

ADDRESSING WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN LIMA IN THE LATE NINETEENTH
CENTURY: THE *VELADAS LITERARIAS* AND BEYOND

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ABSTRACT

EMILY CLARK: Addressing Women's Education in Lima in the Late Nineteenth Century: The *Veladas Literarias* and Beyond
(Under the Direction of Rosa Perelmuter)

In 1870s Peru, issues such as women's access to education and work and women's roles in creating a national identity came to light among a noteworthy group of female writers who participated in a series of literary workshops or "Veladas" hosted by the exiled Argentine Juana Manuela Gorriti from 1876 to 1877 in Lima. Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, Clorinda Matto de Turner, and Teresa González de Fanning, among other notable female authors, found their literary voices through these gatherings. This thesis analyzes four key ideas emerging on the topic of education from the essays read at these workshops and published in *Veladas literarias de Lima* (1892) and those written by the same authors after their conclusion. The four central themes analyzed relate to women's education and its link to nation building, women's education as connected to religion and morality, the quality of women's education, and a belief in women's intelligence.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

During the late 1800s, Latin America was focused on nation building and, as a part of that effort, questions of education and social change came to the forefront. While men played a prominent part in the discussion of education, women also increasingly participated in activities that demonstrated their interest in the topic. Chief among these were writings and publications on education and the nation. These gender essays, to use Mary Louise Pratt's terminology (18), are a source of information about cultural debate during the period, and are "women's side of an ongoing negotiation as to what women's social and political entitlements are and ought to be in the post-independence era" (Pratt 18). These writings were often developed in literary circles or tertulias, and through them some women found a space to dialogue about women's work, women's right to an education, pedagogical methods, and women's roles in achieving a national identity and a path to progress.

A particularly noteworthy group of female writers who launched such discussions, later published in newspapers and books, found their inspiration and early public exposure in a series of literary workshops or "Veladas Literarias" hosted by the exiled Argentine Juana Manuela Gorriti (1818-1892) in her home during 1876 and 1877 in Lima. Stemming from this productive environment, several women who would become prominent writers, including Gorriti herself, Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera

(1843-1909), Clorinda Matto de Turner (1852-1909), and Teresa González de Fanning (1836-1918), found their literary voices and formed opinions on social and political issues of the time. These women went on to write prolifically about a range of topics, both fictional and non-fictional, with some relevant themes emerging in their literary production. One such topic was women's education and the right for women to work. This thesis addresses writings on women's education published by women who attended the Veladas during their first year of existence. The majority of these essays were collected by Gorriti herself and published by her son after her death in an 1892 collection titled *Veladas literarias de Lima*, hereafter Veladas, which gathered the works from the first ten of these workshops in Gorriti's residence. Some of the female participants at the Veladas (especially Cabello de Carbonera, Matto de Turner and González de Fanning, but also some additional lesser-known writers like Mercedes Elespúru y Lazo) addressed this topic during the Veladas and in their subsequent essay publications. This thesis will consider their works during the Veladas and some publications from after the conclusion of the Veladas as well. The new role of women in society and in education plays a key part in the development of Latin America, and a lack of study of essays by these women authors makes such an analysis of their educational philosophy essential. Examining themes emerging in the Veladas related to women's education allows a closer analysis of the emerging dialogue about women's education in Lima during the period and offers a good point of comparison for works emerging after their conclusion. Thus, this thesis contextualizes and analyzes some of the more notable essays by these women and refers to essays by men written at the Veladas that treat education where pertinent.

Four key themes emerge on the topic of education from the essays in the Veladas. First, the idea of women's education and work as directly linked to the concept of the nation and the cultural climate of Peru and Latin America in general came to the forefront. Second, the concept of women's education as related to religion and morality arose: these new authors viewed education as a positive force for women as well as their families and society as a whole. Third, an analysis of the quality of women's education is central, as the authors argued that inferior education leads to poor working prospects and conditions. Finally, the arguments for women's education are underscored by the concept that women are intelligent and educable, and thus they should receive more access to education and to the opportunities available to men. This thesis will discuss these nascent themes in each author's works. The essays on education published in later years continued to explore these themes and added others such as specific pedagogical methods and the debate on religious vs. secular education. These essays will be considered in a separate chapter. The topic of women's education in the gender essay begs further examination, as it is an understudied field. This thesis endeavors to fill gaps in our knowledge of women's educational progress and women's essays.

Few studies examine the Veladas in detail, though they are often mentioned when discussing biographical details about the best-known women writers who attended them (see Denegri, Vargas Pinto, Ward, L. Martin, and Chaney). An exception is found in Graciela Batticuore's *El taller de la escritora*, which centers on Gorriti's Veladas. The study examines the purpose of the Veladas and the variety of topics they covered. While she refers to the discussions on education and observes that the topic of women's instruction was the subject of debate in Peru during the 1870s, she does not study this

topic in detail. Instead, Batticuore focuses on the discussions of the lives of women in the U.S. and Europe and their influence as role models on the female members of the group, the polemic surrounding women's roles inside and outside the home, how the views of the men present at these gatherings differed from those of the women, and the contradictory opinions offered about women's rights. In a later article, Batticuore takes up the examination of the Veladas by focusing on discussions related to nation building. While education is an important aspect of nation building, Batticuore does not explore this link. In Magda Teresa Vergara's writings on Gorriti's fiction, she also observes the theme of education, stating, "Un tema muy discutido fue el rol de la mujer en la sociedad, su condición de madre y la necesidad de su educación" (27), but again does not focus on this in her work, which is instead on themes in Gorriti's works. Finally, Tauzin-Castellanos also discusses the Veladas, but does so in a broader context of women's writing in Peru throughout the mid-nineteenth century. Thus, while some authors have pointed out the topic of education in these essays, they have not explored the development of this theme in the works by women who were present at Gorriti's Veladas.

My thesis will help fill this void by analyzing in detail first the discussions and essays on education found in the Veladas, and second, the works published on this topic by these same writers in the years that followed. In the first chapter, I briefly examine the intellectual life of women and the development of the literary tertulia in Peru during the 1870's. This context is used for a discussion of the emergence of Gorriti's Veladas and their format. In the second chapter, I discuss how the different women introduce the topic of education and the aforementioned themes pertaining to it. The third chapter examines the topic of women's education after the conclusion of the Veladas, expanding

the discussion of themes related to education and identifying new directions taken on the topic.

CHAPTER 2

THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN PERU AND THE LITERARY CLIMATE FOR WOMEN IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Women writers in 1870s Peru

In order to better approach these essays and understand why they were relevant to their period, it is helpful to examine the historical circumstances surrounding the emergence of a more substantial wave of women's literary production in the 1870s. Women's writing and educational opportunities were on an upswing in the second half of the nineteenth century owing to a variety of causes. According to Isabelle Tauzin-Castellanos, "[es] el periodo de formación y aprendizaje para las escritoras ya que las primeras obras femeninas que llegaron a ser impresas desde la Independencia datan justamente de los años 1865-1870" (172). During the following decade, Tauzin-Castellanos explains, "[s]e impuso el modelo de la familia burguesa europea entre la oligarquía peruana y las mujeres se retiraron de la vida pública. A modo de compensación, el mundo de la literatura abrió sus puertas a las nuevas generaciones femeninas" (161). It is then that *some* women saw an increase in access to education (172). The educational prospects for women in general, however, were still limited, and this minimal instructional access, coupled with legal and societal constraints, provided cause for those who could read and write to examine this problem in their essays. In much of Latin America, including Peru, education for women had long been an afterthought reserved for the upper classes. When and if women from wealthier families

did receive education, it was rooted in a long tradition of religious schooling (Luis Martín 73-75). This lack of educational access for many women, coupled with the increase in women's writing among the wealthy elite at the end of the nineteenth century produced circumstances ripe for new voices arguing for change in Peru.

