

# The Indigenous Woman in the Therapeutic-Enlightened Project of Peru (1861-1889)

Dany Erick Cruz Guerrero

Department of Human Sciences, Antonio Ruiz de Montoya University, Lima, Peru

**Email address:**

dany.cruz@uarm.pe

**To cite this article:**

Dany Erick Cruz Guerrero. The Indigenous Woman in the Therapeutic-Enlightened Project of Peru (1861-1889). *Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol. 11, No. 4, 2023, pp. 114-126. doi: 10.11648/j.hss.20231104.11

**Received:** May 18, 2023; **Accepted:** June 6, 2023; **Published:** July 6, 2023

---

**Abstract:** The article investigates the emergence of the problem of Indigenous women to the critical horizon of the scientific mentality that, in the second part of 19<sup>th</sup> century, manages the emancipatory project of Peru as an organic response to the spiritual, scientific, intellectual, and ethical-political crisis that is the natural consequence of the collapse of the archaic colonial regime in Peru and the Andean region. Consequently, in this paper I propose to discuss the historical-formative, epistemological, semantic-resignifying, constructive, and attitudinal aspects that intervene in the scientific formulation of problem follow: how the Indigenous woman integrates into republican life? In this sense, the present research inquiries in the Juana Manuela Gorriti's "Si haces mal no esperes bien" (1861), Manuel Pardo's "Medidas económicas del Congreso de 1860" (1861), Manuel González Prada's "Speech at the Politeama Theater" (1888) and "Our Indians" (1904), and Clorinda Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido...* (1889) discourses about Indigenous woman situation. All these authors coincide, for one hand, in asseveration that the exclusion and subordination of Andean woman is the stone angular of patriarchal and colonial archaic system, and, for other hand, in affirmation that the democratic and republican modern system need integrates her like rights subject for to progress and development fully. Applying hermeneutical-comparative method, gender approach, and critical-historical vision about formative process of Peru and Andean region, this article explains the complicated process through which Indigenous women become protagonists in critical-reflective studies and, above all, producers of discourse and, therefore, of discursive criticism. This contribution concludes that, not only in contemporary specialized studies, but in political-social reality, the integration of Indigenous women into Peruvian citizenship continues to be a current and ongoing challenge.

**Keywords:** Indigenous Woman, Therapeutic-Illustrated Project, Emancipation, Discursive Criticism

---

## 1. Introduction: The Indigenous Woman as a Healing Support of the Peruvian Nation

This essay reflects on the emergence of the problem of the Indigenous woman to the critical horizon of the scientific mentality that gestates the emancipatory project of Peru as an organic response to the spiritual, scientific, intellectual, and ethical-political crisis, which is the natural consequence of the collapse and the extinction of the archaic regime in Peru and the Andean region. But the cancellation of the old and expired form of government does not immediately extinguish the customs rooted in the secular mentality, which sees colonial Peru crumbling, rather the new republican Peru is a country to

be built beyond the colonial —beyond even the metacolonial—. The exhibition is divided into five sections. Five aspects of a single problem are thematized; namely: how did the Indigenous woman come to have a leading role in critical studies and to produce discursive criticism herself when before, in the archaic regime, women in general were excluded from reading, writing and, in short, the useful knowledge for life and human happiness that is obtained from science?

The first section explains the *historical-formative aspect* of the problem of Indigenous women and its incorporation into scientific discourse as a sociopolitical problem until its foundation as a policy axis for public management: it is interesting to clarify how the problem of women arose in the critical awareness of the enlightenment that elaborates the educational reforms implemented by the new republican

government.

In the second section, the *epistemological aspect* of the transition to the new regime is explained: how, in effect, does understanding behave in the face of the validity of the archaic paradigm and the contradictory validity of the new paradigm? The archaic form of subservient government has disappeared, but the new form of government has not yet displayed all its potentialities: Peru is a country to be made. Then, what kind of country is Peru? What kind of government does it aspire to? What kind of culture does it aspire to? What values does it embrace? What teaching does it promote through the educational system?

The third section explains the *semantic-resignifying* aspect that brings out the sense of modernizing synergy that renews the horizon of education in Peru: by understanding education as a public thing, the State takes charge of integral human formation —scientific, technical, artistic, moral, ethical, civic-political, intellectual, existential and spiritual— of its citizens, who are precisely the ones who will be in charge of the functioning of the State through the public administration. In the fourth section, the *constructive aspect* of thought that connects the current problems of specialized criticism in an intellectual nucleus is commented.

In the fifth section, the *attitudinal aspect* of the criticism is explained, and it is indicated which are the attitudes developed by the critic in the incorporation of the problems that prevent the full integration of Indigenous women into republican citizenship. My approach is genetic: it looks at what has been through the magnifying glass of what is and what has become *the discovery of the enlightened feminist critic in Peru in the second half of the 19th century*. Clorinda Matto de Turner consolidates critical understanding.

## 2. The Indigenous Woman and the Conception of the Therapeutic-Enlightened Project

In examining the complicated interaction between the problem “Indigenous woman” and the problem “scientific-critical foundation of an institutionalized therapeutic-social course of action to treat social ills-diseases-pathologies in Peru” —criticism implies a plan of systematic strengthening in which the Peruvian spirit could be trained and exercised during each day, renewing itself in the critical understanding of itself— the evidence suggests that the problem of the Indigenous woman in the long list of national problems could only be posed to the Peruvian critical mentality when the system had gestated the critical conditions of possibility for the Indigenous female discourse to be heard with a new republican voice. Throughout the essay it is explained what the changes are experienced —historical accidents, let us say— by the Peruvian mentality around the problem of Indigenous women. Enlightenment criticism is moved by the spirit of understanding Peru and its recent republican formative process.

With the change of regime, the printing press was also freed

from the administration and supervision of the colonial ecclesiastical-political power. It does not take long for, in the new republican era, women to appropriate the means of production and run their own printing presses [1]. In effect, the Republic realizes the nightmare of patriarchal conservatism: free, independent, emancipated, rebellious, literate women, with a historical-critical conscience, self-critical, reflective, innovative, professional and with autonomy of principle for action in an ethical-political sense [1]. Paternalism takes a republican form to adapt to the new situation. Already well into the Republic, the Peruvian sensibility convalescing from the wounds of the Pacific War, the satirical and pathetic paternalism of the weekly *La Idea*, captain of the anti-Cacerist and anti-Mattitian press, will misjudge that for the first time in the history of Peru women historically silenced and neglected Indigenous people speak through the voice of the new generation of feminist and indigenous women writers. Between November 1892 and January 1893, the weekly *La Idea* contested Matto’s realist style with malicious and treacherous sarcasm [2].

Now, what is the therapeutic-enlightened project of Peru and what does it consist of? How was it born? How did it arise? What relationship does this project have with Indigenous women? Why should Indigenous women be related, in any case, to such a project, largely Creole and post-Hispanic? At its end, the Colony leaves a country looted and in ruins.

A detailed description of the critical state of Peruvian society in 1821 [3, 4] helps the hermeneutic method applied to collect the spiritual concern of the founding moment [5], because only by approaching the feeling of the time can contemporary thought [6] recognize the discomforts of Peruvian culture [7, 8], because only the rationalization of discomforts can offer a reliable diagnosis, useful for therapeutic treatment that naturally seeks to restore the cracked health of the nation [1]. But the health of the country torn apart by the civil war is not restored by returning to the colonial form of government, rather said health is established as an aspiration for plenitude and integrity in the projective horizon of the Enlightenment that expresses the longing for modern life for all Peruvian population.

The therapeutic-enlightened project of Peru refers to the set of principles and ideas that, from 1790, prepare and condition the criticism that causes the collapse, deterioration and decay of the archaic colonial mentality to gestate the emergence of the new emancipatory mentality and the new liberal spirit that, accelerating the burial of the old regime, sustains the new republican, postcolonial, modern, reflective, inclusive, dialogic, intercultural and cosmopolitan world, open to building ties of friendship and collaboration with neighboring countries and others further away, all of which accentuates the extent to which emancipation, the independence process undertaken by Spanish America to free itself from the colonial domination exercised by Spain aspires to be not only political and economic, but also spiritual and, consequently, epistemic, aesthetic, historical, anthropological, intellectual, and philosophical. How will the Spanish-American spirit achieve the full liberation it longs for? How, in short, will Latin

American societies rise from the ruin to which the colonial spirit has subjected them? Enlightenment criticism is moved by the spirit of seeking a solution to the founding problems of Peruvian nationality.

