scholarships, dedicating part of Guano revenues to promote the production of national cultural products. As Francesca Denegri has commented, the state became the most important sponsor of what was called the Peruvian Romantic Movement.²⁸⁸ This sponsorship included sending art or literature students abroad to study, acquire experience and cultivate their talents, on the condition of returning to Lima as professors or to open special state schools or cultural institutions.²⁸⁹ It also included hiring European artists and musicians to

²⁸⁵ “Policía Municipal, Reglamento. Expedido el 12 de Julio de 1872,” *Legislación municipal. Leyes, resoluciones, decretos, ordenanzas y reglamentos vigentes sobre municipalidades. Compilación publicada por el Honorable Consejo Provincial de Lima. Siendo Alcalde el Señor General don Juan Martín Echenique* (Lima: Imprenta de "El Nacional", 1899), 224.

²⁸⁶ Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República*. For a discussion on the importance of theater as an instrument for civilization and political discussion between 1820 and 1828, see Mónica Ricketts, “El teatro en Lima: tribuna política y termómetro de la civilización,” *La independencia del Perú. De los Borbones a Bolívar*, ed. Scarlett O’Phellan (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2001), 429-453.

²⁸⁷ Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República*.

²⁸⁸ Francesca Denegri, *El abanico y la cigarrera: la primera generación de mujeres ilustradas en el Perú* (Lima: Flora Tristán e Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1996).

²⁸⁹ Painters Francisco Laso and Luis Montero, for instance, were sponsored by the Echenique administration to study in Europe and to open a School of Arts in Lima after returning.

animate *Limeño* intellectual life and spread their skills and knowledge through state schools.²⁹⁰ Most importantly, cultural developments could not be limited to upper class *Limeños*. Culture should reach the masses through, for instance, *retretas* in *paseos*, parks and plazas in which the musical bands of the military corps played, for instance, Viennese waltzes, pieces of opera, and of course patriotic marches to uplift the crowds.

Education of the masses was also stressed and regulated during this period. As with other social aspects, it was held that Spanish rule had promoted ignorance by neglecting the development of education.²⁹¹ The Constitution of 1823 had declared that “education is a common need, and the Republic must provide it equally to all of its individuals,”²⁹² but it was only in 1850 that it was regulated. The first *Reglamento* stated that every parish should have free schools, and include not only courses on grammar and mathematics, but “rules of practical morality, including civic duties and urbanism.”²⁹³ A more comprehensive *Reglamento General de Instrucción Pública* was issued in 1855, elaborated by the intellectual collaborators of Marshall Castilla, including the physician, philosopher, historian, and educator Sebastián Lorente. The basic principle for the *reglamento* was the search for an integral education of the individual, with the goal of “moral, intellectual, aesthetic, and physical” perfection. It established schools for infants to care for poor children between 3 and 6 years of age, and created schools for “Popular Education” which were free and compulsory. Parents, legal guardians, and

²⁹⁰ Such was the case of Genoese violinist Claudio Rebagliati, who arrived in Lima in 1863. Rebagliati had studied with Paganini and had acquired fame as a child prodigy in Italy before crossing the Atlantic. He founded and directed the *Sociedad Filarmónica de Lima*, restored Peru’s national anthem, and composed the *Rapsodia Peruana 28 de Julio* in 1868.

²⁹¹ The *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente* comments that “the general ignorance that the Spanish government has maintained in America has been a tremendous act of tyranny.” *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, 279.

²⁹² Constitución Política de la República Peruana, art.181. Valcárcel, Carlos, *Breve Historia de la Educación Peruana* (Lima: Editorial Educación, 1975).

²⁹³ Alberto Regal, *Castilla educador; la instrucción pública durante los gobiernos de Castilla* (Lima: Instituto Libertador Ramón Castilla, 1968), 66-67.

employers were obliged to “send” children, pupils, and employees under 14 to school. Children would receive “moral education, which has the foundation of religion, and is aimed at inspiring piety and love towards the *Patria*, fraternity for all races, respect to laws and customs, truthfulness, personal dignity, firmness of character, the habits of work the good use of time, and the purity of sentiments.” The *reglamento* also included “aesthetic” education to develop “the sentiments of what is beautiful,” as well as physical education.²⁹⁴ It was an education in republicanism, with its emphasis upon the formation of virtuous citizens acting in public on behalf of the common good.

The emphasis of the *reglamento* on physical education was part of a larger project to discipline *Limeño* bodies and regulate hygiene habits. Lower class boys between three and six years of age would receive instruction in “physical education and pious practices” before reaching primary school. Starting in 1864, private schools also included physical education in their curricula.²⁹⁵ *Educación física* courses included exercises, as well as lessons on hygiene at home and proper habits to sit, walk, and eat. Sebastián Lorente and Manuel Atanasio Fuentes, two of Lima’s most important intellectuals, were rivals in many respects, but they agreed on the importance of “private hygiene.” Both wrote hygiene manuals that were profusely distributed in public schools. Fuentes’ book highlights the importance of hygiene in education: “This precious art should be part of education... as early as primary school. There should be hygiene books suitable for the students’ age and intelligence. The same efforts should be made in factories, workshops, and farms, where the ignorance of the rules to preserve the gift of health causes so much destruction.”²⁹⁶ The hygienist impulse, however, was not limited to schoolboy lessons. Politicians, intellectuals, and doctors all shared a preoccupation with Lima’s “stagnant”

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 92.

²⁹⁵ Alberto Cajas, *Historia de la educación física en el Perú* (Lima: Imprenta Gil Armas, 1957), 66.

²⁹⁶ Manuel Fuentes, *Elementos de higiene privada* (Lima: Tipografía Nacional de M.N. Corpancho, 1859), 5.

population and poor hygiene habits, both in public and private spaces. Fuentes, for instance, believed that Lima's insalubrities produced dysentery and other illnesses that decimated a population "that thinks little about its health," and he "complained about the indecent and harmful habit of satisfying certain needs on the street."²⁹⁷ The concerns about an alleged demographic problem in Lima dovetailed with conceptions about public space discussed above. Bad hygiene habits not only threatened the general welfare of the city; they were unpatriotic and anti-republican.

By 1856 the central government allowed for sanitary inspections in private residences "in order to systematize public hygiene in the country."²⁹⁸ The sanitary conditions of private residences were now a matter of national interest. If public space had been defined as "sacred" because it belonged to the nation, the preoccupation for *la plebe's* habits started to erase the notion of a private sphere. The Municipality of Lima also launched a program of domiciliary visits in 1868, in part as a response to a Yellow Fever epidemic. Even if the official decrees did not target a specific segment of society, they inevitably generated reports only about the residences of poor *Limeños*. Doctors reported on the overcrowding among poor in precarious houses, the ventilation and illumination of rooms, the way people kept animals in their homes, and habits of dress; all of these were depicted in a language of repugnance.²⁹⁹ The inspectors were authorized to fumigate houses and to remove the infirm to the *Lazaretto* (Leprosary) with or without the family's consent.³⁰⁰

La plebe occupied a place in the minds of elites similar to that granted to *el indio* –also in the singular and the masculine gender. Both were seen as legacies of backward Spanish

²⁹⁷ Manuel Fuentes, *Estadística general*, 66.

²⁹⁸ "Decreto Oficial," *La gaceta médica de Lima*, 1, no. 7 (1856): 7.

²⁹⁹ AHML, Serie Higiene y Vacuna 1857-1884.

³⁰⁰ José María Zapater, "Visitas domiciliarias," *El Comercio*, Jun 6, 1868; Mariano Arosamena, "De las habitaciones," *La gaceta médica de Lima*, 1, no. 10 (1856): 8-9.

colonialism. It was the republican elite's sacred and secular duty to bring the urban *plebe* and the Indian to contemporaneity, to make full them into citizens of the Republic. Both were imaginary groups allegedly still imprisoned in the dark mental and cultural dungeons of Spanish colonialism, living *not yet*s that served to create the narcissistic self-perception that elites were *already* coeval with the civilized community. One difference between “the Indian” and “the Plebe” was proximity, such that *la plebe* was in effect more dangerous to elites. *La plebe* lived within the confines of a city that had not yet developed a pattern of neighborhoods differentiated by class.

The *moralización* of *la plebe* was also to be accomplished through the creation of schools of arts and trades. The 1855 *reglamento* stated that such schools were intended to offer “a careful education and theoretical and practical education on blacksmithing, carpentry, tailoring, shoemaking, and other common arts.”³⁰¹ These schools were aimed at “turning artisans into the ideal hardworking citizens of a liberal republic,”³⁰² and at providing a trained labor force to meet the city's emerging industrial and public works demands. By 1860 president Castilla ordered the opening of the first such school in Lima. It was inaugurated in 1864 in the old *Colegio Real* with the presence of the liberal Argentine intellectual Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, who gave one of the inaugural speeches. Sarmiento synthesized the objectives of the institution. Peru needed the “development, through education, of the abilities of the greatest number of people for the creation and increase of wealth.” Spanish colonialism had been unproductive because it had sought the rapid wealth of Peru's gold and silver. It was now the charge of the Arts and Trades School to provide the appropriate technical education for the creation of lasting wealth, which in turn would mean a new independence. “The School of Arts and Trades is the corollary to the

³⁰¹ Ibid., 94.

³⁰² Iñigo García-Bryce, *Crafting the Republic; Lima's Artisans and Nation Building in Peru, 1821-1879* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 73.

Battle of Ayacucho...”³⁰³ The spirit of a new independence was expressed in a different way by Director Julio Jarrier, who highlighted the fact that the school was directly aimed at moralizing *la plebe*, since “labor, that fecund and immense source of morality for all classes of society, is more so for the ones who are not privileged by fortune.”³⁰⁴

The Arts and Trades School opened with a teaching faculty hired in France. The School offered scholarships to the *hijos del pueblo* (sons of the People) after being examined on the subjects of religion, grammar, and arithmetic.³⁰⁵ By 1872 the school had workshops in mechanics, blacksmithing, carpentry, and locksmithing, and a repair shop for carriages. The importance of the School was summarized by chronicler Juan Ezeta, who praised it for promoting the arts, which “are one of the sources of history, and one of the foundations for morality, because they snatch the *pueblo* from the mud of vice.”³⁰⁶ Iñigo García-Bryce concluded that the School trained students to conform to virtuous behavior within and without its facilities, and that such behavior included order, silence, and cleanliness.³⁰⁷ Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán would have been pleased, for the principles expressed in his penitentiary motto had now found a secure place in the education of the extramural population.

Some private efforts would also have the same goals. The *Sociedad de Amantes del Saber* (Society for the Love of Knowledge), created in 1856, for instance, was a group of upper-class *Limeño* volunteers who gave free lessons in calculus, geography, grammar, geometry, French, English, and conduct for the education of “*el pueblo* and for its intellectual, moral, and material progress.”³⁰⁸ Its 1873 internal *reglamento* stated that members were obliged to teach a

³⁰³ Ibid., 72.

³⁰⁴ “Escuela de Artes y Oficios,” *El Comercio*, December 10, 1864.

³⁰⁵ An advertisement published in the daily *La Patria*, in 1873, announces those requirements for the applicants. *La Patria*, April 23, 1873.

³⁰⁶ Juan Ezeta, “Escuela de Artes y Oficios,” *La Patria*, April 14, 1872.

³⁰⁷ Iñigo García-Bryce, *Crafting the Republic*, 83.

³⁰⁸ *El hijo del pueblo*, March 26, 1864.

minimum of thirty hours a year, and to contribute money to the same end. The Society included illustrious members of *Limeño* society, including Manuel Pardo, future President of Peru, Manuel de Mendiburu (the historian and biographer), Henry Meiggs (the Yankee businessman and engineer), and Francisco González Vigil (a radical priest known for his republican “catechisms”).³⁰⁹ A *Sociedad Filotécnica* was also founded in 1856 to disseminate scientific knowledge through “*educación popular*.” Its members taught Sunday classes on algebra, physics, chemistry, economics, industry, and hygiene.

Other instruments for the education of the masses included public clocks. Clocks were installed in Peru’s largest cities in the 1850s and 1860s.³¹⁰ While clocks had been important during late colonial times, when they were located in church towers, they now acquired republican connotations. In 1874 Mayor Aurelio Denegri ordered that “all public clocks in Lima must synchronize with the clock of the municipality, and the time that the latter shows will be regarded as the legal time of this city.”³¹¹ *Limeños* should internalize the rhythm of the clock if they were to become citizens of contemporary, “homogenous time,” and if they were to become the reliable workers required by industrial capitalism.³¹² *La plebe* would become *el pueblo*, that is, citizens/proletarians, with a regulated conception of time that was in synch with the universal demands of capital.

A National Exposition in the International Time of Capital

Lima’s claim to modern coevalness or contemporaneity would be one of the central themes of its first Universal Exposition. To no one’s surprise, the Exposition would feature a

³⁰⁹ *Reglamento de la Sociedad de Amantes del Saber* (Lima: Imprenta de El Nacional, 1871); *Nuevo Reglamento de la Sociedad de Amantes del Saber* (Lima: Imprenta de Francisco Solís, 1873).

³¹⁰ Natalia Majluf, *Escultura y espacio público*, 12.

³¹¹ *Diccionario de la Legislación Municipal del Perú. Compuesto por Juan José Calle* (Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1910), vol. IV, 152.

³¹² English historian E. Thompson has analyzed the importance of the imposition and internalization of a new discipline of time for the development of industrial capitalism. Edward Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism,” *Past and Present*, no. 38 (1967): 56-97.

monumental clock as one of its central attractions. Peru's 1872 National Exposition was modeled after the great Universal Exhibitions of the nineteenth century. The decree signed by President José Balta in 1869 stated that the Exposition would "promote national work and industry and make Peru's natural riches known" to the world, and therefore it should exhibit natural, agricultural, and manufactured products, as well as "plants and animals of all kinds, both native to the Republic or imported from abroad and acclimatized in it." It should also host a "public competition for models, machinery, useful plants and animals."³¹³ In truth the Exposition of 1872 was Peru's second such exposition. A previous industrial exhibition had been held at the School of Arts and Trades in 1869. In that exhibition a large number of products from the school's workshops and those of the penitentiary had been presented along with agricultural products and zoological and botanical specimens from Lima's Botanical Garden.³¹⁴ Balta's exposition would be more grandiose, for the President was a faithful believer in the idea that the future of the country depended on the development of infrastructure and technology. Balta's speech to the 1869 closing ceremony of Congress expressed this devotion

When I speak about public works, gentlemen, my heart stretches. They are the path towards the country's happiness and for the future of the upcoming generations. Public works are the wealth, the comfort, and the means for any country. For us, however, they are the salvation, morality, the triumph or order and of all the elements of prosperity. The union of the country, the peace, the population, and all of our problems are to be solved this Providential solution. That is why the government values it; that is why it promotes research, removes all obstacles, stimulates all desires, and attracts all capitals.³¹⁵

For the exposition to express such a spirit, a great compound of 192 thousand square meters (2077000 square feet, or forty-eight square acres) was constructed on ex-hacienda land

³¹³ Decree issued on August 2, 1869. *Boletín oficial de leyes, decretos, resoluciones y oficios del Gobierno, Segundo semestre de 1869* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1869), 95

³¹⁴ Inígo García-Bryce, *Crafting the Republic*, 95-8.

³¹⁵ "Mensaje del Presidente de la República, José Balta, al Congreso Constitucional. 28 de enero de 1869," *Mensajes de los Presidentes del Perú. Recopilación y notas por Pedro Ugarteche y Evaristo San Cristóval. Vol. 1. 1821-1867.* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1943), 1288-1289.

that became accessible after the demolition of the city walls. The *Parque de la Exposición* included a main “palace” and a number of pavilions of different shapes and sizes. It also included the Machinery Building, a horse stable, a concert hall for 250 people, a theater, the President’s Pavilion –also known as the Venetian Pavilion— and “Gothic,” “Moorish,” “Chinese” and “Byzantine” pavilions, a green house for tropical plants, a restaurant, a cafeteria, a pond for boats with a “Japanese bridge,” and others for fish, birds, and turtles, all surrounded by elegant gardens. A fountain crowned with a statue of Hercules, and an Arch of Triumph that displayed Peru’s national seal and which was crowned by a statue of liberty, completed the park. The compound sported a picturesque environment, evoking different epochs, civilizations, and styles in an eclectic, and romantic way. The carefully designed “natural” landscape combined with the exotic architecture of the pavilions produced a sensorial and sensual experience of orientalist appropriation, and modern, imperial fantasy of universality devoid of colonial anxiety or guilt. In short, the world’s imaginary past, present and future was now “contained” in an alluring *paseo* for *Limeños* (Figures 3-7 through 3-12).

The *palacio* was designed by Italian architect Antonio Leonardi,³¹⁶ and built in a neo-Renaissance style, with iron columns imported from Europe, which supported wooden beams. The Palace had marble tiles for the floor and its doors and windows, according to architect García Bryce, were inspired by the Vendramin Palace in Venice.³¹⁷ The combination of metal structures and neo-Renaissance or neo-Gothic façades was by now commonplace in train stations and exposition pavilions around the world. The palace interior was decorated with furniture and curtains brought from France by Peru’s ambassador, Luis Albertini.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ According to Héctor Velarde, the Franco-Prussian war of the 1870s diminished French architectural influence in Peru. Italian architects were hired in stead. Héctor Velarde, *Arquitectura Peruana* (Lima: Studium, 1978).

³¹⁷ José García Bryce, “Aspectos de la arquitectura en Lima, 1850-1880,” *Kuntur. Perú en la cultura*, 4 (1987).

³¹⁸ Roberto Vértiz, *Pedro Ruiz Gallo; una vida consagrada al Perú* (Lima: CONCYTEC, 1994), 228.

The organizer of the exposition was Manuel Atanasio Fuentes. It exhibited a wide array of industrial, agricultural, mineral, and artistic objects from Peru and abroad –Bolivia, Belgium, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Japan, Persia, Scotland, Switzerland, and the United States—for three months. Foreign exhibitors applied to Peru’s consular agents, and received “liberal concessions” to transport articles to Callao. The Peruvian government covered the expense of transport to Lima, as well as the distribution and placing of all articles, and the keeping and feeding of animals. The government would award special prizes to foreigners who introduced innovations applicable to Peru’s industries.³¹⁹

Apart from “Peruvian” industrial products and machinery that exemplified the scientific and industrial development of the country, there were paintings by Francisco Lazo –*Santa Rosa de Lima*— and Luis Montero –*Funerales de Atahualpa*— along with pre-Hispanic mummies, archaeological and “ethnographic” objects from different parts of the country, including clothing, bows and arrows, paddles, stone axes, and masks. Allusions to history and to “Indians” produced a contrast with the building’s decorations and the technology exhibited. The effect was one of an explicit “denial of coevalness” for “savage” Indians that made them anthropological objects of study, thereby reinforcing the symbolic rule of the modern time of capital.

The initial budget for the Exposition was 250000 soles for a construction project that was to take eight months.³²⁰ The park was built in thirty months and the entire exposition, according to the Minister of Government Francisco Rosas, required a total 2073709 sols.³²¹ The expenses were approved by Congress, after a debate that was almost identical to those over the

³¹⁹ “The Peruvian Exposition,” *The New York Times*, May 10, 1871.

³²⁰ Rosas reported that the Exposition had cost 1,784,620 soles, with additional expenses of 289,089 soles, which did not include maintenance costs. *Boletín oficial de leyes, decretos, resoluciones y oficios del Gobierno, Segundo semestre de 1869* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1869), 95.

³²¹ *Memoria de el Ministro de Gobierno, 1874*, (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1875).

Government Palace and the Botanical Garden. Representative Navarro, for instance, reasoned that:

With regards to the Exposition Palace, it is a monument that not only will honor Peru; it will also make it known around the world. All the civilized countries compete at exhibiting artifacts and products of all kinds, building those palaces... Economizing in works of this kind speaks very little of the culture of a country.³²²

One of the main attractions of the Exposition was the monumental clock made by the master sergeant, artisan and inventor Pedro Ruiz Gallo (Figure 3-13). Being a humble, self-taught man, Ruiz Gallo spent six years building his clock. Part of that time was spent in petitions for support for his endeavor to authorities, private citizens, and the general public. It was a complex machinery that marked the hours, days, months, seasons, years, and centuries, as well as the Moon's phases and the Sun's course in the heavens. At five o'clock in the morning it displayed the raising of the national flag while playing the national anthem; the flag was lowered at six in the afternoon.³²³ Every hour, the clock also displayed a painting representing a scene of Peru's history. The first painting depicted Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo founding the Inca Empire after rising from the waters of Lake Titicaca. The second painting represented the Inca Empire's grandeur, with the last great Inca Huayna Capac and the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco. The third represented the valley of Cajamarca and the arrival of Spanish conquistadors, which was the natural setting of the fourth painting, which in turn depicted Inca Atahualpa's capture and Pizarro's troops killing Indians in Cajamarca's plaza, in what Ruiz Gallo described as "an abominable butchery."³²⁴ The fifth painting was a reference to the Inca Prince Cahuide's efforts to defend Sacsayhuaman's fortress against invading Spaniards. Painting six represented the Inca

³²² *Diario de los debates, Tomo II que contiene las sesiones de la prórroga del Congreso Ordinario de 1870*, Cámara de Diputados, 3 de enero de 1871. Debate sobre partidas al ejecutivo, 290.

³²³ According to Hutchinson, it also played "the more popular air 2 de Mayo." Thomas Hutchinson, *Two Years in Peru, with Exploration of Its Antiquities* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1873), 341.

³²⁴ Pedro Ruiz Gallo, "Descripción de la maquinaria del reloj construido por el que suscribe," December 29, 1870, reproduced in Roberto Vértiz, *Pedro Ruiz Gallo*, 213-14.

Tupac Amaru's execution in Cuzco in 1572 at the hands of the Spanish Viceroy Francisco Toledo. The seventh painting depicted the capture by patriots of the Spanish frigate *Esmeralda* on the coast of Callao in 1820. Picture eight depicted the Declaration of Independence in Lima in 1821. The ninth was a depiction of the Battle of Junín in 1824, while the tenth painting represented the decisive Battle of Ayacucho, also in 1824. The eleventh painting was a depiction of the May 2 battle of 1866. Finally, the last painting was dedicated to the Balta administration, which had sponsored the final stage of the project. President Balta appeared in front of a map of Peru in which several of his public works projects appeared.³²⁵

Ruiz Gallo's clock had multiple and related symbolic connotations. Its location in the Universal Exposition marked the secularization and synchronization of Peru's time with that of the universe. Its paintings composed a national historical narrative of a glorious precolonial era followed by a sanguinary and illegitimate colonial rule which, however, was resisted and successively overthrown (moreover, the reference to the Battle of May 2 alluded to a recent Independence). After this tragic, but epic history, the final painting represented the culmination of history in a rational administration that was building the necessary infrastructure for Peru's future: the nation's entrance into the universal age of capital.

At The Same Time: The Time of the Nation and the Time of Capital

By the end of the guano period, Lima had experienced unprecedented changes. The old colonial walls were demolished starting in January 1870, opening new spaces for the city's expansion, following the French model of wide thoroughfares.³²⁶ The Dos de Mayo monument and the National Exposition compound were the first large architectural projects outside of what

³²⁵ Unfortunately, the paintings and Ruiz Gallo's clock have not survived and their descriptions are not detailed. We have followed Ruiz Gallo's own description, which is found in Roberto Vértiz, Roberto, *Pedro Ruiz Gallo*, 208-215.

³²⁶ U.S. entrepreneur Henry Meiggs was in charge of the demolition, using equipment imported from the United States and employing, at one time, as much as fifteen hundred workers. Watt Steward, *Henry Meiggs, Yankee Pizarro* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1946), 228.

had been the walled colonial city. Planners imagined a city rounded by “wide boulevards that focused theatrically on historic monuments.”³²⁷ A new, orderly metropolis could now be created. An industrial area on the road to Callao, a working class neighborhood in an area adjacent to the city, sanitized neighborhoods for the forming *clase obrera*,³²⁸ and comfortable neighborhoods in the newly opened southern end of Lima would now contribute to the making of a socially segregated and policed city. The city had also started to channel its haphazard ditches, and it installed a system of potable water. *Limeños* were enjoying new sights as state-or-the art gas lanterns were introduced in 1855³²⁹ and now illuminated the streets, plazas, public buildings, and private homes. Lima now had several secular shrines: monuments, *paseos*, and buildings that were landmark expressions of an epistemological break with the colonial past. Lima’s civic character now included clocks, fountains, benches, lamps and domesticated nature.

The times were a-changing for a capital city whose cultural and material renovation during the second half of the nineteenth century was marked by the political and economic need to forge a modern state capable of establishing order and social control over the population, particularly the urban *plebe*, whose habits were considered as remnants of the colonial past. *La plebe* had to be Peruvianized/universalized as much as Lima. New buildings, such as the Penitentiary and the Exposition Palace served as living monuments to the fact that the time of the

³²⁷ Spiro Kostof, “His Majesty the Pick; the Aesthetics of Demolition,” in *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, ed. Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro and Richard Ingersoll (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994).

³²⁸ President Balta authorized the creation of the working class neighborhood of La Victoria in the early 1870s, but it was only developed since 1896. See: Aldo Panfichi, “Urbanización temprana de Lima,” *Mundos Interiores. Lima 1850-1950*, ed. Aldo, Panfichi, and Felipe Portocarrero (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, 1998); Gabriel Ramón, “El guión de la cirugía urbana: Lima 1850-1940,” *Ensayos en Ciencias Sociales* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2004).

³²⁹ The act of inauguration of the system was considered one of the most significant steps towards progress in the city of Lima. A newspaper report stated that “the view of the Plaza was beautiful and extremely flattering to the eye; the joy and awe ignited the faces of those who were lit by the silver rays; a deaf murmur of pleasure circulated among all groups: it looked as a nocturnal festivity lit by the moonlight... from that moment it was impossible to distinguish between the light brought from the skies by the hand of God, and the light created by man’s intelligence.” *El Comercio*, March 7, 1855.

churches and royal edifices had come to an end, and that *Limeños* now lived under the modern empire of the time of the republic and capital.

At once, nationalist elites affirmed both the “already” modern and they denied coevalness to the “inadequate,” “excessive,” subaltern subjects named *la plebe*, *el indio*, and *los pueblos*, leaving them in the “waiting room” of history, in an ambiguous “not yet” that elites were to transcend so as to bring subalterns into the time of the nation and capital, and thus maintain their ascendance.³³⁰ The transformations of Lima inscribed in the city a narrative of a radical rupture that allowed the nation to enter the secular, homogeneous time of history and, at the same *time*, of abstract labor.

³³⁰ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

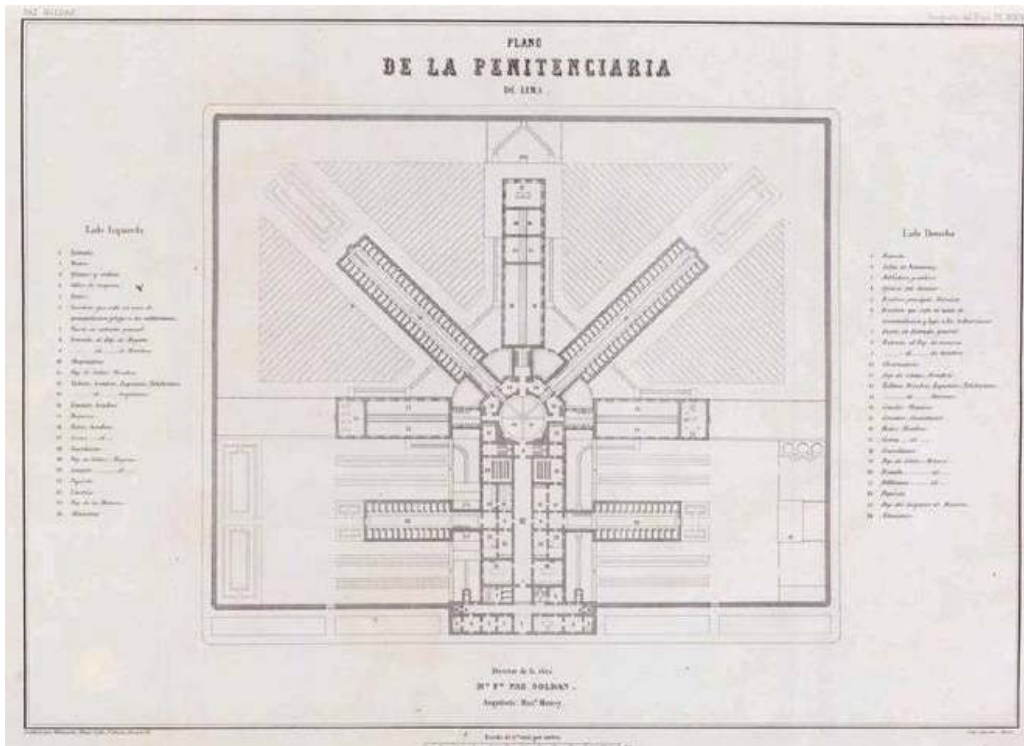


Figure 3-1. Paz Soldán’s blueprint for the Penitentiary



Figure 3-2. Commemorative coins for the inauguration of the penitentiary (1862)

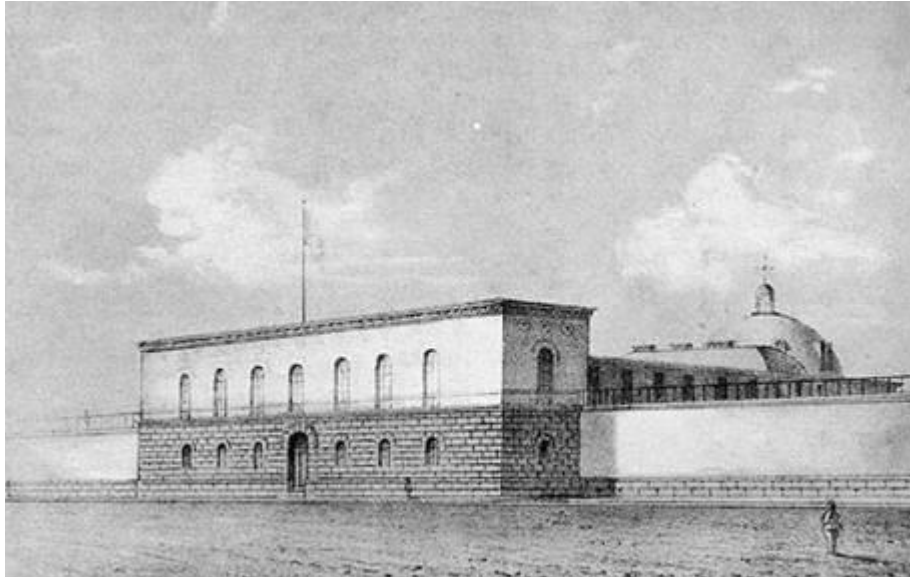


Figure 3-3. Penitentiary's façade



Figure 3-4. Radial Pavillion in Lima Penitentiary



Figure 3-5. Unreformed Plaza Mayor, 1860



Figure 3-6. Reformed Plaza Mayor, 1872



Figure 3-7. Exposition Compound under construction, 1871.



Figure 3-8. Exposition Park under construction, 1871



Figure 3-9. Presidential “kiosk,” Exposition Compound



Figure 3-10. Presidential kiosk – postcard



Figure 3-11. "Bizantine" Pavilion



Figure 3-12. Bizantine Pavillion (later used as headquarters for Zoo)



Figure 3-13. Pedro Ruiz Gallo's Clock

CHAPTER 4
“ETHNIC THERAPEUTICS”: THE APPEARANCE OF RACE IN SOCIOLOGICAL
THOUGHT AFTER THE WAR OF THE PACIFIC

Oh! The ones who will come, with a stick over the shoulder
Armed with a hammer or a plow
To turn debris into houses,
And to give social spirit to populations!
I name you with joy and emotion!
Hail, demolishers of the past!
Hail, conquerors of the present!
And, Hail, oh Fathers of the rising Peru!

In 1891, lawyer, poet and philologist Pedro Paz Soldán y Unánue, nephew of Mariano Felipe and Mateo Paz Soldán, and grandson of Hipólito Unánue, wrote a long essay in which he argued that Peru’s future depended upon a massive immigration of white Europeans. Writing under the literary pseudonym of Juan de Arona, Paz Soldán had previously written about Peru’s “barren” and “languid” environment as the principal cause, of a lethargic, drowsy, and indolent character, and of a lack of aesthetic and emotional sensibility among Peruvians. Arona synecdochally reduced Peru’s geography to that of Lima’s surrounding deserts, which he described as “lands that seem to have been disinherited of all charms of nature,”³³¹ and he argued that such infertile topography could only generate unproductive individuals devoid of “energy” and “originality.” It was a “dusty and dry soil” in which “man is half-buried since birth.” In his *Diccionario de Peruanismos* (1884) Arona observed that Peruvian (*Limeño*) speech was characterized by paucity, since they always “preferred vulgar words to learned ones,” had a limited vocabulary, and in any case used it improperly. The physical environment also had the effect of reducing the number of terms Peruvians used, for they only needed two words to describe it: “sand and willows.”³³² There were other historical causes for the Peruvian’s cultural

³³¹ Juan de Arona, *Diccionario de peruanismos. Ensayo filológico* (Lima: Librería Francesa Científica Garland, 1883), 31-2.

³³² Juan de Arona, *Diccionario*, xlix.

poverty, however. Spanish conquistadors “did not bring the tools and utensils for labor and farming, but only the arms for conquest and the arsenal needed for devastation.”³³³ Moreover, colonial society had promoted only mediocrity and a general tendency to idleness. In short, Peruvians lived frugal and uneventful lives and so a limited vocabulary was all that was needed. Since Independence things had scarcely improved, however. Peru’s mortal enemy was none other than the Peruvian himself, especially the Peruvian invested with authority, for “nothing does more to make progress impossible here than Public Power.”³³⁴ The long list of postcolonial revolutions also contributed to a society characterized by a “lack of everything.”³³⁵ Peru’s environment and history had allied to create a society without hope. Only the immigration of white Europeans could save the country: “only then will our endemic sickness that is degenerating us into dissolution and which will produce our death if we do not inoculate new elements, start to be modified.”³³⁶

Juan de Arona was by no means the first Peruvian to raise his voice to promote European immigration as a solution to the nation’s social and economic maladies. As early as 1835, several administrations had attempted to attract Europeans. These projects defined desired immigrants as “whites” who would populate a territory that was imagined as empty and with enormous potential, and they followed immigration policies in Argentina, Canada, and the United States. For example, Manuel Pardo, a wealthy Limeño educated in France and who would later become president of Peru, was acutely concerned with immigration during the Guano Age (1840s-70s). In one of his many articles on the topic published in *La Revista de Lima*, Pardo argued that

³³³ Juan de Arona, *La inmigración en el Perú. Monografía histórico-crítica* (Lima: Editorial e Imprenta Enrique Lulli, 1971), 39. (1891).

³³⁴ Juan de Arona, *La inmigración en el Perú*, 30.

³³⁵ Juan de Arona, *Diccionario*, lii.

³³⁶ Juan de Arona, *La inmigración*, 30.

Education and the moral improvement of the peoples, especially of American peoples, must not come from books or doctrines: the moral regeneration of the people, as Alberti has stated, is not a plant that reproduces from a seed, but one that needs to be transplanted so that it may propagate. Our peoples urgently need habits of morality, order, love of work, and respect for the law and the authorities...but these habits and sentiments are not promoted by laws and books, political parties or primary schools. All the bibles that a representative of the Republic may wish to give out to the *pueblos* of Peru will not inspire the religious and moral sentiments that immigration will.³³⁷

Many other intellectuals of the Guano Age had expressed a similar faith: Peru needed a larger population and it was most convenient to “import” Europeans. José Antonio de Lavalle had argued in 1859 that “nothing is more convenient than the introduction of Europeans. Intelligence, civilization, strength, energy, and physical beauty are all possessed by them... Let us attempt to make the white element predominant in Peru and to make its population grow with able, intelligent, cultured and civilized inhabitants.”³³⁸ Peru’s early immigration hopes, however, had miserably failed to replicate the experiences of Canada, the United States, Brazil, or Argentina. Few Europeans found it attractive to come to Peru to “hacer la America” (get rich in America) and the few who arrived discovered that the eye-catching incentives promised by the Peruvian state were nowhere to be found. During the Guano Age, *Limeños* had placed their hopes on Europe to solve the scarcity of labor in coastal areas,³³⁹ as a remedy for “the backwardness of the arts in Peru”³⁴⁰—European engineers, architects, educators, musicians, botanists, and gardeners had been hired and brought to Peru by the state to plan and execute works and to staff educational institutions— and to populate and develop the Amazon basin.³⁴¹

The Peruvian state had also granted scholarships for graduate studies in Europe to talented

³³⁷ Manuel Pardo, *La revista de Lima*, vol. II, 103.

³³⁸ José Antonio Lavalle, *La revista de Lima*, vol. I, 808-9.

³³⁹ 58 Basque families arrived in 1860 to work in the Coastal hacienda Talambo.

³⁴⁰ 1835 Supreme Decree to promote immigration to Peru, Juan de Arona, *La inmigración*, 49.

³⁴¹ 296 Tyrolese immigrants arrived to form the colony of Pozuzo, in the central Amazon Basin in 1857. 315 Germans colonized Oxapampa in 1868. Around 300 Italians were introduced to the Chanchamayo Valley in 1873. See Luis Gálvez, “La colonización alemana en el Perú,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento*, II, no. 3 (1904); Alfredo Sacchetti, “Inmigrantes para el Perú,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento*, III, no. 4 (1905).

Peruvian students, and had commissioned professionals to “inspect” European and U.S. institutions as possible “models” for similar ones to be established in Peru.

Elites had also constructed notions of the “races” that inhabited Peru. In particular, they had created a postcolonial notion of “the Indian” as an apathetic, submissive, and “miserable race” that had been degraded by Spanish colonialism, and which did not have the energy to “redeem himself,” and which had to be brought into contemporaneity by paternalist elites through the liberal removal of the remaining colonial institutions and cultural traits.³⁴² Mid-nineteenth century elites had also constructed notions of *el negro* as a being dominated by “his instincts” but ultimately redeemable through education and proper example. The immigration of Africans, however, was no longer acceptable. In 1868, entrepreneur Juan Lagrele made a formal request to bring indentured African workers for agriculture. Both the Supreme Court’s prosecutor and the Ministry of Foreign Relations denied the request, reasoning that “although the Republic has its doors open to allow the entrance of any foreigner who possesses moral habits...the government cannot grant special protection to African immigrants, whose customs and personal conditions are not convenient for the country.”³⁴³ Elites believed it was their duty to uplift or moralize *el negro*—that is, the population of African descent that was now part of the national community—but did not want newcomers from Africa. Racial conceptions were flexible, as intellectuals shared faith in the civilizing power of a progress that could be achieved in the comprehensive restructuring of society. For example, Pardo argued that railroads would make a “moral and intellectual revolution on the backward masses that form the bulk of our population... granting mobility to those men who live and die immobile as stones... Only by improving their conditions will these men absorb principles of personal dignity and

³⁴² For a discussion on the postcolonial construction of the Indian, see Efrain Kristal, *The Andes Viewed from the City: History and Political Discourse on the Indian in Peru, 1848-1930* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987).

³⁴³ *El Peruano*, September 21, 1869.

independence.”³⁴⁴ Other intellectuals argued that the removal of “colonial institutions” such as rural *gamonalismo* (local bossism or paternalism of landowners, which was actually a postcolonial invention that followed upon the dissolution of more formal structures of colonial rule in the countryside) and “the indigenous community” would liberate Indians, promoting a sense of individuality by introducing a notion of private property that would allow them to be full participants in economic and civic life. In short, *el indio* and *el negro* could be uplifted from their backward, miserable condition by removing the surviving “barriers to progress” implanted by Spanish colonialism.

Romantics like the painter Francisco Laso could find beauty in Lima’s multicolored society however, which he vividly described in 1859 as a “beautiful mixture.” Laso wrote that “when I see so many different physiognomies mixed together, and when I pay attention to the immensurable variety of colors, I cannot help but compare the reunion of Peruvians to the artist’s palette, richly adorned with abundant colors and the most diverse shades.”³⁴⁵ Laso also held that “man” was not constituted by skin but by “form, intelligence, and heart.” As a result, the “dark castes” required only a certain cultivation so that Peru should possess “an abundance of perfect beings.”³⁴⁶ Bad governments and not bad people driven by base instincts were to be blamed for the “excesses” of Lima’s plebeian *cholos* and *negros*.³⁴⁷ Laso’s poetic description of Lima was echoed by Manuel Atanasio Fuentes who compared Lima’s population to a multicolored “field of flowers,” “neither uniform nor monotonous, nor tiring to the senses.” If Lima’s “garden” were composed only of “white flowers” it would offer a “monotonous sameness, tiring to the

³⁴⁴ Manuel Pardo, “Estudio sobre la provincial de Jauja,” *La revista de Lima*, vol. I, 391.

³⁴⁵ Francisco Laso, “La paleta y los colores,” *La revista de Lima*, vol. I, 231.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 231.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Francisco Laso, *La revista de Lima*, vol. II, 311.

senses.”³⁴⁸ Peruvian intellectuals of the mid-nineteenth century like Fuentes and Laso aspired to create a civilized but “colorful” society, and they shared a sense of optimism about the possibilities for reform among the undisciplined plebe.