Women's writing and publishing increased in the late nineteenth century for more reasons than just gradually expanding educational opportunities for certain classes. Specifically, an increase in economic and political stability resulted in the production of texts by both men and women that did not need to be popular or support the writer financially. Thus, writers had more creative flexibility and the pastime was taken up by more of the wealthy, including some women. Additionally, an expansion of the press helped facilitate publication. Tauzin-Castellanos states, that "[. . .] dejó de ser imprescindible ir a Europa para ver impresas sus obras. Para las mujeres, que no iban a viajar solas para ser publicadas (¡hubieran pasado por locas!), también fue un gran progreso" (172). This broader availability of printing resulted in the possibility of greater visibility of women's writing. Still, the importance of writings produced by these emerging women writers is often neglected, with few exceptions. As Tauzin-Castellanos explains,

Algunas figuras como Clorinda Matto de Turner o Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera son aún hoy conocidas pero en realidad de todas aquellas mujeres pioneras se sabe muy poco y sus libros no han vuelto a ser publicados, lo que resulta una suerte muy injusta si se las compara con novelistas de otros países cuyos escritos también tienen defectos pero constantemente fueron reeditados. (161-62)

Works emerging during this period deserve a place in the canon because of the novel and important arguments they make and this thesis attempts to analyze several works pertinent specifically to women's education in their social and historical context, as well

as to examine the primary themes emerging in the works themselves as related to women's instruction.

Women's Place in the Literary Tertulia

The process of fostering and encouraging better literary output was also directly linked to the founding of writing circles and literary clubs. As mentioned earlier, women pursuing literary goals during the period were largely from the upper classes, as they needed both the time and the financial means to pursue such work outside of their traditional responsibilities as wives and mothers. Wealthier women had the means to hire servants or live a more leisurely lifestyle and often attended literary circles as a way to bridge the private space of the homes and the public place of publication. Gorriti's literary circles thus came from a tertulia tradition that allowed for the sharing of ideas in a more public forum, while still in the supportive environment of the home: a launching pad for writing and ideas that later went to print.

The literary tertulia itself emerged from French literary salons (Harth) as well as Spanish American writing circle practices. According to Leona Martin, "Gorriti's Veladas belong to a deep-rooted tradition within Hispanic culture, bringing to mind the peninsular tertulias of earlier centuries and those later gatherings in colonial Spanish America that fostered revolutionary ideals and strategies" (441). She adds that the French salons also served as inspiration for the gatherings (441). In the collection of essays, *Going Public: Women and Publishing in Early Modern France*, Erica Harth argues that women's dialogue in the semi-public setting of the house allowed the advancement of their literary prowess. She also observes that this academic environment created a space for women's literary contributions, and asserts that much of the writing

emerging in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be seen as the product of group critique and suggestions from the forum of the salon, especially where women's writing is concerned (184). One cannot underestimate the importance of such an environment in fostering female writers of the period, as most notable female authors hailing from nineteenth century Peru participated either in Gorriti's Veladas or other such literary forums.

As with the French literary salon, Gorriti's Veladas of the 1870s in Lima provided women with an acceptable public space for their writing. According to Tauzin-Castellanos, "En Lima se había iniciado un proceso de institucionalización de la literatura. Conscientes del interés de confrontar sus escritos, los intelectuales habían formado la Sociedad de Amigos de las Letras en 1866 que luego, en 1873, se convirtió en el Club Literario" (174). While some women were later invited to participate, they were not invited to join this club, which provided reason to support the creation of a literary circle where women were welcomed.

Juana Manuela Gorriti and the Veladas Literarias

Gorriti initially left her homeland of Argentina during the Rosas dictatorship (1829-1852), which she wrote against in a variety of her works ("La hija del mashorquero," "La novia del muerto," etc.). After periods of exile in both Bolivia and Peru, she began the Veladas on July 19, 1876 after returning to Lima. Gorriti's purpose in establishing this literary circle was to participate in the literary life of Peru and help unite authors who otherwise may not have had the opportunity to work together. As Elsa Chaney explains, her gatherings took place on Wednesday evenings in her residence and incorporated planned readings by featured invitees and those men and women regularly

in attendance, as well as musical selections by other attendees. In “Old and New Feminists in Latin America” Chaney describes that there were usually about 50 people present, around 30 men and 20 women, and that many of the women present tended to have fewer family obligations, “being either widows, divorcees, or living apart from husbands” (334). Members of the press were sometimes present or were informed about the Veladas and the activities of each meeting, as many newspapers wrote brief articles detailing the readings and discussions. Some of these articles were published in the newspapers “El Comercio,” “El Nacional,” and “La Opinión Nacional,” and those dating from July 19 to September 21, 1876 were reprinted in *Veladas literarias de Lima*.

The collection itself and the newspaper articles published by Gorriti’s son, provide insight into the topics discussed at the Veladas and the literary discourse in Lima during the period. According to Magda Teresa Vergara, these Veladas offered a space for the cultivation of new writers under the close mentoring of more established authors. She states, “Según los periódicos de la época, las Veladas [. . .] servían para presentar a nuevos escritores a los círculos intelectuales” (27). This mentoring, coupled with Gorriti’s interest in women’s roles and in politics, fostered dialogue about gender roles. Gorriti’s works themselves, and her influence on the literary tertulias is critical, as this likely aided in setting the tone and topics for the meetings. Vergara emphasizes that “Gorriti enfoca la posibilidad que tiene la mujer para tomar conciencia de su vida y de su rol en la sociedad” (162). Her interest in women’s roles helped nurture discussion of topics such as women’s education. The Veladas thus provided a forum for debate about women’s roles and education in Peru and the women (and men) who were involved in the

Veladas proceeded to publish works related to women's education and women's place in the workforce throughout the time of these tertulias and after their conclusion.

In Juana Manuela Gorriti's inaugural address at the Veladas she calls for an academic environment which cultivates writing and discourse. Specifically, in her "Palabras inaugurales" she calls herself and the other Veladas participants, "hijos de la inteligencia" and calls the Veladas a place to share "nuestra belleza intelectual" (Gorriti 3). She states that the intent of the Veladas is to "desempeñar la misma mision de progreso y de grandeza en la vida de las naciones" (3)¹. The Veladas attempted to undertake such goals, and were fairly successful in these aims and others. Gorriti's gatherings opened channels for communication among women in Latin America, resulting in communication and better discourse between the fledgling nations. Leona Martin posits that this discourse, fostered by Juana Manuela Gorriti's literary workshops, contributed to nation building efforts and bolstered the new women's movement. She states,

In their writings, women expressed an overarching concern with gender issues, a clear awareness of their important role as nation builders, and a political stance that privileged internationalism and pan-Hispanic ideals. [. . .] we can identify several remarkable women whose extensive travels helped them lay the groundwork for the women's international network. Three such networkers—Argentina's Juana Manuela Gorriti, Spain's Emilia Serrano de Wilson, and the Colombian Soledad Acosta de Samper [. . .] the evidence of their on-going networking activities in many regions of the Hispanic world qualify them as representative, if not paradigmatic, network builders. (440)

Thus, through the efforts of such women in building discourse between women of different nationalities (as in the Veladas), the women's movement in South America

¹ All quotations are cited as written in the original editions by their authors. They include spelling and accent mark errors according to modern Spanish rules, as late nineteenth century standards were different. I have chosen not to correct these errors in order to better reflect the original texts. Since they are in almost every quote from the original essays, I will not mark every quote with "sic."

emerged. The importance of this interaction and communication between the women cannot be underestimated. Taking the idea that such communication fostered discourse between women interested in women's rights and roles, the Veladas (a Gorriti-organized opportunity for women to share ideas) fostered discourse about education within the tertulias themselves and after their conclusion, as the topic continued and intensified in relevance over time.

The Veladas allowed for this literary dialogue by encouraging a variety of topics.