What does an invading, occupying, colonizing foreign army, feverish for gold and riches, do with the native women of *the enemy*, without any ethical or even moral framework that contains it? Critics report that the wealthiest *encomenderas* among the mestizo heiresses of the first generation of mestizo descendants from the nuptials of the Spanish conquerors with the *ñustas* of the Inca royalty were severely subjected to the patriarchal and paternalistic principle on which the Colony is founded: the political marriages served the conquerors to gain control of the reductions and facilitate access to the wealth and assets of the noblest families of the Inca aristocracy [9]. Although reading, writing and learning were generally *forbidden* to women, during the Colony many women knew how to manage and overcome the *adverse* vicissitudes to learn to read and write and contributed not only to the dissemination of ideas, letters, sciences and the arts, as well as technical and experimental knowledge, but above all to give a voice to illiterate, illiterate women, subjected to impunity of ignorance and victimized by vulgarity. Against the Colony, which reserves the best quality education for a very select and exclusive minority based on the racist social economy, the Republic promises the massification of scientific education and universal access to reading, writing and modern sciences [6].

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Peruvian Republic was born fragmented and lacking in unity, with no other goal than to seek for republican values to take root in Peruvian culture and shape intersubjective relations in such a way that there is an intense exercise of citizenship. The official “public” education system will go from educating servants and subjects of royal power to educating citizens who participate in public debate with a voice and a vote in decision-making through the democratic institutions. The foundation of the new modern State had to take place, inevitably, on the logistics and furniture of the old viceregal regime. The notion «Republican Peru» is an intellectual achievement and a gain of historical-critical awareness that arises from the effort of thought that struggles to distinguish between the colonial and the republican in the new situation. For us, readers of the 21st century, the difference between the colonial and the republican can be clear in theory and in practice. Specialized criticism indicates that this sharp difference was not so sharp for the early 19th century because in many cases officials and clerks from the suppressed colonial administration held new positions in the new republican administration: the case of the doctor, naturalist, man of sciences and philosopher José Hipólito Unanue (1755-1833), exceptional witness to the transition from the violent colonial intensification of the second half of the 18th century to the incipient republicanism of the 19th century. In this sense, recent studies highlight the contributions of circles of enlightened women in critical journalism and social scientific research aimed at establishing a real diagnosis of the state and conditions of education in

Peru during the critical years of decoupling of mentality colonial and revolutionary insertion of the new republican mentality [3].

The new educational system of the Republic is based on the old structure inherited from the Colony with the aim of redesigning the relationship between education and citizenship [5, 6]. In good account, the republican educational system assumes a deconstructive attitude of the colonial system and for this very reason the therapeutic-enlightened project of Peru presents three facets.

First, in the reactive, oppositional facet, the therapeutic-enlightened project of Peru is a reaction against the traditional methods of teaching and training used by colonial teaching (in the viceregal academy neo-Thomist and Platonizing Aristotelianism prevails). The most recalcitrant republican vanguard perhaps longs to eradicate scholasticism and dogmatic teaching privileged by the colonized teachers forever to, instead, promote modern science and take advantage of its fruits for the development of the nation [10]. Throughout the 19th century, various authors highlight the extremely poor and abandoned state of the national school: from the official diagnosis [5] to the ministerial work of Simón Rodríguez to the new horizon of González Prada [11] it can be verified, with Pardo, that the Peruvian school is scandalously, cruelly and shamefully in ruins: “[...] y por qué se arruina la escuela y no hay quien la levante [...]” [12]. According to specialized criticism, the illustrated press of the 19th century serves as a sampler of critical-hermeneutic tendencies about the difficulties and challenges facing the updating of the modern State in the surviving colonial culture and habitat of historical Peru; Klarén recalls that the Viceroyalty, in its beginnings, is also a political project: an “imperial colonial project” [13]. According to Salazar Bondy, even in 1899 it is possible to document, in the archives of the Faculty of Letters of the University of San Marcos, the criticism of Platonizing Aristotelianism, which is an item of criticism that raises anti-classicism against the inertial teaching of scholasticized Latin [14].

Second, in the middle transitional facet, overcoming the reactive facet, the project establishes the therapeutic-curative attitude that identifies the “evils” that make Peruvian society sick and deteriorate its health in colonial dependency: critical thinking recognizes that it is necessary to destroy the bases and the pillars of the colonial world, and in making this recognition he confesses that the challenge is great and perhaps magnificent and that the archaic world, despite its collapse, although it is dying, has not died or become extinct or has completely disappeared, but rather that, rather, its ideological bases, resisting the onslaught of republican criticism, remain valid and active in the critical mentality of postcolonial and proto-republican Peruvian society. In the active phase, focused on its autonomous affirmative nucleus, the illustrated project designs a vision of a healthy and healthy Peru: the reform of the educational system begins through the implementation of public policies undertaken by the Ministry of Education traceable in the study of succession history of the efforts of the governments in power [5].

### 2.1. Epistemological Aspect of the Problem of Indigenous Women

The study of the problem of the Indigenous woman in the therapeutic-enlightened project of Peru reveals the incorporation of the Indigenous woman in said project, as the consequence of a theoretical-practical reconfiguration of the relations between science and society. To the extent that the critical exposition of ideas shows the limits of the categories that give order and consistency to the archaic world, which is collapsing, to the same extent the modern Enlightenment lifestyle emerges in which new forms are designed and configured of sensitivity based on traditional social roles. There is, here, in effect, an intellectual split resulting from the confrontation of the dominant theoretical-political paradigms: understanding is debated in the search for an intellectual solution that overcomes the ontological-existential disagreement between colonialism and republicanism. Thus, an epistemological problem is configured: between the world full of certainties that is collapsing on its foundations and the world newborn to be carved, the uncertainty for the immediate future of the Republic will translate into intense permanent political instability, warlordism, and militarism: only with the emergence of civilism is a certain stability achieved that allows reformulating/updating the Enlightenment project [15, 16]. With the covid-19 pandemic, we have just had an epistemological experience like the founding experience of 19th-century Peru: I think that it is worth keeping this in mind to note how far and, at the same time, how close we are to the mentality of the 19th century. that studies the social situation of Indigenous women as a solvable scientific problem through public management. A new horizon for criticism emerges.

The problem of Indigenous women is aggravated by the health-social crisis: it is urgent to attend to it on all sides, since it is not only a pedagogical problem, but also an economic, sociopolitical, and cultural problem: its rigorous solution requires that Indigenous women integrate into the nation as a full citizen. The irruption of current events makes us understand that, in the pre-Mattian critical horizon, the problem of women in the therapeutic-enlightened project is mediated by the understanding that one has in critical thinking of the relationships between *women*, *knowledge* and *society* [17], and between *women*, *education* and *citizenship* [18]. The pandemic impacts the lives of Indigenous women and forces specialized criticism to focus the problem of Indigenous women in the therapeutic-enlightened project currently in force in public policies [19].

The critic reasons that the awareness that States reach about the need to embark on scientific research projects is an unprecedented phenomenon in the contemporary world. It is undeniable that Peru and the ways of feeling Peru have changed in 200 years. It is obvious that the Peru recently founded in 1821 is not the bicentennial Peru of 2022. The Peru of the 21st century belongs to the post-pandemic era of the hyper-flow of information, where pseudoscience spread and proliferate. Well seen, it is not paradoxical that today anti-scientific attitudes reach great diffusion and magnitude to

the point of slowing down the most sensible preventive measures of governments in the face of the growing and galloping threat of the new unknown disease. Why is this situation not paradoxical? Because fake news and anti-scientific, dogmatic, and “colonialist” psychosocial go viral more quickly than scientific, critical, and “emancipatory” knowledge. The science that studies post-truth is slower and more delayed [20]. We must go back to the emergence of the modern scientific-enlightened horizon to make ourselves intelligible, first, the emergence of an enlightened project in a therapeutic-curative sense in Peru and, second, explain what relationship this project has with Indigenous women. The essay not only assumes that such a relationship exists, but also offers textual evidence of the existence of a complex and problematic relationship between Indigenous women and the scientific-enlightened project promoted by Peruvian critical thinking.