If the elite’s desire for a massive influx of European immigrants was never satisfied, a large number of Chinese indentured laborers did arrive on Peru’s shores during the Guano bonanza. The importation of coolies for agricultural labor on coastal sugar and cotton haciendas, as well as for the extraction of Guano, began in late 1849 thanks to the political influence of men such as Domingo Elias and Juan Rodriguez, who owned large estates in the Departments of Ica and La Libertad.³⁴⁹ Their importation was met with resistance but it was agreed that they were a “necessary evil” for the exploitation of the wealth of Guano, and for the flourishing sugar and cotton export business.³⁵⁰ When the initial five-year contracts (which were normally extended to seven years) came to an end, however, some Chinese relocated to Lima and, more specifically, to the surrounding environs of the newly built Central Market. *Limeño* reaction to urban Chinese settlement was visceral and out of proportion, however, as intellectuals, journalists, and municipal authorities all expressed repugnance toward what they regarded as an unaesthetic, filthy, and corrupting presence in the heart of their capital city and around the market that had been constructed to “sanitize” the city. Even Laso actively opposed the presence of “the Asians” as a functionary of the municipality.³⁵¹ Quite obviously, his colorful palette could not accept the inclusion of this unexpected addition. In short, the “Asian menace” threatened to block

³⁴⁸ Manuel Fuentes, *Lima. Apuntes históricos, descriptivos, estadísticos y de costumbres* (Paris: Librería de Firmín Didot, 1867), 77-8

³⁴⁹ About 100,000 Chinese arrived to Peru in the twenty-five years of coolie commerce. In 1862, around 750 Hawaiians and Polynesians were brought to Peru to work in the extraction of Guano. Juan de Arona, *La inmigración*, 85-88.

³⁵⁰ Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, *Hijos del Celeste Imperio en el Perú (1850-1900). Migración, agricultura, mentalidad y explotación*, Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1989; *Herederos del Dragón. Historia de la comunidad china en el Perú* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2000).

³⁵¹ Rodríguez Pastor, Humberto, “La calle Capón, el Callejón Otaiza y el Barrio Chino,” *Mundos interiores: Lima, 1850-1950* (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, 1995), 407.

republican efforts to create a hygienic, orderly, and moralized society. A chronicler writing for *El Comercio* expressed those feelings in an 1870 editorial:

If the importation of that filthy and corrupted race continues, in twenty-five or thirty years most of the population on the coast, if not in the entire Republic, will be completely composed of Asians and their descendants. A population that will naturally have all the evil instincts, corruption, and physical weakness (apart from the ugliness) of such a detestable race will make the Republic a colony of the Celestial Empire, because their depraved habits and social mores will predominate as soon as they are the majority. We Peruvians will have to resign ourselves to speaking Chinese...to having a Chinese President...as well as Chinese ministers and high functionaries. We will have to pluck up the courage to see our daughters marry a Chinaman, to have grandchildren of a repugnant ugliness and rickets, of perverse instincts, of dissolute morality and customs.³⁵²

Reactions against the Chinese were resolute. It was held that they belonged to a depraved, corrupted and decadent “race” that had entirely lost its past splendor. Their bodies were regarded as ugly and meager, their customs –especially gambling and the consumption of opium—were seen to be filthy and immoral, and it was suspected that they were prone to homosexuality. The Chinese in Lima seemed to embody all of the fears of the modernizing elites, as they threatened to spread their “vices” and “filth” into Peruvian society through the food they managed in the market and cooked in their small restaurants, and through their gambling and opium houses. The Minister of Government, Worship and Public Works unsuccessfully attempted to halt Chinese immigration, issuing a decree in 1856, when the first Chinese began settling in Lima. Minister Juan Manuel Mar reasoned that Chinese immigration “is not convenient to Peru, because they are a degraded race.” He also employed a liberal argument: “the introduction of Asian colonizers... is degenerating into some kind of Black trade,

³⁵² *El Comercio* September 7, 1870, quoted by Rodríguez Pastor, *Hijos del Celeste Imperio*.

which will not continue without violating the principles of freedom and equality that the administration has proclaimed.”³⁵³

If part of the rhetoric used to describe the Chinese was similar to that employed to speak about *la plebe* or *el indio*, the Chinese subject did not elicit a national civilizational mission. They were considered a foreign, cancerous tumor that threatened to infect the Peruvian body, and so must be extirpated. The Chinese were constructed as a “racial” entity with innate characteristics that determined their cultural traits and intellectual and physical capacities. Thus constructed as a “boundary” for the nation, they were not to be assimilated, but kept permanently and unambiguously apart.³⁵⁴

By the time Arona published his pessimistic views of Peruvian society and expressed his faith about the regenerative power of immigration –which he considered his “only remaining faith”-- *Limeño* rhetoric about “race” had been dramatically modified. A deep disillusion with the Peruvian nation set in following the country’s defeat in the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). That defeat was seen as proof that the six decades of Peru’s independent life had been fruitless. Peru was not a unified nation, and it had fallen behind the other South American countries. The sense of defeat was highlighted by the fact that Lima itself had been occupied by Chilean forces between 1881 and 1883. For some the easy Chilean victory only could be explained by the natural inferiority of “the Indian” or “the indigenous race” which then composed the majority of Peru’s population. This was the sentiment romantic writer Ricardo Palma expressed in his now famous letters to Nicolás de Piérola, who had assumed presidential powers in 1879 after

³⁵³ Juan Manuel Mar, decree issued on March 5, 1856. *Memoria que presenta al Congreso Extraordinario de 1858 el Ministro de Gobierno, Culto y Obras Públicas* (Lima: Tipografía Nacional, 1858), 47.

³⁵⁴ The notion of “boundary” was developed by anthropologist Fredrik Barth to study the construction of ethnic identities. Fredrik Barth ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1969).

proclaiming himself “Supreme Commander in Chief.” In a letter dated February 18, 1881 --only days after Lima fell in the Battles of San Juan and Miraflores-- Palma stated that

...the main cause for the disaster of the 13 is that the majority of Peru is formed by an abject and degraded race, which [General Pierola, who granted himself the decorative and demagogic title of “Protector of the Indigenous Race”³⁵⁵] had attempted to dignify. *El indio* does not have the sentiment of *patria*; he is an innate enemy of *el blanco*... he does not care if he is Peruvian, Chilean, or Turkish. That is why entire battalions surrendered their arms at San Juan without spending a single cartridge. To educate the Indian, to inspire patriotism in him, will not be the work of institutions, but of time... The historical antecedents eloquently tell us that the Indian is organically a coward. 172 adventurers were enough to imprison [Inca] Atahualpa, who was escorted by fifty-thousand men, and to conquer an empire that possessed millions of inhabitants. It is painful to say it, but the Araucanian race was more virile, because it tenaciously resisted conquest.³⁵⁶

Ricardo Palma’s opinion was shared by many contemporary observers: the nation carried a heavy burden, an “Indian Problem” that impeded development and national integration. Palma’s reference to the virility of “the *Araucanian* race” was a well-established trope of Chilean patriotism, but here the contrast with “the Peruvian Indian” as a naturally effeminate, passive being with no identity or agency (which in turn drew upon previous, nineteenth-century constructions of *el indio*) now acquired greater potency after the catastrophic defeat at the hands of the Chilean army. Palma’s son Clemente, also a prominent journalist and modernist literati, would repeat his father’s argument about Peru’s defeat being caused by Indian natural cowardice in his 1897 thesis entitled *El porvenir de las razas en el Perú* (The Future of the Races in Peru). Clemente Palma now added that the “Indian race” was “a degenerate branch of an ancient ethnic trunk from which all other inferior races derived,”³⁵⁷ and he entertained the idea of a “final solution” to the Indian Problem.

³⁵⁵ Alberto Ulloa, *Don Nicolás de Piérola: Una época de la historia del Perú* (Lima: Minerva, 1981).

³⁵⁶ Ricardo Palma, *Cartas a Piérola sobre la ocupación chilena de Lima* (Lima: Milla Batres, 1964), 20.

³⁵⁷ Clemente Palma, *El porvenir de las razas en el Perú* (Lima: Imprenta de Torres Aguirre, 1897), 15

[The Indian] race has been brutalized by decrepitness. Because of its innate inferior condition, and because of the vices of drunkenness and lust, it is a useless factor... Useless factors must disappear and do disappear. With the entrance of civilization into the *Sierra* [Andean highlands] and the *montaña* [subtropical Eastern escarpment] the pure indigenous elements will disappear, as happens in the United States with the Redskins... There is also a means to assist the evolutionary action of races: the means used in the United States: to exterminate with cannonballs that useless race, that waste of race. But that means is cruel; justifiable in the name of progress but reprehensible in the name of philanthropy and tradition, which are rooted in the Peruvian spirit. With a less idealist and more practical character, with an abundance of a superior population to replace that unfortunate race—which is, anyway, a historical memento—that would undoubtedly be the most expeditious method.³⁵⁸

Clemente Palma was by no means the only one to fantasize or seriously propose that Peru follow the example of the United States, Argentina, or Chile to finally solve what late nineteenth-century elites defined as one of Peru's most pressing urgencies. The nation could be built *a cañonazos* (by military means) if the cannonballs were aimed at the population that restrained it. Palma's words here, however, expressed a profound rupture with earlier ideas about race in Peru. "Race" had become a free-floating and dominant sociological tool for analyzing society and designing reforms for its improvement, and as such its analytical power was now extended to describe and characterize "whites" themselves. Palma argued that "the Indian race" was decrepit and useless. His mention of the vices of drink followed an established postcolonial pattern: Spaniards had degraded Indians by spreading alcoholism and the "vice" of chewing coca to momentarily satisfy the empty bellies of laborers, and which had supposedly been used only in ceremonial occasions during pre-Hispanic times. Following a curious version of Darwin's notion of the "survival of the fittest," Palma argued that the "Indian race" was condemned by evolutionary laws to disappear, and that the mere presence of civilization accelerated the process of disappearance. These evolutionary laws did not depend upon anyone's will but genocide was a quicker, more practical solution.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 35.

Since Peru's defeat in the War of the Pacific was considered proof that the Peruvian nation was not consolidated, analysts also blamed the incapacity of elites to lead and unify it. The positivist aristocrat and later anarchist thinker Manuel González Prada was one of the leading intellectuals to develop a ferocious criticism of Peru's republican elites. For Gonzalez Prada this elite was an aristocratic group without principles, guided by petty appetites, and willing to preserve the *status quo* inherited from Spanish colonialism. Peru did not have a real bourgeoisie, only rapacious elites with no work ethic and who exploited "the miserable Indian."³⁵⁹ González Prada extracted quotations from French philosophers Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim, who had founded "the queen of positivist sciences," Sociology, to notably affirm that "race" was merely a "subjective category" that generated a "load of divagations without any scientific foundation." "Race" was a "comfortable invention" in the hands of colonizing whites, a mere justification of exploitation.³⁶⁰ Quoting the French physician Gustav Le Bon, Gonzalez Prada denied the existence of "pure" races, for human groups were produced by history and not by nature. Nevertheless, Gonzalez Prada's discourse used the "subjective category" profusely, for his analysis of Peruvian society is plagued with references to *el indio*, *el negro*, and *el blanco* as largely fixed and irreconcilable entities that possess clearly distinguishable characteristics. The Indian, for instance, "has been creeping in the most inferior stratum of civilization, and is a hybrid with the vices of the barbarian and without the virtues of the European."³⁶¹ In a Lamarckian fashion, González Prada argued that the Indian had been degraded by a Spanish "feudal" regime that republican elites had stubbornly maintained. However, the Indian could acquire dignity if scientifically educated, and if given the chance to

³⁵⁹ See Manuel González Prada, *Páginas libres* (Lima: Dupont, 1894); *Horas de lucha* (Lima: El Progreso Literario, 1908).

³⁶⁰ Manuel González Prada, "Nuestros indios," *Horas de lucha* (Lima: El Progreso Literario, 1908), 333.

³⁶¹ Manuel González Prada, "Discurso en el Politeama," *Páginas libres*; *Horas de lucha*.

become a proprietor, for “nothing transforms the psychology of man faster or more radically than property.”³⁶² González Prada both continued and broke with the nineteenth-century liberal tradition of commentary on the Indian race. His hopes to “free” the Indian through education and private property had been part of the liberal program to make Indians full citizens of the nation and participants in a “free” economy. He argued that Peru’s “whites” had not carried out a true civilizing campaign to bring *el indio* into contemporaneity. Indeed, “he” was to blame for the country’s situation and for the Indian misery. The “white” was Peru’s real problem. The white was an “animal of white skin; no matter where he is born, he carries the golden disease throughout his life, and he yields to the predatory instinct.”³⁶³

González Prada’s views on race were also expressed in the “solutions” he envisaged to refound the Republic. On the one hand, he proposed an extension of paternalist, liberal policies aimed at freeing an “enslaved” Indian: private property—which implied an attack on *hacendados*, but also on indigenous communities—and education—with a greater emphasis on “the science strengthened by the century”—that is, positivist science. On the other hand, González Prada stated that the Indian had to redeem himself, for a more humane treatment could not be expected from his oppressors. The Indian only had to acquire the necessary virility to spend “the money he wastes in alcohol and fiestas” on “rifles and cartridges [with which]...he would make others respect his property and life. He would respond to violence with violence.”³⁶⁴ Here González Prada seemed to give agency to the Indian in the form of virility and resolution, as well as pride and rebelliousness. However, these qualities had to be inculcated by an unmentioned agent, that is, by enlightened positivist thinkers and “leaders” like himself.

³⁶² González Prada, “Nuestros indios,” 349.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

Clemente Palma and González Prada appear to be in opposing trenches in the debate on race and Peruvian society. Palma believed in “the convenience” of the complete disappearance of the Indian—which would happen slowly without intervention, or swiftly through patriotic acts of genocide— while González Prada believed the Indian had to be instilled with a sense of dignity so that he could respond violently to oppression. Both thinkers imagined violent “final” solutions, although in opposite directions, and they shared the notion that the “Indian race” lacked agency and virility. There are other important similarities between the two. Clemente Palma was not sympathetic towards the Peruvian “white race” either, and described it as defective and poorly equipped for civilization. The “Spanish race” --which formed one of the main races that constituted Peru-- was “nervous,” “morally weak,” “relatively superior to the Indian race, but characterized by enthusiasm and decadence,” “idealist and not practical,” “turbulent and agitated, more artist than intellectual, vehement but not energetic; voluble and unstable.”³⁶⁵ The “Creole race,” to which Palma thought he belonged, was “the only race with a future” although it lacked “the necessary energy to constitute a nationality.” It had brilliant intellectual abilities, but it was not an industrious, “practical race.” “Eternal Quixotes, mad followers of ideals,” Creoles were “incapable of progress” unless they were subjected to “ethnic therapeutics to guarantee their physical health and moral vigor.”³⁶⁶ To Palma, “ethnic therapeutics” implied miscegenation of Creoles with “the German race,” because

The German is physically strong: he will add vigor to the muscles and blood of our race; he is intellectual, profoundly intellectual: he will give solidity to the mental life of our race. [Miscegenation between the German and the Creole races] will harmonize, in the brain of the chosen ones, the artistic sentiment of the Latin race with the scientific spirit of the Germans. He is serene, energetic, and tenacious: he will be a counterweight to the vehemence, weakness, and inconsistency of the Creole.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ Clemente Palma, *El porvenir*, 11.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

To Clemente Palma environmental, institutional, or educational reforms could not alter the basic characteristics of a “race.” Also drawing from “the wise” Le Bon, but to a different effect, Palma stated that “the idea, still prevalent, that education can change the character is an illusion; one of the most ill-fated illusions that the theoreticians of pure reason have entertained.”³⁶⁸ This “illusion” explained why “superior” peoples had failed at civilizing inferior ones. The only method to “improve” the Creole race was through its miscegenation with a superior, more virile, active, and industrious race. “Peoples’ instincts cannot be modified with laws and education, but with the right breeding...it may not be poetic to treat peoples like bovine species, which are improved by having a certain bull mounting a cow. But does it matter if the concept is not poetic if it is the formula for the future happiness and superiority of Peru? Nothing is more prosaic than progress.”³⁶⁹ Palma was pessimistic about Peru’s future. None of its races had the capacity and virility to “constitute a nationality,” or to guide the country to progress. Palma was not expressing a mere “comfortable invention” to legitimize exploitation of subjected peoples, nor to satisfy some elites’ narcissistic fantasies; he was admitting Creoles’ incompetence to lead the country for their innate lack of virility, energy, and consistency. Peru had no future unless it received help from abroad.

For González Prada races were malleable entities which changed according to environmental and historical factors, but no contemporary group in Peru was able to become a true bourgeoisie to lead the country to progress, prosperity, and social justice. “Whites” were trapped in the obscurantism imposed by Spanish colonialism and were unwilling to yield their inherited privileges for their country’s sake: every “white” was “a Pizarro, a Valverde, or an

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 11.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 11.

Areche,” that is, a Conquistador or vile Spanish official.³⁷⁰ For their part, Indians were passive and needed to be educated into his own liberation. To no surprise, González Prada was also a strong supporter of European immigration, which for him was a source of optimism for the country, since “foreign immigration does not come to Peru as a passing gust of wind, but as a stable atmosphere that will replace the Spanish one and will penetrate our lungs, modifying us physically and morally. We are already losing the detachment to life that characterizes old Spaniards, as well as the groaning sadness that distinguishes the Peruvian indigene.”³⁷¹ The immigration of non-Spanish Europeans was already exerting a positive influence in Peruvian society, not through miscegenation but through an environmental “ethnic therapeutics,” renovating the intellectual atmosphere and ridding Peru of the undesirable traits of its two main racial and cultural trunks.

European immigration became more relevant as a result of the *Limeño* elite’s self-doubts about its own racial capacity for progress. In the Guano Age they had creatively selected and adapted “scientific” doctrines of race to legitimize their ascendancy over the nation, imagining the improvement of the nation through miscegenation between Europeans and Indians. They had also seen Indians and Chinese immigrants through the lenses of racist doctrines. After the War of the Pacific, however, Lima’s elites could not remove these same lenses when looking in the mirror. The historical analysis of the influential positivist thinker and University Rector Javier Prado considered that Peruvians were poor despite the country’s enormous natural richness because of the negative influence of “race.” To modify Peru’s situation, it was necessary to “rejuvenate our race and our inheritance through the miscegenation with other races.” The Creole race had to be modified because Creoles were a “lazy race, with poor blood and without

³⁷⁰ Manuel González Prada, “Nuestros indios,” 349.

³⁷¹ Manuel González Prada, “Conferencia en el Ateneo de Lima,” *Páginas libres; Horas de lucha*, 17.

muscular vigor. It is a vice-ridden race given over to pleasure and which has cortesán customs.”³⁷² History, and in particular Spanish colonialism, had made Creoles accustomed to enjoy a privileged position in society. The Creole race had become lethargic and was thus unable to develop the country’s potential; the “entire weight of the new nation” was carried by a race that had received a “fatal inheritance” that rendered it in every way “opposed to republican institutions.”³⁷³ Similarly, educator Manuel Vicente Villarán held that “whites” had acquired an “aversion to labor” during colonial times when all work was to be carried out by Blacks and Indians. “By birth and race” Creoles disliked work, loved to acquire money without effort, preferred “comfortable idleness,” and displayed a tendency to squander money.³⁷⁴

A combination of factors explains the elite’s self-flagellation and pessimism about Peru’s future. Like other Latin American elites prior to the late nineteenth century, Lima’s elite had paid careful attention to European “scientific” postulates on race but had not accepted them wholeheartedly, instead selecting those ideas that served to legitimize their ascendancy. They had adopted, for instance, a faith in an environmental approach to race, believing that acquired traits could be transmitted through inheritance; a belief that was supported by the French naturalist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck’s theory of evolutionary transformationism, and by a selective reading of Charles Darwin’s natural selection theory.³⁷⁵ Elites had also rejected those European doctrines that denied them an equal footing with their European peers –discarding, for instance, Comte de Buffon’s ideas on natural history and their implications for humans, and LeBon’s observation that the mixture of Spaniards with inferior populations had produced “bastard,

³⁷² Javier Prado, *Estado social del Perú durante la dominación española (estudio histórico-sociológico)* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1941), 125. (1894).

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 196-7.

³⁷⁴ Manuel Vicente Villarán, “Las profesiones liberales en el Perú,” *Páginas escogidas* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos P. Villanueva, 1962), 321. (1900).

³⁷⁵ For an explanation of environmental, Lamarckian conceptions of race, see Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). Charles Darwin did not rule out the influence of environment as a supplementary mechanism for the development of species.

energy-lacking nations without any future and unable to contribute to civilization's progress."³⁷⁶

The postcolonial elite had also made postulates of its own which opposed most European theories of race. In particular, they argued that miscegenation did not produce a degenerate, inferior mongrel, and that "whitening" could improve their societies. The catastrophe of the War of the Pacific, however, forced many Peruvian elites to revise these ideas of race.

During and after the war patriotic Chilean discourses highlighted her success as a nation and a race. This success was attributed to Chile's racial uniformity and superiority over neighboring countries. Chilean "whites" saw themselves as strong, industrious, and progressive, thanks in part to their "Basque racial heritage." Basques were held to be strong, entrepreneurial, and virile as compared to aristocratic Castilians and languid Andalusians. Chilean "vigor" was also attributed to Chile's peripheral or frontier reality in colonial times, in which the relative paucity of a sedentary Indian population and African slaves had obliged colonial whites to develop a work ethic, and to carry on a virile tradition of warfare against "savage Indians" on the southern frontier. Chilean whites often saw Lima's white elite as backward, arrogant, lazy, wasteful, superstitious, and ostentatious, in part because they were descended from old Castilian and Andalusian families, and in part because they had been accustomed to the privileges of being the courtly center of a vast Viceroyalty that had included Chile. Centuries of opulence, combined with the ready availability of slave and Indian labor and permanent coexistence with those inferior races had weakened their race. In contrast to Peru's Indians, both Imperial and Chilean nationalist discourses had painted "the proud Araucanian race" as possessed of martial

³⁷⁶ Gustave Le Bon, *Les premieres civilisations*, 1889, quoted by Javier Prado, *Estado social del Perú*, 196.

and rebellious qualities. The Chilean Indian's was a virile race.³⁷⁷ During the war itself, Chilean military leaders and troops fashioned an erotic discourse of conquest that feminized Lima and *Limeños* and exalted the victor's virility and domination. Lima was described as a "womanly," "coquette," Oriental, and attractive city, while *Limeños* were depicted as men "with no energy" and who liked to be dominated.³⁷⁸ They draw emasculated images of *Limeños* as well as eroticized ones of *Limeñas* as "experts in sensual pleasures" quite willing to yield to the victorious Chilean soldiers.³⁷⁹ Chilean descriptions of the *Limeño* population underline the city's unaesthetic racial diversity and the impurity of her racial hybrids.³⁸⁰

Limeño elites seemed to have been deeply moved by Chilean discourse since they created their own versions of the same discourse. The denunciation of the colonial legacy acquired greater dimensions among intellectuals, who lamented the cultural and racial traces left by a backward Spanish colonialism. During the dark days of the Chilean occupation of Lima, Ricardo Palma abandoned all of his previous romanticism, arguing that Lima now deserved a proverb usually used to describe Genoa: "men without faith, women without shame."³⁸¹ Peru now lacked "virility" and patriotism "because anarchy is a gangrene upon us, and because corruption flows in the veins not only of the men of our generation but of the generation that will replace us."³⁸² This racialized view of Peru's corruption and lack of manly potency led Palma to

³⁷⁷ For a discussion on Chilean nationalist discourses and the related ideas on race vis-à-vis the War of the Pacific, see Hugo Maureira, "'Valiant Race, Tenacious Race, Heroic, Indomitable, and Implacable: The War of the Pacific (1879-1884) and the Role of Racial Ideas in the Construction of Chilean National Identity,'" paper presented to the ILASSA Student Conference on Latin America, February, 2004.

³⁷⁸ For an analysis on the gendered and racialized discourses during the war, see Carmen Mc Evoy, "'Bella Lima ya tiemblas llorosa del triunfador chileno en poder: una aproximación a los elementos de género en el discurso nacionalista chileno,'" in *El hechizo de las imágenes: Estatus social y etnicidad en la historia peruana*, ed. Narda Henríquez (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2000).

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 216.

³⁸⁰ Hugo Maureira, Hugo, "'Valiant Race,'" Carmen Mc Evoy, "'Bella Lima.'"

³⁸¹ Letter to Nicolás de Piérola dated on April 5, 1881. Ricardo Palma, *Cartas a Piérola sobre la ocupación chilena de Lima* (Lima: Milla Batres, 1964), 33.

³⁸² Letter to Nicolás de Piérola dated on June 27, 1881. Ricardo Palma, *Cartas a Piérola*, 51.

the conclusion that “Chileans have not defeated us; it has been our own vices [that defeated us].”³⁸³

Older European discourses on race (particularly those concerning the inferiority of hybrids and Creoles) which Lima’s postcolonial elites had previously discarded were now rekindled and taken into account in discussions of the country’s future. Racialist conceptions of “the Latin” as idealistic, mystical, and artistic and so unsuited for the virile exigencies of modernity were now widely expressed.³⁸⁴ Ideas about the lingering effects of Spanish “blood” transformed older Black Legend views that had condemned the remnants of the Spanish heritage to a republican oblivion. Javier Prado, for instance, quoted the Argentine positivist Domingo Faustino Sarmiento in support of the notion that the Moor’s long occupation of the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula had forced Spaniards there to absorb a “great part of the moral character of the sons of Africa.”³⁸⁵ The northern Basque heritage of Chileans had exempted them from this pernicious influence; but this was clearly not the case of Peru’s Andalusian and Castilian “whites.” Writing under the pseudonym of *El amigo de Tejerina*, literati Federico Blume spoke of Limeño elites during colonial times as “cruel exploiters of slaves...who lived sedated by the opium of their dusty titles of nobility, or their weakened aristocracy... They maintained their sons in a stern idleness, as princes who possessed a divine right to comfort.”³⁸⁶ Another racialist argument deployed to explain *Limeño’s* alleged inferiority was their long and intimate coexistence with “the inferior races” of Indians and Blacks. These inferior races, affirmed Javier Prado, had exerted an insidious influence on “Spaniard blood” in Peru. Whites had been exposed to the vices of their black servants and nannies, including “sensuality, robbery,

³⁸³ Ibid., 51.

³⁸⁴ See Clemente Palma’s allusion to the Latin race above.

³⁸⁵ Javier Prado, *Estado social del Perú*, 127.

³⁸⁶ El amigo de Tejerina, “Expectativas nacionales,” *El Comercio*, September 6, 1903.

superstition, and laziness.”³⁸⁷ White Creole children imitated these “pernicious examples and adopted customs that would have sad and shameful consequences.”³⁸⁸ Worse, the influence of uncivilized and “irresistibly lascivious” Black women was transmitted directly through their breastmilk, as they often served as wet nurses in white households. Once again, old colonial discourses were resurrected. The notion of contamination by breastmilk was central to an old imperial discourse deployed by the Spanish against their Creole inferiors, and it was applied with great frequency during the Bourbon eighteenth century. Now the very same discourse was resurrected by “modern Peruvian” critics. As for “the influence” upon Whites of “the Indian,” some elites spoke of their “numbing” presence. Others took a more ambiguous stance, pointing out that Peruvian elites had also descended from Indians and were not, therefore, “pure whites.” *El Amigo de Tejerina*, for instance, argued that Peru’s weak and impressionable population was a consequence of the “abundant blood from our disheartened [Indian] singers of Yaravies [melancholic tunes], which runs in our veins.” Such a population lacked the “virility and energy of homogeneous and young races.”³⁸⁹ Blume’s allusions to “our Indians” and to Indian blood “running in our veins” were symptomatic of elites’ racial self-doubts. Their whiteness was suspected of having been tainted by miscegenation with Indians, and in any case Castilian and Andalusian “blood” was already “tainted” by “the Moor.” In his 1909 study on Lima’s races Enrique León García affirmed that the “Creole white” was very different to the northern “European white” because of the three centuries of miscegenation between indigenous and Spanish blood, and because of new successive breedings. León García did not specify which

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 164.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 165.

³⁸⁹ *El amigo de Tejerina*, “Expectativas.”

“races” participated in those breedings, in effect suggesting that the “white” label Creoles used actually hid the fact that they were all *mestizos*.³⁹⁰

The racial diversity of Lima’s population was also now seen in an increasingly negative light. If Laso once described Lima’s society as a colorful palette, and Fuentes as an attractive, diverse garden, many postwar or turn-of-the-century intellectuals lamented the “chaotic” racial heterogeneity of the population. Since they saw races as entities with different characteristics and interests, population diversity could only spell the failure “to unify the national sentiments, the interests of the patria.”³⁹¹ Thus, *El amigo de Tejerina*, argued that the unseemly combination of idle elites and an “oppressed, enslaved, almost savage aboriginal race” had made it impossible for Peru to unite as a nation.³⁹²

Widespread miscegenation was also now considered pernicious. Writing under the pseudonym of *El Barón de Keef*, Federico Elguera --an influential journalist, literati, and politician, and Lima’s mayor between 1901 and 1908—argued that in any of Lima’s tramway cars one could discover “new castes, individuals of all colors, sizes, and odors: whites, *mestizos*, blacks, yellows, *zambos*, *mulatos*, *cuarterones*, *cholos*, Chinese, Japanese, *sacalaguas*, with red, green, bluish, and iridescent skins.” To Elguera, such profusion would make anyone think that the “monkey descends from man, and not the other way around...such is the degeneration of the species in Lima... I fear that a hybrid element, such as the mule, will be soon produced, which in turn will cause the stagnation of the population... Another malady caused by all this crossing, in my opinion, is the amazing increase of criminality.”³⁹³ Finally, writers like Juan de Arona

³⁹⁰ Enrique León García, *Las razas en Lima. Estudio Demográfico* (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, Facultad de Medicina, 1909), 12.

³⁹¹ Javier Prado, *Estado social del Perú*, 196.

³⁹² *El amigo de Tejerina*, “Expectativas.”

³⁹³ Federico Elguera, “Las razas,” *El Barón de Keef en Lima. Segunda epoca. Charlas con Soria* (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, editor, 1999) (1919).

added that the climate made *Limeños* lazy, unproductive, and mediocre. Arona thought he was recycling the ideas of his great grandfather, the naturalist and patriot Hipólito Unánue about the influence of climate on Lima's population. While Unánue subtly and elegantly criticized Europeans racial ideas of superiority –criticizing those who “have appointed themselves as the tribunal, and have sentenced in their own favor”³⁹⁴— Arona misread Unanue to argue that the monotonous climate of Lima had produced racially inferior *Limeños*.³⁹⁵

Different solutions were proposed to address Peru's “racial problem.” Those who took a radical, non-environmentalist stance such as Clemente Palma, favored immigration as the country's only solution. “The hour of eugenics” came early to Palma, for his “prosaic” program was to

breed weak races with strong ones, the artistic ones with practical ones, to annihilate –through successive breedings— the germs of inferior races, to substitute old and anemic blood corpuscles with those of a plethoric and healthy blood; in short, to sustain the virility and health of the people with a solution similar to the one used by cattle breeders: surveilling and carrying out a racial selection.³⁹⁶

Interestingly, the “inoculation” of “new elements” was seen as a means for preserving “our race,” and even for making it reemerge as a purer, healthier race. *El Amigo de Tejerina* argued that Peru needed new people to transfuse their blood and so to strengthen “our race.” According to *El Amigo*, “our” race was artistic but not industrious, a race of poets and dreamers incapable of material progress. Remembering the defeat against Chile, *Tejerina* added that miscegenation with European immigrants would also make “our race” more adept at “the

³⁹⁴ Hipólito Unánue, *Observaciones sobre el clima, y sus influencias sobre los seres organizados, en especial el hombre* (Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1815) (second edition), 87.

³⁹⁵ For an analysis of Unanue, see Thurner, Mark, “After Colonialism and the King: Notes on the Peruvian Birth of ‘Contemporary History,’” *Postcolonial Studies*, 9, no. 4 (2006): 393-420.

³⁹⁶ Clemente Palma, *El porvenir de las razas*, 3.

defense of our rights.”³⁹⁷ Immigration and “ethnic therapeutics” through miscegenation was thus a matter of national survival.

Those who took an environmentalist stance proposed immigration along with educational programs, and a drastic transformation of the living environment. Immigration would serve to “improve the race” because Europeans would teach by example. The plans for attracting European immigrants acquired different connotations, as greater efforts were made for this purpose. Plans for immigration were not designed merely to obtain an agricultural labor force, or to colonize an “empty” Amazonian frontier. “Peru needs immigrants, not colonizers” stated A.M. de Idiáquez, Peru’s General Consul in Genoa in his 1905 report to the *Ministerio de Fomento* on how to attract Italian immigrants.³⁹⁸ Immigrants would preferably come to Lima to start new industries, activate economic life, and demonstrate their “practicality” to *Limeños*. They were to start up new businesses, be incorporated in the much needed working class, or to be employed as bureaucrats and domestic servants. For instance, J.P. Paz Soldán, Peru’s General Consul in Buenos Aires, suggested in 1905 that Peru should attract Argentine construction workers, carpenters and plaster workers, and even doormen, office-boys, mailmen, chauffeurs, and domestic servants. Paz Soldán is, quite obviously, referring to European immigrants who had settled in Argentina.³⁹⁹ The immigration projects had to be carefully planned and executed, as “we must increase the white population with a meditated, scientific plan.”⁴⁰⁰

A new wave of Asian immigration is not what planners had in mind. Ironically, Japanese indentured laborers were imported to provide labor force for sugar and cotton haciendas starting

³⁹⁷ El amigo de Tejerina, “La nueva avenida del sol,” *El Comercio*, March 15, 1903.

³⁹⁸ A.M. de Idiáquez, “Comunicación al Sr. Director de Fomento,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento*, III, no.10, Lima: Imprenta de “La Opinión Nacional,” 1905.

³⁹⁹ J.P. Paz Soldán, “Report on European Immigration to the Argentine Republic,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento*, III, no. 2 (1905): 60-1.

⁴⁰⁰ Alfredo Sachetti, Consul in Turin, “Immigrantes para el Peru.” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento*, III, no. 3 (1905): 68-93.

in 1899. The Chinese coolie traffic had ended in 1874, after the opposition of the Celestial Empire and the subsequent signing of the Tsien Tsin Treaty between Peru and China.⁴⁰¹ This time around it would be Augusto Leguía, a rising politician with large sugar haciendas in coastal Lambayeque who used his influence to persuade the administration of López de Romaña. The prospect of a new flood of detested Asians spurred a revival of anti-Asian sentiments among *Limeño* intellectuals and politicians. By the early twentieth century, there was a clear association between “the yellow race” and certain epidemics such as the Bubonic plague and Yellow Fever.⁴⁰² Dr. Alberto García, who worked for the newly created Hygiene section of the *Ministerio de Fomento*, stated in 1903 that “the most devastating plague that has afflicted and afflicts humanity,” was generated in the countries of the “yellow race, where civilization has not penetrated yet,” and from there had spread around the world. This was yet another reason to ban Asian immigrants, for they carried the constant threat of “the pest,” and produce “an inconvenient breeding with degenerate races.”⁴⁰³ Experts argued that Japanese immigration would produce an increase in the statistics of disorder, criminality, and mortality.⁴⁰⁴ The Japanese immigrants did make their appearance in the city, adding to the discomfort of elites and segments of the lower classes. The fact that Asians made up the largest percentage of immigrants in Lima meant that elites had to look to other means for “racial improvement.”

Education: The Scientific Formation of a Virile Population

Education was a central issue for supporters of environmental theories of race.

Educational reforms had been implemented during the early postcolonial years of San Martín and Montegudo and these were later revived during the mid-century Guano Age. Late

⁴⁰¹ Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, *Hijos del Celeste Imperio*.

⁴⁰² According to Jorge Lossio, the association between the Chinese and the yellow fever was considered factual by 1858, that is, when the first Chinese had settled in Lima. Jorge Lossio, *Acequias y gallinazos: Salud ambiental en Lima del siglo XIX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2003).

⁴⁰³ Alberto García, “La peste bubónica,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento*, I, no. 1 (1903): 110.

⁴⁰⁴ Alfredo Sachetti “Immigrantes para el Perú.”

nineteenth-century ideas on education were marked by the desire to create a more industrious, healthy, and virile population, and to increase the “practical” professions and occupations. Education should counteract the negative “racial” effects of climate and history. Intellectuals, politicians, and educators shared the belief that the current educational system maintained its backward, colonial characteristics. For the new elites the system still emphasized the rote learning that was thought to be unhelpful for the development of industries, and it did not instill the values and virtues that the country needed, especially those of hard work and patriotism. Lima’s 1899 municipal *reglamento* for schools stated that “practical teaching must be preferred in all circumstances” and it explicitly prohibited “all manner of teaching based on the exclusive use of memory.”⁴⁰⁵ The measure was based on the belief that education failed because children did not really learn. Peru’s 1901 Minister of *Fomento* voiced the same idea, adding that “the reason is that they are not taught what is needed, but things foreign to life; they are soon erased from memory because they are not applicable.”⁴⁰⁶ Peruvian students were the passive receptors of data that had no direct application in their lives. Even the teaching methods in the *Colegio Guadalupe*, the most liberal public school in Lima, were now considered obsolete, for they were based on repetition or memory, and so did not respond to the country’s needs, in particular, *Colegio Guadalupe* did not motivate its students to action!⁴⁰⁷ Javier Prado added his voice to the choir of criticism against Peru’s education, stating that it was too abstract and “empty of ideas” and only developed students’ memory.⁴⁰⁸ Educator Elvira García y García stated that “the

⁴⁰⁵ “Reglamento de las escuelas municipales de Lima,” *Legislación municipal. Leyes, resoluciones, decretos, ordenanzas y reglamentos vigentes sobre municipalidades. Compilación publicada por el Honorable Consejo Provincial de Lima, siendo alcalde el señor general don Juan Martín Echenique* (Lima: Imprenta de “El Nacional,” 1899), 412.

⁴⁰⁶ *Memoria que Ministro de Fomento, doctor Agustín de la Torre González presenta a la Legislatura Ordinaria de 1901* (Lima: Imprenta “El Lucero,” 1901), vi.

⁴⁰⁷ See the editorial in *El Comercio*, February 15, 1901.

⁴⁰⁸ Javier Prado, “Discurso en el Ateneo,” quoted by Andrés Quintana, “La cuestión de los exámenes. Conferencia de pedagogía leída en la Facultad de Letras,” *El Comercio*, November 19, 1908.

primitive school” taught children “sterile” lessons; a modern school had to take into account the “infinite acquisitions of modern science,” and spread these through pedagogical methods based on experiential learning.⁴⁰⁹ In response, the 1908 National *Reglamento* for primary schools prohibited teaching methods exclusively based on the use of memory, for the goal of primary education was to provide children with “knowledge of practical usefulness.”⁴¹⁰

It was said that education promoted professions such as law and literature, which were not what Peru needed. The word *intelectualismo* was used to describe education that encouraged rote learning rather than creativity and practicality. This rote or “blind intellectualism”⁴¹¹ had to end, for it did not respond to “the moral and social purposes” of education.⁴¹² Peru needed to instill industrious habits and knowledge. For the lower classes –that is, for the *hijos del pueblo*— schools should be workshops⁴¹³ or agricultural schools⁴¹⁴ where they could acquire discipline, “love of work,” and the necessary knowledge to make a living. To fulfill these objectives, all schools should have farms⁴¹⁵ and “museums” with mineral, fossil, plant, and insect specimens.⁴¹⁶ The emphasis on practical knowledge was also expressed in the 1908 National *Reglamento* for primary schools, which established educational field trips to factories “where children may practically and experimentally see the transformations of raw materials,” or to exhibitions, “industry museums,” laboratories, and workshops where manufactured products, including monuments, could be observed. Other educational field trips were meant to offer

⁴⁰⁹ García y García, Elvira, “La escuela de ayer y de hoy,” *El Comercio*, December 16, 1908.

⁴¹⁰ *Reglamento General de Instrucción Primaria* (Lima: Litografía y Tipografía Carlos Fabbri, 1908), 4-5.

⁴¹¹ Alfredo Saucchetti, “Inmigrantes para el Perú,” 68.

⁴¹² Andrés Quintana, “La cuestión de los exámenes. Conferencia de pedagogía leída en la Facultad de Letras,” *El Comercio*, November 19, 1908.

⁴¹³ Proposal by Juan Revoredo, Mayor of Lima. See *Memoria de la administración municipal de Lima. Presentada por su alcalde don Juan Revoredo. (enero de 1890 a noviembre de 1891)* (Lima: Imprenta de Torres Aguirre, 1891), 11-2.

⁴¹⁴ *Memoria que Ministro de Fomento, doctor Agustín de la Torre González presenta a la Legislatura Ordinaria de 1901* (Lima: Imprenta “El Lucero,” 1901), x.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *Reglamento General de Instrucción Primaria* (Lima: Litografía y Tipografía Carlos Fabbri, 1908), 151.

practical lessons in physics, the natural sciences, public hygiene, agriculture, geometry, arts and industries, and history.⁴¹⁷ History was considered to be among the “practical” knowledges to be transmitted in school, particularly in the wake of Peru’s traumatic defeat and occupation during the War of the Pacific. The educational field trips to industries and historical monuments in effect replaced the participation of schools in religious ceremonies, for the Municipality of Lima had prohibited schools to attend religious ceremonies in 1899, arguing that “it is convenient to end with that custom which is not related to the purposes of educational institutions.”⁴¹⁸

Factories, workshops, and monuments were now to be visitable “shrines” in the civic religion of national industrialism. The need to forge patriotism was also expressed in a mandate of the 1899 *reglamento* to the effect that all class sessions must close with a short lesson on an important event in Peru’s history.⁴¹⁹ The 1909 *reglamento* for primary schools also established that the national anthem was to be sung twice per week. During ceremonies in which patriotic poems were sung, teachers were instructed to “speak to children in terms that would fortify their patriotic sentiments,” and students were obliged to perform “gymnastic and military exercises.”⁴²⁰ The promotion of nationalism and industrialism had gone hand to hand for some time –as exemplified by the 1872 National Exhibition discussed in the previous chapter— but there was a greater sense of urgency in the postwar era.