Leona Martin supports this, stating,

Velada segments that provided light-hearted entertainment alternated with more serious political essays related to women's rights, racial oppression, prison reform, and programs of education for the new republics. [. . .] Gorriti's genius lay in her ability to create a format and a space where all of these themes and currents, some of them radically contradictory, could be expressed. (441)

Thus, ideas had a new forum for debate in the Veladas, resulting in a new-found dialogue about some issues previously not so openly or frequently discussed, like women's instruction and work. This dialogue, owing in part to the non-confrontational space offered by Gorriti in the Veladas also stemmed from the tradition of literary tertulias themselves. Francesca Denegri also signals that Gorriti's workshops offered a fusion of ideas and categorical spaces, fostering dialogue. She states,

Así en las veladas literarias de Gorriti encontramos una intersección de discursos y prácticas que normalmente son mantenidos separados, minándose las categorías clásicas de alto y bajo, público y privado, intelectual y doméstico, producción y placer. [. . .] De este modo las veladas no solamente fueron un lugar en el cual se entremezclaron los elementos tradicionales del pensamiento binario, sino además un espectáculo educativo en el cual desde el corazón mismo de la familia, se difundieron unas nociones modernas de ámbitos de género separados. (122)

In this way, the Veladas came to provide a space of emerging female authors that encouraged discourse and fostered the exchange of ideas.

This setting allowed for the discussion of opposing viewpoints and the airing of differences of opinion. Graciela Batticuore analyzes the polemic between women's roles in the home and those outside the home in essays from *Veladas literarias de Lima*, showing that the space of the Veladas was one of debate: not all participants were in agreement on women's roles. Abel de la E. Delgado, for example, essentially argued that "la mujer tiene muy poco que hacer fuera de su casa" (Batticuore 54). Other tertulia participants, like B. Alamos González, had more progressive opinions on women's roles (Batticuore 54). The Veladas ultimately serve as a staging ground for ideas about women's rights and education, a topic that then became more salient in mainstream discourse in the following years.

Additionally, the Veladas offered a place to discuss the development of the nation and women's roles in that process. The nation building aspects of the Veladas, which I relate to education, are discussed by Batticuore in a general sense. She states, "en el caso de las Veladas Literarias de Lima la publicación del tomo formaliza el proyecto de Gorriti de dar a conocer la producción de los nuevos escritores limeños y las reflexiones sobre el rumbo de la cultura americana" (169).

Ultimately, while a few authors have mentioned the range of topics discussed in *Veladas literarias de Lima*, making some interesting observations, there has been little analysis of these themes, especially the arguments related to education, a topic that comes up in several of the essays. Additionally, the evolution of thought in the works of Veladas participants themselves and their opinions about women's education after the

gatherings ended has been largely neglected by literary critics and historians alike. This thesis aims to contribute to such discourse by exploring the themes relevant to women's education and how the argument for women's education developed over time.

CHAPTER 3

THE DISCUSSION OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN THE *VELADAS LITERARIAS DE LIMA*

Education emerged in the Veladas as part of a larger dialogue on the topic occurring during the 1870s. The topic of women's education began to appear during this time, taking hold in newspapers and popular discourse of the period throughout much of South America. Women's traditional roles were being questioned primarily because women repeatedly showed an aptitude for learning, and this ability was perceived as having increasingly positive potential economic effects (Agliati Valenzuela and Montero Miranda 3). Women themselves chose to discuss this topic as is reflected in the *Veladas literarias de Lima*. The women participating in the Veladas were afforded an opportunity for dialogue and for the reevaluation of women's education and their role in society. Such discourse ultimately yielded progressive essays about women and their intelligence, and positive societal changes in Peru over time.

The essays presented by women at the Veladas in Lima that directly treat women's education from a progressive standpoint were Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera's "Estudio comparativo de la inteligencia y la belleza de la muger" (207-12)², Mercedes Eléspuru y Lazo's "La instruccion de la muger" (145-49), and Teresa González de Fanning's "Trabajo para la muger" (286-93). While other authors presented on education and women's work and intelligence at the Veladas, these three essays provide the most

² I have also chosen not to modernize the spelling and punctuation of titles, just like with quotes, although titles follow standard Spanish capitalization rules for the bibliography.

developed arguments made by women at the Veladas. After carefully examining the essays in the Veladas, some specific patterns emerged that will be discussed in this section. The topics arising in these essays provided a foundation for amplified debate on women's education after the conclusion of the tertulias. The essays shared at Gorriti's Veladas followed a common structure: they often started with an appeal to the listener to capture the attention of the audience or reader for the subject of women's education. Then the essays turned to concepts of nation building and morality as primary justifications for women's education, and gave specific examples of inequalities in education between men and women. Finally, the arguments for women's education are underscored throughout by a general argument for women's intelligence and ability to be taught.

Introducing the Topic of Women's Education

The essays have a similar structure. Each opens with an appeal to the audience to keep an open mind about the subject matter at hand: women's roles in society. Cabello de Carbonera, in her "Estudio comparativo de la inteligencia y la belleza de la muger," considers both these traits a positive force on society. As intelligence and education are inextricably linked in her essay, the two become entwined as she discusses the ideal woman, who is intelligent. Cabello, who was self-educated since formal education was less common for women of her time (Mazquiarán de Rogríguez 94), makes a case for the need to increase women's education and thus their intelligence. She presented several papers at the Veladas that touch on the theme of education, but "Estudio comparativo" is the best example of the debate on women's intelligence and their education.³ She begins

³ Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera also wrote several other essays that she read at the Veladas, like "Importancia de la literatura" (1876), but these were not included in this thesis because they were either

the essay by stating that Gorriti and other women in the tertulia had asked her to write about the topic, and that she is giving in to them, and especially to her hostess, because “ella bien sabe que sus deseos, aun los mas pequeños, son para mí órdenes” (207). In using this traditional excuse for writing, Cabello joins the legions of women writers who employed what Josefina Ludmer has termed “Las tretas del débil” (47). Which refer to the tactics employed by women (specifically Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz) as subtle forms of assertion despite society’s constraints in their writing: peppering their arguments with appeals to the listener, false modesty, irony, and wit, among other things. Thus the essay opens with a type of affected modesty, saying she is writing only because she was asked to write and that she will be brief, “esta breve explicacion” (207), which serves as another topic, *fastidium topoi*. These techniques are used to please the audience and set the stage for more radical commentary on women’s roles that is to follow. Additionally, by calling the topic of women’s beauty and intelligence “hermoso,” (207) she is also disarming the listeners for her subsequent argument for the superiority of women’s intelligence.

Teresa González de Fanning, known primarily for her role in the history of education, but often forgotten by literary critics, also writes her essay, “Trabajo para la muger,”⁴ using classical techniques used by women writers during a time period in which women’s writing and their education was marginalized. Specifically, she also uses affected modesty as part of her argument to make it more palatable to those who do not

omitted from the *Veladas literarias de Lima* book or they were not on the topic of education. While these additional essays are not part of the present analysis, they would make a good point of comparison for further study. Another essay, “Influencia de la mujer en la civilizacion” (1874) will be discussed a little later, although it was not presented at the Veladas.

⁴ The essay was read aloud by Ricardo Palma at the Seventh Velada. At this point in time, Teresa González de Fanning was writing under the pseudonym “María de la luz.” She was participating in the Veladas, as numerous authors and critics cite her presence, Nancy Elmore (54), for example, so it is unclear why she did not read her own work at this Velada.

believe in the importance of women's education and to distract those who might critique them. She states, "Ojalá que estas consideraciones, que tan desaliñadamente y tan á la ligera apuntamos, pero cuya exactitud nadie podrá negar, lograrán fijar la atención de los padres celosos de la felicidad de sus hijos y los indujeran á tentar una reforma en la educacion de la muger" (262). In this way, she is able to say that while her writing or argument may not be perfect, the logic behind the argument for women's education is undeniable, thus appealing to her listener's sympathies.

Another less well-known writer of an essay entitled "La instruccion de la muger," Mercedes Eléspuru y Lazo, also utilizes methods to arouse sympathy and gently introduce her readers to her ideas about women's education. Little is known about Mercedes Eléspuru y Lazo, but she came from a family of writers and was the daughter of Juana Manuela Lazo de Eléspuru, another important female writer of the nineteenth century (Castañeda Vielakamen and Toguchikayo 97). She begins her work in a similar way to the other women, again appealing to the audience by modestly belittling her work, declaring, "dejo mi puesto de la barra, para molestar unos breves instantes vuestra atencion, confiada por supuesto en la indulgencia que siempre ofrece la verdadera sabiduría" (145). In an attempt to gain her audience's favor, Eléspuru y Lazo resorts to traditional topics such as false modesty, fastidium, and mediocrity. She apologetically recognizes she is about to impose herself on the reader (false modesty demonstrated by the word "molestar") but that she will be brief ("unos breves instantes": fastidium topos) and trusts that her wise audience ("verdadera sabiduría") will put up with her "indulgencia," thus disposing her audience to listen to her favorably (145).