From what I have said, I think it is necessary and opportune to return to the foundations that support the contemporary scientific attitude and especially its (re)insertion in the Andean region [8]. Is it possible to be indifferent to the impact of science and scientific knowledge on the unfolding of institutionally mediated interpersonal and social relationships? On the other hand, it is surprising that the closer and more visible the presence of technology is in everyday life—from the liberal and modernizing newspapers of the late eighteenth century to the iPads, tablets, and high-end cell phones, the recent advances in the development of the 5G network of our days—, pseudoscience [20], fundamentalism [21], and racism [22] gains greater diffusion. The critic maintains that while governments opted for disconcerting authoritarian measures to stop the spread of the virus and while scientists and researchers worked tirelessly to develop an effective vaccine, some political and opinion leaders in Brazil and the United States promoted movements social anti-vaccination [23]. Everything indicates that, then the pandemic caused by covid-19 and the lack of preparation of the health system, after two long and prolonged years of confinement and mandatory social isolation, depression demoralizes many and threatens to become another paradigmatic disease of our time: science studies to what extent it can be specified as a determining cause of suicides [24].

In what follows, then, I try to identify and articulate the line of continuity that connects authors and thinkers as distant and heterogeneous as they can be by style and personality Manuel Pardo [12], Juana Manuela Gorriti [25], Clorinda Matto de Turner [26], and Manuel González Prada [11]. The essay includes both thinkers and both thinkers as educators and trainers of critical thinking that gives anthropological support and historical continuity to the therapeutic-enlightened project in Peru. The approach to the problem of Indigenous women in the therapeutic-enlightened project of Peru imposes a bicentennial perspective. It is interesting to highlight the milestones, without trying to exhaust in a few pages an extraordinarily complex story full of ups and downs. How is the problem of the Indigenous woman inserted in the therapeutic treatment that critical thinking devises to

(re)establish the good health of Peruvian society, forced by historical circumstances to form a new postcolonial identity? With emancipation, Peru and Latin America embarked on a new journey in the process of self-knowledge of the Peruvian Hispanic American spirit. The emancipated Peruvian spirit is forged in republican history.

It is consistent to point out the resilience of Indigenous women in the face of the latest health crisis. I agree with Holton [27] and Herce [28] that never has the “modern” world become so aware of the influence of knowledge on development and evolution of human life. With this idea in mind, I understand that the emergence of SARS-CoV-2 and its immediate and imminent consequences (the COVID-19 pandemic, the millions of infections, sudden deaths, the increase in the precariousness of life, the radical paralysis of the productive system, etc.) force us to refocus the relations between science and society as a current challenge for the humanities in the process of (re)insertion in the Andean region [7, 8].

I maintain that the problem of the Indigenous woman implies epistemological-hermeneutical questions about modern Peruvian identity, because thought faces an extremely delicate and complex *problem of onto-historical differentiation*. If, indeed, our post-pandemic understanding of Peru is radically different and different from the postcolonial and proto-republican understanding of Peru, how are the three understandings of Peru similar and how are they different? How do they converge, how do they differ? Is there scientific knowledge about Peru involved in both understandings? Furthermore, what is scientific knowledge at the dawn of the 21st century? What is the difference between scientific knowledge today and scientific knowledge from the 19th and 20th centuries? Is it possible to maintain that the enlightened-therapeutic project of Peru is a *trans-secular continuum*?

In contrast to the vehement, fanatical, feverish, and superstitious eighteenth century, Ricardo Palma calls the nineteenth century “[...] el siglo del carbón de piedra y de los fósforos [...]” [29]. With Mariátegui, it is convenient to demystify the 19th century [30]. What changes, ruptures, and discontinuities, in any case, did the therapeutic-enlightened project of Peru suffer from its first blurry formulation as a desire for independence towards the end of the 18th century and its first historical realization as political-administrative independence achieved towards the beginning of the 19th century? to the present day? Is it that scientific principles are transhistorical and can one speak of continuity without further ado between the divergent mentalities of the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries? Reflecting with Nietzsche [31], we could ask ourselves: what is it that makes the last man of today different from the last man of the late 19th century, when Zarathustra preached the overcoming of man and the advent of the *Übermensch*?

What features of “modernity” can we point out as typical of the 21st century beyond the continuities and ruptures that connect and break with the antecedents and surviving features from the 20th century and even from the 19th century? Does

our society enjoy better health today than two centuries ago?

## 2.2. *Semantic-Resignifying Aspect of the Problem of Indigenous Women*

Of course, it is interesting to look closely at the diversity and transformations that shape the present and make it different and distinguishable from the past. This historical look, however, does not want to get lost in the narrative and the exhaustive account, always unfinished, of events and successions: I am interested in rescuing the critical-reflexive attitude that is at the base of heterogeneity and highlighting the foundational character of the texts that I will refer to below to support the thesis that, above all the difficulties and challenges faced by critical-scientific thinking, a genuine intellectual and spiritual movement is brewing in Peru that serves as a decisive support for the development of science, Philosophy and critical thinking in the Andean region. The maturation of this intellectual movement will create the conditions of possibility for the Enlightenment project to incorporate Indigenous women as the core of the social, economic, political and identity problems of the newly born Peruvian nation to modernity and in the process of modernization. It will be seen in what follows that Matto makes explicit the idea that the education of illiterate Indigenous women can be the revolutionary methodological shift that the nation requires to leave behind *the harmful aspects* of the colonial heritage and affirm *the salutary aspects* of that heritage.

The systematic exclusion of Indigenous women from the formative spaces of the educational system will be perceived, observed, and examined during the 19th century. Specialized critics rightly point to the work of Clorinda Matto as the most complete formalization of the critical understanding that Enlightenment-critical thought reaches of the understanding of the problem of Indigenous women, establishing the ethical-political principles for the integral solution: changing the living conditions of indigenous women, guaranteeing their right to education and professionalization, will impact economically, socio-culturally, and politically [1, 15].

The history of the introduction of the alphabet, reading, and writing in Peru and Latin America has mythological overtones that professional historians deny, sticking to what is credible where the information is opaque:

There were few professional soldiers on Pizarro’s expeditions, but most were experienced Indian fighters, a skill acquired elsewhere in America before they arrived in Peru. Their leaders were mainly in their thirties and forties, the exception being Pizarro who was fifty-four. They included Sebastián de Benalcázar, the later conqueror of Quito, who brought thirty veterans from Nicaragua, and the dashing Hernando de Soto. The educational background of the recruits spanned the spectrum from illiterates to lawyers and *hidalgos* (although none belonged to the high nobility). The best educated were clerks, accountants, notaries, and a few merchants, whereas the least educated were artisans, seamen, and farmers. [13].

The emergence of literacy in the Republican era and how female education, traditionally religious, was incorporated

into the list of educational reforms undertaken by the new government requires further study [4].

At the end of the 19th century, Clorinda Matto maintains the urgency of thinking and developing a scientific project for Peru and the Andean region [16, 1]. Faced with the living remnants of archaic and paternalistic colonialism, Matto promotes full universal citizenship and wants to recompose the State as an instrument of social justice and equal opportunities for the full vital realization of the human person and the society that gives it support and foundation [32, 33, 16, 2]. It is opportune and interesting in this context of ideas to reread Matto and observe how he builds the relationship between modernity and the urgency of developing a literacy program aimed at the scientific training of Indigenous women as citizens and workers [34, 35].