The education of elites also had to be reformed. Elites had to abandon their preference for liberal professions to develop commerce and industries. To Manuel Vicente Villarán, that meant adopting a “Yankee education” more suitable to the “exigencies of the times.” Peru

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 149-51.

⁴¹⁸ “Concurrencia a festividades religiosas,” Lima 18 de junio de 1889. *Legislación municipal. Leyes, resoluciones, decretos, ordenanzas y reglamentos vigentes sobre municipalidades. Compilación publicada por el Honorable Consejo Provincial de Lima. Siendo alcalde el señor General don Juan Martín Echenique* (Lima: Imprenta de “El Nacional,” 1899), 451.

⁴¹⁹ Article 81 of the “Reglamento de las escuelas municipales de Lima,” *Legislación municipal*, 413.

⁴²⁰ *Reglamento General de Instrucción Primaria* (Lima: Litografía y Tipografía Carlos Fabbri, 1908).

needed entrepreneurial, energetic men to develop its immense natural wealth, and not the erudite scholars, lawyers, and literati schools were then producing. While Villarán believed immigration was necessary, he argued that a strong group of Peruvian businessmen and industrialists had to be developed since attracting immigrants and foreign capital could be “a risk to our future security” if Peru did not have its own bourgeoisie.⁴²¹ Other voices supported the influential Villarán in his claim that Peru’s educational system should follow the lines of Yankee education. Intellectuals and politicians argued that Peruvian education produced an excess of lawyers who swelled the state’s bureaucracy and political parties, and who constituted a barrier to private and state initiatives. Some considered that elite youth also preferred to go into the military not out of patriotism but as a way to maintain their status and satisfy their political and economic appetites. Peru had a top-heavy army bloated with generals and coronels but short on good soldiers. *El Amigo de Tejerina* bitterly complained that Peru had an abundance of lawyers and colonels who “grow and propagate like flies in the summer; they flutter and buzz about, and swarm around the best public posts.” This lamentable state of affairs, he argued, was a consequence of a system of education that had not broken with the colonial cult of formality and legal paperwork. A new system of education had to imitate that now in place in the U.S. and England. Peru needed the kind of people those countries had: “ordinary, rustic, uncultured, even stupid, but also more practical.” A similar “race” could be created in Peru to rid it from its “ridiculous and shameful lethargy.” *Tejerina* praised “Yankees” and “Englishmen,” noting that “they may not have read Cicero” and were “mostly fools” (*Tejerina* writes this phrase in English and attributes it to “Macaulay” in an apparent reference to British historian Thomas B. Macaulay) but possessed a practical drive that Peru desperately needed. Prosaic and ordinary, Anglos had unified their countries with railways and the telegraph, and they knew how to efficiently administer and

⁴²¹ Manuel Vicente Villarán, “Las profesiones liberales en el Perú,” 325.

develop their territories.⁴²² Three years later *El Amigo de Tejerina* was more optimistic about Peru's future, for "our compatriots... are gradually abandoning politics... and from the fiscal budget." Some lawyers and military were becoming entrepreneurs, merchants. Tejerina argued that every Peruvian should have a small private business, for the country to progress.⁴²³

It was desirable to follow the uncultured Anglo or German example since, as Clemente Palma had said, "nothing is more prosaic than progress." In an article in *The Contemporary Review* that *El Comercio* reproduced in 1907 historian Herbert Paul now declared that poetry and literature were dead. Paul argued that poetry had breathed its last breath and was soon to be replaced by science, and that the energy formerly wasted in literary ramblings was now spent productively. There had been a change of epoch, and "the men of this century are not like the ones in the past because our life has suffered a complete transformation, and literature, as it was understood only fifty years ago, is an exotic plant that has no atmosphere to live in our practical society."⁴²⁴ Even Alejandro Deustua, who abhorred Yankee materialism and opposed modeling Peru's educational system after the U.S. system, believed new aspirations and ideals had to be instilled in Peru to adapt to the "evolutions of time." Deustua noted that Yankees were more inclined to progress because they had no history and therefore did not live "with their backs to the future," as did Italy or Peru.⁴²⁵

Not all intellectuals bought the idea of using the United States as a model for Peru's society and education. Deustua had been commissioned to study European pedagogical methods and to recommend those that could be suitably adapted to Peru's "conditions of race and

⁴²² El Amigo de Tejerina, "El país de los trámites (un artículo que se le olvidó al Barón de Keef)," *El Comercio*, February 17, 1901.

⁴²³ El Amigo de Tejerina, "Una obra útil," *El Comercio*, November 20, 1904.

⁴²⁴ Herbert, Paul, "La muerte de la literatura," *El Comercio*, October 29, 1907.

⁴²⁵ *El Comercio*, February 20, 1901.

sociability.”⁴²⁶ Deustua returned convinced that “Latin souls” (the label included Spaniards and Italians, but possibly not Argentines) could not assimilate “Saxon” education. Hispanic Americans were vehement, lazy, and inert, and they could not internalize the perseverance of Yankees, the English, or the Germans. It was a mistake to attempt to copy educational systems designed for different races, just as it was erroneous to try to generalize education to Indians and the lower classes. Indians were too uncultured to receive any influence from school. “They only have a human form... What would those who are not persons, who do not live like persons, and who have not differentiated themselves from animals learn to read, write, or count?” They did not need schooling but to be civilized through example, and to be liberated from “the tyranny of their masters.” For their part, the lower classes in Lima were docile, sheepish, and credulous people without will; they also had no need for schooling but instead to be led correctly. Peru lacked a real leading class however, and therefore should concentrate its efforts on developing that class. A select and enlightened elite who should be morally educated not to pursue their personal interests but to lead and develop the country.⁴²⁷ More than practical men, Peru needed an elite with high moral standards which were not to be transmitted through religion but through science. Deustua creatively adapted Durkheim’s ideas on social solidarity to state that the organic solidarity of an advanced society was not based only on economic interest, for this only united egotistical men temporarily; instead, a higher, moral organization was needed for the prevalence of the “collective ideal.” Deustua also used Durkheim to assert that not all men played the same roles in society; therefore, education could not be equal for everyone.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ “Con motivo del regreso del doctor Deustua,” *El Comercio*, March 4, 1901.

⁴²⁷ Alejandro Deustua, “El problema pedagógico nacional,” *La cultura nacional* (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1937). (1904).

⁴²⁸ Alejandro Deustua, “Carta dirigida al Dr. Manuel V. Villarán, a propósito del cuestionario sobre Ley de Instrucción,” *Colección de artículos publicados por Alejandro O. Deustua* (Lima: Imprenta A. Dávila, 1914). (Letter sent on December 5, 1910).

Education of the elites was thus indispensable to provide Peru with a leading class that could guide and organize the rest of the population.

In 1908 the German ex-patriate Dora Mayer, who would later become known as a noted *indigenista*, criticized Villarán's enthusiasm for the U.S. on the grounds that the "moral concept" of North Americans was pernicious for the formation of "our youth." The European "psyche" closer to that of the "South American race" since "Western" societies had experienced a long and arduous evolution while the "Great Republic" had developed rapidly. Mayer, who had herself emigrated from Germany only five years earlier, also argued that Peru's progress was inconceivable without "foreign" influences. North American, German, and English educators could teach Peruvian students such values as "order, punctuality, energy, and accuracy" but Peru had to evolve by itself just like any other organism –Mayer gives the example of a butterfly shaking off its cocoon.. Peru only needed time, and any attempt to unduly accelerate its process of evolution was destined to fail. At the same time, however, Mayer recommended the hiring of Swiss and Swedish teachers for Peruvian schools, arguing that they had the good qualities of the North Americans and Germans but lacked their materialistic ambitions. Labeling Villarán a "modernist," Mayer proudly calls herself and Deustua "nationalists," for they sought "the most beautiful vindication of the Peruvian, Latin, and South American ideals."⁴²⁹

Mayer's ambiguous ideas combined a sense of the moral superiority of "Latinos" allegedly grounded in their (Catholic?) virtues and rich historical past –which made Peru similar to Europe, with a negative perception of Latinos and Peruvians as lethargic and non-perseverant. Mayer added a historicist theory of the development of the national organism, but also believed in the convenience of "foreign influence" to instill dynamism in Peru's society. Her proclamation that her position was "nationalist" as opposed to the "modernist" stance of

⁴²⁹ Dora Mayer, "Plan de estudios y el patriotismo," *El Comercio*, October 17, 1908.

Villarán, only highlights the ambiguity of defining what as “national,” “foreign,” and “modern” for *Limeños* by the early twentieth century. Mayer defined “modernism” as a stance that “brought Saxon ideas to us” but that it was mistaken to adopt “foreign” models for organizing Peruvian society and institutions. It appears that for Mayer many European traditions were not foreign to Peru, and she does not define what “Peruvian, Latin, and South American ideals” might be.

Despite the complaints of “nationalists” it seems that Villarán’s “modernist” stance was officially adopted. In 1908, President Augusto Leguía appointed Villarán Minister of Justice and Instruction. As Minister he promoted the state’s sponsorship of graduate studies in foreign countries for students of Education, and he commissioned Francisco García Calderón, then in the United States, to select and hire a group of U.S. educators to work in Peru.⁴³⁰ His successor José Matías León continued these policies, sponsoring the studies in the U.S. of two graduating educators, and hiring U.S. educators with the help of Peru’s Consul in New York.⁴³¹ Six German educators were hired in Hamburg to teach the “practical” courses of mathematics, mechanical arts, drawing, chemistry, music, and physical education, and a U.S. principal was contracted to lead the *Colegio Guadalupe* in 1909. German teachers were also hired to establish kindergarten in Peru.⁴³² In addition, a long list of European professionals were hired to open or improve professional schools of engineering, agronomy, veterinary science, pedagogy, and the arts and trades.

The educational reforms also included a greater emphasis on physical education. It was perceived that Peru needed a “virile” population for national defense, and to stem further racial

⁴³⁰ Jorge Basadre, “Prólogo,” Villarán, Manuel, *Páginas escogidas*, 325.

⁴³¹ *Memoria presentada por el Ministro de Justicia, Instrucción y Culto, Doctor José Matías León al Congreso Ordinario de 1909* (Lima: Tipográfica de “La Opinión Nacional,” 1910), xxvi-ii.

⁴³² *Ibid.*

decadence. To promote “vigor” in a population diagnosed as weak and effeminate, schools would now have intensive gymnastic and sports activities. While physical exercise had been part of earlier programs of education and hygiene, it now acquired more urgency in the wake of the War of the Pacific and in light of the contemporary ascendance of scientific racism and eugenics. Herbert Spencer’s writings on physical education –published in a series of articles in the 1850s, and gathered in a book entitled *Education: Moral, Intellectual, and Physical* (1861)— were reproduced in Lima’s newspapers in the early twentieth century in support of the idea that it was the obligation of the state to promote the formation of a healthy and disciplined population.⁴³³

Lima’s schools progressively transformed their infrastructure to include open areas for sport activities and gyms. To gain time, however, the Municipality built facilities in 1891 for all of the schools in the city. The speech by Lima’s Inspector of Education at the cornerstone ceremony for the Central Gym made it clear that physical education was a matter of national survival. The ascendance of a nation was relative to its power, and its power was dependent upon the vigor, education, and number of its citizens. Since rapidly increasing the number of citizens was not easy, Domingo Montesinos reasoned that citizens had to be educated and made robust in a scientific manner through physical education. After all, that was what “our Incas” had done. According to the Inspector, the Incas had taught “everyone” (the inspector carefully avoided speaking of the *citizens* of the Inca empire) to run, jump, wrestle, and handle weapons. In this, the Incas had been like the Greeks, for whom gymnastics was part of the essential physical education of the people. It was thus clear that “this education is necessary to form

⁴³³ Fanny Muñoz, *Diversiones públicas en Lima, 1890-1920: la experiencia de la modernidad* (Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2001), 203.

warriors, but also to give youngsters grace, vigor, and beauty.”⁴³⁴ Physical education was also a tool to rid Peruvian education of its monotony and boredom, and to create much needed “men of action.” The plan to make physical education mandatory was not universally accepted, and some tried to resist the measure⁴³⁵ on the grounds that exercise would weaken the bodies of children and youngsters. The municipality had the active support of Lima’s newspapers, which published numerous editorials lauding the benefits of sports and gymnastics for the acquisition of such values as discipline, competition, and respect for rules. By the early twentieth century, newspapers included special *Sports* sections –although no word in Spanish yet existed— and several specialized publications, such as *The Sport*, *Quincenario Ilustrado*, published by the Association of Target Shooting Societies, *Sport y variedades: sport, letras, ciencias, artes y variedades* saw the light by 1889 and 1900, respectively. New sport clubs for boat races, tennis, shooting, cycling, cricket, and football also appeared during these years.⁴³⁶ The wave of new publications and institutions related to sports –some created by European immigrants— exerted a strong influence on Lima’s elites and helped solidify the conviction that physical education and sports were convenient for the education, moralization, and strengthening of the population. By 1896, the administration of Nicolás de Piérola picked the example of the *Municipalidad de Lima* and mandated physical education at schools throughout Peru so as to form “an organically and morally vigorous generation.”⁴³⁷

The drive for the inclusion of physical education continued for years, seemingly to convince remaining doubters. The municipality stressed that physical development did not have

⁴³⁴ “Memoria del Inspector de Instrucción, Sr. Dr. don José Domingo Montesinos, de 1891,” *Memoria de la administración municipal de Lima. Presentada por su Alcalde don Juan Revoredo. (enero de 1890 a noviembre de 1891)*, (Lima: Imprenta de Torres Aguirre, 1891), 32.

⁴³⁵ “Informe de la Inspección de Instrucción del Concejo Municipal de Lima,” *El Comercio*, July 5, 1899.

⁴³⁶ Fanny Muñoz, *Diversiones públicas*, 203, 206, and 211.

⁴³⁷ *Mensaje del Presidente de la República en la instauración del Congreso Ordinario de 1897* (Lima: Imprenta El País, 1897).

a secondary importance in relation to the intellectual or academic function. By 1901, Federico Elguera, Mayor of Lima, stated that countries with a “homogeneous race, where the species do not degenerate, where there is not as much misery and the climate is fortifying,” could concentrate on teaching children academics. Peru did not have those conditions, for “rickets and the degeneration of race increase here; we lack strong arms for farming and have plenty of idiots, drunks, and tuberculous people; we therefore need to dedicate ourselves to physical development and introduce habits of morality and temperance, to produce men who read, write, and count, and to handle the pick and the handsaw.”⁴³⁸ Elguera’s words synthesized elite perception of Lima’s population, and about the power of physical education to “improve the race” or at least slow its degeneration. Physical education would also serve to rid *Limeños* of *misoneismo* or the stationary spirit, and to help them acquire the habits and strength needed for the formation of a disciplined labor force.

Along with physical education, reformers proposed that target practice or shooting be instituted in the schools. Mayor Juan Revoredo proposed in 1891 that students learned shooting “to make every citizen a soldier, ready to act when the *patria* requires his services.”⁴³⁹ Target practice would instill accuracy, patience, calm, and temperance, and it would make students part of an “army of reserve.” Again, the legacy of the War of the Pacific expressed itself in the plans to reform education. Target practice did spread among Lima’s upper classes, and even among workers. A 1901 article in *El Comercio* praised a group of “honest and hardworking artisans” who had recently created a shooting society. Shooting was no longer a luxury for the wealthy but “a necessary exercise for all social classes in the country.” Artisans would not only acquire

⁴³⁸ *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1901* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1901), 40.

⁴³⁹ *Memoria de la Administración Municipal de Lima. Presentada por su Alcalde don Juan Revoredo. (enero de 1890 a noviembre de 1891)* (Lima: Imprenta de Torres Aguirre, 1891).

the benefits of the discipline but would also learn how to handle the “complicated mechanisms of firearms.”⁴⁴⁰

The Nation’s Wombs: Women, Race, and the Disappearance of the Private Sphere

“A serious responsibility for the nation’s future lies on every woman”
Dr. Rómulo Eyzaguirre

The elite’s obsession with the growth and physical improvement of Lima’s population became more pronounced over time. White immigrants never arrived in the numbers desired; it became increasingly clear that if Lima’s and Peru’s racial makeup were to improve it would have to be done via environmental and cultural transformations. Intellectuals, politicians, authorities, and medical doctors all shared the rhetoric that Lima’s population was stagnant or had been reduced⁴⁴¹ despite the fact that statistics for the period appear to demonstrate important growth.⁴⁴² Since the discourse posited that the power of a nation depended on the size and vigor of its population it became an object of professional preoccupation; experts diagnosed the causes of a supposed decline, and elaborated proposals to remedy the situation.

Most elites appear to have believed that Lima had a very high mortality rate. Federico Elguera, Mayor of Lima, argued during his inauguration speech that his administration’s main objective was to “hygienize” Lima, for it had an annual mortality of four percent, “while most civilized countries have a rate below two percent.”⁴⁴³ Elguera’s estimation was conservative, though. A 1906 bill for a law for the prophylaxis of infectious and contagious illnesses prepared

⁴⁴⁰ “Los artesanos y el tiro al blanco,” *El Comercio*, March 3, 1901.

⁴⁴¹ Dr. Almenara Butler, “Informe sobre mortalidad infantil,” *Memoria administrativa que presenta a la Sociedad de Beneficencia Pública de Lima su Director don Domingo Olavegoya, correspondiente al año 1903* (Lima: Imprenta de “La Opinión Nacional,” 1903), 25.

⁴⁴² According to the 1908 Census of Lima, the total “urban” population of Lima was 158,782 inhabitants, 142,997 of which lived in the core of the city and the remainder in the nearby towns of Barranco, Chorrillos, Magdalena, and Miraflores. The “rural” population was of 17,482 inhabitants. See *Memoria que el Ministro de Fomento, Doctor David Matto, presenta a la Legislatura Ordinaria de 1909* (Lima: Of. Tipográfica de “La Opinión Nacional,” 1909), 311.

⁴⁴³ *El Comercio*, January 4, 1901.

by the Hygiene Board of the *Ministerio de Fomento* estimated Lima's mortality rate at 37 percent, not much better than Peru's 40 percent. It was an incredibly costly toll "annually paid to death."⁴⁴⁴ Other alarming statistics revealed that Lima's rate of mortality by "avoidable" illness was higher than in other Latin American cities. Dr. Rómulo Eyzaguirre estimated the mortality rate for typhoid in Lima at 11.3 deaths per 10,000 patients, while Buenos Aires had 1.18, Montevideo 1.89, and Havana 3.24.⁴⁴⁵

Peru needed to launch a war against death if it were to survive and progress. Limeño experts, of course, were paying careful attention to alarming reports on the demographic problems abroad. They compared their empirical findings to those obtained in Europe and other Latin American cities and countries, and backed their research with plenty of quotations from European "experts." When in 1906 Dr. Eyzaguirre quoted Dr. Ponicare's dictum that "prophylaxis is an armed peace" he was not simply "copying" or reciting a newly imported creed, for those words had a special resonance in early twentieth-century Lima.⁴⁴⁶ In a "practical" spirit, Eyzaguirre stated that Peru was suffering from the constant robbery of its most precious form of capital: life.

[L]ife is the most important capital of nations, and health, being a capital itself, guarantees life. It is admissible if life is lost by use...life and death are but two phases of the same phenomenon. But it is unacceptable under any circumstances to let the elements that announce proceeds, and that currently produce income, to increase the tally of waste.⁴⁴⁷

If life was a precious capital for nations, hygienists became the national bankers.

Physicians gained an unprecedented participation in the state apparatus and the general political

⁴⁴⁴ "Proyecto de ley de profilaxia de las enfermedades infectocontagiosas," *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento*, II, no. 3 (1903): 2.

⁴⁴⁵ Eyzaguirre, Rómulo, "Demografía sanitaria. Enfermedades evitables," *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, II, no. 1 (1906): 10.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

life of Peru, reducing the presence both of lawyers and the military. Between 1895 and 1930, thirteen percent of parliamentary representatives were medical doctors.⁴⁴⁸ The importance of the profession was also expressed in the number of students who decided to study medicine. Between 1897 and 1910 one third of the student population in Lima's university was registered in the Faculty of Medicine.⁴⁴⁹ A large number of physicians specialized in disciplines related to the demographic urgencies of the country and fell under the name of hygiene, for it was believed that "while medicine saves individuals, hygiene saves collectivities and, with them, the nations."⁴⁵⁰ Perhaps Deustua's vision of a directive class was also being realized, as a disciplined educated elite, working under the umbrella of hygiene, concentrated on the improvement of society as a whole. Peru's government promoted these professions and sponsored graduate studies in Europe for two years in exchange for a report that should include "study of the development of the specialty pursued, as well as ways to improve them in the country."⁴⁵¹ The study of hygiene, commented Dora Mayer in *El Comercio*, "encompasses the spheres of morality, philosophy, law, and administration. It penetrates into jails, hospitals, cemeteries, and homes; it does research on the habits of the poor and the rich, on fashions and traditions; on the influences of climate, the epoch, and race." Hygiene seemingly provided a scientific method for avoiding illness: Mayer added that "the healing of a patient should start two hundred years before his birth."⁴⁵² Graduating physician Macsimiliano Barriga was one of those students who sought to contribute to Peru's salvation by writing his thesis on the effects of

⁴⁴⁸ María Emma Mannarelli, *Limpias y modernas: género, higiene y cultura en la Lima del novecientos* (Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristán, 1999), 48.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Rómulo Eyzaguirre, "Demografía sanitaria, 25.

⁴⁵¹ "Nómina de los médicos peruanos que ultimamente han realizado en Europa, por cuenta del gobierno, estudios especiales de su profesión," *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, I, no. 2 (1905): 2.

⁴⁵² Mayer, Dora, "La higiene en el Perú," *El Comercio*, November 4, 1907.

exercise on health. To him the study of hygiene “was a clamorous national exigency, for it deals with the conservation and vigor of the species, which is so intensely needed today.”⁴⁵³

Once it was agreed that hygiene was an investment in the future, and that hygienists were the bankers in charge of taking care of the nation’s capital, it appeared clear that women were central actors in the production and reproduction of the nation’s wealth, or at least the vaults where it was temporarily held. In 1905, Dr. Belisario Sosa, one of the physicians who had studied tocology in France with the sponsorship of the state, proposed that the state keep pregnant women and new mothers under careful surveillance so that they might follow the scientific guidance of medical doctors. They should be forced to report at least once a week after giving birth. In fact “she must be forced to take her child to a doctor’s office everyday if such is needed, and if she does not meet this obligation she must be looked for until she is found.”⁴⁵⁴

Eyzaguirre, for his part, blamed Lima’s demographic maladies on the unhealthy housing, the general lack of hygiene, ignorance, and poverty. There was, however, a deeper problem: Lima lacked real mothers. *No hay madres* screamed Eyzaguirre! *Limeñas* preferred to turn their infants over to wet nurses whose minds were “darkened by ignorance.” Here Eyzaguirre refers to the fact that *Limeño* elites usually hired black wet nurses who tended to overfeed their children, causing colic, dyspepsia, and eventual death. All of this was caused by women’s disdain for “healthy professional advice.” Eyzaguirre proposed to penetrate to mothers’ consciousness and thereby to distance them from “ancient routines” through education. If there were schools for the professions, he reasoned, “why do girls finish their schooling without knowing how to take care of their children?” Since it was a physiological fact that they would

⁴⁵³ Maximiliano Barriga, *El ejercicio y la salud. Tesis de Bachiller* (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, Facultad de Medicina, 1902), 176.

⁴⁵⁴ Belisario Sosa, “Informe sobre maternidad,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, I, no. 2 (1905): 18.

become mothers they should acquire “complete knowledge of their duties.” Schools for females, he continued, must have mandatory training in nurseries (*casas cuna*) for at least one year to combat the high mortality rate that kept Lima’s population stagnant. Eyzaguirre compared this mandatory training for girls to compulsory professional internships for men. Motherhood was women’s profession, and one they must perform properly, for “a serious responsibility for the nation’s future falls on every woman.”⁴⁵⁵

Women’s education must be reformed to comply with that sacred national duty. Women were to receive special training for their special maternal roles. This meant a radical transformation in relation to the education they had received hitherto, which was believed to be part of the legacy of colonialism. From an early age, women were used to living in enclosed environments and not moving,⁴⁵⁶ and they were educated to be faithful Catholics, wasting precious time “devoutly kneeling in the temple” and being locked in schools directed by nuns until they turned eighteen or twenty.⁴⁵⁷ They could not develop their bodies in a proper way to carry out their important mission. Hygienists, educators, and writers –including *avant garde* female intellectuals— created the notion that *Limeñas* were frivolous and vain, unwilling to make the sacrifices that the nation required. Graduating physician Alejandro Benavente reasoned that wealthy *Limeñas* followed the shallow exigencies imposed by civilization –such as high heels or the corset— which deformed their bodies for maternity.⁴⁵⁸ A similar criticism of “white mothers” was also made by physician Enrique León García in his study entitled “The Races in Lima.” For León García women’s education was antiquated and full of prejudice, for

⁴⁵⁵ Rómulo Eyzaguirre, “Demografía sanitaria,” 22.

⁴⁵⁶ Elvira García y García, “Por qué son débiles nuestros niños,” *El hogar y la escuela*, I, no. 4 (1909): 117.

⁴⁵⁷ Teresa González de Fanning, *Educación femenina. Colección de artículos pedagógicos, morales y sociológicos* (Lima: Tipografía de “El Lucero,” 1905).

⁴⁵⁸ Alejandro Benavente, *Nuestras intervenciones en la Maternidad de Santa Ana. Tesis de Bachiller* (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, Facultad de Medicina, 1911).

they had learned their raising manners from their mothers and grandmothers. Childcare methods were the same as a century before and as a consequence the “select class” lost more children than was allowed by hygienic rules.⁴⁵⁹ If elite women were ignorant of the basic methods for taking care of the nation’s capital, subaltern women did worse. As a result, more *mestizo* children died than whites, and more Indian children than *mestizos*. Indian women were particularly ignorant in the ways they raised their infants. *Las indias* did not breastfeed, were cruel mothers “by inheritance,” and beat their children just as their husbands beat them.⁴⁶⁰

In addition, women had to be educated because they were in charge of the education of the children in their early, pre-school years. An anonymous chronicler of *El Comercio* was aware of the reproductive role of women, and suggested that the state concentrate on their education: “To obtain good citizens, we must educate women.”⁴⁶¹ Their instruction had to be reformed to include physical education –carefully measured, so as to avoid a possible masculinization of their bodies—⁴⁶² hygiene –including feminine and infant hygiene— and childcare.⁴⁶³ Still, their primary education excluded civic lessons on Peru’s Constitution and Municipal and Electoral Law which male students did receive.⁴⁶⁴

Dr. Almenara argued that the only way to solve Lima’s demographic problems was to protect infants “before their birth.” This meant that pregnant woman –“that unfortunate being that has to suffer, until the end of time, the harsh and painful proof to which she is condemned to

⁴⁵⁹ Enrique León García, *Las razas en Lima*, 52.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 53-5.

⁴⁶¹ “Crónica de Agridulce,” *El Comercio*, December 25, 1908.

⁴⁶² Fanny Muñoz, *Diversiones públicas*, 203, 209.

⁴⁶³ The 1903 Anti-alcoholic Congress concluded that women’s anti-alcoholic education had to be equal to that of men, except that women had to receive courses on domestic economy, hygiene of newborns, hygiene for women during puberty, and hygiene for the mother. “Congreso Nacional Anti-alcohólico. Conclusiones,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento*, I, no. 2 (1903): 120.

⁴⁶⁴ “Reglamento de Instrucción pública de 1875,” *Leyes y resoluciones vigentes en material de instrucción expedidas desde 1876. Recopiladas por Filiberto Ramírez, comisionado al efecto por el Consejo Superior de Instrucción Pública* (Lima: Imprenta de “El País,” 1897).

ensure the species survival”— had to be protected. In fact, intrauterine protection of the child (*niño*, in the masculine) had to be provided “before his parents’ marriage.” Almenara also complained about *Limeñas*’ unwillingness to breastfeed their children. He believed that women were not complying with their “natural duty,” and proposed to severely restrict and inspect the hiring of wet nurses, for if “men are not allowed to send a replacement to his compulsory military service, women must not be allowed to hire replacements.” Quoting a “prominent hygienist” who had stated that maternal milk did not really belong to mothers but to the infant, Dr. Almenara added that “those people do not have the right to deal with maternal milk as they wish.”⁴⁶⁵

Almenara could easily have said that the milk belonged to the nation. In fact, the preoccupation with Lima’s supposed demographic maladies and racial decadence made women’s bodies the property of the state, whose experts could examine and experiment with them in an effort to produce healthy citizens—an invariably masculine category. Specialists and graduating students inspected women’s bodies, paying particular attention to their reproductive system, the point at which the reproduction of the population and the race took place. The bodies of lower class women at the *Hospital de Santa Ana* were the sites of most of the research on topics such as pregnancy and hygiene.⁴⁶⁶ This was possible because positivist doctrines erased the distinction between public and private spheres; or, to phrase it differently, all was now defined as national, and it was the state’s obligation to penetrate, intervene, and regulate in what was formerly considered private. The 1906 law for the prophylaxis of infectious diseases declared “the unlimited right of the state to intervene in all matters related to the defense of health and

⁴⁶⁵ Dr. Almenara Butler, “Informe sobre mortalidad infantil,” 29.

⁴⁶⁶ María Emma Mannarelli, *Limpias y modernas*, 48.

life, which is the most valuable capital of a society.”⁴⁶⁷ Philosopher Javier Prado, who by 1907 was a deputy in Peru’s Congress, also stated that “the juridical sciences have progressed, and the old absolute and abstract concepts of personal liberty and inviolability have been replaced by the broad concept of social duties.”⁴⁶⁸

Radical Therapy for a Sick Organism

Peru’s defeat and Lima’s occupation in the War of the Pacific led turn-of-the-century *Limeño* elites to conclude that Peru was neither an integrated nation nor a developed society. They came to blame Spanish colonialism and its lingering effects on elites. Peru lacked a leading or directive class that could unify the nation and develop its natural wealth and biopower. Republican elites had been unable to rid Peru of the legacy of Spanish colonialism because they themselves were culturally and racially trapped in it. Thinkers of different tendencies coincided in this harsh diagnosis of Peru’s history and nature. Javier Prado, for instance, argued that early Republican elites had repudiated Spanish government and the idea of absolutist monarchy but their lack of moral education had left Peru without guidance. The political and social habits of elites had been shaped by the very system of government they had wished to deny. The contradiction between republican drive and “colonial mentality” rendered elites ineffectual when it came to building a modern nation.⁴⁶⁹ As a consequence, all previous efforts to create a unified and developed nation were critically obliterated by intellectuals and reformers. Judging the postcolonial revolutionaries and reformers in the light of the catastrophe of the recent war, all that they had achieved now seemed insignificant if not schizophrenic.

Turn of the century elites repudiated the republican past and analyzed it critically to

⁴⁶⁷ “Proyecto de Ley Para la profilaxia de enfermedades infectocontagiosas,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, II, no. 3 (1906): 2.

⁴⁶⁸ “Debate parlamentario. Cámara de Diputados. Sobre el artículo 2. Sesión del primero octubre de 1907,” *El Comercio*, Octubre 10, 1907.

⁴⁶⁹ Javier Prado, *Estado social del Perú*, 198.

extract the “severe lessons for experience” they thought it provided.⁴⁷⁰ Philosopher Juan de Lavalle proclaimed in 1908 that there were no lessons on morality in Peru’s history. Those lessons could only be extracted by opposition or negation. In his view, history taught that Peru’s life had been characterized by inconsequence, immorality, and irrationality. From Peru’s long and painful history one only learned that Peru needed to apply universal social and political “laws” and thus launch a new beginning.⁴⁷¹ The past had to be transcended. Peru was still kneeling before its past, said Deustua, which made it “vain,” “impotent,” and “passive.”⁴⁷² The past had “feminized” Peruvian society. Consequently, a more virile Peru would have to free himself of a feminine past. The “scientific laws of sociology” were to be applied to examine that past, and to dictate that Peru was a “sick organism.” As Gonzalez Prada wrote, “anywhere you touch Peru, pus flows out.”⁴⁷³ The patient needed serious medicine.

These ideas were crafted in the grave and urgent atmosphere that followed the trauma of the war. Nevertheless, they were foundational for future sociological readings of Peru’s history and society. Intellectuals or political elites would criticize the previous generation, accusing it of not being modern enough, of being trapped by their colonial mentality, or of pursuing half-hearted projects of modernization, destined to fail. Peru had been conquered by the “wrong” empire –not by hardworking *pioneers* but by arrogant, lazy, “feudal,” and exploitative Conquistadors, and as a result it lacked a leading class or true bourgeoisie, and so it did not deserve to be called a nation. Only a radical transformation –a new beginning, a *patria nueva*, a revolution— brought by a messiah or redeemer –immigrants, a “strong hand,” *el pueblo*, the

⁴⁷⁰ Patrón, Pablo, “Estudio crítico sobre el discurso del Dr. Javier Prado y Ugarteche acerca del Perú colonial,” Javier, Prado, *Estado social del Perú*, 284. Patrón read this speech at the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos in 1894.

⁴⁷¹ Lavalle, Juan de, “De historia nacional. Un nuevo texto. Resumen de “La historia del Perú” por Carlos Wiesse,” *El Comercio*, September 6, 1908.

⁴⁷² Alejandro Deustua, “El problema pedagógico nacional.”

⁴⁷³ Manuel González Prada, “Propaganda y ataque,” *Páginas Libres*.

proletariat, the Indian, the suffering poor, or the global market—could save her.

If Peru was a sick organism, it was seen as being composed of afflicted organs or social entities: ill, decadent races without “energy” or moral capacity. Since there was nothing of present value in Peru’s past, she was desperately in need of “ethnic therapeutics” either in the form of the “inoculation of new blood” or the reform of Peruvian bodies and minds. Both of these therapeutics methods were debated and attempted. European immigrants did not arrive in significant numbers, and so elites concentrated on “hygienic” reforms. “Hygiene” combined new pedagogical methods with physical activities. Women’s bodies became privileged sites for national intervention, for the womb and the breast were the sites where life, race, and the capital of the nation was reproduced.

The perceived need for a practical and energetic bourgeoisie and an abiding proletariat meant that efforts at reform had to be concentrated in Lima. The trauma of Lima’s occupation by Chilean forces reinforced the capital city’s ascendance. In comparison with other Latin American capitals, Peru’s capital had been left behind. Some now believed that this was probably the reason why European immigrants did not wish to come to Peru. Holding environmental conceptions of race, experts affirmed that Lima had to be physically reformed and sanitized to improve and increase its population. These concepts merged with the resurfacing urgency to insert Lima –and, subsequently, Peru— in the era of progressive industrialism. Those efforts will be analyzed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 5
MAPPING THE PROLETARIAT AND THE WRETCHED (1895-1910)

Peeping into Enemy Territory: The Literary Construction of the Poor's Habitats

After War of the Pacific, intellectuals and politicians had agreed that Peru must forge a unified national community, recover the lost time through the development of industries, and develop a strong, disciplined population to achieve both objectives. The perception that Lima suffered demographic maladies, together with the positivist disappearance of the private sphere, made women's bodies key sites of scrutiny and intervention. Other privileged locations for inspection were *Limeños'* dwellings, specially the private homes of subaltern inhabitants, as hygienists and authorities attempted to diagnose the living conditions of the city inhabitants to design policies for habitat improvement. Following environmental conceptions of race, experts aspired to outline scientific solutions to Lima's "racial problem." A literary genre—the ethnography of the urban poor—was born out the growing preoccupation for the sanitation of Lima, for the systematic diagnosis of private homes and neighborhoods produced scientific reports that inscribed the new anthropological subjects and their settings. In spite of the scientific faith in the possibility to manage and improve the population's characteristics through environmental transformations, the reports show a constant tension with the conception that the unsanitary conditions of the poor's dwellings and neighborhoods were the result of the lower classes' insurmountable decrepitude.

Sanitary inspections of private homes had been mandated in several occasions during the Age of Guano, usually after news of a breakout of an epidemic. By the turn of the century, however, routine inspections were carried out as part of the continuous and generalized preoccupation about Lima's demographic maladies. By the beginning of the twentieth century, hygienists had become influential intellectuals and policymakers (see Chapter 4 above). They

now occupied important positions in the Municipality of Lima –each of the city quarters boasted a team of sanitary doctors— as well as in newly created institutions, such as the *Instituto Nacional de Vacuna y Seroterapia* (1896), the *Instituto Municipal de Higiene* (1902), the *Dirección de Salubridad* of the *Ministerio de Fomento*, which included a section of hygiene and another of demography (1903), and the *Policía Sanitaria* (1904). Each of these institutions had a small army of inspectors who studied the hygienic conditions of the city and penetrated into the poor’s houses. The School of Medicine had also established a close relationship with other state institutions concerned with public health.⁴⁷⁴ The *Facultad* also stimulated graduating students to join experts in the mission to inspect the houses of the “proletariat and the shameful families,”⁴⁷⁵ all in the name of the common good.

Juan Antonio Portella was one graduating *higienista* from the *Facultad* who wrote his 1903 thesis on the hygiene conditions of poor neighborhoods. After arguing that the houses of the poor were unsanitary and hosted dangerous organisms that made their inhabitants prone to succumb to infections, Portella warned possible readers that the poor themselves were a hazard “for everyone” because they could disseminate disease throughout the city

And something every well-off person must take into account is that the poor, due to the miserable conditions of their existence, are terrible enemies and a danger for everyone. There is something all classes share, to which we are all exposed: disease. Contagion is similar to the vengeance of the underprivileged against the indolence of the wealthy.⁴⁷⁶

Portella was trying to convince wealthier *Limeños* that they could not afford to leave the poor unattended, not because of a benevolent, philanthropic spirit, but because their own health

⁴⁷⁴ María Enma Mannarelli, *Limpias y Modernas: Género, higiene y cultura en la Lima del novecientos* (Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristán, 1999), 47.

⁴⁷⁵ Those are the adjectives used by Dr. Morante in his 1901 report on the houses of quarter 3 of Lima. M. Morante, “Memoria anual del Médico Sanitario Municipal del Cuartel 3,” *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1901* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1901).

⁴⁷⁶ Juan Antonio Portella, *La higiene de las casas de vecindad. Necesidad de construir casas higiénicas para obreros, Tesis de Bachillerato* (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1903).

depended on that of their “enemies,” the poor. Portella’s thesis received enthusiastic praise from an anonymous commentator in *El Comercio*. The commentator thanked him for his “upsetting and bitter depiction” of the living conditions of the poor, and echoed its criticism of the upper classes for having done “nothing in favor of the destitute class, ignoring its outcry, and for proceeding with a selfish criterion, which carries general damages and dangers.” *Limeño* elites, he argued, had not made efforts to improve the conditions of Lima’s poor, in spite of the age’s “universal movement in favor of the proletariat.”⁴⁷⁷ It was time to penetrate into the enemy territory of *la plebe* to scrutinize it and to attempt to design alternative, sanitary housing for Lima’s poor.

A 1904 Supreme Resolution by the Central Government commissioned physician Leonidas Avendaño and engineer Santiago Basurco to create a report on the sanitary conditions of poor *Limeño* dwellings. The Resolution was based on the perception that the high mortality and morbidity rates of the city were caused by the anti-hygienic conditions of the *casas de vecindad* (crowded tenements), *callejones* (rundown, ghettoized properties), and *solares* (lots occupied by informally built shacks). In short, the dwellings where the majority of Lima’s poor resided. Avendaño and Basurco’s diagnosis was also to include a plan for the construction of houses and neighborhoods for workers.⁴⁷⁸ Basurco, a prominent Engineer of the State, quickly released a brief preliminary report in which he deplored the physical conditions of the poor’s residences, and argued that their decaying environment had pernicious physical, cultural, moral, and racial effects on the population at large.

The engineer/ethnographer elaborated a “realistic” narration of the neighborhoods and houses he claimed to “describe in all of its terrifying reality.” Lima’s poor lived in miserable

⁴⁷⁷ “Una Tesis importante,” *El Comercio*, October 11, 1903.

⁴⁷⁸ *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, I, no. 1 (1905): 214-5.

conditions that were unacceptable in modern times. Their dwellings were built with the same materials and technology used “in the times of Francisco Pizarro.”⁴⁷⁹ The floors in the *casas de vecindad* were uneven and dirty; the common areas were narrow and did not receive enough daylight, while the smoke from the tenants’ stoves could not be liberated, creating a polluted atmosphere that promoted illnesses and sickened the visitor. The mud and dab used in the construction of the dwelling’s walls absorbed the humidity of Lima’s environment, generating ailments among the occupants; the uneven, rustic walls offered an ideal habitat for rodents.

These built environments had negative effects on the occupants’ habits. The neighborhoods were so narrow and crowded that their tenants were forced to maintain close relationships with each other, which in turn facilitated numerous “opportunities to engage in relationships of intimate friendship” as well as “opportunities to quarrel for causes related to the state in which they live.” This proximity in misery also promoted “gatherings in which alcohol plays a major role.” As a result, the habitats of the poor were “dumps of misery, filth, immorality, and every bad thing a human mind can imagine.”⁴⁸⁰ A heady literary mixture of science and disgust gave such reports a “realistic” and sensual tone. Elite readers were invited to “peep” into the poor’s private habitats, seeking to stimulate the reader’s imagination by way of detailed descriptions of odors and voyeuristic suggestions of “intimate relations... and every bad thing a human mind can imagine.”