After her introduction, Eléspuru y Lazo then moves to the main theme of her work, stating, “Sin embargo del evidente progreso de este siglo de las luces, como lo podrá muy bien atestiguar y durante muchos años, y particularmente en ciertos días, la Empresa del Gas en esta Capital, aun no se ha fijado de una manera clara y terminante entre nosotros, la necesidad de la instruccion de la muger” (146). In this way, she attempts to open her readers to the idea of women’s education. She then continues, stating that while some believe that “la muger debe estar en la cocina,” this is actually a dangerous belief, a “fatal creencia” (146). Using this introduction, with some of the same techniques as the other women, Eléspuru y Lazo thus introduces the theme of women’s education, which she demonstrates is important by using a variety of arguments in the rest of the work.

Using varying techniques to arouse sympathy for the lack of women’s education, Cabello de Carbonera, González de Fanning and Eléspuru de Lazo appeal to their readers and listeners in hopes of gaining support for their cause and consideration of their plea for women’s education. After these opening techniques, the essays continue employing some arguments with a common basis between the works, as will be shown in the next sections. It is worth noting too that the influence of positivist sentiments, both on the essays during the Veladas, and those written following their conclusion, is palpable in some of the prefaces to the essays, as the women often belittle their own work protectively, since the ideas of the period dictated women’s inferiority to men. Mary Louise Pratt also comments on how women had to write from within the confines of their current cultural norms and beliefs, which included a commonly held belief in the inferiority of women. She states, “Under the aegis of positivism, women’s subordination

is often legitimized by what are claimed to be objective observations about her natural capacities and limitations” (17). Although arguing cogently for major changes in opportunities and education, the writers still tend to begin their essays with a hedging of the argument itself. Still, the fact that they did write on a revolutionary topic like the need to reform women’s education and their social roles (promoting work outside the home), constitutes a departure from the positivist beliefs espoused during the period, and the essays can ultimately be regarded as reformist and innovative, although to varying degrees. The opportunity to present such works at the Veladas provided a safe platform and helped to foster increased dialogue on the subject. After the opening appeals, a variety of arguments for women’s education emerge in the bodies of the essays themselves, to which we will now turn.

Women’s Education and Nation Building

One of the primary arguments employed by the authors for increasing women’s education is the link between education and the health of the nation, especially since strengthening the nation was a topic of primary importance in academic and political discussion during the period following independence in Peru, like much of Latin America. The essays center around the idea that women’s education helps strengthen and bolster the nation itself and that it makes Peru stronger. Women will be able to positively and constructively contribute to society, and thus, augmenting tutelage and schooling for women will generate positive outcomes and growth for Peru. In this way their arguments for women’s education are actually working within the nation-building dialogue popular during the time period, reflecting larger concerns of Peruvian society and appealing again to the sympathies of listeners by citing women’s education as a nationalistic cause. The

pro-Peru message of the essays fit into the period and again provided a stable platform for women's education for listeners in the supportive environment of the Veladas.

In Cabello de Carbonera's "Estudio comparativo de la inteligencia y la belleza de la muger," she introduces the topic of beauty, so often connected to women, but uses it to assert the superiority of intelligence. In the essay she emphasizes that how beauty is different all around the world, but that intelligence is more enduring. Since beauty varies from culture to culture, for this reason it is also less valuable than intelligence. Cabello de Carbonera elucidates that intelligence is a positive force for the nation because it doesn't vary or fade and is not subject to cultural differences in the same way that beauty is, as beauty is subject to individual whims and culture. She states, "La belleza es relativa, estando sujeta á mil cambios, que [. . .] se relacionan con las modas y las costumbres de un país, [y] dependen de otras muchas circunstancias que dificultan y hacen casi imposible poder establecer un principio general" (208). Intelligence, however, is universal, and "como un rico tesoro oculto" (211). Although beauty is variable from place to place, intelligence is valuable everywhere. While not tying beauty or intellect directly to the formation of Peru, she does argue that wisdom is superior because of its universality. Cabello de Carbonera thus establishes that women's intelligence is superior to their beauty and should be cultivated. Since this is a characteristic valued across the world, unlike beauty, a nation with much intelligence would thus be favorably viewed in all cultures. Additionally, women's acumen is viewed as something valuable to the family, as it helps her spouse to achieve "la verdadera felicidad" (211). This familial happiness will be further detailed with regards to the family and morality, but is worth mentioning with regards to the nation because Nina Scott signals that the discussion of

the family in Cabello de Carbonera's narratives serves as a form of "national allegory," for women's presence in nation building itself (240). Thus, if the family can be viewed as a microcosm of the nation, and women's intelligence and education within the family has a positive effect, their education and intelligence have a positive impact on the nation.

Mercedes Mazquiarán de Rodríguez argues that Cabello de Carbonera exhibits a "preoccupation with the limitations that the lack of schooling imposed on women" in her essays and fiction and that she recommends "educat[ing] women in the name of progress and the nation's advancement" (95). These goals clearly show up in the essay "Estudio comparativo" and make for interesting comparison with some of her fictional works, which she is more famous for, in which she also critiques the lack of educational opportunities offered to women. A prime example can be found in *Blanca sol* (1888), where Mazquiarán de Rodríguez signals that "women are portrayed either as helpless, suffering creatures, or as fallen heroines, doomed victims of the constraints of their female condition [. . .] Her feminine stereotypes may have represented a veiled protest against the predicament which Peru's patriarchy imposed on women in the late nineteenth century" (95). The comparison between women's beauty and their intelligence that she conceives at the Veladas, then, also demonstrates this concept, and shows that intelligence is really the more valuable of the two traits for women, for families, and for society.

In her essay, "Trabajo para la muger," presented at Gorriti's tertulias, Teresa González de Fanning plays into the national dialogue about forming and strengthening Peru by directly making the case that women's education helps to fortify the nation itself. Specifically, she maintains that women should play a part in the formation and

strengthening of Peru. Intellectual power, seen as a vital force behind the political and economic strength of a nation, as well as a component of national identity, lies at the center of the nation, she proposes. Since this is the case, it does not make sense to leave women without education when they could be used for the service of the nation. She puts it this way,

Solicitando inmigracion como un elemento de bienestar y prosperidad para el país, ciertamente que no solo se busca el concurso de las fuerzas materiales, pues las intelectuales son de tanto ó mas valor, que ellas, para hacer floreciente y respetada á una nación. Y esto supuesto ¿[E]s razonable que se dejen en la inercia y el abandono tantas inteligencias que pudieran utilizarse en servicio del bien público y del particular del individuo? ¿Es justo acaso que á seres dotados de una alma inmortal, que aspira á perfeccionarse, se les sujete á una perpetúa infancia sin llegar a adquirir nunca su legítimo y natural desarrollo? (290)

In this way, González de Fanning questions the logic behind traditional women's education (or lack thereof) and points out that denying women instruction stops their natural development into adults and keeps them in a child-like state, all of which is not helpful for national progress. Educating women will allow them to contribute positively to their homeland by working as productive citizens for the betterment of Peru.

Similarly, in "La instruccion de la muger," Mercedes Eléspuru y Lazo notes that the education of women is a hallmark of the advancement of society and that women's instruction provides a foundation for humanity's advancement. She states,

Cierto es que en todos los círculos donde prevalece la inteligencia [. . .] se procura que la instruccion estienda su vuelo en dilatado campo, tanto para el hombre como para la muger. Pero tambien por desgracia no es menos cierto, que hay muchos [. . .] que prefieren la calesa verde á un wagon de ferrocarril y que santamente opinan, que toda la ciencia de la muger debe estar en la cocina y sus armas en la aguja y las tijeras. (146)

She thus condemns such backwardness to progress (as mentioned previously as the focus of her argument), and calls for the education of women. Concluding with a plea in

response to those who think that a woman's place is only in the home, she exclaims, "Pero no, no es así: educad, ilustrad debidamente á la muger y entónces ella no solo será un verdadero angel del hogar, sinó tambien una estrella en el cielo de la Patria" (148). Thus, in Eléspuru y Lazo's argument, women's education pertains directly to the overall progress and growth of the new nations in Latin America.