Enthusiasm of Matto [26] for technological progress can be seen in the inclusion of the railway in his narrative: the comfort provided by the railway to cross the mountain range contributes to the illustration of women, since facilitates and favors reading during the journey, which contrasts with the difficulties and hardships imposed by a trip on horseback: "Tampoco olvides los libros, Lucía; el tren sin lectura es un tormento" [26]. The London translation by J. G. H. omits this passage [36]. The feminist author of *Aves sin nido...* puts these words into the mouth of Fernando Marín, who addresses them to his wife Lucía, a woman who will travel by train for the first time. Not only in Matto's narrative are references to the railway, but also in the journalistic work. For example, Matto [37] reports on the visit made to the editorial staff of *El Perú Ilustrado* by the directors of "[...] la empresa del FERROCARRIL CENTRAL DE ILLINOIS POR LA VÍA DE NUEVA ORLEÁNS Á CHICAGO: empresa gigante, en la cual se beneficiarán directamente las Repúblicas Sud del Continente, en especial la nuestra [...]" (emphasis in the original). According to Vargas [16], the benefits are those of Yankee, North American, civilizing progress: the improvement "[...] de la vida material y espiritual de la nación [...]". Matto's assertions confirm the growing interest at the end of the century in the locomotive and its civilizing power. Now, it is worth asking, with Matto: in addition to an integrated territory and a consistent commercial network, in what other way, in effect, would the South American republics benefit from the insertion of the railway in the social productive system? This question and other similar ones enter the critical considerations of the forgers of the enlightened scientific project in Peru in the second half of the 19th century.

Let us synthesize the main axes of Matto's modernization of the problem of Indigenous women in Peru in the following argument: by modernizing the Indigenous female workforce (*human foundation*) through modern education (*enlightened teleology*), the Indigenous female productive force incorporates their work and its fruits to the market of goods and services (*work of female labor*), revitalizing the economy (*economic premise*). From the cultural socioeconomic point of view, the economic independence of Indigenous women opens the space for self-determination (*moral-spiritual-intellectual premise*) that leads to action to

transcend the individual horizon, transcendence of oneself (*principle of perfectibility*) of the one in which the ethical subject emerges as a political subject (*ethical-political premise*), with an open horizon of collective realization (*cultural-community premise*), etc. Matto foregrounds the contribution of the intellectual work of Peruvian women in the problematic formation of the understanding of Peru as a very complex historical-critical reality in which the living conditions of Indigenous women are shaped. Hasn't the work of women's work in shaping Peruvian society been carried out in a silent, more than silent way? Thus, once the Indigenous female agency has been reestablished in the intellectual, economic, and cultural spheres, the way is paved for reestablishing the feminine agency also in the ethical-political sphere: the State, as a social manager of the public good, must guarantee equitable and egalitarian conditions for form Indigenous female citizenship as an active producer force of native-national sense. In other words: the conscious demand for full and universal citizenship emerges for the first time in republican Peru. Just because it seeks wholeness and universality, republican citizenship can be broadened and molded into feminist form.

I highlight Matto's critical reaction against the immobilizing authoritarianism that has its pillars in clericalism, gamonalism and warlordism. Matto wants to dismantle the surviving colonial structure that, according to Gorriti denounces and publicly exposes, oppresses Peruvian women and especially Indigenous women, reduced, and imprisoned to the lowest and most destitute of the social scale. The social, economic, and productive context of Peru before 1860 is widely investigated by the critical tradition [13, 43].

### 2.3. Constructive Aspect of the Problem of Indigenous Women

Matto brings together literacy with industrialization as progressive factors through which the Indigenous woman will be incorporated as a productive force in the formation of the nation. Or, in other words: Matto redefines the relationship between the nation, the problem of Indigenous women, and progress. Matto distances himself from the positivist and capitalist progressivism that was born at the beginning of the 1860s because it is not revolutionary and self-critical enough to incorporate Indigenous women into the national project. The insertion of positivism, long before the achievements reached by González Prada [14], reaches its first climatic point in Peruvian society when Manuel Pardo [12] justifies the need for the railway as an element essential to promote the material progress that serves as the basis for the moral and social progress of "the masses" who are thus converted into civilized peoples. Pardo conceives Peru as a wild country and to be civilized. According to Pardo, Congress, which is the entity in charge of preparing and approving the nation's budget, follows the protocols in force in 1860 to issue the general railway law, when it considers issues such as:

Without railways there can be no true material progress today, and although it seems a lot to say, without material progress there can be no moral progress today in the masses

either, because material progress provides the people with well-being and well-being frees them from stultification and misery: it is worth as much Well, to say that without railways civilization must march very slowly. [12] (my translation).

I keep the original spelling in the quotations taken from the 19th century sources. Pardo's questioning tone indicates to what extent the insertion of the railway in the national productive economic system becomes a priority, urgent and urgent matter:

Which of the economic measures initiated and adopted by Congress can dispute the preference for a thousand reasons for the general law on railways, which will soon be solemnized by the approval of the Senate? Who denies that the railways are today the missionaries of civilization? Who denies that Peru urgently needs such missionaries? [12] (my translation).

For Pardo, the railways are the missionaries of civilization. The brutalized and miserable peoples may well have the railway as an ally in the search for the improvement of living conditions, since the railway leads societies to the cultivation of civilized, democratic, and deliberative life [18]. In Pardo's text, the sociological justification affects political institutions: the construction of the railway can generate consensus among the divergent political forces debating in Parliament:

One day in the middle of the heavy lectures on constitutional theories, four or five deputies propose an authorization to the Government for the construction of a railway for their department; and that day the parties were united, the discussion of the Constitution was put aside, and even the regulations were violated, and the procedures were celebrated. Congress rose as one man and voted by acclamation the authorization for the railroad. [12] (my translation).

From our critical perspective, Pardo's passage accounts for the tension between theoretical-political centralism and decentralist regionalism that struggles to bring the symbols of modernity to the periphery and include it in national development plans; perhaps it also anticipates the great political-legal instability that Peru will experience before the war against Chile, since it suggests that the political representatives of the country are more urgently needed by action than by ideas and genuine constitutional democratic deliberation: "[...] se hechó á un lado la discusion de la Constitución [...]", says Pardo. The author reasons that, furthermore, if there is no respect or reverence for the Constitution, which is the highest integrating norm, there will be less, immediately, for the regulations and procedures established under its protection: "[...] hasta se infringió el reglamento y se festinaron los trámites [...]", sentences Pardo [12].

The critique indicates that we must situate the Indigenous woman in a fragmented nation that requires integral therapy and restoration. The fragmentation is a threat of dilution of the unity of the nation in regionalist tendencies. For Pardo [12], the debate on the railway in Congress gives an opportunity to refer to the social fragmentation of the nation and to criticize

centralism: by commercially connecting the communities of the interior, the railway would contribute to the social and cultural integration of the communities that make up the nation. The fact that the railway has been able to integrate "[...] como un solo hombre [...]" the different voices and tendencies that make up the Congress of 1860 and unite them under the aegis of a single purpose should not make us think of a unanimous intention in the political spectrum of the time. The regionalist demands expressed by the "[...] cuatro ó cinco diputados [...]" who ask the Government to authorize "[...] la construccion de un ferrocarril para su departamento [...]" also indicate the ambiguous perception that the national elites have of the railway: although Pardo [12] justifies that the railway can serve to strengthen the internal market and advance in the achievement of the general progress of the entire nation, the truth is that each department also seeks the greatest benefit for its own region, without the need to take into account mind a pan-Peruvian vision [13].