The reports reinforced deep-seated notions that *la plebe* was guided by its instincts, and that it did not inhabit the same age as elites. Basurco commented that the poor “did not care if places got more crowded,” if “race kept degenerating,” or if their houses and neighborhoods were “centers of corruption and misery.” This was so because “a worker” did not desire

⁴⁷⁹ Santiago Basurco, “Construcción de casas higiénicas para obreros,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Obras Públicas*. I, no. 1 (1905): 61.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 56.

economic welfare, but instead to spend as little as possible in rent. “That way, he has more money to spend on alcohol in the bar nearest to his house.”⁴⁸¹ Drinking was also an option for the “father” who sought “in the street or the tavern... a way to distract himself from the annoyances he encounters at home.”⁴⁸² The poverty of the families in the *callejones* and *casas de vecindad* was in the reports ascribed to the poor’s lack of discipline and ethics, and especially of the men, who did not comply with the patriarchal obligations of “respectable men.” Using the singular male form, Basurco stated that “he” did not care about the condition of his residence or for the economic welfare of his family. But while the moral condition of the poor male explained the decrepitness of their houses; Basurco, however, also argued the opposite: that the residences’ environment made them centers of corruption where “urchins were transformed into potential criminals” and that degenerated race.

Basurco’s contention that the plebe lived under the same conditions as their remote ancestors, and that mud and dab walls were the equivalent of a lazy mule in the age of the locomotive,⁴⁸³ served to expel the poor from contemporaneous time, and thereby consitute them as “anthropological objects” of scientific study and intervention.⁴⁸⁴ The same temporal strategy is found in Basurco’s final report, written in collaboration with Avendaño, and published in 1907. The final report was a meticulous account of the dwellings of the poor that included statistical data but relied heavily on the prosaic or ethnographic narration. The text readily asked readers to accompany the authors on a fantastic journey through time, into places “whose existence in the midst of the twentieth century seems unbelievable in a city like Lima... More than shelters for civilized men, they seem like caves from prehistoric epochs, from the primitive

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 63.

⁴⁸² Ibid., 56.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 62, 63.

⁴⁸⁴ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

times of the existence of humanity.”⁴⁸⁵ Such reports facilitated the view among elites that different historical times coexisted in Lima. Lima was a city that only partially lived in the twentieth century, for it still held areas trapped in the Stone Age or in the early colonial period. The inhabitants of these primitive areas or *callejones* did not inhabit modernity or contemporaneity.

Certain passages of the experts’ report, however, appear to betray horror in relation to the poor’s temporal promiscuity. After describing a tenement in the heart of the city with the usual words of disgust (“a mare magnum,” “filthy dump,” the “negation of hygiene”) Basurco and Avendaño concluded that its existence was a “mockery of twentieth-century civilization.”⁴⁸⁶ The choice of words here is certainly ambiguous. Did the hygienists mean to suggest that the tenement was a shameful anomaly in modern times? Or were they suggesting that the housing of the poor constituted a burlesque curse upon the hypocrisy of twentieth-century civilization in Lima? Ambivalence also appears in the descriptions of the furniture in the dwellings. The experts expressed their disgust at the dirtiness and worn out look, but also observed that here “there are pieces of all known ages and styles.”⁴⁸⁷ The poor appeared to gather artifacts from all the ages, disrupting the “homogenous time” of the nation of upper-class *Limeños* who would fully inhabit the twentieth century.⁴⁸⁸ The physical proximity and temporal promiscuity of the poor and the danger it represented for wealthier *Limeños* were constantly emphasized by Basurco and Avendaño. Their description of the *Callejón de la Cruz*, for instance, ended with the cautionary reminder that it was in the vicinity of an institution “that host the men of tomorrow:”

⁴⁸⁵ Santiago Basurco and Leonidas Avendaño, “Higiene de la habitación. Informe emitido por la comisión nombrada por el gobierno para estudiar las condiciones sanitarias de las casas de vecindad,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, 3, no. 4-5 (1907): 84.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁴⁸⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

the prestigious *Colegio Guadalupe*.⁴⁸⁹ Basurco and Avendaño repeatedly mentioned the laundry women who washed better-off people's clothes in the most unsanitary conditions of the *callejones*.⁴⁹⁰ They, too, were, an ubiquitous sign that the poor were not immobile and stuck in their "caves" but dangerous, liminal individuals who moved across social space and time, and who readily penetrated into elites' intimate environments, carrying with them their "pathogenic agents."

Like wet-nurses, seamstresses and nannies, laundry women assumed an important role in these ethnographic texts. A 1901 sanitary report on tuberculosis, written by hygienist M. Morante, had argued that the disease was mostly found among "the proletariat and the shameful families" but he emphasized women who had been "forced to work." Working women were emphasized for two reasons. On the one hand, they served as a sign of the moral decadence of the poor, that is, as a proof that males in the lower classes did not comply with the duties of any respectable patriarch. On the other hand, women of the poor sectors of Lima provided elites with domestic service as maids, nannies, cooks, and launderers, and were therefore in contact with upper class people who did not care to know how they lived once they left their working environments. Morante's, as well as Avendaño and Basurco's reports attempted to put an end to that comfortable ignorance, not to promote compassion but as a call for a virile, patriarchal response to protect upper-class families.

The idea that lower class men did not make good providers and therefore were not part of the *gente decente* was persistently repeated in the reports, and would be at the core of later assumptions in the literature on the lower classes that characterized them as plagued by a

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 82.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 39, 43, 47-8, 111-2.

stubborn *machismo*.⁴⁹¹ The point had been made earlier by Lima's sociologist Joaquín Capelo, who dedicated part of his *Sociología de Lima* to the city's seamstresses:

In the poor families, you often see the mother and the sisters of the shameless man spend entire nights, from dusk to dawn, sewing until they become consumptive, and almost without food. She makes immense sacrifices only to earn a few coins to pay for the expenses demanded by the vices of her shameless man.⁴⁹²

The “women who have been forced to work,” now stated the hygienist Morante, were poorly paid, malnourished and, more importantly, lived in *callejones* or in *casas de vecindad* where “life is impossible due to their poor hygienic conditions.” Morante described the interior of the *callejón* dwellings with horror, for they seemed to have been made “in flagrant opposition to the most fundamental precepts of modern hygiene.” In these dwellings “men, women, children, and domestic animals live together crowded in appalling confusion and without a single measure to preserve the life and health of the inhabitants... [F]amilies of four, six, or more members live in tiny rooms of two or three square meters.”⁴⁹³ These extremely small rooms were multipurpose, for dwellers raised their animals, cooked food, and washed clothes in the same space where they ate, slept, and passed the day. Such disorderly rooms offered perfect conditions for the incubation of all kinds of “infectious elements.” The clothes washed in those grimy environments did not necessarily belong to the room's occupants, for most of the female dwellers worked as launderers, washing clothes for better-off people. The report concluded with the frightening warning that the clothes women washed might carry the infectious elements of the poor into the dwellings of “respectable people.”⁴⁹⁴ The idea of microbes and bacteria being transported from the filthy environment of a *callejón* to the body of an upper class *Limeño* was

⁴⁹¹ Mathew Gutmann, *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

⁴⁹² Joaquín Capelo, *Lima en 1900: estudio crítico y antología*, ed. Richard Morse (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1973), 174.

⁴⁹³ M. Morante, “Memoria anual del Médico Sanitario,” xxix.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

intended to frighten municipal authorities and readers, for the danger of contamination, according to experts, was closer than they could have imagined.

The reports drew vivid depictions of the “savage” disorder in the interiors of the houses of the poor. The revolting descriptions served to reinforce the idea, also promoted in the same texts, of the poor’s degradation. The reports attempted to transcend the limits of eye-witness descriptions, to invite readers to smell the “nauseating,” “corrupted and infectious atmosphere” of the neighborhoods and houses. Every sensorial reference in these texts was immediately considered a proof of the decadence of the poor. The worn-out furniture, for instance, was a clear indicator of the low moral condition of their owners:

Nothing is more grotesque, more anti-aesthetic, and more difficult to maintain in good conditions of cleanliness, than the furniture one finds in the rooms of these houses... Fading, falling apart, and with a permanent layer of dust and dirt, they offer a repelling aspect and typify the moral condition of their owners... all that is a *pandemonium*, an aberration, something hard to conceive.⁴⁹⁵

The association between the uncultured, pre-historical environment and the “primitivism” of the population was also reinforced by the experts’ appeal to the concept of race. The decrepitness of the habitat and that of the inhabitants clearly complemented each other. The Cantagallo neighborhood, for instance, “reminds the viewer of the shelters of ancient nomad populations... [they are] truly infected caves, impossible to be inhabited even by wild beasts”⁴⁹⁶ By mentioning that this area was inhabited by Indians and that its population included an Asian tripe peddler, Basurco and Avendaño’s depiction of Cantagallo’s filth was reinforced. The shacks and neighborhood were filthy and primitive simply because the people who lived there were naturally filthy and primitive. The same association between the built environment and racial characteristics is made in another passage

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., 109.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 107.

This entire amorphous group of rooms is inhabited by individuals of the Indian race, of lymphatic temper, pusillanimous, illiterate, and without any trace of culture, lacking any aptitude to carry out the most elementary precepts of hygiene. That explains the extreme unhealthiness of this neighborhood.⁴⁹⁷

These racial associations were common in hygienist reports. Dr. Rómulo Eyzaguirre had also made it in his 1906 report on preventable diseases. When describing the living conditions of the poor, Eyzaguirre argued that “the indigenous race” was “the most miserable, the filthiest, the one that lives in the worst conditions, eats the worst, does not have notions of hygiene, and lives in an astonishing promiscuity...”⁴⁹⁸ Hygienists agreed Indians were the “poorest and less cultured people” and, therefore, were incapable of living an hygienic life. Since the most crowded and dirtiest *callejones* were the ones where Indians lived, reasoned Eyzaguirre “these circumstances give us a clear idea of the relationship of cause and effect between race, culture, the economic status, overpopulation, and the type of building.”⁴⁹⁹

Basurco and Avendaño also made a clear association between the Indian inhabitants of poor neighborhoods, and the Asian peddler of Cantagallo, with the animals they raised in their houses and shacks. According to the report, the Asian peddler lived “in the most appalling filth,” and shared his small shack with “no fewer than four dozen” cats.⁵⁰⁰ As for Indians, they noted:

It is an ancient custom among individuals of the lower class, especially those of the Indian race, to live in dreadful promiscuity with all kinds of domestic animals, which dirty the pavement and the furniture with their excrement, and contribute, in no small part, to the unhealthiness of the dwelling. Dogs, cats, pigs, guinea pigs, chickens, etc., are the inseparable companions of these individuals of the lower class.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 42.

⁴⁹⁸ Rómulo Eyzaguirre, “Demografía sanitaria. Enfermedades evitables,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, 1, no. 1 (1906): 13.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁰⁰ Basurco, Santiago y Leonidas Avendaño, “Higiene de la habitación,” 107.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 110.

The reports attributed filthiness and the decadence of the dwellings in the *callejones* and *casas de vecindad* to the racial and cultural characteristics of the poor. The temporal and spatial promiscuity of dwellings “true burrows, where the inhabitants live, cook, and satisfy all of their [physical] necessities,”⁵⁰² and the crowdedness of the rooms, for instance, were signs of the moral promiscuity of the poor, who lacked family values, lived in informal and unstable unions, and so produced illegitimate offspring⁵⁰³ “for as long as those arrogant, indomitable, and unsociable wills desire.”⁵⁰⁴

With these kinds of diagnoses it is perhaps unsurprising that the hygienists could not design a coherent solution to the “horrifying” living conditions of the poor. They would arrive at the terrifying conclusion that changing the environment would not transform the racially ruined poor. Basurco’s initial report only recommended to prohibit the use of mud and dab in constructions, for these materials should not be used in the era of the more sanitary, modern brick. He also argued that it was convenient to “make disappear this kind of construction (referring to *callejones*, *solares*, and *casas de vecindad*) that has caused so much harm to the city.”⁵⁰⁵ Demolition was, then, the only solution. . Basurco barely expressed his opposition to apartment buildings for working class families. “Due to the customs of our *pueblo*, which lacks hygiene habits and a degree of education,” and who possess an “expansive character,” those buildings would be counterproductive. Tenants would still have “intimate contact with each other,” and as a result socializing habits could not be reformed.⁵⁰⁶ At the same time, the construction of new neighborhoods could make use of sanitary materials and state-of-the-art

⁵⁰² Basurco, Santiago and Leonidas Avendaño, “Higiene de la habitación,” 7.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁵⁰⁵ Santiago Basurco, “Construcción de casas higiénicas,” 56.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 65-6.

methods, but the characteristics of Lima's poor would end up ruining the built environment over time.

The Basurco and Avendaño report made repeated calls for “the immediate closure and demolition” of the neighborhoods in the worst conditions, for they were “a threat for the hygiene and security of the surrounding population.”⁵⁰⁷ The poor posed an enormous threat because they were disseminated throughout the entire city, so that in effect Lima itself was temporally and spatially heterogeneous and promiscuous. This point was emphasized when referring to those areas populated by a large number of Asian *Limeños*.⁵⁰⁸ The Asian population had become a particular preoccupation for elites since a large number of Chinese immigrants settled in the vicinity of the Central Market around the mid-nineteenth century (see Chapter 4 above). The Basurco and Avendaño report called for the immediate removal of Asians from the center of the city to isolated locations outside Lima. They argued that the famished and ragged Chinese “poison the environment with the virus-filled emanations from the opium they smoke and with the fetid and mephitic gases of the filth that surrounds them,” and that the agglomeration of Asians was “a revolting and repugnant plague, more frightening than all past and future epidemics.”⁵⁰⁹

By the turn of the twentieth century, some of the Japanese who had finished their contracts as agricultural indentured workers had begun to settle in Lima. To prevent a greater concentration of Asians in Lima –that is, the formation of a Chinese-Japanese neighborhood-- the *Municipalidad de Lima* quickly entertained the idea of relocating the existing Asian population. A report presented by the Municipality's Hygiene Inspector in 1901, for instance,

⁵⁰⁷ Santiago Basurco and Leonidas Avendaño, “Higiene de la habitación,” 107.

⁵⁰⁸ The term “Asian-*Limeños*” was never used by hygienists, intellectuals, or workers. I use it to state that Chinese and Japanese immigrants who settled in Lima were indeed *Limeños*, a status other *Limeños* were not willing to grant them.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 86.

recommended the construction of a Chinatown outside Lima to cleanse the city from a population that, “as experience has long demonstrated,” were “completely unable to acquire the most elementary notions and practices of hygiene.”⁵¹⁰ Federico Elguera, Lima’s Mayor, would have surely agreed with his inspector, for he had described the *barrio chino* as an “unbelievable and outrageous inferno,” and had stated that “as a descendant of a civilized and virile race, I have humane instincts, but I do not believe it would be a sin to close that infernal place, and start a fire in it... it is a wound we ought to burn, to protect the health of the social body.”⁵¹¹

Two months after the report, the Municipality approved a proposal to expropriate and demolish the *Callejón de Otaiza*, a large property occupied by about one thousand Chinese tenants. The newspaper *El Comercio* immediately praised the proposal on the grounds that the Central Market needed more space and cleanliness, and that the Chinese presence filled it with “foul-smelling emanations.” *El Comercio* suggested that a lot along the road to Ancón should be destined to the erection of a Chinatown “for Asians to build their houses there, and thus we could progressively expel all of them from the center of the city.”⁵¹²

The inspectors’ reports’ final objective had allegedly been to provide guidelines for the improvement of the housing conditions of the poor. That goal, in fact, had legitimized the experts’ endeavor in the first place. Basurco and Avendaño, for instance, argued that the relevance and legitimacy of their mission was scientific, because “only once we know how and where the lower people –the crowd that constitutes the great mass of the working element— live, can the guidelines aimed at improving their anomalous situation be formulated on behalf of

⁵¹⁰ “Estudio presentado al Sr. Alcalde del Honorable Concejo Provincial por la Inspección de Higiene,” *El Comercio*, January 19, 1901.

⁵¹¹ Federico Elguera, “La higiene,” *El Barón de Keef en Lima* (Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1913), 107.

⁵¹² “Un buen Proyecto,” *El Comercio*, March 31, 1901.

hygiene, morality, and charity.”⁵¹³ They also argued that the “classes not favored by fortune,” and the people who lacked “economic or intellectual resources” had “the right to possess a sanitary dwelling, just like any other individual at the dawn of the twentieth century.”⁵¹⁴

Inspections and reports were the scientific way to reach an appropriate solution to lower class housing problems, which in turn would help change lower-class habits and “the race.” The experts’ intrusion in private homes was also legitimized in the name of the common welfare, for

The Municipality must intervene in every aspect related to the aesthetics and hygiene of the city and its inhabitants. Its field of action is so great in this regard, that its authority must be exercised not only on the urban network, on the streets and the facades of homes, but also in their internal arrangement, even in the slightest details.⁵¹⁵

But the hygienists/ethnographers Basurco and Avendaño failed to elaborate viable alternatives to improve the living environment of the poor, and only proposed that the Central Government construct a *barrio obrero* to be administrated by the *Sociedad de San Regis* --an institution that attempted to promote legal marriages among the poor.⁵¹⁶ The *barrio* should include individual homes for nuclear families, each with two rooms, a kitchen, bathroom, and patio, and with abundant potable water. Different activities should be carried out in separate, specialized spaces to avoid disorder and filth, and a system of surveillance had to be mounted to make sure inhabitants did not reproduce their moral promiscuity and disorder, thereby ruining the sanitized spaces. The experts must have known, however, that the expenses their proposal implied made it simply unfeasible.

Nevertheless, the experts did solidly construct the houses and neighborhoods of the poor in their literary descriptions, and these allowed elites to peep into the lives of their poor

⁵¹³ Santiago Basurco and Leonidas Avendaño, “Higiene de la habitación,” 36.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

neighbors. As literary texts, the ethnographies served to reconstruct elite *Limeños*' self-image as civilized and racially virile "whites" who inhabited modernity as "men of tomorrow."⁵¹⁷ In short, reports served to heal the narcissistic wounds that afflicted Lima's elites after the trauma of defeat in the War of the Pacific. As discussed in Chapter 4 above, one consequence of that war was the generation of doubts about the elite's own claim to civilization, modernity, nationhood, and whiteness. The war had symbolically pushed them down to the level of *la plebe*. Now, the literary construction of the poor served to raise them back into a position of social, racial, and patriarchal self-respectability.

The reports also offered imaginable if inviable alternatives for achieving the "common good," for that notion was largely identical to what was convenient for the elite "everyone" mentioned by Portella, that is, those who could be contaminated by the noxious influence of the poor. The reports served to encourage the segregation of the city to protect the health of "everyone," and they would be influential in guiding the city's extramural growth. Although Portella's strategy was apparently aimed at stimulating elites to invest in the improvement of the lives of "the enemies," the reports also suggest that the poor were hopeless, and that environmental changes would not reform their "racial" defects. The most convenient way for elites to avoid the unwanted contagion was perhaps to avoid contact with them altogether. This conclusion was hardly viable, but it was consistent with the discourse of "ethnic therapeutics" outlined in Chapter 4 above.

⁵¹⁷ My reading of hygienists reports as ethnographic texts is informed by the textualist and poststructuralist critiques of ethnographic writing and anthropology as a discipline. See James Clifford and George Marcus, ed, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Mary Louise Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places", in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). Also see the foundational text by Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

Making a Respectable Working Class

Lima's *callejones*, *solares*, and *casas de vecindad* were never demolished and their occupants were not evicted, with the notorious exception of the *Callejon Otaiza*, which was violently torn down in 1909 to force its Chinese occupants out of the area of the Central Market.⁵¹⁸ Upper class *Limeños* decided to relocate to the newly developed peripheral areas where new, comfortable *chalets* were built beyond the reach of the quotidian influence of their dangerous enemies. Some working class neighborhoods were developed too, under both private and state or municipal initiatives, and these were specifically designed to host stable, organized workers. The immense majority of *Limeños* did not have stable jobs, however, and so could not afford to acquire the new houses despite state incentives. As a result, the vast majority was marginalized from these new developments.

The most active agent in the construction of working class neighborhoods was the engineer, inventor, and diplomat Pedro Paulet. Paulet had studied in Europe with state sponsorship and was named Director of the School of Arts and Trades in 1904. According to Paulet, cheap housing had to be provided to *obreros* not out of philanthropy but as a practical measure, for without it Lima's "social machinery" would not run smoothly. The betterment of workers' living conditions was a matter of "practical utilitarianism," and it would promote the development of efficient industries in Lima.⁵¹⁹ Paulet's writings and speeches deployed an engineering lexicon. The social machinery was indeed made of individual machines, and "the human machine" was the "most precious mechanism of all, but also the most delicate and

⁵¹⁸ Humberto Rodríguez Pastor "La calle Capón, el Callejón Otaiza y el Barrio Chino," *Mundos interiores: Lima, 1850-1950*, ed. Aldo Panfichi and Felipe Portocarrero (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, 1995).

⁵¹⁹ "Conferencia dada por el señor Pedro Paulet, Director de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios, en el local de la Asamblea de Sociedades Unidas, el 25 de agosto de 1910," *Boletín de la Dirección de Fomento*, 8, no. 9 (1910): 26.

difficult to operate.”⁵²⁰ His was the perspective of a “social engineer,” a specialist who was concerned with the “requirements of the human engine, studies the laws to perfect its functioning, seeks remedies for its flaws, and teaches how to take advantage of its performance.”⁵²¹ The “social engineer” had been created, according to Paulet, in the most advanced industrial society, the United States, where the practical convenience of perfecting the “human machine” had supposedly had positive material effects on society as a whole. Improving the conditions of workers was, then, an investment that would produce a profitable return, for it would make society run smoothly and increase its productivity, and not a “calling to vague philanthropy.”⁵²²

Paulet was not alone in this criticism of philanthropy and his utilitarian view of social problems. In 1905, The Department of Public Sanitation of the *Ministerio de Fomento* reproduced an essay on social hygiene. Written by Doctorensch, “Chief of the Hygiene Department in Schaerbech” (sic) Brussels in 1904, the essay argued that the human body was a machine whose integrity had to be preserved. The health of a worker, therefore, had to be taken care of “with the zealous care the industrialist watched over the integrity of a metallic engine.”⁵²³ If the industrialist was used to value the return given by a machine, reasoned the hygienist, “it seems unquestionably logical that he observe the most idolatrous cult for the health of his workers. However, while the metallic engine is lubricated and cleaned with solicitous care, the human engine is generally abandoned.”⁵²⁴

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 26-7.

⁵²¹ Ibid., 27.

⁵²² Ibid., 27.

⁵²³ “Ensayo de higiene social por el doctorensch, jefe del Servicio de Higiene en Schaerbech (Bruselas),” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, 1, no. 4, (1905): 65.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., 66.

Paulet argued that *Limeño* workers should have inexpensive, sanitary, and aesthetically pleasing houses for the moralizing effects the reformed environment would have on them. Houses should be attractive since “ugly homes motivate men to go to taverns, expel women onto the street, and abandon the children.”⁵²⁵ Workers should be made into respectable patriarchs who could take care of the needs of their families. In contrast to the hygienists, however, Paulet did not appeal to racial stereotyping. He did stress that the current dwellings of the workers were “centers of infection... a savage display for foreigner visitors”⁵²⁶ but his speeches and texts exuded optimism about the possibilities of reform. In part, this optimism was a consequence of the perception that Lima had not developed its industries to the level most European metropolises had and therefore did not suffer from the maladies progress itself created. Paulet was conscious that the development of an industrial society carried inherent problems and he thought that Peru could anticipate and avoid them. Peru was “the country of the future” and as such was in a particularly favorable position to prepare itself for development.

Paulet had visited poor neighborhoods during his eleven-year stay in Europe when, after completing his studies in Paris, he served as Peru’s Consul in Paris and Antwerp. The neighborhoods of the European poor produced a profound disappointment in him. The tenement buildings for the poor “hosted more elements of destruction than of life”⁵²⁷ particularly in the “proud capitals, where ‘space is measured’ and the dwellings seemed like medieval prisons, the patios mine shafts, and the rooms ‘boxes for flies.’” At the same time, however, there were successful efforts that Peru could imitate. Among these, Paulet highlighted initiatives in Europe which included the participation of the state and the municipalities, as well as private businesses

⁵²⁵ Pedro Paulet, “Las habitaciones baratas. La cuestión en Europa,” *Boletín del Ministerio Fomento*, 2, no. 2 (1904): 70.

⁵²⁶ Pedro Paulet, “Construcción de habitaciones para obreros,” *Boletín de la Dirección de Fomento*. 7, no. 8 (1909): 55.

⁵²⁷ Pedro Paulet, “Las habitaciones baratas. La cuestión en Europa,” 76.

such as mortgage and insurance companies, and factories. The construction of low-cost housing not only had become a “matter of social prophylaxis, but also one of the most profitable businesses,”⁵²⁸ he noted with approval. Peru could follow this example immediately. In his 1908 article *Construcción de habitaciones para obreros*, Paulet argued that independent, spacious houses for workers—with two ample rooms, complete sanitary services, patios, and a yard—could be built in Lima. He estimated that workers would become the owners of such houses in the relatively short span of twelve years with monthly payments that would be equal to the rent paid for a “filthy room in a *callejón*.” Paulet would later state that the new homes should be located in spacious neighborhoods with parks, public forests, and wide arteries.⁵²⁹

Similar ideas were expressed by physician Enrique León García in 1903. León García was also optimistic about Peru’s future. While in Europe housing projects had led the working classes into a “desperate situation” of “pauperism,”⁵³⁰ in Lima lots and materials for construction were relatively cheap. Moreover, “the social problem of the old nations is, fortunately, unknown in Peru.”⁵³¹ In his opinion, Peru’s misery “only existed in form not in content; it does not derive from fatal or unavoidable causes.” León García argued that “our *pueblo*” was not well fed, lacked comfortable houses, vigor and perseverance for work, as well as love of health and the habit of saving money, but that all these defects could be corrected through education and the application of a few basic principles. The good doctor exhorted workers to “work, persevere, save money, [and] take care of yourself.”⁵³² The existing “badly understood form of charity” also had to be abolished since Peru’s poverty was promoted by Catholic religious communities;

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 76.

⁵²⁹ “Conferencia dada por el señor Pedro Paulet,” 29.

⁵³⁰ Enrique León García, “Alojamientos para la clase obrera en el Perú. Comunicación al Congreso Anti-Alcohólico de Lima de 1903,” *Boletín del Ministerio Fomento. Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, 2 no. 1, (1906): 55.

⁵³¹ Ibid., 55.

⁵³² Ibid., 55.

as a result, the poor “beg for food, and find extraordinary facility for idleness.”⁵³³ León García criticized Peru’s aristocracy for bequeathing their fortunes to pious, religious institutions. Peru did not need this kind of charity; instead, it required scientifically directed intervention supported by the state.

Paulet’s optimismism was also related to his proximity to a large sector of Lima’s workers. As Director of the School of Arts and Trades, he was aware that at least some workers were adopting measures of self-sanitation and reformation in an effort to support their claims that they too were civilized, and so distance themselves from the baneful category of *la plebe*. Paulet was particularly close to workers organized in the *Asamblea de Sociedades Unidas*, the largest association of mutual aid societies of the time.⁵³⁴ Lima’s workers had a tradition of association in mutual aid societies since the mid-nineteenth century. The societies provided financial and health assistance to unemployed, ill, and disabled workers, and covered members’ funeral expenses.⁵³⁵ Some societies also voiced demands to lower food prices, and provided assistance to strikers.⁵³⁶ They also founded primary schools and “popular libraries” on their premises, organized conferences by university students and experts –such as Paulet himself—⁵³⁷ promoted theater and literature among members, and participated in educational campaigns –such as the 1903 *Congreso Anti-alcohólico* organized by state and municipal agents to civilize Lima’s poor.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 55-6.

⁵³⁴ Agustín Barcelli has argued that the *Asamblea de Sociedades Unidas* had fifteen thousand affiliates by the early twentieth century. Agustín Barcelli, *Crónicas de las luchas obreras en el Perú. (Historia del sindicalismo peruano)* (Lima: Cuadernos sindicales, 1979), 45. Peter Blanchard, however, has stated that the *Asamblea* claimed forty-nine constituent societies with four thousand members. Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement, 1883-1919* (University of Pittsburg Press, 1982), 35.

⁵³⁵ Inigo García-Bryce, *Crafting the Republic; Lima’s Artisans and Nation Building in Peru, 1821-1879* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).

⁵³⁶ Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement*; Ricardo Temoche, *Cofradías, gremios, mutuales y sindicatos en el Perú*, (Lima: Escuela Nueva, 1987), 77-8.

⁵³⁷ *The Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1902* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1902) reports on conferences given by municipal hygiene experts on the premises of the “Confederación de Artesanos Unión Universal.”

⁵³⁸ Iñigo García-Bryce has argued that the mutual aid societies of the nineteenth century allowed artisans and workers to claim membership in “respectable society,”⁵³⁹ and the same may be said of workers’ movements in the early twentieth century. Not only did the societies help prevent workers from slipping into a state of total destitution during hard times; they promoted the identity of “*gente decente*,” that is, the notion that organized workers were better than day laborers, peons, domestic servants, and the unemployed.

The *Asamblea de Sociedades Unidas* in particular was a moderate association that had been created in 1891. As with previous worker movements, it had received the support of the state and even from entrepreneurs. Its activities, after all, reproduced the language of reform of modernizing elites, with an emphasis on hygiene and self-reformation, and its political agenda was to reconcile “the interests of the factory owners with the needs of the workers.”⁵⁴⁰ In this regard, it is significant that the First Provincial Congress of Workers, convened in August 1896, was held in the luxurious *Palacio de la Exposición* commonly used for the banquets and receptions of elites. The First National Congress of Workers, organized by the *Confederación de Artesanos Unión Universal*, the other large association of mutual aid societies, was held in Peru’s Chamber of Deputies and was sponsored by the central government.⁵⁴¹

Paulet’s 1910 speech in the headquarters of the *Asamblea de Sociedades Unidas* expressed optimism at the future of Lima’s workers. He emphatically opposed political discourses based on class and so never spoke of a “working class,” arguing that there was “no

⁵³⁸ The *Asamblea de Sociedades Unidas* founded the first “popular library” with the help of Ricardo Palma in 1911. See, Agustín Barcelli, *Crónicas de las luchas obreras*, 45; Dennis Sulmont, *El movimiento obrero en el Perú/ 1900-1956*, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1975), 72; David Parker, “Civilizing the City of Kings: Hygiene and Housing in Lima, Peru,” in *Cities of Hope: People, Protests, and Progress in Urbanizing Latin America, 1870-1930*, ed. Ronn Pinneo and James Baer (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), 166.

⁵³⁹ Iñigo García-Bryce, *Crafting the Republic*, 105-31.

⁵⁴⁰ Dennis Sulmont, *El movimiento obrero en el Perú*, 72.

⁵⁴¹ Agustín Barcelli, *Crónicas de las luchas obreras*, 57, 59; Dennis Sulmont, *El movimiento obrero en el Perú*, 72.

reason to invoke the class struggle” in Peru.⁵⁴² But he knew that the worker’s association had rejected the use of a language of class, which it considered proper to “diseased philosophies...confused theories.” As the Vice President stated, “we know there can be no social problems among us since there are no social classes, property is accessible to all, our laws consecrate every freedom, and our genuinely democratic institutions have erased the frontiers of race and genealogical distinctions by viewing everyone as elements of society and free and equal citizens.”⁵⁴³ Paulet, then, did not need to use the word “class” to air his proposals for the construction of houses as a central element of the “democratic rights of citizens in a free and independent republic.”⁵⁴⁴

Paulet was speaking to an audience that was constructing a sense of identity based on their distinctiveness vis-à-vis the *jornaleros*, *peones*, and the large mass of people engaged in informal activities. More radical worker movements, such as the anarchists, differed from mutual aid societies in their political strategies, but they too engaged in a process of self-reformation and civilizing that echoed the discourse of the higienists. Manuel González Prada, the aristocratic intellectual leader of the anarchist movement, had bitterly criticized artisan mutual aid societies, charging that

the Lima artisans sit between the simple day workers (whom they despise) and the upper class (whom they adulate). They constitute a pseudo-aristocracy with all the ignorance of the lower ones and all the depravation of the upper ones... Since they have no convictions, and do not have the slightest idea of their social mission or their rights...they play the role of courtiers or lackeys to all legal or illegal powers.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴² See, Manuel González Prada, “El Primero de Mayo, 1906” *Anarquía* (Santiago: Editorial Ercilla, 1936). (1906).

⁵⁴³ Editorial written by the Vice President of the *Asamblea de Sociedades Unidas* in 1911. Quoted by Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement*, 35.

⁵⁴⁴ “Conferencia dada por el señor Pedro Paulet,” 27.

⁵⁴⁵ Quoted by Ricardo Temoche, *Cofradías, gremios, mutuales y sindicatos*, 89. The quote also appears in Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement*, 47.

González Prada was alluding to the mutual aid societies close links with governmental authorities, and their alleged lack of ideological commitment, an accusation repeatedly made in anarchist publications such as *Los Parias*, *El Artesano*, and *Integridad*, all of them linked in one way or another to González Prada. Anarchist movements took a more confrontational stance against governments and owners, organizing protests and struggling for the eight-hour work-day, but they never gained the massive support of workers.⁵⁴⁶ In spite of these differences with the more conciliatory mutual aid societies, however, anarchist institutions were also interested in workers' reformation, and repeatedly argued that workers needed to embrace education and become "modern." In 1905 the newspaper *Los Parias* asserted that "civilization is not just material progress; civilization is also illustration, truth, justice; civilization is patriotism, abnegation, truth; civilization is nobility of spirit and sentiment."⁵⁴⁷ The largest anarchist federation of workers, created in 1912 with the name of *Federación Obrera Regional Peruana*, was explicitly created to "elevate the moral and intellectual standard of workers through education," among other objectives.⁵⁴⁸

González Prada himself carried a strong faith in education as a tool to transform society and liberate it from its colonial characteristics, and he attempted to form a permanent and close relationship between literati and anarchist labor unions. Although he argued that such a bond did not imply a hierarchical relationship, he also argued that revolutionaries had to reform a "mass" that was inert and lethargic. González Prada's stance on the liberation of the Indians (see Chapter 4 above) was identical to this elitist proposal for a liberating revolution of the workers. The two missions were to be led by intellectuals. When addressing the workers, as in his 1905 speech to the *Federación de Obreros Panaderos Estrella del Perú*—an organization that had

⁵⁴⁶ Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement*.

⁵⁴⁷ *Los Parias*, quoted by David Parker, "Civilizing the City of Kings," 166-7.

⁵⁴⁸ Ricardo Temoche, *Cofradías, gremios, mutuales y sindicatos*, 171.

broken from the mutual aid *Confederación de Artesanos*, and taken a more radical, anarchist stance—González Prada never mentioned the Indians as playing any role in the universal revolution carried out by proletariats.⁵⁴⁹ The mission of the proletariat implied the omission of the Indians. The anarchist's omission was not gratuitous, for he was addressing an audience who was interested in distancing itself from “uncivilized” Indians, and urban *plebe*. Workers were constructing a notion of themselves as “the men of tomorrow” which also denied coevalness to the “non-modern” elites that González Prada had forcefully attacked as “serfs.” Elites, Indians, and *la plebe* were remnants of a world that would be transformed by the liberating action of the energetic proletariat.

Mutual aid societies and anarchist labor movements, therefore, reformulated the ideas on hygiene and moral reform to claim workers' *avant garde* position in society. They criticized gambling and vagrancy, and traditional diversions such as cockfighting and bullfighting, arguing that the ultimate blame for those vices fell on Lima's elites and authorities. They struggled for decent, sanitary housing for the working class, not the poor in general; they, as respectable members of society, had to be protected from the noxious influence of *la plebe*, and in particular of the “filthy” and “degraded” Asians that populated the city. Workers appear to have resented the competition from *Asian-Limeños* in the job market and also the fact that many Chinese and Japanese immigrants had relatively prosperous shops and restaurants; they expressed their bitter opposition to Asian immigration as well as a profound repugnance to Asians in a rhetoric that mirrored that used by hygienists and municipal authorities.

A report on a 1906 assembly of workers' representatives of the *Sociedades Obreras* written by an (apparently undercover) agent of Lima's prefecture illustrates the point. According to the agent, the workers had gathered to discuss the recent arrival of a large number of Japanese

⁵⁴⁹ Manuel González Prada, “El intelectual y el Obrero,” *Horas de lucha* (Lima: El Progreso Literario, 1908)

immigrants. Two opinions were articulated by the representatives. One group argued that a commission should present the central government with a petition to end Asian immigration immediately on the grounds that they “invaded all centers and industries in which national workers are employed,” thereby inflicting a severe damage on the working *pueblo*. A second group opposed the first group’s proposal, arguing “with greater impetus, and taking things with all seriousness” that Asians “belonged to a degenerate race, undeserving of being allowed into Peru.” This group stated that Asians be immediately expelled from the country, and that workers voice the demand to the government. The debate among the workers is interesting not only because of the bitter hostility shown towards “Asians,” but also because delegates ended up arguing over which would be the most honorable way to present their demands: in a letter to the government or a rally of all of Lima’s working class. They finally agreed that a rally would cause disorder and consequently discredit the workers’ organization, and so named a commission to draft a petition to the government. The final agreement did not specify what the content of the petition should be, or at least it cannot be deduced from the police report.⁵⁵⁰ The debate revealed that many workers resented the presence of Asians and that they readily used the racist conceptions common among intellectuals, journalists, and social commentators. It also reveals, however, the importance of respectability and prestige for sectors of the working class.

Opposition to Asians was openly expressed in riots that followed upon rumors to the effect that a large number of immigrants was about to arrive at the port of Callao, in May 1909.⁵⁵¹ Demonstrators led by the *Partido Obrero* (Workers Party) sacked and destroyed some twenty shops and workshops owned or managed by “Asians,” and beat the Japanese or Chinese they encountered on the way. Rioters reportedly yelled “Death to the Chinese!” and “Down with

⁵⁵⁰ Communication No. 788, al Señor Prefecto del Departamento. June 15, 1906. AGN, Ministerio del Interior, Dirección General de Gobierno, 3.9.1.15.1.16.17.

⁵⁵¹ Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement*, 80.

the Chinese, murderers of the *pueblo*, robbers of our bread!”⁵⁵² In response, President Leguía immediately suspended “Chinese” immigration. This was a clever, demagogic move, for Leguía had long pushed for the importation of Japanese workers, and Chinese immigration had effectively come to an end nearly thirty-five years before! Mayor Billingham, who was particularly interested in gaining the support of Lima’s workers, rapidly ordered the demolition of the *Callejón Otaiza*, a measure that was applauded by the workers’ organizations.⁵⁵³ The negative perception of Asian immigrants among Lima’s workers was promoted by influential intellectual figures such as González Prada who had argued that “the Chinese has inoculated in the national organism a vicious and decrepit germ. With the Spaniard, we keep inoculating in our brains the theological virus. Between the friar and the Chinese, Peru is like a wax candle whose two extremes are burning.”⁵⁵⁴

Worker’s actions against the *Asian-Limeños* were consistent with the workers’ claim to be *decentes*, or respectable citizens. In a time in which vigor, discipline, order, and virility were considered the ultimate values to achieve a progressive, orderly, and industrious society, workers claimed they possessed those qualities and were therefore modern citizens, indispensable for Peru’s future. The Chinese and Japanese immigrants were available, and easy opportunity for workers to mark their distinction as modern subjects who opposed vice, corruption, and filth. Asians were being constructed as a threat to *Limeño* society –as were the poor— and organized workers likewise seized the opportunity to distance themselves from their poor neighbors, which would in turn help them support their claims to state-sponsored sanitized housing. These claims

⁵⁵² Augusto Ruiz, “Los motines de mayo de 1909. Inmigrantes y nativos en el Mercado laboral de Lima a comienzos del siglo XX,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines*, 29, no.2, (2000):173-188; Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement*, 80.

⁵⁵³ Augusto Ruiz, “Los motines de mayo de 1909,” 180-1.

⁵⁵⁴ Manuel González Prada, “Memoranda,” *El tonel de Diógenes, seguido de Fragmentaria y Memoranda* (Mexico: Tezontle, 1945), 235.

had the active support of Paulet and other specialists such as the physician Enrique León García, whose speech in the *Congreso Anti-Alcohólico de Lima* in 1903—a congress that featured the participation of workers’ organizations—proposed that “the serious and hard-working” *obrero* should be provided with stable jobs and comfortable houses, so that *he* be kept apart from the pernicious influence of *la plebe*, that is, from the large mass of poor people who engaged in informal activities to make a living, and who were increasingly identified as dangerous “vagrants.” Workers must be kept apart from the decadence of the idle and dissipated vagrants with which they still shared the malignant *callejones* and *casas de vecindad*.⁵⁵⁵

The physician, who had a particular interest in race—his 1909 doctoral thesis was a discussion on “the races in Lima”⁵⁵⁶-- argued that the human species was as subject to environmental influences “as the most modest of the zoological species.”⁵⁵⁷ The oppression, forced labor, corruption, intemperance, and inadequate housing imposed by Spanish colonialism on what had been a “healthy and vigorous Peruvian race” were still prevalent; “our race” had not been able to break the cycle of decadence because the advent of the Republic had not altered the environmental conditions of his existence. León García’s uses the labels “Peruvian race” and “our race” to refer to “the race” that existed before the Spanish conquest, which was “vigorous as a jungle beast,” “lived from nature,” had “simple customs,” and enjoyed “large doses of air from the fields,” but which had been degraded by colonialism.⁵⁵⁸ The worst living conditions of this race and, therefore, the greatest racial deterioration, were to be found in Lima, in the “small, dark and humid” rooms of the *casas de vecindad*. These poor houses hosted social parasites that lived

⁵⁵⁵ Enrique León García, “Alojamientos para la clase obrera en el Perú,” 56.