In this way, women's education in essays stemming from the *Veladas literarias de Lima* derives strength from the line of reasoning that it is directly advantageous to the goals of autonomy from Europe and the founding of the nation. This rationale would have resonated with many essayists, writers and thinkers from the late 19th century, as it draws directly on a hot topic for the period: the nation-state.

Women's Education, Religion and Morality

Another logical reason providing grounds for women's education responded to ongoing cries for religion and morality that had long dominated pedagogical and instructional methods. Education, as mentioned previously, was often religious in nature, and women had found few opportunities for lessons outside of a spiritual milieu. Responding to those in favor of maintaining the status quo of religious education only with the pretext of maintaining morality in society, the women at the Veladas posit that education *itself* is a source of morality, and that augmenting women's education outside of the church will not decrease, but increase family and social ethics. Accordingly, they postulate that women's education will help to balance and reform society, providing virtuous influences for families and the social order, instead of degrading moral decency as was suggested by some.

First, in Cabello de Carbonera's "Estudio comparativo de la inteligencia y la belleza de la muger," she uses the polemic between beauty and intelligence to argue for the superiority of women's intelligence in its contribution to the contentment and stability of families and society. Specifically, Cabello de Carbonera argues that intelligent women allowed to flourish provide happiness for their husbands and families. Just valuing beauty and denying women's intelligence neglects what is truly important: dialogue and communication in the family. She argues that beauty that is lacking intelligence is an illusion and that intelligence without beauty is like a treasure hidden for the right person to find it: it is a great book with a rustic cover, which common people may ignore because they only look on the outside (211). A man can conceive happiness through union with a beautiful woman, but he can only realize it through an intelligent one. Thus, the intelligent, learned woman is the true "good wife," a response to those who argue that female intelligence and education is somehow not conducive to marriage or is, in some way, a threat to the family. Cabello de Carbonera thus calls for more appreciation of women's intelligence, which she thinks is a positive force for the family, causing true happiness between husband and wife. She states, "A un hombre de talento, una muger bella puede hacerle concebir la felicidad, solo á una muger bella puede hacerle concebir la felicidad, solo á una muger inteligente le es dado el realizársela. La primera le hará soñar, la segunda le hará sentir y pensar" (211). She then states, "Sentir y pensar, es viajar asegurado contra todos los escollos y peligros, atravesando el encantado y risueño paraiso de las dulces emociones, á do mora la verdadera felicidad" (211). By thus relating marital happiness, satisfaction and a positive family relationship with the cultivation of intelligence, Cabello de Carbonera establishes that women's intellect is

superior to beauty because it contributes to a positive family relationship. This discussion of the family demonstrates that again, intellect, learning and good conversation between spouses because of keen understanding and wit is of value for a marital partnership. Thus, women's intelligence and learning is seen, not as a corrupting force, but as a positive force for the family and for society. Likewise, she spends the essay debunking the illusion that beauty is more important than intelligence, (stated early on in the essay: "¡Una muger bella!—estas palabras *nos parece* (emphasis mine) que simbolizan estas otras—Una muger perfecta" [209]). Using this argument, Cabello de Carbonera establishes why women's learning should be cultivated, and argues against the belief that women's knowledge is somehow detrimental.

Additionally, Cabello de Carbonera maintains that, while beauty varies, intellect is a fixed, God-like trait. She states, "el verdadero talento no tiene mas que una sola forma, una forma única y eternal, puesto que su modelo es Dios" (209). Thus, again, intelligence is linked to morality and is viewed in a positive light, especially when compared to the less useful and more variable trait of beauty. Women's learning and intelligence is associated with positive traits, morality and God, countering critics who believed that women's learning was unimportant and that they should be barred from education and work outside of the home. Thus, she makes a case for the morality of amplifying women's education, questioning the current status quo of women's roles, without an outright questioning of religious education as some of her contemporaries go on to do.

Just this questioning of women's roles and the affirmation that intelligence was a positive trait was a controversial position for the time period, however, as is supported in

the following description of the reception of Cabello's essay by Ana María Portugal, who states,

La lectura de su "Estudio comparativo de la inteligencia y belleza de la mujer" atrajo, más que felicitaciones, curiosidad y sorpresa. Las ideas contenidas en este ensayo, como en las del primero, resultaban novedosas para el ambiente ilustrado de Lima. Que una mujer como ella cuestionara duramente el tipo de educación que recibían las mujeres, calificándola de "bárbara" sonaba a exceso. (11)

Hence, the questioning of established norms of women's education and the value of their beauty over their intelligence, along with the proposal that women's intellect was a positive contributor to the family and society, were surprising, innovative steps for the period. The controversy surrounding this argument is also reflected in the continued limited educational access for women discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, and also in the essays by other authors at the Veladas, as will be discussed shortly.

Teresa González de Fanning also sees educational and work opportunities for women as a moral imperative in her "Trabajo para la muger." She reasons that education and work allow women to protect themselves from immoral activities and marriages just for financial support, stating that with women's work and education, "[. . .] acaso desaparecerían esos repugnantes enlaces que no titubeamos en llamar inmorales, de viejos, que casi tocan en la decrepitud, con jóvenes lozanas, que encontrándose en la primavera de la vida, se sacrifican por huir de la miseria porque carecen á la vez de fortuna y de medios honrados y dignos de adquirir las subsistencia" (292-93). She deems that arranged marriages are a corrupting force for those involved in them, and hypothesizes that their cure is work and education for women. Additionally, she worries for women whose spouses die who could be left as a burden on society, unable to take care of themselves. The cure again is women's education and work. Using these specific

examples of situations that drain and corrupt society, González de Fanning makes a case that educational deficiencies eliminate work opportunities for women and are dangerous to their families. She asserts,

De ese modo la que tuviera la desgracia de perder con su esposo su sosten y el de sus tiernos hijos, no se vería precisada, tal vez, á mendigar el pan para su alimento ó [. . .] á conservar y adelantaría su fortuna sin tener que recurrir á extraño é inseguro apoyo [. . .] Pero no nos cansaremos de repetirlo, ese apoyo es incierto y eventual y de ello dan testimonio tantas y tan innumerables huérfanas, viudas y solteras que gimen en el mas completo desamparo ó comen el duro pan de una forzada caridad. (293)

She thus posits that work and education opportunities would be an enormous benefit to women regardless of their future position (292). Because more opportunities for women would help provide them with protection, González de Fanning makes a point that it is the moral imperative of society to support such systems. Thus, she establishes the link between morality and education for women, calling for education and work as a solution to social ills. She concludes the section, “Ojalá que meditaran sobre el inmenso beneficio que para ella [. . .] si siendo opulenta tuviera una fructuosa ocupacion [. . .] para unir sus esfuerzos a los de su esposo, si lo tiene, para aumentar el bienestar común, y [. . .] si perteneciendo á la clase pobre ó desheredada pudiera, con ayuda de un inteligente trabajo, hacer mas llevadera la pesada carga de la miseria” (292).

González de Fanning also argues that women’s education provides for those women who do not marry and who are treated poorly by society, but who are not at fault for being unmarried, any more than the men who refuse to marry them. Since these men are not behaving responsibly and fulfilling their duty to society to marry, it is society’s duty to teach the women and provide them opportunities to work. Thus again, women’s education rights the wrongs of humanity. This, she believes, is a moral imperative of the

nation and is the right response: to care for these women when some men are not behaving morally. She states,

No es necesario recurrir á la estadística, basta la simple observación para adquirir el convencimiento de que en esta capital especialmente, los matrimonios no guardan proporción con el número de habitantes. Si á esto se agrega la mayor mortalidad de los hombres por la guerra, el abuso de los licores y tantas otras causas, se comprenderá cómo forzosamente tiene que quedar un gran número de mugeres en estado de viudez ó de perpétua soltería. Estas tristes victimas del destino aguardando ver satisfechas sus justas aspiraciones con la venida de ese Mesias que se les habia prometido, ven agostarse su juventud y llegar los treinta años, que [. . .] para la muger soltera es la tumba de sus ilusiones y esperanzas. (González de Fanning 288)

All of this serves as a lead-in to the argument on the next page: “nos limitamos, por hoy, á pedir para ella [la mujer] lo mismo que al hombre, se la enseñe algun arte, profesión ú oficio proporcionados á su sexo y posicion social, que, á la vez que ocupen y desarrollen su inteligencia, le proporcionen cierto grado de independenciam á que tiene derecho á aspirar” (289). As a widow herself, such arguments about marriage and the moral imperative for women to know how to support themselves make perfect sense given her personal history.