The criticism also indicates that one must consider the fact that, in effect, regional markets lack modern connection and the difficult access to roads slows down communication and even suspends contact temporarily. A sector of the elite maintains that the construction of a railway network would help micro-regional integration, macro-regional integration and, consequently, national integration. An integrated territory is a requirement to obtain the modern nation that overcomes the fragmentation of *encomendera* feudalization. The concerns of the coastal landowners were very different from those of the emancipators and the first generations of bureaucrats since they needed encouragement so that the crisis did not stop production. Matto de Turner [26] shows how the railway is perceived as a threat by ecclesiastical conservatism that resists the modernization of the nation through the improvement of the road infrastructure, knowing that this has repercussions in the construction of a new liberal and abolitionist mentality of the Indigenous tribute. In good account, the priest Pascual understands that "[...] la civilización decantada que vendrá con los ferrocarriles [...]" will cause the priestly caste and its allies to see their traditional privileges diminished. Progress—the railway, letters—opens the local world to modern liberal relations, since it buries the economic-social system founded on slavery and Indigenous servitude. If the railway serves commercial development, the Indians will become autonomous economic agents and, taking advantage of the commercial railway network, will culturally integrate the geographically dispersed and fragmented nation.

In 1888, in the famous and always current speech read at the Politeama Theater, González Prada introduced the idea of illustrating the Indigenous race to promote the construction of a truly dignified nation [11]. González Prada raises the need for Peru to be a modern, civilized, educated, enlightened and supportive society in which freedom is for all "[...] i principalmente para los más desvalidos [...]": note the superlative meaning of this expression. For González Prada, freedom is an equalizing and egalitarian principle that serves as a prop to bury the caste society that at the beginning of the 20th century was based on surviving colonial prejudices in the

Peruvian mentality. The thinker promotes the critical process that leads Peru to a self-critical awareness of itself in which it is possible of noticing its lie and its truth. González Prada thinks that, defeated by Chile [8], the post-war republican, egalitarian and democratic Peru is falsified in the severe and violent socioeconomic stratification that turns the Indian into a creeping being deprived of humanity, particularly intense at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but no less tragic at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Is it possible to overcome the inequity and social inequality that makes the nation at odds with itself and fragments and weakens it? According to our author, for this it is necessary that “[...] el verdadero Perú [...]” overcome the racist, segregationist and reducing sectarianisms of the nation that mercilessly marginalize “[...] las muchedumbres de indios [...]” and barbarize them mercilessly in ignorance, alcoholism and structural violence that erases and suppresses the dignity of the human being:

I’m speaking, gentlemen, of freedom for everyone, and especially for the most destitute. The real Peru isn’t made up of the groups of American-born Spaniards and foreigners living on the strip of land situated between the Pacific and the Andes; the nation is made up of the masses of Indians living on the eastern slopes of the mountains. For three hundred years the Indian has been relegated to the lowest strata of civilization, a hybrid with all the vices of the savage and none of the virtues of the European. Just teach him to read and write, and in a quarter of a century you’ll see whether he’s capable of achieving human dignity, or not. It’s up to you, schoolteachers, to galvanize a race fallen to sleep under the tyranny of the justice of the peace, the governor, and the priest, that unholy trinity responsible for brutalizing the Indian. [11]

According to Ward [44], Efraín Kristal [45] attributes the invention “[del] símbolo de la trinidad embrutecedora [del indio] a González Prada [...]”. In addition, Ward offers an extremely significant piece of information when he says that: “[...] la figura [de la trinidad embrutecedora] se presenta primero en «Si haces mal, no esperes bien», relato corto, que [Juana Manuela] Gorriti publicó en la *Revista de Lima* [...]” [44, 25]. Ward points out that this figure may well find a critical precedent in Gorriti’s prose and perhaps a later replicating echo in Clorinda Matto, whose novel *Aves sin nido...* appears in 1889. Ward acknowledges Kristal’s pioneering foray into the discovery of “[...] estos lazos entre González Prada y Matto [...]” [45]. Everything indicates that González Prada publicized this figure for the first time in the famous speech of 1888. It is worth asking, then: Did Matto de Turner read González Prada’s speech?

Kristal’s hypothesis maintains that Matto had access to González Prada’s speech. Ward concludes: “Por lo tanto surge la posibilidad [de] que Matto de Turner [46], [o bien] sacó su formulación de González Prada o [bien] de Gorriti, o [bien] sintetizó la visión de los dos”. Ward’s speculative tone only allows one to assume that Matto could have read González Prada’s speech only after July 29, 1888, the date of the reading at the Politeama, and long before December 5, 1889, the date that is inscribed at the end of the “Juicio crítico” signed by

Emilio Gutiérrez de Quintanilla and which serves as a prologue to the novel *Aves sin nido...*, which suggests that the novel was ready for critical reading at least a few weeks before December 5, 1889. However, Ward [47] opted for the idea that González Prada and Matto de Turner appropriated the “[...] trinidad brutal [...]” that Gorriti identified and brought to light in 1861. According to Ward, the “[...] construcción tripartita [...]” is an idea that is breathed “[...] en el aire [...]” of the turn of the century and not only appears strikingly in the pages of González Prada and Matto de Turner, but even before those two giant Peruvian thinkers enunciated it, “[...] llegó a ser [el] tema principal de una novela [...]” written by José T. Itolararres published in Lima in 1885 [48]. On the other hand, we do not have space to consider the immediate repercussion of the speech in the Politeama nor what was its circulation among the intellectuals of the enlightened circle of Lima: we know that later the speech was included in the Parisian (1894) and Madrid (1915) editions of *Pájaros libres*.

Beyond the fair controversy in specialized criticism, for Matto, the modernizing reply to conservatism must “disnaturalize” naturalized discrimination: it is justified to conceive discrimination against Indigenous women as a “disease” that deteriorates the social fabric. There is a change of attitude in criticism.

#### 2.4. Attitudinal Aspect of the Problem of Indigenous Women

According to Bryan [49] it is almost impossible that Matto was unaware of the “romance” that Juana Manuela Gorriti published in number 4 of *La Revista de Lima* in 1861 and that anticipates several of the themes addressed by Matto in *Aves sin nido...*: the reflection of an unequal society, inequitable, authoritarian and violent —especially for Indigenous women—, sentimentality, kidnapping, maternal pain, the miserabilization and marginalization of women, female madness, rape, suicide, incest [45, 50-52], and other themes. It is necessary to dwell on the difficulties of the plot and the structural sequence of the story to note that Ward is not entirely accurate when he says that the subject that arouses Gorriti’s empathy, solidarity and protest is “[...] el andino [...]” [47].

Only through a general extension can it be possible to affirm that Gorriti is referring to the “masculinized” Andean subjectivity in such an abstract way. The “relato corto”, as Ward calls it, is entitled “Si haces mal no esperes bien” [25]. It tells the story of Cecilia, an Andean girl kidnapped by a prestigious soldier and almost immediately rescued by chance by a French naturalist, who adopts her as his own daughter, calls her Amelia and takes her to live with him in France and on a trip to the Middle East. After the death of her adoptive father and now more or less 17-18 years old, Amelia marries Guillermo, a boy from Lima in Paris, Matilde’s brother, and son of a military man. Cecilia’s mother is an Andean woman who progressively gains importance in the story, which is made up of seven episodes. The seven episodes are titled respectively: “I. El rapto” (pp. 111-113), “II. Los bandidos” (pp. 113-114), “III. El protector” (pp. 114-115), “IV. Doce años después” (pp. 115-117 & 147-149), “V. Reminiscencias”



(pp. 149-155), “VI. Historia de los caminos” (pp. 155-159) & “VII. Conclusión” (pp. 159).

A closer reading reveals that Gorriti [25] shows quite specifically how Peruvian women, both Lima and native women who speak “[...] la lengua de los incas [...]” (p. 111), occupy a position subalternized in the martyred, stratified, militarized and authoritarian Peruvian society: it is the young Indian women, above all, who are at the mercy of the tyrannical will “[...] del sub-prefecto, del hacendado, del cura [...]” (p. 157), while literate and urban women, although also oppressed, enjoy a better position. Ward [44] draws attention to the fact that Gorriti does not make explicit the underlying idea of the oppressive and brutalizing trinity that subjugates Indigenous Peruvians and places Indigenous women in an even more precarious situation of extreme vulnerability.

Matto [26] says that the ecclesiastical authority (the priest), the political authority (the governor) and the tax authority (the collector or cacique) constitute a “[...] trinidad aterradora [...]” that personifies “[...] una sola injusticia [...]” (p. 90).