⁵⁵⁶ León García, Enrique, *Las razas en Lima. Estudio Demográfico* (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, Facultad de Medicina, 1909).

⁵⁵⁷ Enrique León García, “Alojamientos para la clase obrera en el Perú,” 53.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 53-4.

off charity. The working class, argued León García, was in dangerous proximity to such “unemployed and vice-ridden people.”

The “serious and hard-working” *obrero*, if temporarily unemployed, might be attracted to the easy life of vagrants. Idleness and bad company would lead *him* to the tavern, where he would “drink, become a gambler, a thief, disloyal, filthy, and clumsy,” in short, “an idiot or a swindler of the worst kind.”⁵⁵⁹ García León thus argued that the working class men be offered the opportunity to acquire comfortable, attractive housing; it was useless to preach temperance if the disgusting physical conditions of the “home” –León uses the word in English— “makes him feel the need to leave it... After spending a whole day in his workshop or factory... he will abandon it for as long a time as possible, to spend hours in a *pulpería*; the rest is a known story: the honorable worker of today becomes one more alcoholic tomorrow.”⁵⁶⁰

To avoid the “dissolution of many households,” it was, therefore, urgent to separate “honorable workers” from the idle *plebe*. Paulet’s and León García’s calls for houses for the working class began to materialize with the construction of *barrios obreros* by private entrepreneurs and the *Beneficencia Pública de Lima* –Lima’s largest charity organization— which created the *Cajas de Ahorros* (savings accounts) to help workers to purchase single-family homes in mortgage payments. The prerequisites for access to the new houses in what would become the district of La Victoria –such as the Las Chacritas, La Victoria, and Manzanilla neighborhoods— in an area developed outside what had been the city’s limits, made these homes unreachable for anyone but the workers with the most stable and comfortable financial situations. In short, at least part of the respectable workers was indeed separated from the “corrupting” poor.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., 56.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 57. *Pulperías* were small restaurants where alcoholic beverages were also served.

As discussed in Chapter 4 above, the end of the War of the Pacific brought an intense period of reflection on Peru's national being, that produced an uncertainty among elites regarding their own organic capabilities to be the leading class their country needed to confront the imperatives of progress. A wide array of experts also discovered that Peru and its capital city had demographic problems that made them vulnerable in a possible foreign conflict and unsuitable to develop the disciplined and virile society they desired. The scientific management of the population could be the solution to correct social deficiencies and promote the formation of an efficient, well lubricated social machinery. It was important, therefore, to transform the habits of *Limeños*, to regulate women's bodies and behavior, and to penetrate into domestic spaces to scrutinize them, identify problems, and design policies to correct them.

The scientific drive to examine the living conditions of the poor produced little change regarding neighborhoods and dwellings, but it produced texts. The poor and their habitats were textually created in ethnographies that deployed the lexicon of war in a moment of postwar angst, displaced the ethnographic subjects of inquiry from contemporaneity, incited readers' voyeuristic imagination and finally concluded that the degradation of the poor's habitats was the outcome of the poor's racial degradation. The postcolonial obsession for erasing the past now manifested itself in proposals to demolish those living powerful symbols of supposedly bygone eras: the neighborhoods of the poor.

Ethnographies textually recreated the gap between well-off *Limeños* and the neighboring poor the War of the Pacific had bridged, and offered a clear alternative to *Limeño* elites: to distance themselves from the physical proximity of their dangerous "enemies." In that context, organized workers claimed their right to distance themselves from the other poor, using the lexicon of hygienists to assert that they too were respectable and disciplined patriarchs in

dangerous proximity with *la plebe*. Workers stated that they too inhabited contemporaneity, and thus had the right to escape from the gaze of the ethnographer.

CHAPTER 6 OPENING THE CITY (1895-1910)

By the end of the Guano Age, reformers had sketched plans for the future expansion of Lima. With the demolition of the colonial walls, a series of wide, Haussmannian thoroughfares were designed by U.S. entrepreneur Henry Meiggs and Italian engineer Luis Sada di Carlo as avenues and *paseos* to surround the city. New areas would then be urbanized to include an industrial zone, neighborhoods for the working class, and residential areas for the middle and upper classes. New spacious avenues would also penetrate the old city core, for which entire blocks were to be demolished.⁵⁶¹ Both the occupation of Lima and the crisis produced by the War of the Pacific halted these developments; the urban reforms hitherto conducted suffered a serious setback. *Limeño* authorities and intellectuals came to the conclusion that Lima had been left behind in comparison to other Latin American capital cities, such as Santiago and, especially, the now paradigmatically cosmopolitan Buenos Aires.

The war, however, also provided new national symbols of heroism that were exalted as unifying examples of self-sacrifice and virility. This chapter discusses the new attempts to reform Peru's capital from the mid-1890s through the first decade of the twentieth century. These efforts paid special attention to the transformation of what were deemed to be unwholesome public spaces, particularly the narrow streets of the colonial city which, it was said, did not allow for the necessary "air circulation." A new period of relative economic expansion, based on the development of exports and substantial foreign investment in production by the end of the century, gave rise to a vital period of modernization and recuperation after the generalized postwar crisis. The drive of modernization of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth

⁵⁶¹ José Barbagelata, *Un siglo del acontecimiento histórico precursor del desarrollo urbano de Lima moderna* (Lima: n/e, 1971).

centuries followed principles similar to those of the earlier, Guano period, but was now marked by the trauma and desperation of war.

It was an intense period of modernization, as new means of transportation –tramways, automobiles, and telephones— were introduced into a city that was witnessing an enthusiastic period of construction and an unprecedented industrialization. *Limeños'* lives were radically altered as they acquired new rhythms of daily life, and as new forms of socialization appeared. The physical and cultural renovation of the city produced the typically ambiguous discourses of modernity, however. Nostalgic laments of the disappearance of Lima's colonial particularities went hand-in-hand with wholesale renovation; denunciations of the unwanted environmental, aesthetic, social, and cultural effects of "progress," were expressed even by the most active and virulent proponents of modernization.

The most energetic promoter of Lima's physical and cultural transformation during the period was Mayor Federico Elguera, whose administration spanned between 1901 and 1908.

These were the excited words of

We had never seen in Lima a greater number of new private constructions than the ones built this past year... Aside from the factories built in the new avenues and neighborhoods, the motivation of the owners of the old properties of the city has increased. Everywhere, the old wooden balconies and mud walls are being replaced with properly ornamented brick façades. It is evident that Lima goes through an unprecedented period of prosperity and progress, which will soon make it reach the third place among South American capitals.⁵⁶²

Lima was indeed witnessing an unprecedented cycle of construction, which included new factories and commercial houses, but also private homes.⁵⁶³ The *Municipalidad de Lima* under

⁵⁶² *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1903* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil), 34.

⁵⁶³ Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata estimate that the number of buildings in the city increased from 12,311 in 1903 to 14,230 in 1908. See Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima* (Lima: Consejo Provincial de Lima, 1945); Gabriel Ramón, "El guión de la cirugía urbana: Lima 1850-1940," *Ensayos en Ciencias Sociales* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2004), 22.

Elguera promoted the construction of homes by giving annual prizes to the owners of the most attractive homes. It was an effort to rid Lima of the drab old mud and dab constructions, and particularly those with shuttered, wooden balconies which were now seen not only as remnants of colonial times but as anti-hygienic. It was argued that the shuttered balconies hindered the free circulation of air, and that their secretive or veiled nature as a favorite spying perch did not favor the establishment of healthy republican relationships.

Elguera was a practical man who had traveled in Europe and Latin America. He was elected as Mayor of Lima's municipality as member of a non-partisan movement named *Liga Municipal Independiente*. He returned to Lima in 1896 and began to write columns for *El Comercio* under the pseudonym of *El Barón de Keef*. In these columns he lamented Lima's lack of "civilized" attractions and entrepreneurial spirit, the decadence and disorder of its buildings, and its generally anti-aesthetic environment, especially its unhygienic conditions. He also spurned *Limeños* for not doing enough to transform the city and bring it into modernity or contemporaneity. Lima's decadence was the consequence of a lack of authority and of a general culture of indiscipline and disorder. "With the passing of the centuries" he noted in one of his first contributions, "the city of Lima will deteriorate, collapse, and disappear; for no one does anything for it."⁵⁶⁴

Elguera's writings were meant to make *Limeños* aware that "Lima is the reception salon of Peru. For dignity and convenience, it is necessary to improve and beautify it." Lima could be made "the Paris of the Pacific, without the harshness of its weather and other disadvantages the capital of France has, when contrasted with ours."⁵⁶⁵ Once elected, he declared that the main objectives of his administration were to improve the hygienic conditions of the city, as well as its

⁵⁶⁴ Federico Elguera, "Teatros," *El Barón de Keef en Lima*, 35.

⁵⁶⁵ Federico Elguera, "Las limeñas," *La vida moderna, por el Barón de Keef* (Lima: Oficina Tipográfica Casa de la Moneda, 1926)

beautification and the education of its inhabitants.⁵⁶⁶ Elguera continuously highlighted the significance of these reforms, repeating the old idea that “if we want Peru to become a great nation, we must begin by making Lima a great city.”⁵⁶⁷

During Elguera’s term as mayor Lima’s administration was reformed. Special attention was placed on the inspection and transformation of the sanitary conditions of the city, and a hygiene unit was created for each of Lima’s districts. Several public buildings were constructed to host municipal and state institutions, including the *Facultad de Medicina* (1903), the *Instituto de Higiene* (1904), the *Hospital Nacional de Insanos* (construction initiated in 1901), and the *Teatro Municipal* (inaugurated in 1909). Older buildings were transformed, such as the Inquisition Palace (1903), which was being used as headquarters for Peru’s Senate. The Exposition compound would now host a zoo (inaugurated in 1909), a lawn tennis club, and two shooting practice clubs.⁵⁶⁸ Lima would have its first horse race track in the adjacent Santa Beatriz (1903). The city also erected new monuments, such as the Bolognesi monument (1905), located in a round-point similar to the Dos de Mayo Plaza, and the *Cripta de los Héroes* (1908) in the cemetery, both built to honor the heroic figures of the War of the Pacific. New, broad avenues were also constructed. The avenue or *Paseo 9 de Diciembre* was begun in 1898 to divide the Exposition Park so that it would become part of Lima’s RingsStrasse, or the *Avenidas de Circunvalación*. It was completed during Elguera’s administration, along with its new upper class mansions. The *Circunvalación* avenues also included the *Grau* thoroughfare, which was opened after the demolition of the City walls in the early 1870s but was completed in the early twentieth century, hosting the *Facultad de Medicina* –built in what was the Botanical Garden—

⁵⁶⁶ *El Comercio*, January 4, 1901.

⁵⁶⁷ *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1904*. (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil).

⁵⁶⁸ Carlos Cisneros and Rómulo García, *Guía ilustrada de Lima, Callao y sus alrededores* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1898).

and the new *Escuela de Artes y Oficios* (1905). The new *Avenida Piérola* had been opened in 1898 to connect the city with the town of Magdalena, as was the *Avenida El Sol*, in 1908, to open a new area for the city expansion in the *Santa Beatriz* area. The construction of a new wide avenue in the central area of the city, *Avenida La Colmena*, had started in 1899 as a new business area, and was inaugurated in 1907. The *Plaza Mayor* was also reformed months after Elguera's inauguration (1901), this time to be a comfortable *paseo* for *Limeños'* amusement. The appearance of new private buildings and industries, the introduction of electric tramways (which started replacing the mule drawn tramways in 1904), the telephone, electricity (introduced in Lima in 1886, but used extensively since in 1902), automobiles (1903), and automobiles for public transportation (1903), as well as the paving of streets and the channeling of ditches, also combined to transform Lima, and to increase the reputation of Mayor Elguera.

The Mayor himself was enthusiastic about these transformations, and personally supervised city matters. The municipality prohibited mud and dab constructions, promoted the demolition of old houses or at least the renovation of their façades and the removal of balconies. Soon after his inauguration, Elguera personally lobbied to achieve these goals, meeting with homeowners on the central *Jirón de la Unión* --a street that connected the *Plaza Mayor* with the *San Juan de Dios* train station, and which was also becoming a commercial area. According to a reporter from *El Comercio*, the meeting was enough for the Mayor to convince them to “destroy the old balconies” of their properties, which “make their buildings ugly.” Elguera used the same strategy with the neighbors of the *Mercaderes* and *Espaderos* streets and announced that by the end of 1902 only four or five old balconies would remain, because their owners had refused to demolish them.⁵⁶⁹ This was the tireless working style of Lima's most active modernizer.

⁵⁶⁹ “Reforma estética,” *El Comercio*, March 6, 1901.

His campaign against the old “Arabesque” balconies was part of his preoccupation with giving the city a new aspect. His annual *Memorias* (reports on his administration) always included praise for those who demolished “those old balconies, which gave the city a depressing appearance.”⁵⁷⁰ It was a matter of a new aesthetic sensibility, and part of a general repudiation of a past that was, as we saw in Chapter 4, identified with backwardness, disorder, and indolence. It was also believed that the balconies attempted against the indispensable circulation of air, which in turn was believed to cause *Limeños*’ apathy and idleness; the destruction of the balconies was therefore considered a measure to beautify the city, to give it a “modern physiognomy... a definite aesthetic style in harmony with modern hygiene.”⁵⁷¹

The modernization of Lima during the post-War of the Pacific period was characterized by an obsession with hygienic principles, and particularly with the perceived need to allow for “air circulation” in a city whose weather was relatively mild, humid, windless, and enclosed by desert and mountains. The avenues designed for the expansion of the city were wide, intended for carriages and tramways, but they were also *paseos* or walkways where *Limeños* could find solace and entertainment in their leisure time. These were multi-purpose thoroughfares for the circulation of vehicles, people, and air. The *Avenida Piérola*, which was also known as the *Camino a la Magdalena*, was one of those thoroughfares constructed in 1898 to connect Lima with the town of Magdalena, and to open a new area for the expansion of the city. The 4.75 kilometer (15573.96 feet) avenue would start in a large, *rond point* plaza similar to the *Plaza Dos de Mayo* in the southern part of the city. It was erected in honor of Colonel Francisco Bolognesi, fallen during the War of the Pacific. It was designed to have a central road for carriages, two walks for pedestrians, and lateral roads for tramways and cyclists, for a total width of 41 meters

⁵⁷⁰ Apart from the 1901 *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima*, see the *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1904* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1904).

⁵⁷¹ “Construcciones urbanas,” *El Comercio*, October 31, 1903.

(134.51 feet). It would terminate in another *rond point* from which a new 300 meter (984.24 feet) avenue would depart towards Magdalena's center.⁵⁷² By the same years, however, the construction of a new mental asylum was projected in *Magdalena del Mar* in an non-developed area close to the sea coast.⁵⁷³ The *Ministerio de Fomento* immediately planned to enlarge the *Avenida Brasil* to reach the unpopulated area of the future asylum. This avenue, added the proposal, could also be extended to the center of the city by splitting the old blocks that intervened in its course, and then continue its way across the Rímac River. The purpose of this long avenue, which the proposal named *Avenida Central de Lima* and which was meant to be "the city's main artery," was to allow for the "unquestionably healthy air" of the sea to bathe the city.⁵⁷⁴ The experts of the *Ministerio* apparently believed such an avenue could also serve to transport the much needed air into the city, and asked the *Municipalidad de Lima* to immediately proceed with the studies required for its construction. A Supreme Decree ordering its construction was issued by President Nicolás de Piérola in 1899.⁵⁷⁵

The *Paseo 9 de Diciembre*, was not as long an avenue as the Piérola road to Magdalena, but carried a stronger symbolism. It crossed the Exposition compound, dividing it in two, to be part of the *Avenidas de Circunvalación* surrounding the older part of the city.⁵⁷⁶ It would start in a *rond point* that would connect it to the *Avenida Grau*, its state-of-the-art pavement would then pass in front of the Exposition Palace, and reach the Plaza Bolognesi's *rond point*. The *Paseo 9*

⁵⁷² *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Año 1898* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1899), 302-310. This publication has detailed descriptions of the design of the Avenue, made by engineer Enrique Silgado, and the expropriation of lands for its construction. See also, Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima*, 97-8.

⁵⁷³ The first proposals for such an asylum are in *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Año 1895* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1900). *The Anales de las obras públicas del Perú del año 1897* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1902) include the project for the asylum designed by Manuel Muñiz.

⁵⁷⁴ *Anales de las obras públicas. 1898* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1900), 184.

⁵⁷⁵ *Memoria administrativa que presenta a la Sociedad de Beneficencia Pública de Lima su Director Pedro D. Gallagher correspondiente al año 1901* (Lima: Imprenta Liberal, 1901), xxvii-viii.

⁵⁷⁶ Details about the construction of such *paseo* can be found in the *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Año 1898*, 209.

de Diciembre would thus be connected to the road to Magdalena and be the road to Lima's extension to the coast. Being located along the Exposition parks, it came to symbolize Lima's pattern of expansion: a broad, clean avenue for automobiles, adorned with trees and plants to provide pedestrians with a cultured *paseo*, surrounded by parks that would soon host a botanical garden and a zoo, and governed by the paradigmatically "modern" Exposition Palace. Peru's pavilion in the Universal Exposition held in Paris in 1900, an iron structure designed and constructed in France by French architect Fernand Guillard, was granted to the Municipality of Lima to host the new Municipal Hygiene Institute.⁵⁷⁷ The structure was shipped to Lima to be placed on the *9 de Diciembre*, across from the Exposition Palace (Figure 5.1). The *paseo* thus contained symbolic references to universal nature (a botanical garden, a zoo), universal progress (the exposition palace, a hygiene institute in a recycled world fair pavilion), and to Peruvian heroism (Plaza Bolognesi). To increase the symbolism of the *paseo* as an epitome of Lima's future, the Columbus monument (see Chapter 2 above) was relocated to continue its civilizatory mission in front of both iron, universal, buildings (Figure 5.2).⁵⁷⁸ The *paseo* would soon be known by *Limeños* as *Paseo Colón*, an informal name that the Municipality had to recognize and make official.

A new, elegant neighborhood was rapidly constructed in the *paseo*. *El Comercio* enthusiastically highlighted that the new area was becoming a "quiet and hygienic" residential area, which was a sign that Lima's expansion towards *Magdalena* and the sea coast would open a "new Lima, built in very different conditions than the old one; the promise of a twentieth-

⁵⁷⁷ *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1902; Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Año 1903* (Lima: Empresa Tipográfica, 1910),

⁵⁷⁸ This was Columbus's third relocation. After its original erection in the Alameda de Acho, the navigator was transported to the Plaza Italia, then to the *rond point* that connected the avenues Grau and 9 de Diciembre, to find its final (?) destiny in front of the Exposition Palace. The sailor was a particularly movable civilizational figure in Lima.

century Lima will become a reality!”⁵⁷⁹ Such a promise included the reformation of *Limeños*’ habits, for the *Paseo 9 de Diciembre* was to play the civilizing role the *Alameda Acho* and the *Alameda de los Descalzos* had during the Guano Era (see Chapter 2 above). The only difference was that the *9 de Diciembre* combined its role as a recreational facilities with those of a convenient artery for carriages and automobiles, and a connection with the newly developed area around *Magdalena* (Figure 5.3). By the early twentieth century this grand avenue embodied *Limeño* modernity as much as the older *paseos* symbolized colonial backwardness, or had simply fallen into oblivion. Those now fading *paseos* of that previous wave of modernization were now actively forgotten by Elguera, who spoke about the *9 de Diciembre* as

what the city needed and had lacked until today: a healthy and charming place to invite the population to life, to free air. It will end with the old, vice-ridden and thus far indomitable custom of sedentary life; which goes by enclosed within the unhealthy and humid environment of most of the homes in Lima... This work is a new manifestation of the tendency that has dominated enlightened and practical spirits since the days of the ancient poet, the tendency to beautify and improve. The aspiration for progress combined with *utile dulce*.⁵⁸⁰

As it were, each new process of modernization had to reinvent the city anew according to the current fashion, inscribing past reinventions as unhealthy, inexistent, or pre-modern.⁵⁸¹ Elguera was also a poet, and one of the basic precepts of his administration was that “without aesthetics, there is no hygiene.”⁵⁸² Reforms had to reconcile practicality with beauty. Beauty was synonymous with the novel and the open. The colonial and the enclosed now included the entire nineteenth century. A progressive but anonymous chronicle in *El Comercio* went as far as to argue that Lima was finally abandoning “its medieval aspect, to transform itself into a modern

⁵⁷⁹ “Los paseos públicos,” *El Comercio*, August 11, 1901.

⁵⁸⁰ *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1901*, xi.

⁵⁸¹ Federico Elguera, “Teatros,” *El Barón de Keef en Lima*, 35.

⁵⁸² “Informe del Médico Sanitario del Cuartel Segundo y del Inspector de Higiene del Consejo,” *Memoria administrativa que presenta a la Sociedad de Beneficencia Pública de Lima*, 385.

city,” with the *Paseo Colón*.⁵⁸³ To accelerate this process, the chronicle suggested “studying... the experience acquired in the main cities of Europe and the United States, without disregarding the job carried out fruitfully in Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Mexico, Buenos Aires, and Caracas.”⁵⁸⁴ Modernizing Lima was to repudiate and forget the past and all previous efforts of modernization, and instead look to the rapid development of cities that had not been left in the “waiting room” of modernity.

The *Paseo 9 de Diciembre* was a sign that Lima was catching up. The excitement about the area was registered in *El Comercio*, as it reported on the new *chalets* (a word that was rapidly added to the *Limeño* lexicon): “in less than four months, several houses have been erected. They have the style of European chalets... the rustic aspect of the empty lots on both sides of the *paseo* will soon disappear... Lima will have a new neighborhood, well located, and with a uniform style in its constructions.”⁵⁸⁵ The contrast between the rustic and the modern, the industrial and the hand-crafted, the disorderly and the uniform, was constantly used to oppose the pre-existing city to the new one that was “already” under construction, and “yet” to be a reality. The new houses did not have the slightest resemblance to the old colonial ones. Gone were the mud and dab walls and the wooden balconies; the façades followed French *petit-palais* or *art nouveau* styles –an emphasis placed on large windows. The new layouts did not include the grand central patio of older constructions in the Hispanic style, but instead a garden entrance and a backyard. Upon returning to Lima after a long journey abroad, author and journalist Pedro Dávalos y Lissón excitedly observed that “all the buildings are modern and they have a

⁵⁸³ *El Comercio*, August 11, 1901.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁵ “Un Nuevo barrio,” *El Comercio*, November 3, 1901.

comfortable layout, never seen in Lima before,” adding that “nothing has been taken from the models of the old colonial house.”⁵⁸⁶

New houses and business buildings were also constructed in the old core of the city. The *Municipalidad* and *El Comercio* paid careful attention to these developments and praised the owners in public to stimulate others to follow their lead. One 1903 article in *El Comercio*, for instance, mentioned the new homes of the wealthy Pardo, Alvarez Calderón, and López Aliaga families, as well as the home of Mr. Tomás Valle; it also praised the building of the insurance company *Rímac*, one of the first in Lima to boast an elevator. Owners would see their social prestige increase as a reward for their service to the city. The article ended on a significant note: “Indeed, we will not mention a great number of urban constructions that are also being executed in the new neighborhoods in La Victoria, or along the *Alamedas de Circunvalación*... We only mention those that have architectural merit.”⁵⁸⁷ Those new neighborhoods were for the working class.

The Colón *paseo*, however, was not only a new space for wealthier *Limeños*. Along with the Exposition parks (the area severed from the Palace was named *Parque Neptuno*) and its zoo, the *paseo* would exert a civilizing influence on all of the inhabitants of the city. The *retretas* given by military bands in Lima’s parks on weekends were relocated to the new *paseo*. On March 10, 1901, for instance, the band of the Regiment *Artillería*, played pieces of Italian operas, as well as marches, polkas, and Peruvian-waltzes composed by José Sabas Liborio, a musician born in the Philippines of Spanish parents, and who was hired by the Piérola

⁵⁸⁶ Pedro Dávalos y Lisson, *Lima en 1907. Colección de artículos publicados en “El Comercio” con el epígrafe de “Lo que fué ayer Lima, lo que es hoy, y lo que será mañana”* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1908), 29,61.

⁵⁸⁷ “Construcciones urbanas,” *El Comercio*, October 31, 1903.

administration to direct the musical bands of Peru's army.⁵⁸⁸ The municipality and the media also wished for *Limeños* to spend their leisure time in the *paseo*, and they expressed joy when a large crowd showed up: "since this *paseo* was open to the public, it has been invaded by numerous *paseantes* (walkers)... the garden offers a beautiful sight, making it similar to English parks. One could see several families of our *pueblo* lying on the grass under the trees, playing or chatting, enjoying the holiday."⁵⁸⁹ The installation of the zoological park was also intended to "enlighten children and all social classes" as stated by Deputy Pérez in the 1908 congressional debate on the Central Government's bill to open it.⁵⁹⁰ A new Botanical Garden was also created to complement the zoological park; in 1901, the municipality hired "a qualified gardener in Belgium" with the assistance of Mr. Tolmos, Peru's Consul in Antwerp.⁵⁹¹ The now old botanical garden of the late 1860s had been reduced for the construction of the *Facultad de Medicina*, and the municipality saw it fit to ignore its existence and start anew.

Mayor Elguera could not be more excited about the rapid transformation in Lima's architecture. Years before, and writing under the *Barón de Keef* pseudonym, he had stated that Lima had become "a village resistant to architecture, which offers an appearance as peculiar as detestable... [B]uildings are made as in the time of Pizarro, with no criteria, no study, no reason, and no architecture."⁵⁹² He could now proudly state that "Lima has fully entered a period of architectural transformation."⁵⁹³ But if new neighborhoods were the sign of the emergence of a new Lima, the old city could not be left untouched. Elguera argued that intensive surgery was

⁵⁸⁸ "Anunciando retreta," *El Comercio*, March 9, 1901. Libornio composed the famous *Marcha de banderas*, still played in official ceremonies during the raising of the Peruvian flag.

⁵⁸⁹ "Parque Colón," *El Comercio*, January 3, 1901.

⁵⁹⁰ "Congreso Extraordinario. Cámara de Diputados. Sesión del 18 de noviembre de 1908. Parque zoológico," *El Comercio*, November 18, 1908.

⁵⁹¹ According to the note in *El Comercio*, Enrique Van der Groen, who worked at the Botanical Garden in Antwerp, was hired. *El Comercio*, May 14, 1901.

⁵⁹² Federico Elguera, "Las casas," *El Barón de Keef en Lima*, 44-6.

⁵⁹³ *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1905* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1905), 45.

required to modernize an area that had been laid out before the appearance of modern means of transportation, and whose narrow streets suffocated the environment. Elguera proposed to demolish old blocks to give way to wide arteries: “In order to promote public hygiene, it is indispensable to open new arteries in the old center of the city; the new avenues will be important for the embellishment of the city... old cities can be transformed by widening the streets... opening new and wide avenues by splitting the old blocks.”⁵⁹⁴ It was a matter of embellishment, but also of hygiene, for Lima’s “weather demands open, ventilated streets.”⁵⁹⁵

A new and wide avenue was under construction since 1899. It was initially named *Avenida Interior de Lima* and was to cross the central core of the city, connecting the *Plaza Dos de Mayo* with the *Avenida Grau*, near the *Facultad de Medicina*, also under construction. The project was carried out by the private *Sociedad Anónima de Construcciones y Ahorros “La Colmena”* directed by former President of Peru Nicolás de Piérola. Months after handing Peru’s presidency to Eduardo López de Romaña, Piérola ran for Lima’s Municipality, but was defeated by Federico Elguera; the politician then turned to business and launched its first major project. Piérola argued that such an avenue was crucial for the renovation of the city, especially to make wealthier *Limeños* interested in having healthy, “dignified” housing.⁵⁹⁶ The avenue would, therefore, not only modernize the city’s infrastructure, but also “our customs and national character.”⁵⁹⁷ The former president quickly obtained permission to open the artery and to negotiate the necessary expropriations to that effect. The construction was directed by engineer Santiago Basurco, and its first phase was inaugurated in 1907, while its second one in 1911.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., 40-1.

⁵⁹⁵ Federico Elguera, “Oficio de la Alcaldía Municipal de Lima al Sr. Director de la Sociedad de Beneficencia Pública de Lima,” *Memoria administrativa que presenta a la Sociedad de Beneficencia*, 384.

⁵⁹⁶ *Boletín de “La Colmena,” Sociedad Anónima de Construcciones y Ahorros*, 1, no.1 (1900):5.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸ Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima*.

The *Avenida Interior*, which was always known by *Limeños* as the *Avenida La Colmena* became a new symbol of progress (Figure 5.4). It was never finished to reach the *Avenida Grau*, but new businesses soon occupied its homogeneous buildings; it was a wide avenue with roads for automobiles and tramways and with a characteristically French style.

Elguera wanted more similar avenues. In this, Lima needed to follow the example of Buenos Aires: “Lima must start its immediate transformation, as Buenos Aires has done, opening new communication roads by splitting the old blocks and thus achieving the city’s embellishment and its true hygienization.”⁵⁹⁹ Within days after his inauguration, the Mayor launched a campaign to open an artery to connect the *San Juan de Dios Hospital* and train station—which in turn was being connected with the *Dos de Mayo Plaza* through the *Avenida La Colmena*—with the Plaza Mayor (which, by the turn of the century was re-baptized as *Plaza de Armas*).⁶⁰⁰ This avenue would serve a double purpose: it would give Lima a spacious, modern avenue in the vicinity of the *Plaza de Armas* Elguera was renovating—which would allow for the circulation of fresh air—, and would allow the city to rid itself from the *Callejón de Petateros* a narrow one block alley that hygienists considered a dangerous infectious center of vices and which came out onto the *Plaza*.

The *Callejón de Petateros* represented the ultimate symbol of Lima’s backwardness: it did not allow for the traffic of carriages and air, and hosted a large number of small businesses and restaurants owned by Chinese *Limeños*. A 1901 report by Enrique León García, by then in charge of the Hygiene department of the Municipality of Lima, argued that the *Callejón* had been built “in the times when hygiene did not exist,” and condemned its old façades, the irregularity of

⁵⁹⁹ *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1906* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1906), viii.

⁶⁰⁰ The Director of the Sociedad de Beneficencia Pública de Lima, Pedro Gallagher, received a note from Elguera on January 17, 1901, communicating his decision to open such avenue. *Memoria administrativa que presenta a la Sociedad de Beneficencia*, xxiv.

its buildings, and the presence of “unregulated prostitution,” to conclude that it was urgent to “disappear” the *Callejón* as soon as possible.⁶⁰¹ *El Amigo de Tejerina*—that is Federico Blume, who had written poetry along with Elguera with the literary pseudonym F+F— immediately joined the voices of support for the destruction of *Petateros*, arguing that it was “a living example of the backwardness in which architecture, hygiene, and common sense where in that already remote time.” *Tejerina* emphasized that the *Callejón* was dangerously located in the center of the city, and its filth and microbes, especially produced by the Chinese restaurants, expanded throughout the entire city. In particular, *Tejerina* warned that the *Callejón* was in close proximity to an elegant restaurant where “the most distinguished ladies of our high social circles and the most selected members of *Limeño* society” gather.”⁶⁰²

Elguera’s administration designed an ample boulevard that required the complete destruction of *Petateros* as well as of five other blocks. It was to have a uniform architectural style, similar to *La Colmena*, and connect Lima’s *Plaza de Armas* with the future Legislative Palace, which was to be constructed in the lot of the *San Juan de Dios* hospital and train station. The Avenue was baptized by Elguera as *Avenida 28 de Julio*, and it was explicitly modeled after Buenos Aires’s *Mayo* Avenue. Such as Buenos Aires, Lima would achieve both its “embellishment and its true hygienization.”⁶⁰³ The *28 de Julio* was never constructed. Elguera battled fiercely for his project and received the support of the media, but could receive enough support for the legal expropriations required. It seems clear, too, that Elguera’s popularity had started to raise some brows: the mayor was not allowed to run for a third period, for a law specifically aimed at him impeded it.

⁶⁰¹ “Informe del Médico Sanitario del Cuartel Segundo,” 385.

⁶⁰² *El Amigo de Tejerina*, “El país de los trámites,” *El Comercio*, February 17, 1901.

⁶⁰³ *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1906*, viii.

Elguera's first reform was the transformation of the *Plaza Mayor (de Armas)*. The plaza received new stone pavement, and the large esplanade was transformed to give way to green areas, with walks for pedestrians. The marble benches were replaced with a large number of iron and wood ones, and the marble statues and vases were removed. The Plaza also received new lightning. The intention was to follow the style of English parks,⁶⁰⁴ that is, a place for entertainment and relaxation with green areas. The inspector of thoroughfares and *paseos* of Lima's Municipality argued that the old Plaza had a "colonial and withered somnolence," and was only attractive "for the meditations of the unemployed and vagrants of low esteem." The new one, for its part, was "a social center... children go to play there, and a great number of people like to go at all hours."⁶⁰⁵ To Elguera, the sixteenth-century Plaza had finally been transformed into a twentieth-century one (Figure 5.5).⁶⁰⁶ Other plazas were also converted into comfortable *paseos*; the *Plaza Bolívar* (Monteagudo's *Plaza de la Constitución*, that *Limeños* still called *de la Inquisición*), for instance was also transformed to provide a cultured space for outdoor leisure.⁶⁰⁷ The Belgian gardener hired by the Municipality was in charge of all parks.

The new public buildings constructed during the post-War of the Pacific period conformed to the architectural and hygienic standards. A project for a new prison for Lima, presented by architect Basurco under the pseudonym *Desiderio* won an open competition called by the *Ministerio de Fomento* in 1906. The jury, which included the President of the Supreme Court, Alberto Elmore, the intellectual Javier Prado, physician Francisco Almenara Butler, and City engineer Alejandro Guevara, chose Basurco's proposal—a *panopticon* for three hundred inmates with six radial pavilions that included workshops—because the design proved the

⁶⁰⁴ *El Comercio*, May 15, 1901.

⁶⁰⁵ "Memoria de la Inspección de Alamedas y Paseos. Al señor Alcalde del Honorable Consejo Provincial," *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1903*, ii-iii.

⁶⁰⁶ *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1901* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1901).

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

building would have plenty of light and ventilation.⁶⁰⁸ Similarly, Basurco's proposal for the new building for the *Colegio Guadalupe*, presented to the 1898 open competition, emphasized the importance of lighting and air circulation. According to *Radamés* –Basurco's pseudonym—there existed two schools of thought about lighting; those that favored a single source of light –such as “Guillaume, Liebreich, Dailly and Tretal, the eminent Director of the School of Architecture in Paris,” and those that argued that “classes must be inundated by light from all directions,” such as “Gariel, Javal, and Hurel, in France, and Janssens, Boens, and the Superior Council of Hygiene in Belgium.”⁶⁰⁹ Considering the characteristics of Lima, Basurco sided with the second group.⁶¹⁰ The same arguments were made in Basurco's design of the *Facultad de Medicina* (1903), in the terms for the construction of a new hospital for women,⁶¹¹ and especially in the terms for the open competition of proposals for a new mental asylum, and in the winning proposal by physician Manuel Muñiz.⁶¹²

New monuments complemented Lima's transformation and were an integral part of its expansion and planning. Eighty-five years after the declaration of Peru's Independence, Liberator José de San Martín did not have a monument in Lima. President Andres Avelino Cáceres decreed an erection of a monument for the Liberator, ordered an open competition for proposals, and even placed its cornerstone in a public ceremony in 1890 at the small *Plaza 7 de Setiembre*.⁶¹³ By 1891, a single proposal had been presented, and the competition deadline was

⁶⁰⁸ Details on the general conditions for the building demanded by the jury are found in the *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Año 1896* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1901), 454, 628-631. Details of Basurco's proposal are found in *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú del año 1897*, 427-431.

⁶⁰⁹ *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Año 1898* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1899), 451.

⁶¹⁰ The jury, however, did not declare a winner. *Ibid.*

⁶¹¹ For the latter, see *Memoria administrativa que presenta a la Sociedad de Beneficencia Pública de Lima su Director don Domingo Olavegoya, correspondiente al año 1903* (Lima: Imprenta Liberal, 1903).

⁶¹² The terms for the competition are in *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Año 1895*, 301-310. The complete proposal by Muñiz is in *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú del año 1897*, 312-389.

⁶¹³ *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Año 1890* (Lima: Imprenta La Industria, 1897).

postponed.⁶¹⁴ Thirteen years later, the José Pardo administration called for a new open competition, sending a circular to Peru's Consuls throughout Europe asking them to publicize the competition, setting a deadline for August 1905.⁶¹⁵ It is impossible to tell what happened to that competition, but by 1906 a Commission, chaired by Argentina's ambassador in Lima, and which included Mayor Elguera, Manuel Villarán, and other prominent *Limeño* members, opened a new one. This time, twenty-one proposals were presented, but none satisfied the commission. The Central Government ended up asking Felipe de Osma y Pardo, Peru's ambassador in Spain, to hire a notable sculptor to design and execute the monument.⁶¹⁶ Osma contacted *Valenciano* Mariano Benlliure, a prominent sculptor who directed the Spanish Academy in Rome and had designed monuments to Simón Bolívar in Panama and Bernardo de Irigoyen in Argentina.⁶¹⁷ Benlliure presented his *maquette* in 1909 and finished the sculpture, but the project was forgotten until 1919, when Peru started the preparations for the celebration of the Independence Centennial (see Chapter 7 below).⁶¹⁸

A minor monument to honor San Martín was erected in 1906 in the *rond point* of the *Paseo 9 de Diciembre* and the *Avenida Grau*. It was a donation by Colonel Lorenzo Pérez Roca, a private citizen who probably sensed that neither the Central Government nor the Municipality made an effort to honor the *Generalísimo* with a monument. Pérez Roca's was a relatively small obelisk crowned by an angel in front of which a standing San Martín held Peru's flag (Figure

⁶¹⁴ Anales de las obras públicas del Perú correspondientes al año 1891 (Lima Imprenta La Industria, 1898).

⁶¹⁵ Ministerio de Gobierno, *Monumento al General San Martín* (Lima: Imprenta La Industria, 1905).

⁶¹⁶ *Memoria del Ministro de Gobierno, Policía, Correos y Telégrafos. 1907* (Lima: Imprenta de "El Lucero," 1907), xvii.

⁶¹⁷ Castrillón, Alfonso, "Escultura monumental y funeraria en el Perú," in *Escultura en el Perú*, ed. Jorge Bernales (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 1991), 349.

⁶¹⁸ Gamarra, José, *Obras de arte y turismo monumental: Bronces, estatuas (de pie y sentadas), bustos, obeliscos* (Lima: Ku, 1996), 52.

5.6).⁶¹⁹ It had a short life there, for it was moved to make room for the itinerant Columbus, which was removed from the *Plaza Italia* (where he had been placed after his removal from the *Alameda de Acho*) to be placed in the *rond point*. Columbus would soon be transported some blocks way, in front of the Exposition Palace, but San Martín was homeless until the Municipality of the town of *Barranco* decided to place him in the middle of one of its streets, in 1922. The monument's angel, apparently, did not like the new location and disappeared.

Both Government and Municipality did act swiftly to construct monuments and memorials to honor the heroes of the War of the Pacific. The first initiative for the construction of a monument to honor the war heroes came from a group of notable citizens who formed the *Liga de Defensa Nacional*, which started to collect monetary contributions in 1899.⁶²⁰ By 1901, the Municipality had decided to support the enterprise, and requested the Central Government to assign a location for the monument. The empty *rond point* where the *Paseo 9 de Diciembre*, *Piérola* Avenue, and the future *Avenida Alfonso Ugarte* converged was assigned.⁶²¹ It would serve to continue the *Avenidas de Circunvalación* in the area formerly occupied by the city walls, with the wide thoroughfares connected by circular plazas, such as conceived by entrepreneur Henry Meiggs and architect Luis Sadá di Carlo when the walls were demolished by the early 1870s. By 1902, Congress granted four thousand *libras* to the Municipality of Lima for the construction of the monument;⁶²² the Municipality then opened a public competition for proposals, receiving 153 from Spanish, French, and Italian sculptors. The proposal by the famous Spaniard Agustín Querol was elected by an international jury composed by the ambassadors of Spain, Italy, Belgium, the United States, and France.

⁶¹⁹ The design was presented in *El Comercio* in 1901. *El Comercio*, January 30, 1901.

⁶²⁰ Castrillón, Alfonso, "Escultura monumental y funeraria en el Perú," 341.

⁶²¹ *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Año 1901* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1904).

⁶²² *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Año 1902* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1907).