Finally, Teresa González de Fanning argues for the morality associated with women’s education, rather than a specific religious morality. In fact, religion is hardly mentioned in the essay, and its only acknowledgement is as a possible, but not probable, option for unmarried women to pursue. González de Fanning proposes that women do not have many choices for their future: “Para ella, el porvenir solo presenta dos caminos practicables: el claustro, que hoy dia está ya casi abolido y el matrimonio” (287). Thus, the church is seen as a less positive moralizing force, not a solution. The true answer to

the uncertain future of women is education and work prospects, which González de Fanning renders truly ethical.

The message about women's morality as related to education and not the church is supported by Tauzin-Castellanos, who, making a broad statement about González de Fanning's works throughout her life, remarks on her unorthodox and negative views on religion. Specifically, according to Tauzin-Castellanos, "González de Fanning seguía fiel a ese punto de vista anticlerical a lo largo de su vida" (178). Although not straightforwardly anti-clerical in "Trabajo para la muger," which is one of her early works on the topic, González de Fanning explicates her opinion that morality is based more on having a productive, functioning society than on the Catholic Church.

In her essay, "La instruccion de la muger," Mercedes Eléspuru y Lazo speaks of religious education in ways that betray her skepticism about it, although she maintains that ecclesiastically-based schooling is insufficient but still a suitable beginning. Her works reveal the irony that lurks beneath them, as she points out the useless information with which girls are showered. She begins, "Sin embargo, debo confesar que aquí, en nuestra tierra, la instruccion va un poco mas adelante, en la parte religiosa. A cierta edad conocen las niñas todas las iglesias y conventos, con todos sus altares, etc." (147). She then continues discussing the process of religious education and goes on to say that this is only part of the instruction girls should receive, as there is more to a balanced education. She states, "Esto, señores, por una parte de la instruccion" (147) and then she continues her proposal, stating that women's current education is also lacking in that they are not taught practical information, only rhymes and prayers (147). Thus they should also receive education, much like that of men. She states, "desearía que, así como hay

escuelas donde los hombres aprenden un arte ó un oficio [. . .] hubiese tambien planteles con el mismo objetivo para la muger” (148). This, she believes, will not damage the morality of the woman or her family, nor will it cause her to neglect her familial responsibilities. Instead, continuing in an ironic tone, she adds, “Mientras tanto, no se estrañará que la muger sea en la casa un mueble, un ser sin objeto verdaderamente útil en sociedad, y que, comprendiendo que su frivolidad inspira cantos y encantos, prefiera sobre todo los adornos exteriores de la cabeza” (148). Thus, Elespuru y Lazo maintains that women are more useful in their homes and their society if they are educated. This again counters the argument that women who work outside of the home or who are educated are going to neglect their families and fall from grace and high moral standing. Moreover, she insists that religious education be supplemented by more practical information, which will also increase their utility within their families and end the disparities of knowledge between husband and wife.

On morality and religion in *Eléspuru y Lazo*, Irene Tauzin-Castellanos argues that *Eléspuru y Lazo* takes aim at religious education, believing it not only to be insufficient, but also not to be in the best interest of women. This appears to be somewhat true, as she regards religious education as insufficient and calls for further education. This again provides more support for the argument that women’s education provides a positive moral force and of itself. Regarding *Eléspuru*, Tauzin-Castellanos states, “*Eléspuru* no vaciló en burlarse de una enseñanza exclusivamente religiosa” (175). Thus, religion is not the path to ethics, but morality only stands to increase through an increase in women’s education. Additionally, *Eléspuru y Lazo*’s use of hollow and possibly ironic statements about the benefits of religious education “conocen las niñas todas las iglesias

y conventos” (147), help to craft her subtlety critical argument of religious-only education.

Although she does not cite these specific women, Batticuore sees the essays produced during the Veladas Literarias as critical of religious doctrine. She states,

[L]a denuncia contra el poder de la Iglesia se filtra en muchas de las producciones leídas en voz alta y aplaudidas de manera entusiasta en casa de Gorriti. Ser patriotas y ser modernos, ser modernas, también implica allí un fuerte cuestionamiento contra la Iglesia como institución obsoleta: se trata de disminuir sus poderes sobre el pueblo para abrir paso al pensamiento crítico y a las bondades de la ciencia, donde los hombres y las mujeres sospechan encontrar nuevas y mejores influencias. (64)

This same idea, as just discussed, plays out in the essays of Cabello de Carbonera, González de Fanning, and Mercedes Elespúru y Lazo, as they all discuss that women’s education and intelligence is the key to morality and that religious-based education alone may not be sufficient. While this argument is present in the essays presented at the Veladas, it becomes much stronger in the essays after the Veladas, which will be discussed in chapter three.

Women’s vs. Men’s Education

Several of the authors also discuss the lack of equality in women’s education to help make their case that there are grave disparities between options offered to men and women, and that these inequalities are unjust. By highlighting the huge differences in educational opportunities provided to men and women, along with the other arguments for the positive outcomes of women’s education, the authors again build a case for women’s education.

Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera does not directly discuss this lack of equality in opportunities, as her essay is more about what is valued by society. As mentioned, she

does, however, argue that women are generally more valued for their beauty by society as a whole, which neglects their intelligence, thus not prizing women's intelligence or recognizing it. Specifically, she states, "[L]a belleza tiene el privilegio de seducir y fascinar á todos los hombres. No así la inteligencia, que solo seduce al hombre de talento" (210). Thus, women's intelligence is undervalued by her society, which focuses on cultivating the superficial aspects of beauty. This negation of the importance of intelligence by most of society, except those intelligent enough to realize the purpose of cultivating such a valuable quality, serves to highlight the point that women are underserved by a society that doesn't value their acumen or instruction.

Teresa González de Fanning more concretely considers the theme of inequality between opportunities for men and those for women, especially with regards to education in "Trabajo para la muger." She begins by acknowledging that society has unfortunate standards and opinions about the roles of men and women. Specifically, when a boy is born, the parents are ecstatic, but when a girl is born, she is seen as a burden on the family. Even the mother mourns the birth because her daughter's fate is uncertain and she pities her. She states, "[Y] hasta la tierna madre que tanto ama el fruto de sus entrañas, se conduele al considerar que es una desgraciada mas que viene a soportar las penalidades de la vida y cuya suerte es doblemente incierta y azarosa á causa del sexo á que pertenece" (286). This widespread belief in the inferiority of women causes families to bestow more on their sons and sacrifice more on their upbringing, justifying it by their sex. Because of the lack of education, time, and expense spent on their daughters, these young women arrive at adulthood at a disadvantage because of the lack of instructional opportunities (287). According to González de Fanning, because of this intentional

decision to invest less time in daughters than in sons, girls end up with two options: marriage or the convent. Because of differences in birth and death rates of men and women, as well as other societal problems, many women end up unmarried or widowed (287). Women are ridiculed if they don't get married by 30, and if they join a convent, they are mocked for being overly pious. Unfortunately, this is the fate that many women are met with, who are not lacking in intelligence, just opportunity. She then claims that some of these problems could be avoided by the investment in women's education and work opportunities, acknowledging the lack of investment in women's education and calling for reform. She states,

Mucho se ha escrito ya y reconocemos que con algun fruto, sobre la necesidad y conveniencia de acrecentar la ilustración de la muger. Abundando en las mismas ideas nos limitamos, por hoy, á pedir para ella que lo mismo que al hombre, se la enseñe algun arte, profesión ú oficio [. . .] que, á la vez que ocupen y desarrollen su inteligencia, le proporcionen cierto grado de independencia á que tiene derecho á aspirar, sobre todo cuando carece del apoyo del ser fuerte que debiera acompañarla en la penosa peregrinación de la vida. (González de Fanning 289)

This demonstrates González de Fanning's calls for education reform for women as well as her acknowledgement of the lack of women's opportunities, based around societal prejudice against women.