González Prada’s self-criticism demands with resounding and compelling clarity the incorporation of the gender approach to discern the fact that men and women Indians suffer a common oppression, without a doubt, but that it occurs in a differentiated way and that implies that, in effect, the Indigenous women are the most oppressed of all those oppressed by the paternalistic, patriarchal and colonialist system that resists being buried by the democratic, egalitarian and pro-equitable system. In an unfinished essay written in 1904 and subsequently published by his heirs in 1924 and by Mariátegui in 1928, González Prada (re)poses the Indigenous question [53]. In effect, González Prada [54] radically supports: “To eradicate the abuses [committed by lordship against the servilized Indigenous], it would have been necessary to abolish the taxes and the compulsory labor, in other words, *to thoroughly transform the colonial regime.*” (Emphasis mine). Speaking of the landowner who has gained absolute power over the life and integrity of those whom he submits and oppresses, González Prada says: “It would be a miracle for a person who has no respect for lives or property to show any concern for the honor of women: *every Indian woman, single or married, can serve as a target for the brutal desires of the master.*” (Emphasis mine). The author explains: “Abduction, rape, sexual abuse means nothing to a man who assumes that Indian women are meant to be taken by force.” In this line, González Prada maintains, then, that “[...] haciendas are kingdoms in the heart of the republic, and the owners play the role of autocrats [without brake or sanction] in the middle of a democracy.” Prada sentences: “The Indian problem, more than pedagogical, is economic and social. How to resolve it?” The great Peruvian thinker reasons that the pedagogical, civic-formative aspect, with an intercultural approach, must be complemented with economic and social reforms.

Specialized critical studies understand that González Prada expresses with withering sentences what Gorriti has expressed before in literary form. Indeed, Ward [47] insists on highlighting Gorriti’s anticipation and adds in reference to

Matto: “Interesantemente, el motivo del amor incestuoso causado por la violación sexual de una [joven mujer] andina por un [hombre] criollo se convertirá en el tema principal de *Aves sin nido*”. In Gorriti’s story that we are commenting on [25], all the injustice of the system and the violent maelstrom that structures nineteenth-century Peruvian society falls on “[...] la ovejera loca de Huairos [...]” (p. 151). In the light of the critical rereading that this essay develops, I affirm that she is not only a secondary and decorative character, but that she is, rather, the protagonist of the story that Gorriti tells. Not in vain, the story is organized in such a way that the *anagnorisis* puts it in the center of the action. Indeed, “[...] la ovejera loca de Huairos [...]” is the mother of Cecilia/Amelia, the kidnapped girl, now reappeared before the mother who recognizes her, delirious and feverish from maternal emotion. In her delusions the shepherdess calls hers her beloved Esteban hers, from whom she had to separate from her because they were both too young to marry. She was raped and dishonored by a stranger, first Esteban, her fiancé, and then her father stigmatized her to the point of marginalizing her. Turned into a wandering and painful pariah, homeless and with no other family than her little daughter, condemned by an ambiguous code of values that oppresses her, the anonymous Indian only finds protection and shelter in the kindness of the shepherds who also occupy the highest level. low on the social ladder. Gorriti’s masterful pen recovers the voice of the Indian woman [55]. In Gorriti’s most original pen [25], let us listen to the Indigenous woman speak for herself:

Los pastores de Huairos tuvieron lástima de mí, me acogieron entre ellos, y me dieron una cabaña.

Y yo guardaba el ganado, llevando á mi hija acurrucada á mi espalda, *como un pajarillo en su nido*. Contemplábala desde la mañana á la noche y cada día era mas feliz.

Pero á medida que mi hija crecía, mi gozo se cambiaba en inquietud. Volvíme uraña y recelosa, y temblaba de miedo cuando algun forastero acariciaba á mi hija; porque, ¡ay! Estevan, *las pobres indias* nada pueden poseer en paz, ni aún á sus hijos (p. 157; emphasis mine).

Below I offer my translation to highlight not only the intertextuality that I have been discerning throughout this essay, but also to draw the reader’s attention to the suggestive power of Gorriti’s prose.

The shepherds of Huairos took pity on me, welcomed me among them, and gave me a cabin.

And I kept the cattle, carrying my daughter curled up on my back, *like a little bird in her nest [como un pajarillo en su nido]* I watched my daughter from morning to night and every day she and I was happier.

But as my little daughter grew up, my joy was changing in anxiety. I became sullen and suspicious, and trembled with fear when some stranger appreciated my daughter; because, oh! Estevan, *the poor Indigenous women [las pobres indias]* can have nothing in peace, not even their children. (Emphasis mine).

Gorriti’s story gains meaning on rereading and the intertextual and ideological connections of the enunciative context of the time become more visible. In 2005 Ward

reissued this short fiction by Gorriti and made it available to today's readers through the web [47]. It is a story that has been scarcely studied, that deserves more attention from critical studies [50] [49]. However, for Gorriti and the other authors reviewed above, the Indigenous discourse contributes to strengthening the republican bases of the nation. Ward [47] points out, without mentioning authors or offering references, that a sector of critics understands that the action of Gorriti's story is temporarily located in pre-Hispanic times and even in colonial times. However, Ward notes: "No hay ningún indicador, ni fecha ni personaje, en «Si haces mal, no esperes bien» que sugiera [que la acción discurra en el tiempo de] la colonia". Along these lines, Ward reasons that "[...] es improbable [...]" that Gorriti [25] wanted to construct a strict historical account neither of the pre-Hispanic era nor of the colonial era. Rather, everything indicates, according to Ward [47], "[...] que Gorriti tenía en mente una crítica de las estructuras y prácticas coloniales que sobrevivían durante las primeras décadas de la república [...]". In this sense, Ward continues: "Sin usar la palabra trinidad, Gorriti [25] afirma que el andino tiene que protegerse «[...] del subprefecto, del hacendado, del cura [...]»". Accordingly, Ward [47] seems to agree with Kristal that the symbol or rhetorical figure of "la trinidad embrutecedora del indio" is González Prada's genuine and original invention: originality, precisely, emerges in critical contrast. On good account, Ward judges, then, that the readers of Gorriti are, then, facing "[...] una crítica mucho más peligrosa que [la que pudiera construirse de] reproches dirigidos a los tiempos de antaño [...]". For Ward, the critical intention of the story we are commenting on underscores how daring and courageous Juana Manuela Gorriti became as a woman of letters and a writer committed to the Indigenous cause and the aspirations of social justice for contemporary and future Peru.

The critic highlights the importance of Juana Manuela Gorriti as an anticipator of the critical attitudes of Matto de Turner and González Prada in the idea of a scientific-humanistic project for Peru and the Andean region focused on Indigenous women as protagonists and promoters of modernization. Illustrated in Peru. The critic advances in the development of the confluences and divergences that these three thinking minds present with Manuel Pardo in the desire to seek the progress of the Peruvian nation. From a therapeutic point of view, these thinkers and intellectuals indicate the diseases that break the integrity of the nation and attack them with clinical-intellectual determination. In the current post-pandemic context, his reflections are fully valid and serve to look in better light at archaic problems that in Peru's social organization can well be understood as endemic diseases that attack the nation's immune system.

### 3. Conclusions

The historical-critical study of the conditions of possibility of the pragmatic solutions that guide public policies and determine the priorities of public spending through the categories *Indigenous woman, republic, nation,*

*education, exercise of citizenship*, etc., highlights that the liberal republican spirit consolidates a comprehensive synthesis in a comprehensive and integrating pragmatic solution in the management of the national literacy project. The constructive aspect articulates what is scattered in the analysis of the pathological aspect of the problem of Indigenous women in the history of Peru. Only one who suffers from a (serious) disease requires (intensive) therapy. Specialized criticism maintains that the Indigenous woman and her problems are slowly, progressively, and gradually incorporated into the critical horizon of the promoters of the therapeutic-enlightened project that, on the one hand, thinks of Peru through scientific-critical thinking and, on the other hand, it is developed through public policies, especially those aimed at education and the strengthening of the educational system. Indeed, the pro-republican spirit, like the *doctor of the polis* that alleviates social ills, diagnoses the decadence of colonial society, and proposes a methodology to help the transition of emancipatory thought from its germinal conception to its consolidation as a conscious and self-critical project.