The monument had a granite pedestal whose base was surrounded by bronze representations of the Battle of Arica, the sacrifice by Alfonso Ugarte, a hurting *Patria*, and Goddess Fame raising her hand. The upper part of the pedestal included a marble representation of a flying angel carrying a laurel crown. It was crowned by a bronze statue of Colonel Francisco Bolognesi, who was represented as wounded, ready to collapse, and holding a flag and a handgun with difficulty. It was a representation of martyrdom, not triumph, of a defeated soldier that clung to life and to his nation's flag; it was intended to cause grief and admiration towards sacrifice in a most unfavorable situation. Although it was a multinational monument, such as its *Dos de Mayo* counterpart—the bronze was smelted in Barcelona, the granite column was made in Turin, the marble angel in Carrara, and the stone base in Lima—⁶²³ it was strikingly different to its *Dos de Mayo* predecessor, which exuded optimism; Bolognesi's sculpture, and the monument as a whole, was a call to unselfishness, to place to interest of the nation above personal ones (Figure 5.8).

Querol's monument was quickly and harshly criticized by González Prada, who argued it was excessively ornamented—the positivist thinker preferred bold, direct statements—and that the representation of Bolognesi was not the martial, virile depiction of a soldier but a symbol of passive docility, a depressing and lachrymose statue that did not invite to action.⁶²⁴ Years later, in 1954 President General Manuel Odría would agree with González Prada, ordering the removal of “the statue of death,” and its replacement with a “statue of life,” a triumphant and brave Colonel made by Peruvian sculptor Artemio Ocaña.⁶²⁵

⁶²³ Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima*, 99.

⁶²⁴ Manuel González Prada, “Nuestras glorificaciones. La de Bolognesi,” *Horas de Lucha*.

⁶²⁵ Castrillón, Alfonso, “Escultura monumental y funeraria en el Perú,” 343; Gamarra, José, *Obras de arte y turismo monumental*, 15.

By 1905, when the monument was inaugurated in front of a crowd of fifty thousand people—according to a police report—⁶²⁶, however, the plaza and monument carried a strong symbolism. González Prada may not have noticed the contrast between the patriotic agonies of Bolognesi and Alfonso Ugarte, and the environment surrounding it. The plaza had been designed, like the *Plaza de Armas*, as a park for Limeños amusement, with green areas, and iron and wood benches; the surrounding buildings were newly built mansions in French architectural style; and it was located in the intersection of the *Paseo Colón* and *Piérola* Avenue—themselves signs of an enlarging, progressive city (Figure 5.8). The entire Plaza thus theatrically symbolized values linked to González Prada’s positivism, such as sacrifice for the common welfare, as well as the emergence of a new, unified, and progressive nation after the disaster of the War. In short, it marked a new beginning. When compared to the fate of San Martín’s monuments, it is clear that *Limeño* elites were more eager to symbolize this rupture with the past, than Peru’s Independence. After all, they had agreed—González Prada included—that the previous republican era had only been a continuation of colonial times.

Modern Transformations, Modern Discomforts

Francisco García Calderón was a Peruvian philosopher who had been born in Valparaíso, Chile, and raised in Paris, France. He was a modernizer who criticized Spanish colonialism and its legacies in Peru, applauded the orderly and peaceful modernization of the country since 1895, and who argued that the opening of the Panama Canal would allow for the massive immigration of Europeans to Lima, thus making Peru a country for the future. In 1907, he wrote his famous *Le Perou Contemporain: Etude Sociale* in French, in which he described the Lima from which he had recently departed

⁶²⁶ Communication No. 1127, del Subprefecto al Prefecto del Departamento. November 8, 1905. AGN, Ministerio del Interior. Dirección General de Gobierno, 3.9.1.15.1.16.17.

Lima goes through a moment of transition in its architecture and character. It is losing some of its old aristocracy and charm, rich in memories of gallantry, mysticism, and luxury, to become a modern and commercial city, with wide and rectilinear avenues, and white, beautiful, and uniform residences of monotonous simplicity. In Lima one could find the melancholic and voluptuous hideaways of the colonial promenades, or the members of the viceregal court, displaying their luxury and beauty; the old silent convents, and the contemplative, nonchalant, and isolated life of the old temples. Here and there the small and cheap houses, with the grilled windows and the covered balconies, mysterious, in front of which one could evoke the colonial sensuality, the love intrigues, and the Spanish passion, strong and brave, used to dangers and duels. Since the modern days, the municipal activity seeks the hygiene of the city, and the beauty in its monuments... Lima is the capital in all aspects, in thought, activity, moral, politics, and life: in a centralized country, she imposes opinions, fashions, and habits.⁶²⁷

García Calderón praised the transformation of Lima into a modern city, but it also inspired him to evoke a charming and aristocratic village, full of mysticism and sensuality.

García Calderón was more ambiguous than his long time friend José de la Riva Agüero, who, in a more radically aristocratic vein despised the “the modern uproar and the pretentious vulgarity of the new buildings,” as well as the “artificial and dangerous” foreign influences that were making Lima lose its particular flavor and identity –the “wind of ignorance and stupidity that has been blowing for some time, which wants to make of Lima the most colorless place on earth.”⁶²⁸

The rapid transformations of the city certainly made some *Limeños* wonder if the modernization and progress of the city was convenient or desirable. And this preoccupation was expressed by some of the most active modernizers. *Médico alienista* Manuel Muñiz, for instance, whose 1896 proposal for the construction of the *Hospital Nacional de Insanos* (national mental asylum) won the open contest of the *Ministerio de Fomento*, argued that “insanity is a result of civilization... the century that is about to end has been fecund in discoveries that have exerted a powerful influence on the social evolution of humanity... but the splendors of current

⁶²⁷ Francisco García Calderón, *Le Perou Contemporain: Etude Sociale* (Paris: Dujarric et Cio. Editeurs, 1907), 11-2.

⁶²⁸ José de la Riva Agüero *La Historia en el Perú. Tesis para el Doctorado en Letras* (Lima: Imprenta Nacional de Federico Barrionuevo, 1910), 221-2.

civilization are dimmed by the results of a fatal law...the number of defeated people increases in an alarming rate.”⁶²⁹ Civilization not only brought material and social progress, argued Muñiz, but insanity. “While this does not constitute proof the current decadence of the human being, it does perfectly characterize the current historical period.”⁶³⁰ Progress increased population density, exposed people to the pernicious influences of industries, and caused physical and intellectual *surmenage*. It was evident to Muñiz “that the number of mad people has increased,” but also that mad people “have never suffered in the ancient and primitive eras, nor today among the savage peoples, as much as they suffer in the so-called civilized world.”⁶³¹ Once and again, Muñiz warns readers of the “inherent dangers of the development of civilization,”⁶³² to argue that Peru needed to anticipate and prevent the future effects of progress.

In a similar vein, hygienist physician Alberto García argued that tuberculosis was caused by civilization. His first article on the issue opened with a bold statement: “exhaustive and irrefutable research has proven that tuberculosis is not a consequence of weather, and that it is, more than any other thing, caused by civilization!”⁶³³ The increase in population density, and the “reproduction of pauperism,” that resulted from progress, in turn caused the disease. Moreover, the industrial growth, added García in another article on the subject,

Absorbs the physical energies of individuals, eroding them by the excess of work and the chronic intoxications produced by the handling of all kinds of poisonous substances... The human conglomerations in the factories and the dwellings for workers, the generally poor sanitary conditions of these; the low salaries, which are also diminished by the demands of the tavern and drunkenness; the high prices of properties, which obliges the population to live without the revitalizing effects of pure air... have created greater and more difficult obstacles to surpass to beat tuberculosis.⁶³⁴

⁶²⁹ “Proyecto de Manuel Muñiz, Eureka, de Manicomio,” *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú del año 1897*, 312-3.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, 313.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, 314.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 339.

⁶³³ Alberto García, “La cuestión tuberculosis,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento*, I, no. 5 (1903).

⁶³⁴ Alberto García, “La cuestión tuberculosis,” *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento*, I no. 6 (1903): 33.

An identical opinion was expressed by physician Rómulo Eyzaguirre: “tuberculosis is a disease of civilization.”⁶³⁵ These fears were part of a long-time concern about the deterioration of the quality of air in Lima as a result of industrialization, the introduction of new combustibles, and the pollution generated by trains.⁶³⁶ In 1858, Manuel Atanasio Fuentes had already expressed his alarm over Lima’s atmosphere, which was not “renovated” because of the absence of wind, and the city’s enclosed location, surrounded by mountains. The pollution generated in the city made air, therefore, “heavy and unsuitable for breathing.”⁶³⁷ Fuentes proposed an expensive, but “simple and applicable remedy:” to open cracks in the top of the mountains around Lima, so that “winds may expel the noxious mass of vapors” out of the city.⁶³⁸

Every new development in Lima carried its own set of dangers. Gas lighting generated concern among physicians for the effects of the “emanations of sulphurous acids” produced by combustion.⁶³⁹ The appearance of electricity was followed by frequent accidents. *El Comercio* reported on these occurrences almost on a daily basis: Electric lines fell on pedestrians who were instantly killed and caused fires.⁶⁴⁰ By 1903, a chronicler lamented that “experience tells us everyday and every moment, since the electric lighting replaced gas...that even though it is true that it is a betterment, it comes with serious dangers for the public...”⁶⁴¹ In 1907, Emilio Guarini, an Italian engineer interested in the development of electricity in Peru and who was professor of physics at the School of Arts and Trades, praised the “prodigious influence of

⁶³⁵ Rómulo Eyzaguirre, “Demografía sanitaria. Enfermedades evitables,” 11.

⁶³⁶ Jorge Lossio, *Acequias y gallinazos: Salud ambiental en Lima del siglo XIX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2003).

⁶³⁷ Manuel Fuentes, *Estadística general de Lima* (Lima: Tipografía Nacional de M.N. Corpancho, 1858), 71.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁹ Jorge Lossio, *Acequias y gallinazos*, 71.

⁶⁴⁰ For some examples, see *El Comercio* September 13, 1903; November 3, 1907.

⁶⁴¹ “Accidentes eléctricos,” *El Comercio*, October 18, 1903.

electric industry on the economic development of other industries.”⁶⁴² Guarini responded to those who compared “the electric dangers in the capital” to the “yellow menace” caused by the presence of Asians in Lima. There existed a radical difference between the two dangers, argued Guarini, for “we could easily avoid the yellow danger with a radical measure... to expel the Chinese. But we could not think of a similar remedy for the electric danger in the capital.”⁶⁴³ The engineer stated that civilization had inevitable consequences, Peru, “especially Lima,” had to accept to reach economic prosperity.

Other accidents reported on a daily bases were those caused by the electric tramways. Pedestrians were run over, cars derailed, causing alarm among *Limeños*. Some expressed anguish about electricity and the *eléctrico* (electric tramways) in *Limeño vals*. The Viennese waltz had been introduced in Peru as a civilized, modern music genre; it was played in the *retretas* in Lima’s plazas and *paseos* to educate the ears of *Limeños* of all walks of life. It was soon “transcultured”⁶⁴⁴ by elite and lower class musicians, to be played in plazas, salons, and, according to *vals* historians, especially in *callejones*. The lyrics of this anonymous and untitled *vals* from 1900, express the anxieties of lower-class *Limeños vis-a-vis* the changes experienced in the city: “I don’t know/what foreigners want to do to Lima/They come here to install/such a dangerous light/They call it the “electric light”/It competes with gas/and no matter how good it is/it always causes disease/Poor gas man!/What job will he have?/He’ll have to become a tailor or a shoemaker/Or will have to take what is not his.”⁶⁴⁵ Another *vals*, composed in 1905 by Belisario Suárez, expressed similar fears about the electric tramway: “A company has been

⁶⁴² “Los servicios eléctricos de Lima. Conferencia del profesor Guarini,” *El Comercio* (December 24, 1907).

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁶⁴⁵ José Lloréns, “De la guardia vieja a la generación de Pinglo: Música criolla y cambio social en Lima 1900-1940, in *Lima Obrera, 1900-1930* ed. Steve Stein (Lima: Ediciones El Virrey, 1987): vol. II, 274.

formed/it will replace the *Urbano*: the horses and drivers/will have to stop working, poor drivers/they will have nothing to push, with this new system/everything will come to an end.”⁶⁴⁶

Of course, not all commentators lamented the transformations and the accidents. *El Amigo de Tejerina* expressed his satisfaction for the accidents related to the first tramways that connected Lima to Callao and Chorrillos, for they were a sign that Lima was progressing and was going to progress more because “the laws that rule the development of the societies are inevitable.”⁶⁴⁷ *Tejerina* compared the “grandiose” number of accidents in the United States—he argued that 1216 people had been killed and 47428 had been wounded in U.S. tramways in 1903—to “our two or three *muertitos*” (dead ones, in a pejorative way), to conclude that Lima was still “leagues away from real progress;” “We are still far from being able to flaunt 47 thousand and more victims of accidents caused by our tramways,” lamented the writer.⁶⁴⁸

Cultural changes were also promoted, feared, and lamented. *El Comercio*, for instance launched a campaign against the “uncivilized” ways *Limeños*, especially lower-class ones, celebrated festivities such as the carnival. Reformers had also been preoccupied about this “barbaric” festivity since the Guano Era—there is no evidence that Montegudo prohibited it, but he well might have. In particular, Fuentes expressed its disgust for *Limeños*’ excesses, and unruliness. Other festivities and entertainments, such as gambling and bullfighting, and traditions, such as the public expressions of mourning, were also condemned and/or legally regulated. Healthy and disciplined ways of spending free time were promoted, such as theater, the *paseos*, the *retretas*, and new kinds of public festivities for holidays. These had to be

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 275.

⁶⁴⁷ El amigo de Tejerina, “Progreso,” *El Comercio*, September 18, 1904.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

decorous, non-excessive diversions, for “moderation and restraint are essential for a balanced and harmonious life, both, for individuals and the nation.”⁶⁴⁹

In 1901, the Elguera municipal administration prohibited the game of carnival in public areas; offenders would be arrested for twenty-four hours or be fined with ten sols. According to reformed-minded commentators, the game consisted in a general war with flour, color powder, eggs, mud, food, and especially water. Any passerby was a potential victim, even police agents and soldiers who patrolled the city to control disorder.⁶⁵⁰ The municipal order seemed to have been effective, for a chronicle in *El Comercio* stated that the game had not been played, and *Limeños* had preferred the more civilized mask balls. “The influence of the twentieth century is impacting the game of carnival, civilizing that popular diversion.”⁶⁵¹ It was a reason to celebrate, for the traditional game was particularly inappropriate for men; in a time when virility was desperately sought, the carnival showed “a ridiculous feminism among men who practice it.”⁶⁵² Another chronicler joyfully added that “culture always triumphs, and tears out what should not exist... in a few years the game of carnival will be reduced to floats, to ball dances, to *serenatas* like those in Venice, or to fantastic lightings like those in Rome.”⁶⁵³ This was a campaign against the public manifestations of joy and sorrow, for “the sorrow and joy of a discreet home must not be announced in public...they must be reserved.”⁶⁵⁴ Private and controlled celebrations were commented favorably; public ones were carefully programmed and regulated by municipal authorities. The municipality, for instance, arranged Christmas celebrations, lighting the most important buildings in the city, organizing float parades and music

⁶⁴⁹ Federico Elguera, “El fonógrafo,” *La vida moderna, por el Barón de Keef*, 21,

⁶⁵⁰ “Carnavales. Crónica. Carnestolendas” *El Comercio*, February 17, 1901.

⁶⁵¹ “Carnavales,” *El Comercio*, February 15, 1901.

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*

⁶⁵³ “Carnavales. Crónica. Carnestolendas” *El Comercio*, February 17, 1901

⁶⁵⁴ “Pompas fúnebres,” *El Comercio*, July 14, 1901.

festivals in the remodeled *Plaza de Armas*, requesting private citizens and businesses to decorate the city with plants, Christmas trees, balloons and electric lightings, and prohibiting the *mesitas de vendimia* (sale of liquor on the streets) where “the *pueblo* used to find the occasion to drink and fight.”⁶⁵⁵

Once those regulations were in effect, however, observers uttered lamentations. “Happiness is leaving us,” expressed a 1903 report on Christmas celebrations. According to the note, Christmas Eve used to be a night of noisy happiness and “honest popular joy,” a manifestation of the “generous and jovial” character of *Limeños*, but these features were nowhere to be found anymore. “What has caused the disappearance of our old traditions?” asked the reporter, “the struggle for life of the hardworking and strong peoples does not leave room for joy and leisure... the more time man consecrates to work, and not to pleasure, the more powerful he becomes.” In order to form a powerful and modern society, the festive celebrations, therefore, had to give way to discipline and hard work. The report concludes with a short reflection: “Setting all philosophies apart, the fact is that man is sadder everyday.”⁶⁵⁶ The dream of reformers was becoming true; *Limeños*’ cultural change was taking place. A side-effect of the modern transformations, however, were the romantic literary constructions of an idealized past.

But the most intriguing ambiguities about the effects from progress came from no other than Mayor Federico Elguera. A *Barón de Keef* chronicle entitled *El adelanto* (progress), for instance, praised the “marvels of electricity and the prodigies of mechanics,” the presence of the phonograph, the telephone, the automobile, the telegraph, the cinematograph, the radio, and aviation. All these “discoveries, hidden for thousands of years, have illuminated men in the past

⁶⁵⁵ “La Pascua,” *El Comercio*, December 25, 1901.

⁶⁵⁶ “La alegría se va,” *El Comercio*, December 25, 1903.

fifty.”⁶⁵⁷ With such progress, however, life was not more harmonic, simpler, or happier, for “the calm and peace of bygone times have been replaced by the continuous excitement of the spirit, by anguish, and restlessness. Today’s man is nothing but a toy of the universal disconcert. This drags him into its whirlpool, envelops him in its labyrinth, and sweeps him into its tempest.”⁶⁵⁸ To Elguera, each discovery or development hid new dangers, hardships, and tragedies. The seducing presence of the automobile, for instance, produced “a swarm of nuisances, hazards, and expenses.”⁶⁵⁹ In other texts, Elguera continues reflecting over progress and its effects. The phonograph, which allowed its user to execute whatever music he pleased, which made any performer, dead or alive, follow his orders, and which made singers sing always in key as many times as the user pleased, also took away peace and silence. The telephone, made to communicate, ended up isolating people... Worse yet, all those things had become part of people’s lives to the extent that they could not feel satisfied without them!⁶⁶⁰

Progress, is to live in continuous worry, corroded by envy, neurasthenia, and greed. Progress is to kill millions of men in a war, and to leave others useless and mutilated... Progress is to lengthen the agony of the moribund with hypodermic injections, and progress is to have a car of the *urbano* [tramway] in Lima cut a pedestrian’s legs, or an automobile kill another pedestrian on the street, so that he is taken to the morgue for an autopsy to know what caused his death. All that, is progress.⁶⁶¹

The ultimate modernizer, he who made every effort to transform Lima, Elguera provided a synthetic definition of contemporary years as a time of “continuous necessities, permanent anguish and distress, and its disenchantment and disillusion.”⁶⁶² And confessed that he admired “and bow before the progress of humanity, but I also tremble.”⁶⁶³

⁶⁵⁷ Federico Elguera, “El adelanto,” *La vida moderna, por el Barón de Keef*, 33.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁶⁶⁰ “El sosiego,” *La vida moderna, por el Barón de Keef*, 42.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁶⁶² “La radiola,” *La vida moderna, por el Barón de Keef*, 124.

⁶⁶³ “El adelanto,” 35.

Historians of Peru could now conclude that these doubts are a sign of elite's schizophrenia on modernity. That these fears for progress show elite's conservatism and resistance to change, or that they express elite's profound, maybe unconscious desire to maintain the (colonial) status quo that benefited them. Following González Prada, Javier Prado, Clemente Palma, and a long list of other elitist critics of elites, social historians could argue that these ambivalences prove that modernizers were, at heart, un-modern; ergo, their efforts to transform Lima were doomed to fail. After all, has not it been said many times that Lima failed to become Paris, or that Peru is the land of lost opportunities, or that elites were not true modernizers because they were trapped in their colonial mentality, or that each of them was, deep inside, a Pizarro, a Valverde, or an Areche?

My conclusion will be different. These ambivalences show that modernizers like Fuentes, Muñiz, García, Eyzaguirre, Elguera, as well as many others, tried their best to make Lima, and Peru, modern. In many ways, they were successful; they changed the city in a modern way, attempting to destroy or forget its (also modern) past, to make room for new modernity. A modern pattern, indeed: the new becomes old all too quickly. "Modern life transforms customs and habits, and sweeps, like a plentiful river, all its finds in its bed" wrote the Mayor.⁶⁶⁴ Elguera might have feared that the solid and modern city he strove to construct would soon fall prey to a new modernizer, a younger version of himself. All that is solid melts into air. The nostalgia over the past, after all, was a product of modernization itself. The disciplinary machine of modernity was transforming the customs and habits in the city, creating more disciplined national beings, more "respectable" city dwellers, and, of course, more avid consumers.

⁶⁶⁴ Federico Elguera, "La moda," *La vida moderna, por el Barón de Keef*, 11.

Modernizers then looked at the luring eyes of the modern creature they had passionately created.
They were delighted and terrified.

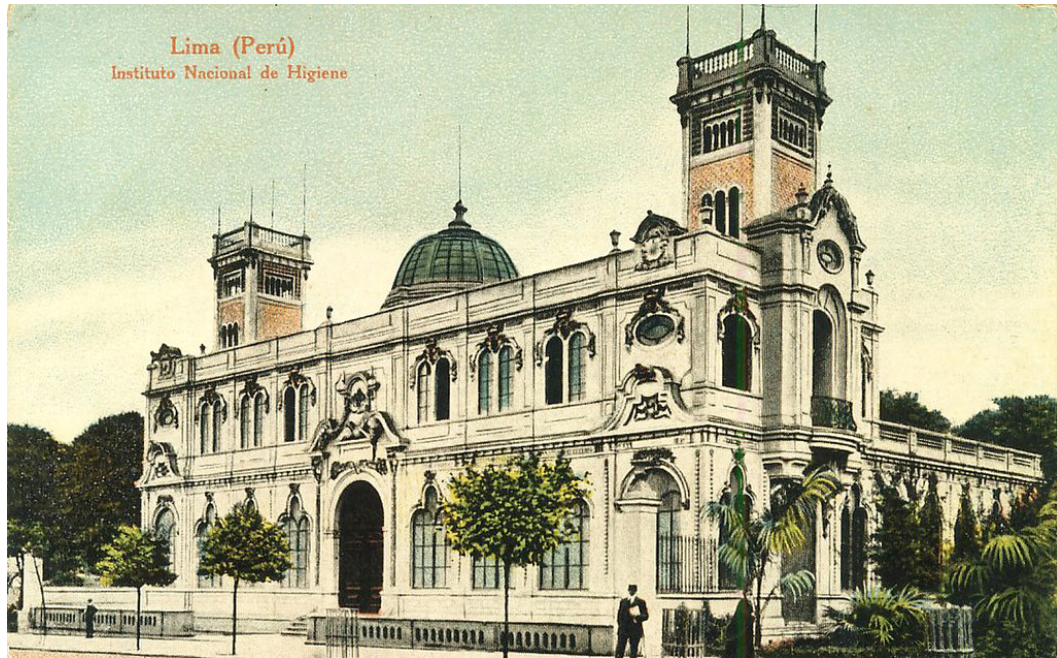


Figure 6-1. Instituto Municipal de Higiene



Figure 6-2. Paseo 9 de Diciembre, with Columbus Monument



Figure 6-3. Paseo 9 de Diciembre



Figure 6-4. Avenida La Colmena



Figure 6-5. Lima's Plaza de Armas after 1901 reforms



Figure 6-6. Monument to San Martín

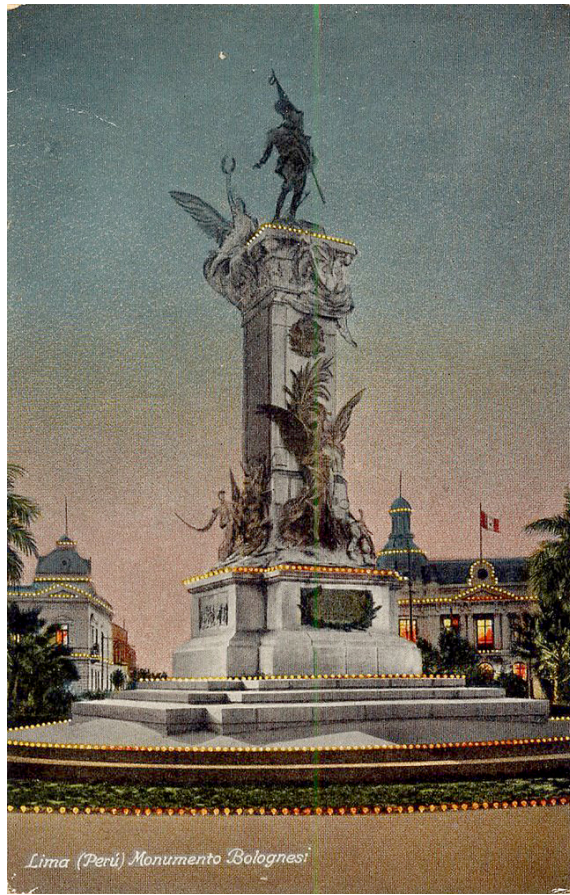


Figure 6-7. Bolognesi Monument



Figure 6-8. Plaza Bolognesi

CHAPTER 7 A NEO MODERN CITY (1919-1930)

In July 1921 Peru held a splendid celebration to commemorate the centennial of the Declaration of its Independence. The administration of President Augusto Bernardino Leguía resolved to make the occasion an apotheosis of nationalism in which homage was paid to the Liberator José de San Martín –a plaza and a monument would be erected in his honor— and which was used by Leguía to consolidate the image of his regime (pompously named the *Patria Nueva* or New Fatherland) as a new national beginning.

The 1921 celebration, along with the commemoration of the centennial of the Ayacucho Battle in 1924, spurred an unprecedented drive for the physical transformation of Lima, as a large number of monuments, avenues, and public buildings were constructed and/or inaugurated for the occasions. They were only, however, key moments in a period of intense expansion and transformation of the city, which urban historians consider “the most decisive and interesting epoch in the evolution of the City.”⁶⁶⁵

Lima was to play an important role in Leguía’s *Patria Nueva*. During his first administration the President had expressed his intention to beautify and modernize the capital, for “every Capital is, and must be in effect the highest exponent of the culture and wealth of a country.”⁶⁶⁶ Leguía’s would have the chance to carry out his intentions during his second administration, which lasted eleven years (1919-1930), and which was sustained by an economic bonanza based on foreign investment and loans. Lima carried the synecdochal role previous elites had conferred upon it. Leguía’s reforms of the city followed the same basic principles developed by preceding experiments at modernization, but it also represented a radical rupture vis-à-vis them, for they were guided by diverse historicisms. Leguía’s modern Lima included

⁶⁶⁵ Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima* (Lima: Consejo Provincial de Lima, 1945), 104.

⁶⁶⁶ Speech at the Municipality of Lima. Quoted by Rene Hooper, *Leguía. Ensayo biográfico*, 146.

diverse references to multiple pasts, as contemporary discourses on the nation's past and character found expression in concrete.

The Discourse of Discourse: The Multiple Pasts of the *Patria Nueva*

Soon after forcefully taking power in 1919, President Leguía made plans for the celebration of the centennial of Peru's Independence. The regime invited representatives of virtually all countries with which Peru maintained diplomatic relations to make the statement that the nation was back on the track of progress and had a bright future ahead. In the midst of the celebrations, President Leguía welcomed General Charles Marie Emmanuel Mangin, Ambassador Extraordinaire of the Republic of France, with these excited words:

France... the Great Republic, heart and brain of the world, predestined by the God of Nations to be the crucible of the great ideas, and the apostle of redemption which, educating the peoples with its abnegation and sacrifice, has always marched at the vanguard of humankind, carrying the banner of Justice and Law... Our Independence was a consequence of your grand revolution, that torch that illuminates the spirit of the subjugated peoples and all the oppressed classes. Our civilization is the daughter of yours... you are the fountain to which our children go to drink from the well of good, beauty, and truth.⁶⁶⁷

Limeño elites had certainly been influenced and attracted by French ideals and styles well before the 1789 Revolution; ever since the eighteenth-century ascent of the Bourbon dynasty, France was the incarnation of *civilisation*. French political, scientific, and artistic ascendancy over Peru's elites had been undisputed throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as elites studied French, paid careful attention to political, scientific and philosophical developments in France, and traveled to the City of Light to drink from the well of modern splendor and wisdom. As we have seen in previous chapters, the language of *Peruanidad* constructed by postcolonial elites resonated with the idiom of universal *civilisation* under

⁶⁶⁷ "Respuesta de Leguía al discurso del General Mangin, Embajador Extraordinario de la República de Francia," in *Discursos y documentos oficiales en el primer centenario de la Independencia Nacional MCMXXI*, ed. Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1921), 124.

construction in the French Republic, particularly in “the Capital of the Nineteenth Century.” The reforms of Paris enacted by Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, Prefect of Seine, in the 1860s also had become the paradigmatic model for the modernization of cities throughout the world; the expansion of Lima was planned in the early 1870s after Haussmann’s urban principles, and to many twentieth-century Peruvians the capital of Peru should and could be made into “the Paris of the Pacific” (see Chapter 5 above).

Leguía’s speech to welcome General Mangin, then, contained references to the relationship between France and Peru that were not particularly novel or unusual. At once, Leguía expressed his admiration for the Great Republic and its Revolution and he aligned Peru’s Independence and republican life with it, that is, with the universal movement against oppression and toward Justice, Law, and Beauty.

Leguía, however, not only expressed admiration for French civilization during his eleven-year administration. At the 1926 inauguration of the monument to the founding Inca Manco Cápac, --a gift from the Japanese colony marking the centennial of Peru’s Independence-- the President delivered these words:

The Incas taught us to love justice... The glorious Empire of the Incas, founded by Manco... was a lighthouse that, from the center of America, illuminated the entire continent. It is the archetype of the strong governments that educate people into order, progress, and prudence, which socialize property, and thereby save them from decrepitude and ruin.⁶⁶⁸

The trope of the glorious Inca Empire had been a cornerstone of “Peruvian” nationalism before and after the revolution of Independence.⁶⁶⁹ By 1926 the Incas --the term designates only

⁶⁶⁸ “Discurso del Presidente de la República. Inauguración del monumento a Manco Capac,” in *La Independencia del Perú y la colonia japonesa*, ed. Comisión organizadora del monumento a Manco Capac (Lima: Imprenta Eduardo Ravago, 1926).

⁶⁶⁹ For more on the subject, see Mark Thurner, “Peruvian Genealogies of History and Nation,” in *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas*, ed. Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

the royal dynasty of imperial rulers— had come to incarnate the principles positivist elites, including the President, valued most. The Incas were now cast as a progressive ruling class that had led its people to development by creating an orderly society in which each individual was part of a well-lubricated “social machine.” Leguía was not alone in projecting positivist values onto the Incas. Julio C. Tello, Peru’s leading archaeologist at the time, and who was named by Leguía Director of the first *Museo Arqueológico del Perú* in 1924, highlighted the Inca’s rigid social engineering in his inaugural speech, remarking that “the motto” of the Incas had been “specialized work, organized cooperatively, as the basis for all physical, intellectual, and social progress.” During the time of the Incas “everything was conducted to make men, since childhood, in a dynamic factor oriented towards the dominion of Nature... through cooperative, intense, and persistent work. Work was a pleasure, not a burden.” A state supervised division of labor coexisted with an education that emphasized a work ethic, and made work “a pleasant occupation.”⁶⁷⁰ By the 1920s, Incas too carried the positivist banner of “order and progress,” and were an example of a state that placed social interests above individual interest.

Leguía’s allusion to the Incas as rulers who had saved their people from decrepitude resonated with elites’ post-War of the Pacific concerns about the decadence of “race” (see Chapter 4 above). Leguía positioned himself as a new savior, declaring repeatedly that he was a “redeemer of the Indian race.” Leguía sought Indian integration into the national community through the expansion of education, the construction of highways, and by making them into proprietors, for “nothing connects men to society in a better way than the property of land.”⁶⁷¹

⁶⁷⁰ “Discurso del doctor Julio C. Tello, Director del Museo,” in *El Perú en el Centenario de Ayacucho. Recopilación efectuada por la Secretaría del señor Presidente de la República de los discursos pronunciados en las ceremonias conmemorativas* (Lima: Editorial Garcilaso, 1925), 505-6.

⁶⁷¹ “Entrevista al Presidente Leguía,” *Mundial*, V, no. 206 (1924).

This liberal program for the integration of *el indio* was complemented with paternalistic laws of protection and tutelage, such as the 1921 creation of the *Sección de Asuntos Indígenas* (Office of Indigenous Affairs), later called *Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas*, within the *Ministerio de Fomento*, and the 1922 formation of the *Patronato de la Raza Indígena* (Guardianship of the Indigenous Race), both meant to be official channels for the expression of Indian grievances. The *Patronato* had civilizatory objectives too, however. It wanted to “instill among the individuals of such a race... the absolute respect for the rights and property of other people, the need and advantages of work... to respect contracts, the need and usefulness of not living in concubinage, to take good care of their children, to practice personal and domestic hygiene habits... as the most effective way to preserve health.”⁶⁷² Leguía himself argued that the *Patronato*’s main objective was to educate the Indian.⁶⁷³

Leguía followed liberal and positivist thinkers in the idea that Peru needed a “practical” and “industrial” education, and he criticized the country’s existing educational system, especially Peru’s “old University, where a brilliant youth... lives enslaved by the verbalist prejudice, that old legacy of the colonial regime.”⁶⁷⁴ A self-styled “practical man,” Leguía had not needed a university degree to become a successful entrepreneur, and like *El Amigo de Tejerina* (see Chapter 5 above) he argued that Peru’s university produced “solemn doctors that make up for their lack of scientific training with verbal improvisation.”⁶⁷⁵ Accordingly, the education of Indians should be based in agricultural schools were they could develop practical skills for their

⁶⁷² Quoted by Augusta Alfajeme and Mariano Valderrama, “El surgimiento de la cuestión agraria y del llamado problema indígena,” in *Indigenismo, clases sociales y problema nacional: la discusión sobre el problema indígena en el Perú*, ed. Carlos Iván Degregori (Lima: CELATS, n/d), 100.

⁶⁷³ Augusto B. Leguía, *Patria Nueva: Colección de discursos pronunciados por el Presidente Augusto B. Leguía* (Lima: Editorial Cahuide, 1927) vol. II, 7.

⁶⁷⁴ Quoted by Rene Hooper, *Leguía. Ensayo biográfico* (Lima: Ediciones Peruanas, 1964), 134.

⁶⁷⁵ Augusto B. Leguía, *Discurso con que el Señor Augusto B. Leguía asumió por tercera vez la presidencia de la República, el 12 de octubre de 1924* (Lima: Editorial Garcilaso, 1924), 12.

integration into “our industrial, commercial, and agricultural life.”⁶⁷⁶ In 1921 Leguía announced that his government would hire “three or four hundred North American and German school teachers to educate *el indio* “to live better and need more of the things he has never known.”⁶⁷⁷

Leguía also created the “Day of the Indian,” a holiday to be celebrated on June 24 –the winter solstice, and the day the Incas apparently paid tribute to the sun— and he proclaimed himself *Wiracocha*, a God-like figure, to highlight his paternal sensibility *vis-à-vis* the Indian. He also delivered some short speeches in Quechua, a language he otherwise could not speak.⁶⁷⁸ His *indigenismo* was an elitist mixture of enlightened, patriarchal philanthropy with a practical, liberal view that Indians should be integrated into the national community by means of the free market. Much like previous liberal and positivist thinkers, Leguía argued that Indians had to be made either into property owners or rural proletariats. The government should also make them “feel the need for comfort,” and then teach them how to satisfy those new needs through work.⁶⁷⁹ This way, Indians would need to insert themselves into the money economy, which would benefit them and Peru as a whole. Leguía stated that his government would thus accomplish a goal Peru’s Independence had not fulfilled: the liberation of the Indian from the “last enslaving chain that the glorious Battle of Ayacucho was unable to break.”⁶⁸⁰ Leguía was not only positioning himself as a civilizer that intended to follow the example of the Inca elite; he also inserted his name in the genealogical line of the liberators, a move that President Ramón Castilla had also made during the Guano Era, when he abolished slavery and the indigenous contribution.

⁶⁷⁶ “Entrevista al Presidente Leguía,” *Mundial*.

⁶⁷⁷ “Entrevista al Presidente Leguía,” *La Prensa*, May 5, 1921.

⁶⁷⁸ Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo, *Apogeo y crisis de la República Aristocrática. Oligarquía, aprismo y comunismo en el Perú 1895-1932* (Lima: Ediciones Rickhay, 1980), 133-4.

⁶⁷⁹ “Entrevista al Presidente Leguía,” *La Prensa*, May 5, 1921.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

Apart from the symbolic declarations and acts of a usually grandiloquent and self-centered persona, Leguía actively promoted an Incanist nativism or *indigenismo incaista*. Cuzco, the ancient capital of the empire and its Inca dynasty should be made into “the Mecca of America” for tourist consumption.⁶⁸¹ His government supported archeological research and the establishment of archaeological museums as educational and research institutions. Leguía also supported the work of *indigenistas* such as Hildebrando Castro Pozo –appointed director of the *Sección de Asuntos Indígenas*— and helped with the organization of the “Indigenous Congresses” held by the *Comité Pro-Derecho Indígena Tahuantinsuyo*, an organization formed in 1920 in Lima. The *Comité Pro-Derecho* was a diverse group, and it included anarchists, members of working class organizations, *indigenista* intellectuals, and some persons who claimed to be indigenous. The purpose of the Committee was “unifying the members of the race and having them know their political, economic, and social rights, because their work represents the progress and wealth of the Republic.” The motto of the organization was “union is our principle, culture or enlightenment our means.”⁶⁸² Leguía’s *Ministerio de Fomento* officially registered the *Comité* in 1920, and the President received representatives to its First National Indigenous Congress, sent a personal representative to its inauguration, and provided for food, lodging, and transportation for the provincial representatives.⁶⁸³ In the Third Congress, held in Lima in 1922, a resolution was approved to praise the President and to thank him for his support. The Sixth Congress, held in 1926, declared Leguía Honorary President of the *Comité*.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸¹ Quoted by Rene Hooper, *Leguía. Ensayo biográfico*, 145.

⁶⁸² Wilfredo Kapsoli, and Wilson Reátegui, *El Campesinado Peruano: 1919-1930* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1987).

⁶⁸³ Wilfredo Kapsoli, *Ayllus del sol: Anarquismo y utopía andina* (Lima: Tarea, 1984), 294.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.* For more on the *Comité*, see Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

Leguía's regime had designed a new Constitution in 1920 that legally recognized the existence of the "Indigenous Communities." Article 58 of the Constitution stated that "the state will protect the indigenous race and will issue special laws for its development and education in harmony with its needs. The Nation recognizes the legal existence of indigenous communities..."⁶⁸⁵ Leguía, then, institutionalized a nativist or *indigenista* discourse that had been around in Peru for a long time, and he merged it with a liberal paternalistic discourse --also present in Peru since the nineteenth century— that aimed to civilize the indigenous "race" and integrate it into the national body. His speech before the bronze statue of Manco Capac expressed those tendencies. The *Patria Nueva*, in Leguía's view, should emulate the example of the enlightened founder of the glorious Empire, taking Indians by the hand and leading them into the school of order and progress, and like Manco save them "from decrepitude and ruin." Indeed, the *Ministro de Fomento*, Pedro José Rada y Gamio, explicitly equated the civilizational figure of Manco Capac with that of President Leguía. The Incas had established a government of "order and progress," stated the Minister, but they also demonstrated a protective or paternal spirit towards the population; the Incas gave importance to agriculture and irrigation, and as a result established a powerful empire that expanded throughout South America. Leguía's administration, for its part, argued Rada y Gamio, followed the same Inca motto of order and progress, and it also "protected" Indians. The Minister then turned to address the President directly: "with a paternal decision... you provide protection to *el indio*, you receive him in your governmental mansion, you shake hands with him, and share his wishes... you want to make the Indian the great citizen of Peru."⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁵ *Constitución para la República del Perú. Dictada por la Asamblea Nacional de 1919 y promulgada el 18 de enero de 1920* (Lima: Sanmartí y Ca., 1920), 10.

⁶⁸⁶ "Discurso de Pedro José Rada y Gamio, Ministro de Fomento," in *La Independencia del Perú y la colonia japonesa*, 39-40.

The 1921 centennial celebration of Peru's independence hosted two major guests: the Representative of the Holy See, and the Spanish Ambassador. When Leguía welcomed Mr. Cipriano Muñoz y Manzano, Conde de la Viñaza, Ambassador Extraordinary of His Majesty Alfonso XIII, King of Spain, to the celebrations of the centennial of Peru's Independence, he did so with these words:

The *Madre Patria*, the common patria of these peoples that she... discovered and conquered with her legendary effort, and elevated to Christianity and civilization... While the sociological needs of growth toward self-government produced that deplorable dispute between such a mother and her sons, it could never extinguish the gratitude and love that burns in our soul for the elevated nation in whose dominions the sun never set. The bonds that unite us are... unlimited; we are blood of your blood; we are your once favorite sons, living proof of your gigantic territorial expansion, palpable concretion of your glories. We Peruvians are Spaniards by blood, tradition, faith, and language, by all that distinguishes a race.⁶⁸⁷

Peru was now “a Catholic country,” and Spain was the nation's *Madre Patria*, that is, the “fatherland” that had “mothered” Peru and all other “Hispanic American” countries.⁶⁸⁸ The centennial would be a celebration of the historical relationship between Peru, Spain, and the Church. The centennial marked a historiographical break of sorts; anti-Spanish and anti-Vatican sentiments had been a crucial element in Peru's early nineteenth-century nationalist discourses. The anti-Hispanic and anti-Roman “Black Legend” had been indispensable during and after the wars of Independence; it was renewed when in 1866 Spain's fleet attempted to seize the Guano islands along the coast of Peru. That military confrontation closed with the Battle of *Dos de Mayo*, and the memory of that event was still prevalent during the harsh decades of the immediate post-War of the Pacific era (1880s-1900s). Even though Peru and Spain had established diplomatic relations in 1879, Peruvian elites maintained their distance from Spain,

⁶⁸⁷ “Respuesta de Leguía al Mensaje de Alfonso XIII, Rey de España,” in *Discursos y documentos oficiales en el primer centenario*, 20-1.