Mercedes Eléspuru y Lazo also recognizes that there is a lack of instruction for women as compared with men. She is happy to see that women, at least those in the capital, are making progress, but she sees that there is much to be done (149). She makes some specific propositions for women's education to rectify the inequality that she sees in the education for men vs. that for women. She states, "os presento una proposicion-- *Procúrese formar una biblioteca para el bello sexo*" (149). She also calls for more educational opportunities for women. Calling for more schools (in addition to the library

already mentioned), she asserts, “[. . .] desearía que, así como hay escuelas donde los hombres en distintas edades y condiciones aprenden un arte ó un oficio, hubiese también planteles con el mismo objeto para la muger.” (Eléspuru Lazo 148). Thus, she makes a strong case for women’s education and demonstrates that women have not received the libraries or the schooling of men, an egregious error, which she thinks should be rectified.

The Defense of Women’s Intelligence

Finally, the argument for women’s education centers chiefly around the fact that women are able beings, judicious and capable, and are worthy of better prospects in work and instruction. This line of reasoning serves as the progressive underpinning of the works themselves and shows a truly revolutionary act: women are finally proclaiming their aptitude and rights to education in a group and in a public forum. In this nascent ideology, a group of women (albeit not without detractors and critics) finally argues en masse through essays presented at the Veladas for women’s intelligence and *right* to an education.

In her work “Estudio comparativo de la inteligencia y la belleza de la muger,” Cabello de Carbonera emphasizes the importance of women’s education and makes a case that astute women do exist and play an important role in society, since she promotes the importance of women’s intelligence over their beauty. Specifically, she says that while beauty has a language that seduces and fascinates all, intelligence is really superior because it just beguiles the talented and intelligent. Physical attractiveness is fleeting; intelligence touches all that surrounds a person and doesn’t fade. Intelligence, she argues, is thus an underappreciated trait that is present in many women and should be cultivated, calling it a “rico tesoro oculto entre las escabrosidades de un terreno árido y

montañoso [. . .] un magnífico libro encuadernado á la rústica, que los nécios desprecian, solo porque le juzgan mirándole por fuera” (211). Using such metaphorical language, she highlights the worth of women’s intelligence.

Tauzin-Castellanos also discusses Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera’s commentary on changing roles for women in “Estudio comparativo,” stating, “Tal estudio que hoy parece algo ingenuo reflejaba un debate muy grave: lo que estaba en tela de juicio era nada menos que el rol de la mujer en la sociedad” (175). Thus it is evident that, while her essay declares the positive qualities of women’s intellect over those of loveliness, the underlying implications of such a work speak volumes about the climate during the period related to women’s rights, societal role and educational opportunities. A study proposing the utility of women in an arena other than that of the household reflects a newfound questioning of traditional women’s roles.

González de Fanning also discusses women’s intelligence. She states that she also does not believe in the ridiculous idea that women are merely designed to be responsible for domestic chores and that educating them will cause them to neglect their household responsibilities. This, she states, would relegate them to the same status as animals (289). Not all positions require physical strength, so a woman’s weakness is not an excuse to deny her work. She posits that the power of a woman’s intellect is not even known because no one has tried to test its bounds. However, there is ample evidence that their aptitude exists, as is proven by the countless examples of women who have proven their intelligence and skills. She states, “La fuerza y extension de su inteligencia bien puede decirse que aun no se conoce, desde que nadie casi ha cuidado desarrollarla sino en muy estrechos límites. Sin embargo, en todos los siglos ha dado, aunque aisladas,

brillantes pruebas de que existe” (290). This, she says, demonstrates the cleverness of women and their capacity for knowledge if they were to receive the instruction and work opportunities that their male counterparts receive.

In Mercedes Eléspuru y Lazo’s “La instrucción de la muger,” she also argues for the intelligence of women, who she posits deserve better educational prospects. Specifically, she states, “[. . .] vemos tambien el éxito brillante que obtienen en la capital los planteles de educacion para el bello sexo, pero es preciso convenir, al menos en mi humilde juicio, que no se han empleado todas las fuerzas que útilmente se pueden aprovechar” (148). Using this argument of the success with women’s education when it is attempted, she demonstrates the intelligence of women and argues for more tutelage. Additionally, she suggests that women are truly intellectual beings who can achieve on the level of men, declaring them “llena de inteligencia” (148). Finally, she responds directly to those who think that women are not smart, saying, “Se cree, por mayor insulto de la muger, que ella no puede ser ilustrada [. . .] Pero no, no es así: educad, ilustrad debidamente á la muger” (148). In this way, she demonstrates women’s intelligence by refuting those arguments against it and proclaiming the aptitude of women.

Other Writers at the Veladas Discuss Education

Other authors present at the Veladas were also interested in the topic of education and several men presented essays on the subject. These works also form a part of *Veladas literarias de Lima* and allow us to see that the campaign for women’s education was also adopted to varying degrees by some male writers. Specifically, an essay titled “Condición de la muger y el niño en los Estados Unidos del Norte” (59-64), José A. Marquez presents a discussion on the freedoms experienced by women in the United

States. In “La educacion social de la muger” (27-39) Abel de la E. Delgado argues for women’s education, although their place is still in the home. He proposes that education is not detrimental to their morality (38) and that with education they can attain, “el doble prestigio de la belleza y del saber” (39). Finally, in another notable example, “Enseñanza superior de la muger” (347-85) Benicio Alamos González lays out an extensive discussion of arguments for and against women’s education, finally concluding that women should be allowed schooling, and that an active program for women’s instruction should be undertaken. Toward the end of the essay, he even responds to the other female authors who have presented before him on the topic, discussing the library for women including texts by women and about women proposed by Mercedes Eléspuru y Lazo. He states, for example, “La señorita que en noches pasados les llamó la atención sobre este mismo tema, concluyó su trabajo proponiéndoles que formasen ustedes una biblioteca de libros sobre la mujer. Esa idea me parece excelente” (384). These works show the dialogue about women’s education present between both male and female authors at the Veladas. While these essays by men are not the focus of this thesis, it bears mentioning that they participated in the dialogue generated by Gorriti’s gatherings as well.

Additionally, another woman who presented works on the topic of education in Lima during the period was Carolina Freyre de Jaimes, although she presents no works on the subject of women’s education in the text of *Veladas literarias de Lima*, and the only works we have from her come from newspapers. As previously mentioned, *Veladas literarias de Lima* only covers the first ten sessions of the literary gatherings, meaning that works presented after that time are not included and, if published, were published elsewhere. Several of her essays appear in *Problems in Modern Latin American History*

(Chasteen and Tulchen 146-7 and 148-9), where she is described as an active participant in the Veladas. Her name also appears as a participant in the *Veladas literarias de Lima* book, although none of her essays appear. In her essays, she calls for improvements in women's instruction, comparing Peru to other nations and demonstrating that the lack of instruction in Lima could cause them to fall behind other places (146). She calls for Peru to take interest in giving youth the tools they need to work. In her writings on marriage, she states that the Catholic Church misjudges women, and devalues them, thus causing damage to society (148). These interesting ideas about education, marriage and the church may have played out in the Veladas salon, although the only copies we have of her articles on the subject come from their publication in *El Correo del Perú* during the 1870's. Ismael Pinto Vargas discusses her absence from the salon and from the *Veladas literarias de Lima* text, arguing it was caused by disagreements with some other Veladas members with whom she was well acquainted (321). Thus, while not included for analysis in this thesis, her writings do show the controversy enveloping these topics.