The studies consulted for the preparation of this essay contribute to the historical-critical understanding of public management as the *human engine* that energizes the State and report advances in the critical propaedeutics of public management in the perspective of the long duration of the bicentennial process. The modern State aspires to be a scientific, critical, and self-critical State. The enlightened-therapeutic project is not closed, since it was not finished or definitive, nor has its current consolidation—as far as I know—reached its culminating point in *a national literacy plan with a gender-intercultural approach*, but rather it is an open project, critical and always to be carried out because it evolves attentive to social problems, aware of the impact of science on the ethical-political formation of the modern citizen: universal citizenship, for our training masterminds, means enjoying opportunities in equal and equitable conditions of access to universal rights. The emancipators and founders of republican Peru *bequeathed* to the following generations of Peruvians the unavoidable task of thinking, feeling, and carving Peru. The evolution of the therapeutic-enlightened project exhibits the history of education in Peru: literacy plans and educational public policies implemented by the Ministry of Education give it shape.

The critical and reflective minds whose work feeds this essay articulate a complex relationship between science and society in Peru from the perspective of prioritizing the most urgent social problem for immediate attention. The literate, historical and pragmatic mentality exhibited by the works that we study and examine here reflects on intellectual technology as a support for progress. In the estrangement of recognizing Peruvian society as another, in its double colonial identity, a living heritage, and republican, a work to be done, there is a latent resignification. What is, in fact, what is re-signified with the (re)consideration of the problem of Peruvian Indigenous women? Why is it urgent, for Peruvian intellectuals, between

1861 and 1889, to debate a national integration project that connect the regions through a rail transportation system? A new idea of republican Peru is gaining consistency in the end of the century critical mentality. It is interesting to see how the idea of an enlightened, therapeutic, and curative Peru emerges and matures, one that combats the historical neglect of Peruvian women, in all their races, and empathizes with them. Getting rid of the colonial and colonialist ballast continues to be one of the most current and urgent challenges facing the emerging Bicentennial Peru.

## References

- [1] Mónica Cárdenas Moreno. (2021). El proyecto modernizador de Clorinda Matto de Turner en la dirección de *El Perú Ilustrado* (1889-1891) [The modernizing project of Clorinda Matto de Turner in the direction of *El Perú Ilustrado* (1889-1891)]. Mesa Redonda, 37, 51-71.
- [2] Juan José Pacheco Ibarra. (2018). La escritora y sus detractores: Clorinda Matto de Turner (1890-1895) [The woman writer and her detractors: Clorinda Matto de Turner (1890-1895)]. *Desde el Sur*, 10 (1), 133-156.
- [3] Mariselle Meléndez. (2012). La mujer y la prensa ilustrada en los periódicos suramericanos, 1790-1812 [Women and the illustrated press in South American newspapers, 1790-1812]. En F. Ortega & A. Chaparro (eds.), *Disfraz y pluma de todos. Opinión pública y cultura política, siglos XVIII y XIX* (pp. 329-351). Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- [4] Pedro Guibovich Pérez. (2005). Alcances y límites de un proyecto ilustrado: la Sociedad de Amantes del País y el *Mercurio Peruano* [Scope and limits of an illustrated project: the Society of Lovers of the Country and the Peruvian Mercury]. *Histórica*, 29 (2), 45-66.
- [5] Simón Bolívar. (1975). *Obra Gubernativa y Epistolario de Bolívar*. Colección Documental de la Independencia del Perú, tomo XIV, vol. 1. Legislación 1823-1825 [Government Work and Epistolary of Bolívar. Documentary Collection of the Independence of Peru, volume XIV, vol. 1. Legislation 1823-1825]. Lima: Comisión Nacional del Sesquicentenario de la Independencia del Perú.
- [6] Ageu Quintino Mazilão Filho. (2018). A política educacional de Simón Rodríguez para a República do Peru (1825) [The educational policy of Simón Rodríguez for the Republic of Peru (1825)]. *Desde el Sur*, 10 (1), 67-92.
- [7] Ricardo Falla Carrillo. (2021). Las humanidades ante el reto de la Covid-19 [Humanities facing the challenge of Covid-19]. *Estudios. Filosofía. Historia. Letras*, 137 (19), 63-79.
- [8] Ricardo Falla Carrillo. (2019). Conocimiento, ciencia y poder en el pensamiento de Manuel González Prada [Knowledge, science, and power in the thinking of Manuel González Prada]. *Estudios. Filosofía. Historia. Letras*, 130 (17), 163-174.
- [9] Berta Ares Queija. (2004). Mancebas de españoles, madres de mestizos. Imágenes de la mujer indígena en el Perú colonial temprano [Spanish maids, mothers of mestizos. Images of Indigenous women in early colonial Peru]. In P. Gonzalbo Aizpuru & B. Ares Queija (coords.), *Las mujeres en la construcción de las sociedades iberoamericanas* (pp. 15-39). Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos y Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos.
- [10] Augusto Castro. (2009). *La filosofía entre nosotros. Cinco siglos de filosofía en el Perú* [Philosophy between us. Five centuries of philosophy in Peru]. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- [11] Manuel González Prada. (2003). Speech at the Politeama Theater (1888). In David Sobrevilla (ed.), Manuel González Prada, *Free Pages & Other Essays. Anarchist Musings* (pp. 46-51). F. Fornoff (trans.). Oxford University Press. Original in Manuel González Prada. (1894). *Páginas libres*. Dupont.
- [12] Manuel Pardo. (1861). Medidas económicas del Congreso de 1860 [Economic measures of the Congress of 1860]. *La Revista de Lima*, 3, 98-109.
- [13] Peter Flindell Klarén. (2000). *Perú: Society and Nationhood in the Andes*. Oxford University Press.
- [14] Augusto Salazar Bondy. (1965). *Historia de las ideas en el Perú contemporáneo. El proceso del pensamiento filosófico* [History of ideas in contemporary Peru. The process of philosophical thought]. Francisco Moncloa.
- [15] Rocío Ferreira. (2005). La profesionalización de la periodista y escritora: Clorinda Matto de Turner, obrera del pensamiento [The professionalization of the journalist and writer: Clorinda Matto de Turner, worker of thought]. In A. Cornejo Polar, *Literatura y sociedad en el Perú: La novela indigenista. Clorinda Matto de Turner, novelista. Estudios sobre Aves sin nido, Índole y Herencia* (pp. 103-127). Latinoamericana.
- [16] Miguel Vargas Yábar. (2009). *Clorinda Matto de Turner (1852-1909): representación y autorrepresentación: negociaciones para el progreso* [Clorinda Matto de Turner (1852-1909): representation and self-representation: negotiations for progress]. [Master's thesis in Hispano-American Literature, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú].
- [17] H. C. Moke. (1861). De la suerte de la muger en los tiempos antiguos y modernos [Of the fate of women in ancient and modern times]. *La Revista de Lima*, 4, 27-33, 85-90, 225-231 & 265-269.
- [18] L. F. Zegers. (1861). Bases para la educación democrática [Bases for democratic education]. *La Revista de Lima*, 3, 110-115 y 125-128.
- [19] Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, CEPAL. (2020). *El impacto del covid - 19 en los pueblos indígenas de América Latina - Abya Yala: entre la invisibilización y la resistencia colectiva* [The impact of covid - 19 on the Indigenous peoples of Latin America - Abya Yala: between invisibility and collective resistance]. CEPAL.
- [20] Arocha, J. (2021). El posmodernismo y el realismo en la aporía de la posverdad [Postmodernism and realism in the aporia of post-truth]. *Sophía*, 31, 89-111.
- [21] Dario Paulo Barrera Rivera. (2020). Religión y covid-19 en el Perú del Bicentenario. Laicidad de colaboración y reacciones evangélicas a la pandemia [Religion and covid-19 in the Peru of the Bicentennial. Laicism of collaboration and evangelical reactions to the pandemic]. *Estudos de Religião*, 34 (2), 431-462.
- [22] Alberto Flores Galindo. (1994). *Buscando un Inca. Identidad y utopía en los Andes* [Looking for an Inca. Identity and utopia in the Andes]. Horizonte.