⁶⁸⁸ Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, *Discursos y documentos oficiales en el primer centenario*, lxxv.

which was now considered to be a decadent country. During the post-War of the Pacific period Peru's maladies were still attributed to the abhorrent and seemingly indelible Spanish legacy. While the Inca past had been reconstructed as Peru's glorious, imperial past, Spanish colonialism had been interpreted along the lines of the "Black Legend," that is, as an obscurantist era of illegitimate, foreign rule that had left a legacy of backwardness.

Things would start to change during the 1910s and 1920s, though, as intellectuals such as historian José de la Riva Agüero and poet José Santos Chocano reinterpreted Spanish conquest and colonialism to reconcile Peruvianness with "its" colonial past. The War of the Pacific had created another "other" in opposition to which Peru's identity was to be forged, for Chile now appeared as a closer and more dangerous "other," displacing Spain as an oppositional figure. The Mexican Revolution, World War I, and the Russian Revolution had also produced fear and anguish over the possible consequences of progress throughout Latin America. A narrative of *hispanoamericanismo* had also developed in Spain as a result of the loss of its final colonial possessions in 1898 as a discursive attempt to reestablish Spain's pride that emphasized the vindication of the colonial past and the traditional Spanish values in contraposition to Anglo-Saxon expansion.⁶⁸⁹

The attraction of the United States –Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó pejoratively called it *nordomanía*— as well as pragmatic utilitarianism, was attacked throughout the continent by intellectuals that defended the values transmitted by Spain to America, Catholicism in particular, and sought to preserve regional identity.⁶⁹⁰ In Peru, some voices had been questioning the "practical spirit" reformers wanted to instill in the population during the early twentieth century.

⁶⁸⁹ Ascención Martínez, "El Perú y España durante el Oncenio. El Hispanismo en el discurso oficial y en las manifestaciones simbólicas (1919-1930), *Histórica*, XVIII, no. 2 (1994).

⁶⁹⁰ For similar discourses in Latin America, see Frederick Pike, *Hispanismo, 1898-1936: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and their Relations with Spanish America* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971); Emilia de Zuleta, "El hispanismo de Hispanoamérica," *Hispania*, 75, no. 4 (1992).

Riva Agüero, for instance, wrote a prologue to Oscar Miró Quesada's book entitled *Problemas ético-sociológicos del Perú*, in 1907, in which the young historian praised the book for its criticism to the "exaggerated industrialism" and the "economic utilitarianism" modernizing elites wanted to promote among Peru's youth.⁶⁹¹ Riva Agüero argued that industrialism—which he considered "abject"—could only erode social bonds, and create a "total absence of scruples," and a "ferocious and monstrous egoism... that kills all enthusiasm and degrades all nobility."⁶⁹² For Riva Agüero, himself a nobleman—his title was *Marqués de Montealegre y Aulestia*—the attack on modernity was also a matter of defending his own status and a hierarchical order that had long lost its splendor or effect. The Anglo-Saxon cultural "penetration," especially of the United States, and to a lesser extent England and Germany, was seen as "dangerous" because it promoted industrialism and utilitarianism, that is, it led Peru away from its original cultural roots.

Riva Agüero was to become the main *hispanista* historian of Peru. He would argue that Peru's character and destiny were completely shaped by the colonial era, in which the spiritual unity of the nation had been forged. This was a characteristic of all "Spanish America," which in fact formed, along with Spain, an original and indivisible "Spanish civilization."⁶⁹³ Peru was, in his view, particularly well positioned within this "continental and ethnic patriotism,"⁶⁹⁴ for Peruvians were "heirs of the oldest viceroyalty in Southern America; we were, from Panama to the [Magellan] Straight, the superior political and administrative nucleus, whose command was conferred as a promotion to the outgoing Viceroys of Mexico, the first-born emporium of the

⁶⁹¹ "Prólogo de Riva Agüero. Problemas ético sociológicos del Perú," *El Comercio*, November 3, 1907.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*

⁶⁹³ José de Riva Agüero, *Por la verdad, la tradición y la Patria (opúsculos)* (Lima: n/e, 1937), 208.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

North.”⁶⁹⁵ Ever attentive to titles of nobility, Riva Agüero argued that Peru “possesses through its antecedents, the most authentic titles for predominance in western South America.”⁶⁹⁶

Riva Agüero’s *hispanismo* coexisted harmoniously with his *Incaismo*; he enjoyed comparing the Inca Empire with ancient Egypt or Persia, as well as with “young China.” The empire had been born of a group of clans, passed through a period of feudalism, only to unify itself under an absolute and warrior monarchy. Most importantly, it was a society of two classes in which patriarchal elites exerted a gentle despotism over the Indian masses. In short, Inca rule had made a “paternal and kind imprint”⁶⁹⁷ on Peru. It was the Inca nobility that Riva Agüero admired, and this admiration reflected his view that contemporary Peru needed a civilizing elite “to guide its destiny.” Riva Agüero repeatedly lamented that such a class had been lacking throughout Peru’s republican life. He attributed Peru’s defeat in the War of the Pacific to the absence of a leading class that could unify and guide the nation. He severely criticized the *caudillos* and *civilista* politicians that had governed the country, but argued that they were preferable to the “mesocratic, financial oligarchy” that had come to take its place.⁶⁹⁸

Riva Agüero looked to Peru’s colonial era for inspiration, and he was especially fond of the pre-Bourbon or Hapsburg era (1500s-1600s). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Peru was the “favorite and spoiled son” of Spain during the “world hegemony of the Hapsburgs.”⁶⁹⁹ Riva Agüero found Peru’s geography to be strikingly similar to Spain’s, and he compared the cities of the interior, “Cuzco, the imperial, Huamanga, the white, Huánuco, the old Lion of the Dons, and the tragic Cajamarca,” to be like the cities of Castile and Extremadura, for their “silent majesty” and their “stony and heraldic beauty.” Lima, “the gracious, with fresh

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., 151.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁷ José de la Riva Agüero, *La Historia en el Perú*, 201-2.

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., 472.

⁶⁹⁹ José de la Riva Agüero, *Por la verdad, la tradición y la Patria*, 151.

glazed tiles and Moorish balconies of lattices” was considered “a living accurate copy of the perfumed Andalucía.”⁷⁰⁰ Riva Agüero’s romantic and aristocratic vision of Peru and Spain crafted images of Peru’s cities that were radically out of synch with ongoing processes of modernization.

Hispanistas rewrote the history of Peru, reinterpreting conquest as an audacious, admirable endeavor that brought civilization and Christianity to South America, and that allowed for the formation of Peru. This view had its architectural counterparts. A chapel to honor Conquistador Francisco Pizarro was built in Lima’s Cathedral in 1927. At its inauguration, President Leguía highlighted Pizarro’s “superhuman audacity” to plant, “in the most civilized Empire of America, the cross of the Savior and the banner of Castile.” It was only fair to honor the Conquistador, for “to glorify Pizarro is to glorify Spain, and in Spain, ourselves.”⁷⁰¹ Leguía would later compare the conqueror with two mythical figures who resisted Moorish occupation of the Iberian Peninsula: the eighth-century Visigoth *Don Pelayo* and the eleventh-century *El Cid*.⁷⁰² The reference highlighted the historical dimensions of Pizarro’s deeds, and linked them with the *Reconquista* as an expression of Spanish virility, the spirit of adventure, and the defense of Catholicism.

Esteban Cáceres –a Spanish musician living in Peru, who composed celebrated *Incanist* dramas, and formed “the *Quena* orchestra that must have existed during Inca times,” and who wrote the *hispanista* book *España en el Perú*— argued that conquest had given birth to “Spanish Peru.”⁷⁰³ Other voices insisted that Spain had transmitted its “soul to the sleeping races of

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid, 152.

⁷⁰¹ *Memoria que presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1928 el Dr. Pedro Rada y Gamio, Presidente del Consejo de Ministros, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores y Senador por Lima* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, n/d), 94-5.

⁷⁰² Rogelio Sotela, *Crónicas del Centenario de Ayacucho en Lima* (San José: Imprenta M.V. de Lines), 121.

⁷⁰³ Estebán Cáceres, *España en el Perú* (Lima: Imprenta La Nueva Unión, 1924).

America.”⁷⁰⁴ Spanish domination was perceived as benevolent and beneficial, as “Spain brought to this New World the Catholic faith that many nations in Europe rejected and the sanctity and civilization that Africa and Asia had repudiated; had made the South American people, hitherto barbaric and idolatrous, a people to which Jesus Christ had his most precious indulgence.”⁷⁰⁵ Spanish legacy, which, with certain notable exceptions, had been severely condemned by previous generations of historians and intellectuals, was considered beneficial.⁷⁰⁶ Spain had brought civilization, and it was referred to as “the generous land of the intrepid discoverers and civilizers that gave us our rich language, holy religion, honest customs and example of virtues... transcendental works in legislation, administration and artistic manifestation, such as the never superseded colonial architecture correspond to our Madre Patria.”⁷⁰⁷

Independence was refashioned as the natural result of the development of the child mothered by Spain, in which “young America, a brave and beautiful girl, wanted to get out of the paternal house and live without the tutelage of her mother.”⁷⁰⁸ To Cáceres, Peru’s independence was an expression of the indomitable character of Spaniards, for “Spaniards were those who

⁷⁰⁴ Words of the Venezuelan representative to the celebrations of the centennial of Ayacucho during the ceremony in which Venezuela gave Peru Bolívar’s sword and Pizarro’s standard. See Rogelio Sotela, *Crónicas del Centenario*, 75.

⁷⁰⁵ “Oración jaculatoria pronunciada por el Reverendo Padre Dominico Fray Inocencio Hernández, Capellán de Palacio, en el Te Deum cantado el 28 de Julio en conmemoración del centenario de la Independencia del Perú,” in *Discursos y documentos oficiales en el primer centenario*, 280.

⁷⁰⁶ Nineteenth century precedents of discourses of conciliation with the colonial past were the writings of priest Bartolomé Herrera, whose 1842 and 1846 sermons pronounced in the funeral of President Gamarra and in the twenty-fifth anniversary of Peru’s Independence, glorified Spain’s monarchic, catholic, cultural legacies as the basic elements to construct national identity. See Herrera, Bartolomé, “Oración que en las exequias celebradas el 4 de enero de 1842 en la Iglesia Catedral; de Lima por el alma de S.E. el Jeneralísimo Presidente de la República D. Agustín Gamarra, muerto gloriosamente en el campo de Incahue, pronunció el Dr. D. Bartolomé Herrera, Cura y Vicario de Lurín,” in *Escritos y Discursos* (Lima: Librería Francesa Científica, 1929); “Sermón pronunciado por el Dr. Bartolomé Herrera, Rector del Convictorio de San Carlos en el *Te Deum* celebrado en la Iglesia Catedral de Lima el 28 de Julio de 1846,” in *Escritos y Discursos*. A different nineteenth century conciliation with colonial past was elaborated by Sebastián Lorente. See: Mark Thurner, “Una historia peruana para el pueblo peruano. De la genealogía fundacional de Sebastián Lorente,” *Lorente, Sebastián, Escritos Fundacionales. Compilación y estudio introductorio: Mark Thurner* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2005).

⁷⁰⁷ “Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores doctor Alberto Salomón, el día 31 de Julio. Ceremonia de colocación de las primeras piedras de los locales que el Perú obsequia par alas legaciones de España, República Argentina y Brasil.” in *Discursos y documentos oficiales en el primer centenario*, 327.

⁷⁰⁸ “Oración jaculatoria,” 280.

obtained independence from Spain.”⁷⁰⁹ In this consanguineal rhetoric independence was a family affair. The Conde de la Viñaza expressed that “although the sons have emancipated themselves, the family is always the same, and the bonds that unite it are indestructible.”⁷¹⁰ For his part, Leguía argued that the Battle of Ayacucho could not be interpreted as the defeat of Spain, because it had been an event analogous to “juridical emancipation in the life of men: an inevitable crisis of growth.”⁷¹¹ This perception of Spain as “mother” contrasted with early republican anti-Hispanic sentiments, which made the writers of newspaper *Los Andes Libres*, for instance, speak of Spain in 1821 as a “screaming old stepmother that frightened America during her childhood.”⁷¹² The hated stepmother had now become a “loving mother who acknowledges that those little ones that had once delighted in the Iberian home have now come of age, and she opens her arms and gives advice, perhaps even feeling, at the bottom of her heart, a yearning for grandchildren.”⁷¹³

This shift in the language of independence allowed for reconciliation with contemporary Spain and an exaltation of Peru’s colonial past. Peru could now feel proud both of Incan and Spanish rule, since both were *our* glorious, imperial, and noble pasts. This was not the unifying narrative republican Sebastián Lorente had crafted during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, as analyzed by Mark Thurner.⁷¹⁴ Lorente, a Spanish born physician, philosopher, and historian, had elaborated an integral narrative of Peruvian history, which avoided the *Black Legend* sentiments of many of his Peruvian contemporaries. Thurner argues, however, that Lorente’s was not a history of elites and governors –Incas, Viceroy and Kings, Presidents—but

⁷⁰⁹ Estebán Cáceres, *España en el Perú*, 16.

⁷¹⁰ Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, *Discursos y documentos oficiales en el primer centenario*, 17.

⁷¹¹ *El Perú en el Centenario de Ayacucho*, 147.

⁷¹² *Los Andes Libres*, September 18, 1821, quoted by Mónica Quijada, “De la colonia a la república: inclusión, exclusión y memoria histórica en el Perú,” *Histórica*, XVIII, no. 2 (1994): 369.

⁷¹³ *La Prensa*, May 2, 1921.

⁷¹⁴ Mark Thurner, “Una historia peruana para el pueblo peruano. De la genealogía fundacional de Sebastián Lorente.”

a history that stressed the existence of *Peruanidad* since the most remote times. For Lorente, the greatness of the past was to be found not in the rulers but in “Peruvians,” starting with the “communal spirit” of the pre-Incan indigenous villagers.⁷¹⁵ In contrast, Hispanist reconciliation with Spain in the early twentieth century was informed by a “Great Men” discourse of history, and it was impregnated with aristocratic conceptions of race and family that encompassed “blood, tradition, faith, and language.” Leguía’s historicist vision, however, was not identical with Riva Agüero’s. To be sure, both men saw history as a higher patriotism. The President certainly agreed with these words of the historian: “History is a school of seriousness, good judgment and, essentially, the incitement to duty and heroism, for it ennobles the soul and is the source and root of patriotic love.”⁷¹⁶ Many of Leguía’s words on the Incas, the colonial era, and Spain could easily have been written by Riva Agüero, and vice versa. Both also argued that Peru needed a capable, civilizing “leading class.” But the statesman was a “practical man” who declared his love for history but set his eyes on a sweeping modernization of the country. Riva Agüero never applauded nor accepted this modernization. Leguía was not the kind of “leader” Riva Agüero imagined for Peru. To be sure, they had strong political disagreements. Riva Agüero was imprisoned in 1911 during Leguía’s first administration for publishing a newspaper article demanding the release of the group that had attempted an abortive coup against the President. Riva Agüero also protested against Leguía’s coup in 1921, and soon left for Europe; he was not to return until after the fall of the president-turned-dictator in 1930.⁷¹⁷

⁷¹⁵ Ibid. See also, Mark Thurner, “After Colonialism and the King: Notes on the Peruvian Birth of Contemporary History,” *Postcolonial Studies*, 9, no. 4 (2006): 393-420.

⁷¹⁶ José de la Riva Agüero, *La Historia en el Perú*, 548.

⁷¹⁷ Riva Agüero did serve the Leguía regime during its final years, accepting a commission to study documents related to Peru’s history in Europe. See, Mensaje presentado al Congreso Ordinario de 1929 por el Presidente señor don Augusto B. Leguía (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1929). For more on the life of Riva Agüero, see Fred Bronner, “José de la Riva-Agüero (1885-1944), Peruvian Historian,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 36, no. 4 (1956).

Riva Agüero's disagreements with Leguía's policies were more profound than these political circumstances might suggest. Despite his historical declarations, Leguía was a convinced modernizer who argued that Peru needed to develop its industries to end its dependence on exports in a world market beyond the country's control. For Leguía the state had to be administered like a modern firm. Before entering politics, Leguía had worked for private enterprises in Peru before becoming a manager for the New York Life Insurance Company. He soon became a successful international entrepreneur with commercial activities and important contacts in New York and London. During his years in London after his first administration, Leguía returned to his commercial and stock market activities, and became President of the Latin American Chamber of Commerce.⁷¹⁸ In spite of his wealth—he had been born in Lambayeque to a distinguished family—he had not received a university education. He was a self-made financier, the kind of “industrial man” desired by the likes of Manuel Villarán and *El Amigo de Tejerina*, and despised by those like Miró Quesada and Riva Agüero (see Chapter 4 above). Leguía's admiration for the progress of the United States—Peru's “older sister” as Leguía referred to her during the Centennial celebrations—⁷¹⁹ shaped his administration profoundly. He once stated that his “hope is to put an American in charge of every branch of the government's activity.”⁷²⁰ To make that happen, he hired U.S. educators to write Peru's new Law of Education,⁷²¹ and he turned Peru's Navy and Air Force over to U.S. officers.⁷²²

The five-foot-three Leguía, who dressed as a Londoner to the end of his life, has been considered variously as a populist champion of the middle-class, an adversary of the country's

⁷¹⁸ Rene Hooper, *Leguía. Ensayo biográfico*, 88.

⁷¹⁹ *Discursos y documentos oficiales en el primer centenario*, 145.

⁷²⁰ J.A. Sterling to Secretary of State, Lima, Nov. 29, 1921, quoted by Marcos Cueto, “Sanitation from Above: Yellow Fever and Foreign Intervention in Peru, 1919-1922,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 72, no. 1 (1992), 9-10.

⁷²¹ “Obsequio que la colonia norteamericana en el Perú hace a la nación con motivo del centenario,” *La Prensa*, July 4, 1921.

⁷²² “Ya ha Firmado,” *Time*, September 8, 1930.

landed oligarchy, and the man who opened up Peru to Yankee imperialism.⁷²³ According to the U.S. magazine *Time*, which dedicated its front cover to Leguía after his 1930 resignation, about three hundred U.S. citizens had established businesses in Lima, and some 250 million U.S. dollars were invested in Peru at that time. U.S. companies held the monopoly of Peru's telephone and telegraph service, owned the most important mining centers, and the most important bank.⁷²⁴ U.S. interests were so linked to the regime in Peru that U.S. Ambassador Fred Morris Dearing left the country immediately after Leguía was overthrown.⁷²⁵

Leguía's exaltation of the colonial past and "Hispanic race" was, however, only one of the many sides of a President who juggled parallel discourses while attempting to modernize Peru. The Leguía regime did not make *hispanismo* its "official nationalist doctrine" as has been argued.⁷²⁶ Instead, it reproduced and promoted multiple nativisms or *indigenismos* and hispanisms or *hispanismos* as part of its modernizing agenda, and to reestablish national pride. Peru, noted Leguía in his 1924 speech to inaugurate Peru's archaeological museum, could now feel proud of all of its glorious pasts "which are symbolized by the Inca, the Viceroy, and the Liberator."⁷²⁷ More importantly, the exaltation of Hispanic values and especially those of Catholicism, as much as the view of the Inca Empire as an orderly society, played an important role within the positivist framework of the Leguía years, for they could be used to criticize individualism and to place collective state interests and social control above the cause of liberty.⁷²⁸

⁷²³ Once overthrown, a delegation of Callao dockworkers addressed Colonel Sánchez Cerro, the new President, to ask him to "Free us, sir, from Yankee imperialism." See "Ya ha Firmado," *Time*, September 8, 1930.

⁷²⁴ "Ya ha Firmado," *Time*, September 8, 1930.

⁷²⁵ Ibid.

⁷²⁶ Ascención Martínez, "El Perú y España durante el Oncenio."

⁷²⁷ "Discurso del Presidente de la República," *El Perú en el Centenario de Ayacucho*, 509.

⁷²⁸ For an earlier use of Catholicism in Republican reform, see Sarah Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

Concrete Discourses: A *Lima Nueva* for a *Patria Nueva*

As stated above, the transformations of Lima during the Leguía Era followed the basic tenets the previous modernizations carried out during the Guano and Post-War of the Pacific eras. The preoccupation with sanitary conditions continued, and Leguía's administration contracted a U.S. firm named The Foundation Company to manage Lima's water system, channel ditches, open new streets, and pave older ones.⁷²⁹ The administration also followed the hygienic prescriptions that characterized previous urban developments. New avenues had to be wide and spacious to allow for the "circulation of air," and to serve as *paseos* for pedestrians' entertainment and enlightenment. Significantly, it was again argued that Lima lacked such spaces, and that previously built *paseos*, such as the Alameda de los Descalzos and the Exposition Park, "unfortunately do not possess the proper elements to deserve that name."⁷³⁰ In order to launch a new beginning on the same grounds, the *Patria Nueva* had to erase older efforts at modernization by recasting them as part of an obscure past to be transcended.

Leguía's administration also demonstrated a special concern with Lima's demographic problems. Even while the population in the city was growing at an unprecedented rate—from 173,000 inhabitants in 1920 to 273,000 in 1931—⁷³¹ the central government saw it fit to "stimulate the growth and the strengthening of the race, the basis for national betterment."⁷³² It did so by promoting sanitary studies in gynecology and child care—the new science of puericulture was developed during the period. In 1923, a Supreme Decree by Leguía ordered the

⁷²⁹ The Foundation Company was in charge of public works in "the 32 cities in the Republic." The Central Government gave the works to the company alleging that "no building company in the country has the necessary elements to execute the important sanitation works in a short period of time." *Memoria que el Ministro de Fomento, doctor Julio E. Ego-Aguirre, presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1920* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1921), 349.

⁷³⁰ "Cuestiones de medicina e higiene. Las habitaciones y paseos de Lima. Al Sr. Pedro Mujica, Alcalde de Lima," *La Prensa*, June 2, 1921.

⁷³¹ Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima*, 105, 108.

⁷³² *Memoria que el Ministro de Fomento, doctor Pío Max Medina, presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1923* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1923), 466.

Ministerio de Fomento to establish an annual prize named *Maternidad y Patria* (Maternity and Fatherland) to award the two mothers with the largest number of healthy children—one from the middle class and the other from the working class—with a new house.⁷³³ Women were still assigned the crucial role of giving citizens to the *Patria*, and their actions were as strictly regulated as in the past.⁷³⁴

The regime also paid special attention to disciplining the bodies of the population. To “fortify the race,” but also to “militarize youth,”⁷³⁵ Leguía promoted the development of sports, and made them an integral part of the educational system. The concern about the population’s lack of virility continued, as did the dissemination of shooting practice. All secondary schools in the country had to include “military education” and shooting practice; the program for primary schools of Lima also included such instruction.⁷³⁶ Information about the number of schools that actually taught students to use weapons is not available, but during the 1921 centennial celebrations educator Cecilia Ortega received an honorary award for creating Peru’s “first child’s shooting club.”⁷³⁷

Immigration was also promoted. It was believed that immigrants would respond to the call of Peru’s *Patria Nueva* and arrive in larger numbers than ever before. Accordingly, the *Ministerio de Fomento* entertained a plan to build a “Hotel for Immigrants” in Lima that would provide newcomers with temporary lodging. The old building where the mental asylum had once functioned before the opening of the new *Hospital Nacional de Insanos* in Magdalena,

⁷³³ Ibid.

⁷³⁴ An article in the newspaper *La Prensa* argued that pregnant women must only receive guidance from “science,” and suggested that women should not speak about their pregnancies with anybody but doctors, especially not with their own mothers. *La Prensa*, May 26, 1921.

⁷³⁵ *Mensaje presentado al Congreso Ordinario de 1929 por el Presidente señor don Augusto B. Leguía*, 35, 45.

⁷³⁶ *Memoria que el Ministro de Justicia, Culto, Instrucción y Beneficencia, doctor Arturo Osorio, presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1919* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1919), xxviii.

⁷³⁷ *La Prensa*, July 28, 1921.

would now be converted into a gateway hotel.⁷³⁸ No immigrant got to enjoy the comforts of the old *manicomio*, however, for the anticipated wave of Europeans never materialized. Instead, the building was renovated to host Peru's first police academy, which was organized by a Spanish mission.⁷³⁹

The hygienic conditions of the lower class *callejones* received the same kind of attention during Leguía's regime as they did during the post-War of the Pacific period; the stable workers also received special consideration regarding their housing, as they had to be safeguarded from the pernicious influence of the poor.⁷⁴⁰ The administration built *casas modelo* (prototype houses) for workers who would make monthly payments to become proprietors.⁷⁴¹ The *obreros* were also "cultured" through the dissemination of texts related to their trades and industries and through temperance campaigns organized by the newly created *Liga Nacional de Temperancia* (National Temperance League), which also printed handouts for workers.⁷⁴² The *Liga* counted with the assistance of anarchist workers and students. Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, founding ideologue of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), and then a university student, created the *Universidad Popular González Prada* as a night school for workers, where they could receive civilizational lessons from enlightened students. *La Prensa*, a Limeño newspaper that the government expropriated in 1921, continuously praised the *Universidades Populares* and the "intelligent jurisprudence student, Mr. Haya de la Torre" for teaching workers such "transcendental matters" as botanic, elementary psychology, oral hygiene, the prevention

⁷³⁸ *Memoria que el Ministro de Fomento, doctor Julio E. Ego-Aguirre, presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1920*, 326.

⁷³⁹ *Memoria que el Ministro de Gobierno y Policía, doctor Germán Leguía y Martínez, presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1922* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1922), 100.

⁷⁴⁰ "Problemas de higiene social entre nosotros," *La Prensa*, May 21, 1921.

⁷⁴¹ *La Prensa*, May 27, 1921 refers to the first hundred houses built by the Leguía regime on the avenue to Miraflores.

⁷⁴² *Memoria del Ministro de Fomento, doctor Pío Max Medina, presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1923*, 52.

and treatment of venereal diseases, and how to keep a medicine cabinet at home.⁷⁴³ The course “the medicine cabinet at home,” for instance, was run by “student-teachers” Chávez Herrera and Haya de la Torre. Haya reserved for himself the “illustrative conferences” on the “destructive effects of alcohol,” using photographs that showed damaged body parts and the “products of alcoholic inheritance,” as well as statistics on the maladies associated with the vice.⁷⁴⁴ “Vagrancy” was defined in an almost identical way, and it was condemned with the same old rhetoric (see Chapter 4 above).⁷⁴⁵

The regime also followed the previous design for the expansion of the city. It finished the grand modernizing project of the Alamedas de Circunvalación (Beltway Avenues) that surrounded extramural Lima when it completed construction on the Avenida Alfonso Ugarte, which connected the Plaza Bolognesi with the Plaza Dos de Mayo. In 1907, the new home of the Colegio Guadalupe had been erected on the dusty road that would become the Alfonso Ugarte Avenue. In 1924 the Leguía regime paved the avenue and inaugurated the Hospital Loayza and also Peru’s Archeological Museum as part of the centennial celebrations in commemoration of the Battle of Ayacucho. But it was not until 1926 that the avenue was transformed into an elegant *paseo* with gardens, marble benches, and public restrooms.⁷⁴⁶ Another important avenue was the Avenida del Progreso, which connected Lima with the port of Callao. It was intended to be a road for heavy traffic that would help lead the expansion of an industrial area, as Henry Meiggs had imagined it in the early 1870s. Factories and *barrios obreros* were constructed along the avenue, including Chacra Colorada and Garden City. The name Garden City reflected its modernist English inspiration as a planned, self-enclosed village.

⁷⁴³ See, for instance, *La Prensa*, June 2, 1921; June 10, 1921; June 21, 1921; July 8, 1921.

⁷⁴⁴ *La Prensa*, June 10, 1921.

⁷⁴⁵ *Memoria que el Ministro de Gobierno y Policía, doctor Germán Leguía y Martínez, presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1922*, 126-8.

⁷⁴⁶ Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima*, 107.

The regime's most important avenue, however, was the one that connected Lima with the coastal town of Miraflores. The city was already connected to Magdalena (to the north of Miraflores) and the sea shore by Brazil Avenue (called *Piérola* during Piérola's administration), which ended in the vicinity of the national mental asylum. A new avenue had been built to connect that avenue with the coastal town of Miraflores and, by the early twentieth century, planners argued that Lima and Miraflores should be connected by a more direct avenue.⁷⁴⁷ The Leguía administration speedily constructed the fifty-two block road to Miraflores, contracting the ubiquitous Foundation Company to that effect in March, 1921. The President wanted it ready for the centennial celebrations in July. It was a grand avenue with a central garden that ran the length of the boulevard, designed to be a *paseo* adorned with grass and trees, and with different species of trees planted every three blocks. Its use was regulated to give it architectural homogeneity, and regularity; façades, for instance, had to be uniformly aligned at a distance of five meters from the sidewalks (Figure 7-1).⁷⁴⁸ The boulevard to Miraflores reflected the idea that avenues should be aesthetic and hygienic, that is, open and cultured spaces and not just arteries for rapid communication.⁷⁴⁹ By the end of May 1921 newspapers reported that one of the vehicle lanes of the avenue had been completed and was open to circulation.⁷⁵⁰ In a parallel development, the first one hundred *casas modelo* for workers were constructed.⁷⁵¹ The second lane and the houses were inaugurated by Leguía as part of the centennial celebrations. The

⁷⁴⁷ The *Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Años 1905 y 1906* (Lima: Empresa Tipográfica Lertiga, 1918), 510-24, has a description of the future avenue to connect Magdalena del Mar with Miraflores. The *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1905* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1905), 49, already mentions the opening of the avenue from Lima to Miraflores for the future expansion of the city. The *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento. Dirección de obras públicas*, II, no. 7 (1906): 67 reports that the Central Government declared the work of "public interest" to start expropriations.

⁷⁴⁸ Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima*, 106.

⁷⁴⁹ Memoria que el Ministro de Fomento, ingeniero Manuel Masías, presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1924 (Lima: Casa Editora de la Opinión Nacional, 1925); "Memoria de inspección de obras" in *Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima. 1920* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1921).

⁷⁵⁰ *La Prensa*, May 27, 1921.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*

avenue received the name of the *Avenida Leguía* and it included a bust of the President strategically placed at the head of the avenue.⁷⁵²

The avenue opened a large area for urban development between the older city and the seashore. Indeed, soon after the inauguration of Leguía Avenue, the administration proposed to prolong the *Avenida Leguía* to connect Miraflores with the seaside resort and fishing villages of Barranco and Chorrillos to the south.⁷⁵³ The idea was to make the Leguía Avenue meet up with the *Malecón Leguía*, a long, seaside avenue that would connect the town of La Punta at the port of Callao with the fishing village of Chorrillos. The result would be the incorporation of a huge new area for the expansion of Lima. The area around the Leguía Avenue would set aside zones for the workers “who invest their savings to acquire land.”⁷⁵⁴ Other areas were reserved for middle-class *empleados* (white-collar workers) who worked for the state and could pay for their homes with salary deductions.⁷⁵⁵ These areas formed the *urbanización* Santa Beatriz, neighboring the *Escuela de Agricultura y Veterinaria*.

New mansions for upper sectors were also constructed along the Leguía Avenue during the 1920s. By 1926, a new Country Club had been constructed with a “residential district, the most select that anyone could aspire to in the vicinity of Lima.” The area was developed by the *Sociedad Anónima Propietaria del Country Club* whose director was Walter Hebard, Vice-President of the Foundation Company, to become “the center of the social, cultural, and sports life of the City of the Kings,” according to an advertisement placed in Lima’s newspapers.⁷⁵⁶ Becoming a resident in the neighborhood included membership in the Country Club, where

⁷⁵² The bust was made at the School of Arts and Trades by Manuel Aymar, who also made the plaque commemorating the event. See *La Prensa*, May 22, 1921.

⁷⁵³ *Memoria que el Ministro de Fomento, doctor Pío Max Medina, presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1923*, 277.

⁷⁵⁴ *Memoria que el Ministro de Fomento, doctor Pío Max Medina, presenta al Congreso Ordinario*, 273.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 274.

⁷⁵⁶ *El Comercio*, May 9, 1926.

members could play “the most modern and healthy sports, such as golf, polo, tennis, swimming and squash,” and socialize in the club’s salons “which will not be inferior to any other in the world in width, comfort, amenities, elegance, and service.”⁷⁵⁷ The neighborhood attempted to include everything a rich *Limeño* could dream of. The facilities had been designed and built with the “last word in modern engineering,” and residents could enjoy a luxurious exclusivity. The advertisement for the neighborhood highlighted its modern facilities and compared them favorably with the “most advanced ones in Europe and the United States,” and at the same time it resonated with the aristocratic, colonial designation of Lima as “The City of the Kings.” That name had been despised and changed to “The City of the Free” because of its kingly connotation during the early republican years (see Chapter 1 above). Now it was once again in vogue precisely for its regal resonances. The Country Club development offered a kingly environment for Lima’s bourgeoisie, but its rhetoric was not uncommon during the Leguía years. As we saw above, colonial Hispanic images had been comfortably incorporated within a modern and progressive discursive framework.

The Leguía regime had an unprecedented concern for the growing white-collar sector, and planned housing projects in areas such as San Miguel.⁷⁵⁸ The regime also created a National Commission for Economical Housing to study alternatives for both the working and middle classes.⁷⁵⁹ Indeed, during these years the “idea of the middle class” was developed in Peru⁷⁶⁰ as white-collar workers struggled to distinguish themselves from the working class, which in turn made repeated efforts to distance itself from the poor.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁸ Communication 937 from Lima’s Police Intendant to the Department’s Prefect dated on December 22, 1921, notified him that a marble plaque commemorating Leguía’s placement of the cornerstone for white-collar houses had been stolen. AGN Ministerio del Interior, Dirección General de Gobierno, 3.9.5.1.15.1.16.38.

⁷⁵⁹ *Memoria que el Ministro de Fomento, doctor Pío Max Medina, presenta al Congreso Ordinario*, 18-9.

⁷⁶⁰ David Parker, *The Idea of the Middle Class: White-Collar Workers and Peruvian Society* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

Leguía Avenue also spurred the development of the town of Miraflores, where new and comfortable chalets –“garden houses” is the word used by newspaper *La Prensa*—⁷⁶¹ were being built in the “Leuro” development. This development was a comfortable citadel of artistically designed chalets, and which demonstrated the influence of the U.S. Mission Revival and the British neo-Tudor styles (Figure 7-2). The village’s decorations were imported from the United States. The effect was to create a suburban environment previously unknown in Lima. The Organizing Committee for the Celebration of the Centennial of Independence decided to use the newly constructed development to host the foreign delegations coming to the celebrations,⁷⁶² and contracted Maple and Company, a London-based furnishing establishment, to decorate the chalets for the occasion.⁷⁶³ Different architectural styles were eclectically used in other new areas opened by the *Avenida Leguía*. While the English neo-Tudor style was popular along the avenue and in Miraflores and Barranco, other residences sought rural European, “Medieval,” Mission revival, and Andalusian styles, forming a historicist pastiche of neighborhood styles that nevertheless conformed to modern conceptions of hygiene and spatial distribution.

It was in the midst of this eclectic architectural wave of modernist revivalism that “Neo-Colonial” and “Neo-Prehispanic” styles began to appear in Lima. Revivalism and historic restoration had become important trends in European architecture since the 1830s, especially in regard to medieval structures and the Gothic style in Germany, the United Kingdom, and France, but also across the continent. Revivalism would also find its way to the United States through the neo-Gothic, neo-Renaissance, Mediterranean, and Mission revival movements in architecture. In Spain, a group of architects were vindicating the Spanish Baroque as a valid

⁷⁶¹ *La Prensa*, July 7, 1921.

⁷⁶² *Memoria que el Ministro de Fomento, doctor Julio E. Ego-Aguirre, presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1920*, 49.

⁷⁶³ *Presupuesto de los señores Maple y Cía. De Londres al señor Presidente de la Comisión del Centenario* (Lima: n/e, 1921).

architectural legacy after the centuries-long predominance of “Academicism.”⁷⁶⁴ All European revivals were inspired by international modernism and they revalued traditions in attempts to find expressions for modern national uniqueness. The most important theoretician of the Castilian baroque revivalism was Vicente Lampérez, who argued that architecture had to recuperate “traditional” styles to express the distinctiveness of a nation’s “climatic and racial idiosyncracies.”⁷⁶⁵ The quest for an adequate vehicle of modern national distinctiveness gave rise to a profusion of “neo” styles that sought to make eclectic stylistic adaptations of “national models” in accordance with modernist notions of space. The British neo-Tudor of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for instance, has properly been labeled “mock-Tudor” for its evident indifference to its namesake fifteenth- and sixteenth-century predecessors.

In Peru, the modern quest for vehicles of national uniqueness was central to the cultural politics of the Leguía regime. An early experiment in “Neocolonial” architecture was made in 1911 by Rafael Marquina, who designed and built a home in this style upon his return to Lima after studies at Cornell University.⁷⁶⁶ Marquina’s neocolonial house earned the praise of Teófilo Castillo, a romantic painter who had studied in Europe and who was now using Ricardo Palma’s famous *Tradiciones* (a set of picaresque literary sketches of Limeno life) as the inspiration for an “authentic national style.”⁷⁶⁷ It was not until the 1920s, however, that the style fully developed. The Leguía administration decided to restore colonial buildings, many of which were in a calamitous state or had received successive, partial restorations that in effect had made them into

⁷⁶⁴ Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Manuel Piqueras Cotoí, Neoperuano de ambos mundos,” in *Manuel Piqueras Cotoí (1885-1937): arquitecto, escultor y urbanista entre España y el Perú* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2003), 23-4.

⁷⁶⁵ Quoted by Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Manuel Piqueras Cotoí, Neoperuano de ambos mundos,” 24.

⁷⁶⁶ For a biography of Marquina, see Luis Jiménez and Miguel Santiváñez, *Rafael Marquina, arquitecto* (Lima: Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, 2005).

⁷⁶⁷ Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Manuel Piqueras Cotoí, Neoperuano de ambos mundos,” 38.

stylistic monsters. The regime also commissioned the construction of important public buildings in the neo-colonial style.

In 1921, *La Prensa* announced the government's decision to restore the *Torre Tagle* home—an early eighteenth-century baroque mansion with ornate balconies, emblematic of the once vilified but now revived colonial style of the “City of Kings.”. The renovation included the placement of Sevillian glazed tiles and mosaics, and was complemented with “colonial” furniture and household items, some of which was in fact from the colonial period—such as the furniture from the Aliaga family that impressed the newspaper writer for its title of nobility—⁷⁶⁸ and some of which would have to be made to order. The newspaper congratulated the regime for the renovation, expressing its opinion that it was time for the “defense of the vestiges of colonial grandeur,” and for “the restoration of those [buildings] that have not yet been destroyed by the [waves of] anti-archaeological epidemics.”⁷⁶⁹ The choice of words here is perhaps suggestive, for it may be read to convey that desire among the Hispanist elite, and characteristic of the Leguía regime, to make parts of Lima into an inhabited archaeological museum that could proudly exhibit Peru's glorious colonial past.

Polish architect Ricardo Jaxa Malachowski and Spanish sculptor Manuel Piqueras were commissioned for the Torre Tagle restoration. Malachowski had come to Peru in 1910 during Leguía's first regime, when he was put in charge of the new “Special Section of Architects and Builders” of the School of Engineering. Piqueras, for his part, had arrived in Peru in 1919 to direct the first classes of sculpture at the newly created Fine Arts School. Soon he became involved in architectural, decoration, and urbanism projects. Marquina, Malachowski, Piqueras, and the French architect Claudio Sahut were all able professionals trained abroad, and they

⁷⁶⁸ *La Prensa*, June 12, 1921.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

would become the leading figures in the modernist architectural quest for a Peruvian style. Jaxa Malachowski had a particular affinity for the Torre Tagle house; indeed, it served as the inspiration for his design for the Archbishop's Palace in Lima's main square (Figure 7-3). The demolition of the old residence of Lima's Archbishop was begun in 1898 under the Piérola administration, but was never finished so that the building still stood albeit with a ruinous appearance. In 1916, the administration of José Pardo opened a competition with a jury composed, among others, by former Mayor of Lima Federico Elguera, painter Teófilo Castillo, and Monsignor Belisario Phillips. Jaxa Malachowski's winning proposal was a version of the Torre Tagle house only larger, keeping proportions with the adjacent Cathedral. It included two large wooden and shuttered balconies of the kind Elguera had so much despised and opposed during his administration of Lima (see Chapter 6 above). Jaxa Malachowski had commenced construction in October 1917 but by 1921 work was paralyzed. The Leguía administration provided the impulse to finish it, and hired engineer Enrique Mogrovejo and architect Sahut to do the job.⁷⁷⁰ The new Archbishop's Palace initiated the transformation of Lima's *Plaza de Armas* into a space that would symbolize the nation's harmonious reconciliation with Spanish colonialism. It was inaugurated during the centennial celebrations of 1924. Alejandrino Maguiña, Minister of Justice, Education, Worship, and Charity noted that the building paid "a deeply felt homage to the historic epoch in which the virtues of Santo Toribio and Santa Rosa de Lima had flourished."⁷⁷¹

Another important sign of the reconciliation with Spain was the inauguration of the *Panteón de los Próceres* (Mausoleum or Pantheon of the Heroes) in the same year. The

⁷⁷⁰ "Discurso del doctor Alejandrino Maguiña, Ministro de Justicia, Instrucción, Culto y Beneficencia, al inaugurar el Palacio Arzobispal," in *El Perú en el Centenario de Ayacucho. Recopilación efectuada por la Secretaría del señor Presidente de la República de los discursos pronunciados en las ceremonias conmemorativas* (Lima: Editorial Garcilaso, 1925).