- [23] Andytiás Soares de Moura & Francis García Collado. (2020). *El virus como filosofía. La filosofía como virus. Reflexiones de emergencia sobre la pandemia de covid-19* [The virus as philosophy. Philosophy as a virus. Emergency reflections on the covid-19 pandemic]. Bellaterra.
- [24] Verónica Salomé Granda Vivanco. (2022). *Covid-19, depresión y suicidio en adultos. Una revisión bibliográfica* [Covid-19, depression, and suicide in adults. A literature review]. Universidad Central del Ecuador.
- [25] Juana Manuela Gorriti. (1861). Si haces mal no esperes bien [If you do wrong do not expect good]. *La Revista de Lima*, 4, 111-117 & 147-159. Reedited in Juana Manuela Gorriti, J. M. (1907). *Sueños y realidades*. Volume II. La Nación.
- [26] Clorinda Matto de Turner. (1889). *Aves sin nido...* [Birds without Nest...] Sempere.
- [27] Gerald Holton. (2008). El lugar de la ciencia en nuestra cultura en el fin de la «era moderna» [The place of science in our culture at the end of the “modern era”]. In Fundación BBVA, *Fronteras del conocimiento* (pp. 31-50).
- [28] Rubén Herce. (2016). *Filosofía de la ciencia* [Philosophy of science]. Eunsas.
- [29] Ricardo Palma. (1861). Angela Carranza. Anales de la Inquisición de Lima [Angela Carranza. Annals of the Inquisition of Lima]. *La Revista de Lima*, 4, 232-244 & 279-287.
- [30] José Carlos Mariátegui. (1928). González Prada. *Amauta*, 16, 8 & 13-15.
- [31] Friedrich Nietzsche. (2006). *Thus spoke Zarathustra. A Book for All and None*. Adrian del Caro & Robert Pippin (Eds.). Adrian del Caro (Trans). Cambridge University Press, pp. 7-11.
- [32] Miguel Vargas Yábar. (2013). *Las empresas del pensamiento: Clorinda Matto de Turner (1852-1909)* [The business of thought: Clorinda Matto de Turner (1852-1909)]. Pakarina y Facultad de Letras y Ciencias Humanas de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.
- [33] Miguel Vargas Yábar. (2009-2010). Clorinda Matto: constructora de la nación en *El Perú Ilustrado* (1889-1891) y constructora de América en el *Búcaro Americano* (1896-1908) [Clorinda Matto: builder of the nation in *El Perú Ilustrado* (1889-1891) and builder of America in the *Búcaro Americano* (1896-1908)]. *Boletín del Instituto Riva-Agüero*, 35, 223-242.
- [34] Liendo, L. (2021). La producción literaria obrera (1875-1926) [The workers' literary production (1875-1926)]. In M. Velázquez & F. Denegri (coords.), *Historia de las literaturas en el Perú. Volumen 3. De la ilustración a la modernidad (1780-1920)* (pp. 405-430). Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- [35] Marcel Velázquez & Francesca Denegri. (2021). Introducción. La literatura peruana durante el largo siglo XIX (1780-1920) [Introduction. Peruvian literature during the long 19th century (1780-1920)]. In M. Velázquez & F. Denegri (coords.), *Historia de las literaturas en el Perú. Volumen 3. De la ilustración a la modernidad (1780-1920)* (pp. 11-21). Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- [36] Clorinda Matto de Turner. (1904). *Birds without a Nest: a story of Indian Life and Priestly Oppression in Peru*. Translated by J. G. H. London: Charles J. Thynne.
- [37] Clorinda Matto de Turner. (30 de mayo de 1891). Editorial. *El Perú Ilustrado*, 5 (212), 2130.
- [38] Dennis Gilbert. (1977). *The Oligarchy and the Old Regime in Peru*. Cornell University.
- [39] Juan Rolf Engelsen. (1977). *Social aspects of agricultural expansion in coastal Peru, 1825-1878*. University of California.
- [40] Nelson Manrique. (1987). *Mercado interno y región: la sierra central, 1820-1930* [Domestic market and region: the central highlands, 1820-1930]. Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo.
- [41] Nelson Manrique. (1978). *El desarrollo del mercado interior en la Sierra Central 1830-1910* [The development of the internal market in the Central Sierra 1830-1910]. Taller de Estudios Andinos, Departamento de Ciencias Humanas, Universidad Nacional Agraria La Molina.
- [42] Florencia E. Mallon. (1983). *The defense of community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant struggle and capitalist transition, 1860-1940*. Princeton University Press.
- [43] José Deustua. (1986). *La minería peruana y la iniciación de la República, 1820-1840* [Peruvian mining and the initiation of the Republic, 1820-1840]. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- [44] Thomas Ward (ed.). (2003). Discurso en el Politeama [de Manuel González Prada] [Speech at the Politeama [by Manuel González Prada]]. <https://evergreen.loyola.edu/tward/www/gp/libros/paginas/pajinas6.html>
- [45] Kristal, E. (1991). *Una visión urbana de los Andes: génesis y desarrollo del indigenismo en el Perú 1848-1930* [An urban vision of the Andes: genesis and development of indigenismo in Peru 1848-1930]. Instituto de Apoyo Agrario.
- [46] Clorinda Matto de Turner. (1988). *Aves sin nido* [Birds without Nest]. Peisa.
- [47] Thomas Ward (ed.). (2005). Si haces mal, no esperes bien [de Juana Manuela Gorriti] [If you do wrong, don't expect good [by Juana Manuela Gorriti]]. <https://evergreen.loyola.edu/tward/www/mujeres/gorriti/sihaces/si1.htm>
- [48] J. T. Itolararres. (1885). *La trinidad del indio o costumbres del interior* [The trinity of the indio or customs of the interior]. Bolognesi.
- [49] Catherine M. Bryan. (2004). Nostalgia, Resistance, and the Mestiza Migrant Subject in J. M. Gorriti's «Si haces mal no esperes bien» and C. Matto de Turner's «Aves sin nido» and «Herencia». *Letras Femeninas*, 30 (2), 47-74.
- [50] Rocío Ferreira. (2007). Transacciones de amor y de dinero: oro, género y domesticidad en las leyendas «Andinas» de Juana Manuela Gorriti [Transactions of love and money: gold, gender, and domesticity in the «Andean» legends of Juana Manuela Gorriti]. In S. B. Guardia (ed.), *Mujeres que escriben en América Latina* (pp. 163-175). Centro de Estudios de la Mujer en la Historia de América Latina.
- [51] Peter Brooks. (1976). *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess*. Yale University Press.

- [52] Efraín Kristal. (2000). The Incest Motif in Narratives of the United States and Spanish America. In U. Schöning, B. Weinhausen & F. Seeman (eds.), *Internationalität Nationaler Literaturen* (pp. 390-403). Wallestein.
- [53] Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez. (2012). *Pensamiento y acción en González Prada, Mariátegui y Haya de la Torre* [*Thought and action in González Prada, Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre*]. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- [54] Manuel González Prada. (2003). Our Indians (1904). In David Sobrevilla (ed.), Manuel González Prada, *Free Pages & Other Essays. Anarchist Musings* (pp. 181-194). F. Fornoff (trans.). Oxford University Press. Mariátegui's edition in Manuel González Prada. (1928). Nuestros indios. *Amauta*, 16, 4-7.
- [55] Elena Altuna. (1999). Alianzas imposibles: la tematización del mundo indígena en Juana Manuela Gorriti y las Veladas Literarias [Impossible alliances: the thematization of the Indigenous world in Juana Manuela Gorriti and the Literary Evenings]. In A. Royo (comp.), *Juana Manuela, mucho papel* (pp. 27-51). Ediciones del Rosedal.