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid*, 467.

Pantheon was a national shrine or tomb for the bodies of the heroes of the independence wars. Symbolically or perhaps ironically, the chosen venue for the tomb was the seventeenth-century colonial church of San Carlos located adjacent to the University of San Marcos. In 1890 the State Engineer Teodoro Elmore had proposed the use of “suppressed temples” for a national memorial. Elmore had been commissioned to select a suitable site within Lima’s sprawling suburban cemetery for a mausoleum to honor the victims of the War of the Pacific but the engineer’s report proposed to honor all national heroes in a single shrine located in the center of the old city. He suggested using the San Carlos Church, which had been “suppressed” by liberal legislation during the nineteenth century, as a place of nationalist worship.⁷⁷² Elmore’s proposal, however, came decades too early. The *Ministerio de Fomento* discarded it, for at the time it was unacceptable –indeed sacriligious-- to honor fallen republican heroes within the premises of a colonial temple. In any case, it was decided that a *Cripta de los Héroes* would be built in the cemetery for the heroes of the War of the Pacific.⁷⁷³ In 1921, however, the Leguía administration unearthed Elmore’s old proposal: the abandoned church would be used to honor the heroes of Independence. Anticipating criticism, *La Prensa* published Leguía’s decree along with an article that argued that the regime’s decision to use the church was not treason to republican ideals; after all, Revolutionary France had transformed Saint Genevieve Church into a nationalist Pantheon for the internment of its heroes.⁷⁷⁴ The old colonial temple as national shrine would signal Peru’s rupture with Spanish colonialism but also its debt to the church.

Architect Sahut was in charge of the adaptation of the San Carlos Church. His proposal was approved in June, 1924, and the expenses charged to the special account named “expenses

⁷⁷² Anales de las obras públicas del Perú. Año 1890 (Lima: Imprenta “La Industria,” 1897), 682.

⁷⁷³ The *Cripta de los Héroes* was designed by French architect Emile Robert and was inaugurated in 1908.

⁷⁷⁴ *La Prensa*, July 1, 1921.

for the Ayacucho centennial.”⁷⁷⁵ Renovations included the church’s seventeenth-century baroque cedar altar and pulpit. The figure of San Carlos, the patron saint of the church, was not removed from its dominant location behind the main altar, but was instead symbolically “nationalized.” A presidential sash, carrying the colors of Peru’s flag, was draped on the shoulders of San Carlos. Moreover, this Peruvian San Carlos was flanked by Peruvian saints: Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo (although born in Spain he was Lima’s second and most famous Archbishop), San Martín de Porres, and Santa Rosa de Lima. The “Peruvianization” of San Carlos was emblematic of a broader process by which the colonial was nationalized (Figure 7-4). A neoclassical statue of the *Patria* by sculptor Artemio Ocaña, a pupil of the Italian Líbero Valente at the School of Arts and Trades who had recently returned from Rome, Peruvianized and secularized the Church’s façade.

Bronze busts of San Martín, Bolívar, Antonio José Sucre, and other heroes who had not fallen in Peru were displayed in the hall above ground, while the tomb of Peruvian heroes was appropriately located beneath the altar.⁷⁷⁶ At the time of the *Panteón*’s inauguration, however, it had yet to house any corpse.⁷⁷⁷ The eclecticism of this national shrine was highlighted by four allegorical paintings by the nativist artist Jose Sabogal that adorned the inner vault of the church’s dome. The paintings represented the four Catholic cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude. Sabogal had studied in Rome, and was recently returned from Mexico where he had met with Diego Rivera, Carlos Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros. Sabogal chose to paint the christian virtues in a classical Greco-Roman style, but the features of

⁷⁷⁵ *Memoria que el Ministro de Fomento, ingeniero Manuel Masías, presenta al Congreso Ordinario de 1924*, 311.

⁷⁷⁶ Jorge Carlin Arce, *Centro de Estudios Histórico-Militares del Perú. Historia, organización, fines y posibilidades* (Lima: Centro de Estudios Histórico-Militares del Perú, 1999).

⁷⁷⁷ Centro de Estudios Histórico-Militares del Perú, *Guía Histórica y biográfica del Panteón Nacional de los Próceres* (Lima: Centro de Estudios Histórico-Militares del Perú, 1999), 6.

the figures were also conspicuously indigenous, a stylistic reminder of Peru's "prehispanic classical era."⁷⁷⁸

This nationalist memorial condensed much of the historical narrative crafted during the Leguía regime. Now, a *colonial* temple could become a sanctuary to celebrate the *rupture* with colonial rule, and the indigenous could be celebrated as a manifestation of a native or "prehispanic" classical endowed with the cardinal virtues of christianity. At the inauguration of the *Panteón* the Venezuelan Ambassador was the most important guest. Ambassador Pedro Arcaya presented Leguía with "Pizarro's Standard" and "Bolívar's Sword." The banner of the Conqueror and the sword of the Liberator now represented

a long and transcendental historical process... [which was] the work of Spain... [This work] consisted in the transmission of its soul, with torrents of its blood, to the indigenous race of America, which since the beginnings of human evolution was kept apart from the branch from Asia, North Africa, and Europe, that is, from the groups that had produced all the ideas and engendered all the sentiments of contemporary civilization.⁷⁷⁹

Arcaya's speech resonated with the now common notion that independence was a natural process that began with conquest, and it highlighted the idea that it was Spanish colonialism that had allowed for America's entrance into the civilized world. Perhaps most importantly, Arcaya's allusion to the "transmission of blood" from Spain to the "indigenous race" marked the emergence of a new discourse on *mestizaje* that the Leguía regime had yet to fully develop and promote.

Alongside the emphasis on historical continuity the Leguía administration would also strive to make clear statements regarding its rupture with the past. Thus, the *Patria Nueva* focused its efforts on the construction of the new Plaza San Martín. This modern plaza and

⁷⁷⁸ For more information on Sabogal, see José Torres Bohl, *Apuntes sobre José Sabogal. Vida y obra* (Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1989).

⁷⁷⁹ *El Perú en el Centenario de Ayacucho*, 373.

monument to independence would challenge the colonial hegemony of the central Plaza de Armas. The proposed site had been occupied by the Convent and Hospital of San Juan de Dios since the seventeenth century, and since the Guano Era it also hosted Lima's train station. The plan to transform the location into a space to honor San Martín was elaborated during Leguía's first administration in the early 1910s when the second phase of the *Avenida La Colmena* project was still under construction. Mariano Benlliure's monument to San Martín, which was to be the centerpiece of the place, had been finished in 1909 (see Chapter 6). Demolition of the convent and station began in 1911. Polish architect Bruno Paprocki presented a new proposal for the Plaza in 1916, however. Paprocki's plaza would be surrounded by monumental buildings in the "neo-French" style, in tune with the *Teatro Colón* designed by Sahut and inaugurated in 1914, and with the neighboring *Avenida la Colmena* (see Chapter 6).⁷⁸⁰ A similar proposal was drafted by Jaxa Malachowski in 1918, and it received the support of Mayor Luis Miró Quesada.⁷⁸¹ The proposal was more a sign of continuity with the constructions carried out during Piérola's presidency and Elguera's term as Mayor, and Leguía simply discarded it. In 1919, the President himself—not fond of open competitions for public works—appointed Manuel Piqueras for the job, and formed a commission to supervise the construction of the Plaza, which had to be rapidly constructed to play a central role in the celebrations of the Centennial of Independence in 1921. Piqueras designed a wide plaza reminiscent of the renaissance plazas of Madrid and Salamanca, with monumental buildings surrounding it.⁷⁸² The esplanade's surface was to be paved with granite tiles, and the balustrades and benches lined with marble from Verona and Siena. The plaza included four circular reflecting pools, ornamental bronze lamps,

⁷⁸⁰ Lima. Municipalidad, *Plaza San Martín, MCMXCVII* (Lima: Municipalidad de Lima, 1997), 17.

⁷⁸¹ Wiley Ludeña, "Piqueras urbanista en el Perú o la invención de una tradición," in *Manuel Piqueras Cotoí (1885-1937)*, 232.

⁷⁸² Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "Manuel Piqueras Cotoí, Neoperuano de ambos mundos," 35.

and Seville gardens. The Plaza San Martín was a coherent and ambitious project that successfully broke with all previous interventions in the city. It created a modern, spacious atmosphere in which Spanish renaissance monumentality harmonized with the neo-colonial (Figure 7-7).⁷⁸³

But such an ambitious project could not be finished in time for the Centennial celebrations. For the inauguration, the surroundings were covered with columns and wooden panels, which in turn were adorned with flags. The colossal San Martín monument designed and made by Benlliure years before was shipped to Lima and erected by his closest disciple, Gregorio Domingo, who had arrived with Piqueras in 1919. It was a grand depiction of a calm, contemplative San Martín crossing the high Andes, and as such struck a contrast with the defiant or triumphant statue of Bolívar (see Chapter 2 above). The 1921 monument to the Liberator did not contain a single reference to the battles the hero had fought before the Declaration of Independence. On the front of the base *la Patria* holds a crown of laurel, and on her head is not the usual flame (the word for flame in Spanish is *llama*) but the Andean camellid. On the rear, Argentine soldiers fraternize with a Peruvian soldier, and the flags of both countries are shown.

At the same time that architects developed the neo-colonial style they were exploring prehispanic motifs in architecture and other arts. European architects had been experimenting with “exotic” styles from the colonial territories, most notably in those epitomes and showcases of modernity that were the Universal Expositions. Latin American “wizards of progress” also contributed to these expositions with a mixture of prehispanic, Gothic, and Roman motifs that served to universalize their nations by presenting them as part of the cosmopolitan world, and

⁷⁸³ Wiley Ludeña, “Piqueras urbanista en el Perú o la invención de una tradición,”

with a classical era comparable to that of the Roman Empire.⁷⁸⁴ By the late nineteenth century the *mexicain* and *peruvien* styles had already acquired respectability in Paris, where the notable Eugène Viollet-Le-Duc designed “Aztec” and “Inca” rooms in 1884.⁷⁸⁵ In turn, Barberot had added these to the manuals of the Beaux Arts School in Paris by 1891.⁷⁸⁶

In Peru the development of archaeology as an academic discipline with support from the state gave an impulse to the spread of prehispanic motifs across a wide array of artistic expression. In 1921 for example a set of “Tiahuanaco style” furniture was being made in the carpentry workshop of the School of Arts and Trades. The set would be exhibited at the International Industry Exposition organized for the 1921 centennial celebrations.⁷⁸⁷ Months later, the National Museum opened an exhibit on “Inca decore.” It was a room designed with “authentic Inca themes,” including painted skirting boards and a ceiling frieze, a stained glass window with the “Sun of the Incas,” silk and leather cushions, and furniture of a “genuinely archaic style,” according to a *La Prensa* reporter, who noted, however, that “it is impossible to tell if the Incas really had furniture.”⁷⁸⁸ The exhibit of Inca decore had been prepared by “the distinguished *señoritas* of our society, Elena and Victoria Izcue,” with the help of the Minister of Education, C. Barrós, as an effort “to demonstrate the glories of our past.” Indeed, the reporter noted, “to promote a genuinely Peruvian art manifestation is the most noble aspiration of a true nationalism.”⁷⁸⁹ Elena Izcue had studied at the Fine Arts School under Piqueras and Sabogal,

⁷⁸⁴ Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

⁷⁸⁵ Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales, “La arquitectura neo-prehispánica: manifestación de la identidad nacional y americana,” in *Arquitextos*, 041 (2003).

⁷⁸⁶ Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Manuel Piqueras Cotoí, Neoperuano de ambos mundos,” 27.

⁷⁸⁷ *La Prensa*, May 22, 1921.

⁷⁸⁸ *La Prensa*, August 4, 1921.

⁷⁸⁹ *La Prensa*, August 4, 1921.

where students were instructed to copy ornamental motifs from pre-Hispanic architecture, textiles, and pottery.⁷⁹⁰

Sculptors and architects could not be absent in the wave of artistic *Incaismo* of the *Patria Nueva*. Carlo Líbero Valente, the Italian sculptor hired by Leguía's first administration to work at the School of Arts and Trades, made a statue of Inca Manco Capac to be erected atop the San Cristobal hill overlooking Lima. According to a contemporary newspaper report, Valente studied the "legends regarding the mythical founder... and has penetrated with affection in the soul of our origins." The sculpture "is an admirable sample of the Inca race before suffering the numbing influence of conquest." Manco was placed on a stone block, "without the expression of defeat caused by the servitude of three centuries, nor the gesture that reveals the spiritual limitation caused by alcohol and ignorance."⁷⁹¹ The sculpture, which was read by the reporter as a symbol of what the Indian race was before its decadence, had been commissioned by the Mayor of Rimac. Rimac was now a district independent from the Municipality of Lima, but apparently the statue was never erected. By 1921 Valente had also prepared a *maquette* for a monument of Inca Atahualpa.⁷⁹² Artemio Ocaña, a pupil of Valente who also studied in Italy with state support, made his first *indigenista* work with a representation of the Indian warrior Cahuide, exhibited at the International Industrial Exposition in 1921.⁷⁹³

The most important nativist monument of this period, however, would be the one erected by the Japanese colony for the centennial of independence. The immigrant colonies in Peru were important participants in the celebration of the centennial, presenting their host country with gifts. The Italian colony sponsored an art museum, the Germans a clock tower, the Chinese a

⁷⁹⁰ Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "Manuel Piqueras Cotoí, Neoperuano de ambos mundos," 39-42.

⁷⁹¹ "Estatua de Manco Capac para el Cerro San Cristobal," *La Prensa*, June 19, 1921.

⁷⁹² *La Prensa*, May 22, 1921

⁷⁹³ "La Escuela de Artes y Oficios y la Exposición Industrial," *La Prensa*, August 18, 1921.

fountain, the British a soccer stadium, the Spaniards a commemorative arch in the Moorish style (placed at the entrance to Leguía Avenue), and the U.S. colony a system of traveling libraries. According to Federico Elguera, who was part of the organizing commission for the celebrations, the leaders of the Japanese colony had sought his advice on what their gift to Peru should be. Elguera's response was that they should erect a monument to Manco Capac, since the first Inca was the "son of the Sun, founder of the grand Inca Empire. It is your job, sons of the Rising Sun, to erect that memento because of that similarity and also for ethnic reasons."⁷⁹⁴ Here the former Mayor of Lima was alluding to the belief, widely held in the nineteenth-century, that the Inca dynasty had originated in Asia and that Manco may have come from Japan.⁷⁹⁵

Elguera also recommended that the leaders of the colony contact Cuzco historian Horacio Urteaga for information on Manco, and sculptor David Lozano to create the monument. Lozano designed a Manco who held aloft a gold scepter in one hand and in the other "the sun, explaining the mission entrusted by Father Sun to the sons of the soil."⁷⁹⁶ The monument also included four reliefs representing Manco Capac and his wife Mama Ocllo's civilizing mission (Figure 7-5). The monument's base made reference to Inca constructions for it resembled a stonehewn building with trapezoids and engravings of mythical figures, plus two bronze representations of the Andean condor and the llama, respectively.⁷⁹⁷ The monument was not erected until 1926 however, when it was located at the intersection of the Grau thoroughfare and *Avenida Santa Teresa*. According to a reporter, Leguía had entertained the idea of erecting a monument to Manco in the Plaza then under constructed behind the Legislative Palace, where the founder of

⁷⁹⁴ "El monumento a Manco Capac," in *La Independencia del Perú y la colonia japonesa*, 68.

⁷⁹⁵ See Mark Thurner, "Peruvian Genealogies of History and Nation," in *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas*, ed. Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

⁷⁹⁶ "La colonia japonesa del Perú y nuestro Centenario. La estatua de Manco Cápac por el Sr. David Lozano," *La Prensa*, July 23, 1921.

⁷⁹⁷ A complete description can be found in *La Prensa*, July 23, 1921.

the Inca Empire would serve as an ancient counterpoint to Bolívar (see Chapter 2 above), so that “our representatives would deliberate under the influence of the great initiators of the greatest epochs of our history.”⁷⁹⁸

The inauguration of the monument epitomized the theatricality of the Leguía regime. Speeches by the President of the Executive Committee for the Monument, and for the Japanese Central Society, Ichitaro Morimoto, and the Ambassador from Japan, M. Yamazaki, were complemented by speeches delivered by Mayor Andrés Dasso and Minister Pedro Rada y Gamio. As noted above, Rada y Gamio drew a pompous comparison between Manco and Leguía, the founder of the *Patria Nueva*. The President, who had been an influential force behind the arrival of Japanese immigrants by the late nineteenth century, compared Manco with the Emperor Mutsuhito as great leaders of “miraculous empires.” Always fond of the familial – he had already spoken of Peru as the son of France and Spain, and brother of the United States and all “Hispanic” republics— the President now made reference to the “racial community” between Japan and Peru, which apparently extended to the common colors of the countries’ respective flags. Most importantly, Leguía had a token group of *indígenas* attend the ceremony and present a laurel wreath to the monument, while the band of the Republican Guard played pieces by Daniel Alomía Robles and parts of the opera *Ollanta* composed by Valle Riestra.⁷⁹⁹

Perhaps the most significant example of a neo-prehispanic building in Lima was that designed by Jaxa Malachowski to house the private collection of Víctor Larco Herrera. A wealthy sugar baron from the northern coast Larco had accumulated a large collection of Moche ceramics, and his collection was enlarged when he purchased other private collections. In 1919 Larco initiated the project to construct an archaeology museum. He called for an open

⁷⁹⁸ *La Prensa*, June 19, 1921.

⁷⁹⁹ “Inauguración del monumento a Manco Capac,” in *La Independencia del Perú y la colonia japonesa*, 24, 47-8.

competition of proposals that Jaxa Malachowski won.⁸⁰⁰ It was a unusual building that combined architectural references to several prehispanic sites and cultures. The Pole's museum boasted faux-Incan walls –the concrete walls were cast to resemble the huge stones, and added iconographical references from other pre-Inca cultures, most notably Tiahuanaco, but also Chavín and Chimú (north highland and coast cultures) (Figure 7-6). Leguía had been born in northern coastal Peru, and he had developed a sensibility towards the artifacts of archeology. He supported the creation of the Brunning Museum in his native Lambayeque, and turned in into a state museum. The President decided that the state should purchase Larco's museum. It would be the first *Museo Arqueológico del Perú*, and the President inaugurated it in 1924 as part of the celebrations for the Ayacucho Centennial.

The neo-prehispanic museum offered a striking counterpoint to the neighboring *Plaza Dos de Mayo*, whose surroundings were also built by Larco Herrera, and included a row of elegant mansions that resembles the Parisian *Place de l'Etoile*, and which lent the plaza a francophilic style.⁸⁰¹ The French mansions were the work of none other than Jaxa Malachowski, who saw his three major works inaugurated in 1924: the neo-colonial Archbishop's Palace, the neo-prehispanic archaeological museum, and the French environs of the *Plaza Dos de Mayo*. It was certainly a significant year for an architect whose versatility could only be rivaled by President Leguía's.

A New Modern Gesture to Forget

In 1930 Leguía was overthrown by a new dictator, General Sánchez Cerro. As a result his name was quickly erased from Lima's public spaces. Leguía Avenue was renamed *Avenida Arequipa*, and the unfinished *Malecón Leguía* was now *Avenida Costanera*. It must have taken

⁸⁰⁰ Gabriel Ramón, "El guión de la cirugía urbana: Lima 1850-1940," *Ensayos en Ciencias Sociales* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2004), 28.

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

considerable time and energy to remove all of the busts of Leguía that adorned plazas across the entire country, however. All were made from the same 1921 cast prepared for the President's first bronze located at the entrance of Leguía Avenue. The large number of monuments erected by the regime could not be so easily removed. Architects and engineers had been fully booked during his regime, and they simultaneously developed all of the imaginable "neo" styles. The regime's discursive versatility materialized in multiple historicisms that alluded to multiple pasts. The representations could all coexist in a city in which successive republican modernizations processes soon came to symbolize the colonial past, and where the once rejected could suddenly become the fashionable. The Leguía Era was one of temporal promiscuity, in which different historical simulacra coexisted to promote *Limeño's* pride and to express Peru's cultural "authenticities." A good example was the *Parque de la Reserva*, Leguía's new *paseo* inaugurated in 1929. *Indigenista* José Sabogal created a ceremonial prehispanic site of worship there, and Daniel Vásquez Paz deployed prehispanic motifs for his fountain.⁸⁰² The park seems to have been inspired both by London's Hyde Park and New York's Central Park (Leguía had lived in both cities). *Limeños* could now spend their leisure time in a cultured *paseo* that was "theirs" in many senses, both modern and ancient, and in all cases "Peruvian."

Days before the 1921 Centennial Celebrations a fire in the Government Palace destroyed part of the "old and historical mansion of the Viceroy, so full of mementos, and deeply related to our national life."⁸⁰³ Still, Leguía did not alter his plans for the celebration. During a gala dance, the diminutive President occupied "the historic chair of Pizarro" from which he presided over the many halls of the Palace. One of these halls resembled "some of the salons in the Vatican, with "old-style chandeliers that resemble some sumptuous Spanish chapels," another

⁸⁰² José García Bryce, "La arquitectura de Manuel Piqueras Cotoí," in *Manuel Piqueras Cotoí (1885-1937)*, 119.

⁸⁰³ *La Prensa*, July 4, 1921.

had Louise XVI furniture, yet another hosted colonial-style wooden pieces.⁸⁰⁴ For the Ayacucho centennial, Leguía had commissioned Piqueras and Sabogal to create a hall for receptions in the Government Palace. The result, after a month and a half of strenuous work, was a hall adorned both by prehispanic and colonial motifs. This was an ephemeral construction, however, for the Palace would be completely reconstructed after the design of Sahut, who was appointed by Leguía in 1926. The elegant new Palace was not inaugurated until 1938 –Jaxa Malachoswchi directed the final works— and the final design included halls inspired in the Versailles Palace, with a facade decorated with neo-colonial motifs. Still standing in Lima’s Plaza de Armas, the Government Palace stands next to the 1924 Archbishop’s Palace, Lima’s Cathedral, and the *Municipalidad de Lima* (the latter a 1940s neo-colonial design). This was the “neo” center of what has come to be known, with immeasurable doses of amnesia, as “colonial Lima.”

The modern creation of “neo” pasts during the Leguía Era was a conciliatory gesture toward Peru’s postcolonial dilemmas. Several definitions of *Peruanidad* could now coexist, quite literally, next to each other. Walking Leguía’s Lima, one could gaze upon a mock prehispanic temple, witness Manco Capac launching his founding civilizing mission, and visit Pizarro’s grave –although it was never certain if the remains belonged to the conquistador. One could also admire a new colonial Archbishop’s Palace, and greet a large number of Peruvian history’s heroic figures. Heterogeneous temporalities coexisted in the city, and competed for the gaze of *Limeños* and visitors. But it was a neo-city of modern constructions that had faux-façades that made references to diverse pasts. A large number of monuments also stood, allegedly to pay tribute to the Great Men that had contributed to the nation’s grandeur. Thirteenth century Manco thus inhabited the city along with nineteenth century Liberators, philosophers with soldiers, scientists with poets. In order to be made the Great Men of the

⁸⁰⁴ “Crónica sobre el grandioso baile en el Palacio de Gobierno,” *La Prensa*, August 3, 1921.

nation, however, they were all victims of arbitrary decontextualization. Buildings and monuments made Lima an inhabitable museum of immobile, innocuous fetishes. A man who enjoyed grandiloquent statements, Leguía attempted his own version of the modern gesture of destroying history by making History concrete.



Figure 7-1. Leguía Avenue



Figure 7-2. Leuro Development



Figure 7-3. Archbishop's Palace



Figure 7-4. Panteón de los Próceres



Figure 7-5. Manco Capac Monument



Figure 7-6. Museo Nacional de Arqueología



Figure 7-7. Plaza San Martín

CHAPTER 8 UNFINAL REFLECTIONS

Parading History

Skimming through the dusty and yellowing pages of *La Prensa*, one morning at the *Archivo General de la Nación*, in Lima, I came across the proposal of Augusto Gildemeister (possibly the prominent sugar industrialist), for the organization of an “Inca parade or procession” to be part of the celebrations of the centennial of Peru’s declaration of Independence in 1921. Originally a letter to the Minister of *Fomento*, the proposal was published by the newspaper, as were commentaries and suggestions from a wide array of citizens. Gildemeister argued for the convenience to stage a parade that should include

The Inca, carried in his gold litter, followed by his court and some men and women dressed with the typical clothing of each of Peru’s regions, each group led by dancers and bands playing regional musical tunes... It would also be convenient to have Francisco Pizarro and his conquistadors following the parade, and San Martín with the grenadiers who are coming from Argentina.⁸⁰⁵

Gildemeister’s parade was not included in the already busy centennial celebration program, but it was a “text” that pictorially synthesized the history of Peru. It indeed shared the performative vein of the Leguía regime, as well as its taste for national rituals and historical simulacra. In the absence of “records” one could only imagine the “procession:” an actor representing an Inca, followed by “actual”⁸⁰⁶ indigenous peoples dressed in “typical” clothes; a faux-Pizarro with a supporting cast of conquistadors, followed by a faux-San Martín, accompanied by the 1921 Argentine delegation of grenadiers that took part of the centennial celebrations. All marching, proudly, along an avenue –perhaps the Leguía Avenue?— temporarily converted into the page of History. That is, converted into the nation itself; into the

⁸⁰⁵ “Carta abierta de Augusto Gildemeister al Ministro de Fomento. La celebración del Centenario,” *La Prensa*, June 24, 1921.

⁸⁰⁶ My use of the word actual is intended to express three simultaneous meanings: “current,” “factual,” that is, as a socially and historically constructed fiction that is defined as “real,” and part of an “act.”

linear stage on which historical *actors* perform the script provided and imposed by professional and lay historians. Gildemeister's parade also shared the temporal promiscuity and the conciliatory mood of the Leguía Era, for the whole History of Peru could march, each epoch succeeding the other, with no conflictive transitional moments.

I am almost certain Bernardo Monteagudo would not have liked Gildemeister's parade. The *Tucuméño's* 1809 "Dialog between Atahualpa and Ferdinand VII in the Champs Elisées" also displayed a temporal promiscuity of sorts; but the *Tucuméño* would not have accepted a linear history without radical ruptures. In fact, Monteagudo's Trajan's Column for Lima was intended for a different kind of national performance: to symbolize the new beginning of the new nation, and the break with the undesirable (pre)historical time of Spanish colonialism. Monteagudo's modern and national gesture needed to forget modern (and national) late-colonial precedents to announce that Peru inhabited contemporaneity and had a national future.

Lima played a central role in the postcolonial processes of imagining the nation and creating modernity, as well as the simultaneous processes of imagining and creating History. Ever a synecdoche for the nation, postcolonial elites attempted to recreate their city as an experiment of the nation they wanted to achieve. Monteagudo's national gesture of forgetting would be actively forgotten by future gesturers, who would struggle to break with previous eras, to announce, all anew, the nation's entrance to contemporaneity. New beginnings canceled previous times, throwing them to the same pre-historical time of Spanish colonialism Monteagudo helped to construct. The new became an uncomfortable sign of the old all too rapidly. The succession of modernizers of Lima performed not one unified, continuous parade, like Gildemeister's. In stead, each performed their own, asking their audience to forget the

previous one. Yet, then they claimed to be carrying out the first parade ever performed, hoping that their audience would not only forget, but forget that it had forgotten.

During the Guano Era, elites struggled to transform Lima into a city that did not resemble the colonial past, recreating and regulating the city in similar terms as Montegudo at a larger scale. Elites wished to consolidate the national community and to define Peru as a nation coeval with the international community of “civilized” and “advanced” nations. The transformations of Lima inscribed in the city a narrative of a radical rupture that allowed the nation to enter the secular, homogeneous time of history and modernity. The task of making Peruvians citizens of the nation was, simultaneously, intended to make them citizens of the “universal” community of civilization. It implied instilling republican values, and the physical transformation of the city would be crucial to this effect. The construction of the Bolívar, Dos de Mayo, and Columbus monuments, as well as the Penitentiary, the Botanical Garden, and the modernization of the *paseos*, was an attempt to inscribe the modern narrative of republicanism utilizing a postcolonial language of Peruvianness that was indeed part of the universal language of civilization.

Inculcating the values of discipline, self control, vigor, hard work, and respect for norms, was imperative to create the national community, but also to develop industrial capitalism. The homogeneous time of the nation ended up being identical to the time of abstract labor of the age of capital. The universal forces of the nation and capital merged in a way Montegudo may not have anticipated. The International Exposition and Ruiz Gallo’s Clock, along with Paz Soldán’s Penitentiary, expressed that secular and sacred junction.

The efforts to transform Lima in the post-War of the Pacific Era were indeed driven by similar purposes; but the sense of urgency to attain coevalness with the universals of civilization and industrial capitalism was marked by the sense that Peru and Lima had lost time in

comparison with other Latin American nations. The defeat produced the sense that Peru had neither formed a unified nation nor developed into an industrial and developed society; in short, that the country was not coeval with the *international* and capitalist universal community. Elites repeated previous modern space-clearing gestures to launch a new modernity, thus attempting to recreate a new urban habitat. The reforms of the period were defined by the rise of sociological thought, however; the lexicon developed to inscribe the city was dominated by the sociological metaphors of the organism, the machine, and the military, along with the engendered languages of race and virility. Elites discovered that the city suffered from demographic problems, arguing that Lima and the country needed a larger and more virile population. They designed plans to attract immigrants, to discipline the population's bodies via education, and scrutinized sites that had been previously defined as private.

The intervention of modernizers was not limited to streets and "public" spaces because the "private" disappeared altogether. The empire of "the social" had unlimited jurisdiction, allowing experts to physically penetrate into the neighborhoods and homes of the poor as well as into women's bodies to diagnose the nation's maladies and design policies for the common welfare. While those explorations were allegedly intended to provide with guidelines to solve Lima's demographic problems, that is, to design alternatives for healthy environments that would help produce a healthy, vigorous and virile population; experts produced sensualized ethnographies the territories of the poor that offered no environmental substitutes for them. Experts drew the conclusion that the poor were racially corrupted and therefore, no environmental change could uplift them from decadence. The unaesthetic proximity of the poor, they argued, carried imminent dangers for "everybody," that is, for the bodies of well-off *Limeños*. In consequence, Lima's upper classes had to relocate to the newer, spacious peripheral

areas open to development after the demolition of the city walls. Organized workers claimed they were part of the healthy part of the social body; that is, respectable, disciplined, and hardworking patriarchs who deserved assistance from the state to relocate away from the wretched. In cases, they claimed to be indispensable parts of the social machinery, therefore, positioning themselves as more modern and national than elites.

The physical recreation of the city was informed by the desire to break with the past and by sociological thought. Elites, led by Lima's Mayor, Federico Elguera, strove to make Lima more sanitary and to modernize *Limeños'* habits. The dichotomy between the colonial and the modern had been expressed in a lexicon that opposed closed environments to open ones since the early days of Montegudo, who suggested that the dungeons of the Inquisition were the most representative space of Spanish colonialism: close, obscure and oppressive. In contrast, modern times had to be characterized by the open flux of ideas, goods, and air. During the Post-War-of the Pacific Era, *Limeño* elites worked this opposition to construct wide, open avenues which were expected to help improve the population's health and race. Lima experienced an unprecedented period of expansion and modernization, as new neighborhoods were developed towards the seashore and new means of transportation, lighting, and communication helped create the delightful sensation that Lima was "already" catching up with cities like Buenos Aires.

The rapid transformations of the city and *Limeños'* daily lives, however, generated anxiety and discomforts too. Some argued that Lima was losing its unique personality to become indistinguishable from any other modern, prosaic city. Others feared the effects of industrialization, or complained that life was becoming grimmer as traditions faded and *Limeños* lost their characteristically cheerful personality. The success of the efforts to modernize the city and its inhabitants gave rise to a narrative of defeat: the lamentation about the *Lima que se va*

(Lima of yesteryear). Some felt the compulsive need to recreate old colonial Lima as a peaceful, paradisiacal Arcadia in literature, as to preserve it untouched by the corrupting forces of modernity.

The Leguía Era responded to these anxieties by creating positive images of Lima's and Peru's past. The *Oncenio* seems to have attempted a radical break: in stead of erasing the vestiges of the past, it had an obsession for their preservation and for creating some anew. Newly constructed "archeological" sites were erected in the city –a Pre-Hispanic ceremonial center here, a colonial house for the Archbishop there. It also erected more monuments any other regime ever before or after. Leguía, however, also led an intense process of industrialization, which gained him the opposition of exporters of agricultural products, and opened Peru's economy to foreign investment, for which many accused him of selling-off Peru to Yankee imperialism. His regime also attempted to expand and modernize the infrastructure and services in cities throughout the country, for which he hired the U.S. based Foundation Company, and attempted to transform Peru's state institutions, most notably, its educational system, with the aid of U.S. experts. Regarding Lima, Leguía carried out important works of infrastructure and constructed spacious avenues that opened large areas for residential and industrial development, having New York and London as inspirations.

Taking this into account it is easy to conclude that Leguía was not a *pasadista* –a man clinging obsessively to the past— to follow José Carlos Mariátegui's definition.⁸⁰⁷

Interpretations and judgments of the Leguía regime are, in fact, as diverse as Leguía's discourses. After analyzing his accommodating discourses and his language of urbanism, my own interpretation is that the Leguía's regime at once expressed and attempted to reconcile

⁸⁰⁷ José Carlos Mariátegui, "Pasadismo y futurismo," *Peruanicemos al Perú* (Lima: Empresa Editorial Amauta, 1970).

diverse discursive formations about Peru's and Lima's History and "essence," as well as the anxieties about modernization and the loss of "our" identity, with the ultimate purpose of making industrialization and "progress" viable. His regime actively promoted and validated all existing discourses on the city and the nation by making them concrete, and gained tremendous political capital for doing so and for erecting dozens of monuments to a wide array of figures. Leguía's monuments served the imperative of forgetting, for their lessons of history were limited to arbitrary, decontextualized, artistic representations. Monuments and buildings were concrete signs removed altogether from their reference; that is, "honored" figures were removed from their cultural and political milieus. Perhaps this was Leguía's own version of the modern gesture of erasing the past. Leguía's regime might have discarded Gildemeister's proposal for a reason: it wanted *Limeños* and tourists to do the marching across a city that had multiple references to the past, as museum goers browsing from one well-staged exhibit to another.

History on Every Corner

Leguía reached a point of no return. His large scale intervention on the city could not be reversed. Ever since, different historicities have coexisted in Lima, where there is no clear line between the old and the new, and where different processes of modernization rapidly ended up symbolizing the past. Some of them were intended to do so: neo-colonial and neo-pre-Hispanic buildings were contemporary, modern faux-recreations of the past. The neo-pre-Hispanic maintained its simulacrum character, but the modern neo-colonial was easily "read" as "authentic" vestiges of Peru's viceregal past. Even the Government palace, built in 1938, is easily believed to be the "real" *Casa de Pizarro* by common citizens and uninformed tourists.

Today's Lima has grown to a scale unimaginable by 1930, as more than nine million people –myself included—call it now home. More monuments, of course, have been erected, and the overwhelming majority of the streets and plazas carry out names of historical events and

prominent national men –and, to a lesser extent, women. Historical references are, literally, on every corner of the city. Monuments and streets and plaza names are allegedly meant to “immortalize” the dead, honoring them for their contribution to the nation. There seems to be a paucity of historical events and prominent men and women for the large metropolis, however, for one can find many streets and plazas sharing the same name. To make things more labyrinthine, names may be changed, falling pray to the desires of municipal authorities; and monuments, like that of Francisco Pizarro (see Chapter 1 above), may also be removed or relocated. The city has been made into a growing palimpsest, where history is obsessively and continuously written and erased. In the process of writing history in streets and plazas, historical references have lost all connection to the past. *Limeños* use the names as concrete spatial references devoid of historical connotations. The *Avenida Wilson* –named by Leguía after U.S. President Woodrow Wilson—, for instance, was later renamed as *Avenida Garcilaso*. In spite of all possible symbolisms, *Limeños* identify that avenue as the main market of pirate software and smuggled computing accessories. Both Wilson and Garcilaso, stand as names more related to computing software and hardware than to any historical event or text.

Postcolonial Modernizations, Postcolonial Denials

Following the well established tradition of new beginnings, present-day historians and sociologists of Peru have crafted a history of Lima that has thrown the processes of modernization discussed in this study into the obscure pre-modern and pre-national time of colonialism. In their efforts to oppose the *Hispanista* historical narratives that dominated academic centers such as The *Pontificia Universidad Católica* and the *Instituto Riva Agüero*, present-day *dependentista* and neo-Marxist historians have inadvertently reproduced the modern, elitist gesture, creating a sweeping generalization of previous *Limeño* elites as fundamentally conservative and traditional, and only open to cosmetic modernization. The transformations of

the city have been interpreted as “traditional-modernizations,” that is, not as profound processes of modernization, but as superficial reforms of façades that left social structures intact. Divorced from the profound realities of their nations, elites attempted to mimic Europe, but only aesthetically, creating a faux-modernity that hid their intentions of preserving the colonial status quo.

The conception is part of the larger and stubborn master narrative still recreated to understand Latin America, according to which the region’s Independence from Spanish colonialism was only a political process carried out by Creole elites as a strategy to hold on to their colonial privileges, and not a *real* social revolution intended to transform the societies they inherited into integrated and modern nations. Guided by their colonial mentalities, they were not a *real* bourgeoisie, but a conservative group interested in maintaining the colonial status quo. They subsequently articulated their countries to the emerging empires of Britain, in the nineteenth century, and the United States, in the twentieth century, thus perpetuating their country’s colonial dependency and their position as intermediaries. As a natural consequence, Latin American countries have not been *real* nations, but neo-colonial territories.

Perhaps inadvertently, critics of colonialism have constructed a rigid, idealized, and ahistorical view of modernity and the nation. The *real* revolutions, led by *real* bourgeoisies who built *real* nations are ideal norms that place Latin America in the perpetual waiting room of history; in the eternal *not yet* of History. This study has discussed previous claims of *not yet*s; for each period of modernization of Lima started by disqualifying previous modernizing attempts and by making the statement that the city and Peru was still inhabiting the *not yet*. These claims served to support the idea that the new projects were the *real* ones; carried out by a *real* modern

leading class interested in creating a *real* nation: one who could secure a place in the modern and national room of the *already*.

Considering nineteenth-century or early twentieth century elites as essentially conservative requires an immense oblivion –or, rather, denial—of the processes of modernization and nation making discussed in this study. The projects of intervention on Lima and its population do not show elites eager to preserve the status quo; in fact, they show elites obsessively attempting to erase the past to launch new beginnings. These projects do not seem to exemplify the elites’ divorce with their “national reality,” but their efforts to constitute one fully integrated to the emerging transnational concert. It is not, then, that elites were not Peruvian enough; rather, they were struggling to define what it meant to be Peruvian. They do not show elites trapped by their “colonial” legacy, but rather attempting to rid the country of colonial vestiges. This may sound an implausible thesis for the Leguía era, but the regime’s *hispanismo* did not mean that elite’s intended to reconstruct colonial times.

The sociological legacy of the Post-War of the Pacific (Chapter 4 above), especially González Prada’s denunciations of “white” elites as unmodern and divorced from the rest of the country, has shaped subsequent sociological readings of Peru, albeit mostly devoid of their openly racist statements. The discourse of defeat has imposed rigid limits to sociological imagination. It is expressed in Mariátegui’s denunciation of elites’ *pasadismo*, and in the popular conception that there exist two Perus: a “profound Peru” and an “official Peru.” “Profound Peru” being the real country composed by Indigenous populations, while “official Peru” is centered in Lima and more connected to “the world” than to its profound counterpart. A misreading of a metaphor used by historian Jorge Basadre, the idea synthesizes the view that

Limeño elites are disconnected from the realities of the country –although it is also used to express the complementing argument that “indigenous” populations inhabit the past.

The processes of modernization of Lima and the sociological readings of Lima’s and Peru’s history have all made the space-clearing gesture of disqualifying the past to launch new beginnings. In stead of using the “traditional modernization” master line to analyze the urban history of Lima, my study departed from the notion of postcolonial reinventions as to highlight the postcolonial anxieties of the project of recreating a capital city that inherited that position from the colonial era and thus symbolized it. The city was successively recreated to rid it from Spanish colonialism, which appears as a stubborn ghost that never ceases to haunt *Limeño* imagination. Conceiving them as postcolonial, this study has not departed from an abstract, essentialist definition of modernity nor has wanted to delineate a teleological narrative of the (failed) transition to it. It has, instead, attempted to highlight the irony embedded in the modern statements that sought to transcend the colonial, thus keeping it alive. In short, this study has only attempted to show that colonialism must in fact be conceived as ghost; as a spirit of a dead entity we must allow to rest in peace.

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