The themes emerging in *Veladas literarias de Lima* related to women's education centered on women's intelligence, disparities in educational opportunities for women as compared with men, and arguments for the positive effects of women's education, especially as related to nation building, morality, better family relations, and social productivity. Cabello de Carbonera, Teresa González de Fanning and Mercedes Eléspuru y Lazo used the forum of these meetings to consider and discuss the emerging topic of women's education, which several women present at the Veladas began to write about and discuss outside of the Veladas themselves. Thus, the Veladas helped to foster interest in women's instruction in a more public arena.

CHAPTER 4

BEYOND LAS VELADAS: THE TOPIC OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN LATER YEARS (1877-1905)

The Veladas were very important for further opening dialogue about women's education and work, as can be demonstrated through the examination of essays written by some of the participants in the Veladas after their conclusion in 1877. These essays continued the conversation about women's education by the Veladas participants and expanded it to a wider audience, with many of the works being published in newspapers or in collections of essays during the period.⁵ The essays also show the developing ideas of the individual women, some of whom became increasingly stronger proponents of instructional opportunities and developed more concrete philosophies of education as time wore on. Additionally, the founding of female-led newspapers, both in Peru and Argentina, resulted in an increased output of works treating feminist and feminine concerns, including women's education.⁶

⁵ While a general analysis of newspaper and periodical publishing is not the focus of this paper, it is interesting to note the increasing publication of women during this period, both in Peru and in Argentina, as several of the women (Clorinda Matto de Turner and later Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera) were in Argentina during the 1890's and into the turn of the century. Gloria Hintze discusses some of the newspaper articles of Matto de Turner during her time in Argentina and addresses general feminist themes present in these articles (including Matto's "Las obreras del pensamiento en la América del sud") in her essay "Mujeres, feminismo y escritura pública" (Heintz 2004).

⁶ Nestor Tomás Auza, in his book *Periodismo y feminismo en la Argentina: 1830-1930*, treats the historical information surrounding the founding of newspapers in Argentina by both Juana Manuela Gorriti (*La Alborada Literaria del Plata* in 1877-1880, after the conclusion of the veladas in Lima) and Clorinda Matto de Turner (*Búcaro Americano*, or *Periódico de Las Familias* opening in 1896-1906 [Mary Berg states 1909]), which Auza acknowledges had many goals, including to "obtener el acceso de la mujer a la educación y la cultura" (276). Although the specifics of these periodicals are not the intention of this

Defining the Post-Veladas Essays

In Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera's "Una cuestion sociológica," Clorinda Matto de Turner's "Las obreras del pensamiento en la América del sud" and "La obrera y la mujer," and Teresa González de Fanning's collection of essays, *Educación femenina*, a similar structure to previous essays on education emerges, as well as continued development of the theories previously posited during the Veladas. These essays demonstrate the persistent importance of women's education for several of the women present at the Veladas and the enduring impact of Gorriti's tertulias on forming a dialogue around women's education in South America.

While many characteristics of the later essays remained the same, there are some differences worth noting with regards to structure and themes. First, the topic of women's education became more frequent, as women began to increasingly publish about gender roles. Secondly, some of the authors (González de Fanning, in particular) begin to develop more specific recommendations for how women's education should be structured. The debate on women's education also is broadened: the more frequent the argument for their instruction, the stronger the controversy between authors seems to become and the more public the detractors from women's education become, as the new ideas are met with resistance by some. In the essays themselves considered in this section, the form seems not to differ much from their earlier essays, but it soon becomes apparent that these women are writing longer, more detailed works that center more concretely around women's education and work, thus demonstrating their increased confidence in speaking out on these issues. They also commence envisioning more

thesis, it is pertinent to mention their goals: to offer a literary space for women and to promote women's learning.

specific programs for improving women's education. Additionally, while in their earlier writings there were more qualifiers, their arguments read more confidently in their later essays. The tone has changed along with their ideas, and the women's movement itself has begun to pick up. Additionally, there is more direct response to opponents in these essays, which demonstrates that as they continued writing and working for women's rights, they encountered an increasing number of rejoinders by both male and female authors (Lastenia Larriva de Llona, because of the religious and secular education debate, and others) I will bring these essays into the discussion where relevant.

While nation-building, religion and ethics, educational disparities, and women's intelligence all again emerge as key topics, the arguments used for women's education with regards to these topics become much stronger. Some new themes are also brought up in the period following the *Veladas*, such as women's roles in society, women's work (which becomes a greater topic), a widening and emboldening of statements and requests for women's education and women's rights, and more specific theories and ideas related to such social change. While some of these themes are treated during the *Veladas*, they become a more central component of the argument for women's education. Specifically, Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera takes up the causes advocated during the *Veladas* and argues for women's education and work, and Teresa González de Fanning makes more specific recommendations for women's education. Furthermore, Clorinda Matto de Turner, who was not published in the *Veladas literarias de Lima*, but who was present during the *Veladas*, emerges as a voice in the debate on women's education. Most importantly, the quantity of works regarding women's education, as well as the depth of

these works and the strength of their arguments continues to increase in the decades following the Veladas, as is evidenced by the selection of essays included in this section.

Nation Building and Education

The theme of nation building again emerges after the Veladas, but with new, stronger arguments related both to Peruvian nationalism (in González de Fanning) and following models of North America (in Matto de Turner). Thus, the essays use ideas espoused at the Veladas with new, more specific points. In Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera's "Una cuestión sociológica," (1896), and her other works written around the time of the Veladas, like "Influencia de la mujer en la civilización" (1874), these themes appear as well. With regards to the nation, Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera again makes a case for the positive influence of women's education on the formation of the nation in "Una cuestión sociológica." While this echoes her earlier claims that intelligent women contribute positively to the nation, her language becomes much stronger and more direct. In particular, she states, "La vida tiene una faz tan real y positiva, y en ella la mujer —es decir la esposa y la madre—, desempeña tan alta e importante misión que, mal que le pese al hombre, es la mujer que nos pone la base, el cimiento de todo el edificio social" (Cabello de Carbonera 742).⁷ Thus, she portrays women as essential proponents of order that is the basis of society itself. This view demonstrates the concept of women as again linked directly to the improvement of humanity and the nation itself. While this theme makes an appearance in Cabello de Carbonera's post-veladas works (in a more salient

⁷ It is interesting to note that the works in this chapter, while I am still using the original texts, were written at the very end of the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth century and thus they begin to adopt more modern punctuation and spellings i.e. "mujer" instead of "muger" and "educación" instead of "educacion."

way than in her works during the Veladas), it is even stronger in those of some of her contemporaries, like Clorinda Matto de Turner.

While Matto de Turner's works were not covered in *Veladas literarias de Lima*, we know she attended (Martin 441). In fact, Matto de Turner truly got her start in these literary workshops, under the watchful eye of other women writers of the time. According to Leona Martin, Matto de Turner's "literary career was launched when she was "crowned" at age twenty during one of the veladas" (441). She was so influenced by the Veladas that she later came to host her own literary tertulias beginning in the late 1880's (Pinto Vargas 501). The ideas espoused in the Veladas can be seen in her works, written during and after the Veladas themselves. Specifically, she covers some of these same ideas in "Las obreras del pensamiento en la América del sud" (read 1895, published 1902) and "La obrera y la mujer" (1904).⁸

In "Las obreras del pensamiento en la America del sud," Matto de Turner takes the listener (or reader) on a literary tour of the Americas. She begins by discussing how U.S. American women are active in a variety of spheres: work, school, etc., and from there calls on her compatriots to increase women's instruction and rights, which are central to the progress of the nations of the Americas.⁹ She acknowledges that in South America there is a long way to go in improving women's liberties and social progress, but states that there are some South American women who care about education and intellectual dialogue and they are the writers, thinkers, and educators of the continent.

⁸ In *Aves sin nido* (1889), her most famous work, Clorinda Matto de Turner also treats the topic of education, arguing for instruction of the indigenous and for the intelligence of women. As this is a work of fiction, it will not be treated in this thesis, but it shows many of the same themes present in her essays.

⁹ Batticuore recognizes this concept as a theme throughout *Veladas literarias de Lima*. Although it does not play a key role with regards to education in the essays of the other women already discussed, the topic does briefly appear in Matto de Turner's work, again showing the influence of Veladas discussion on the individual writers.

She then discusses Juana Manuela Gorriti, Eduarda Mansilla de García, Josefina Pelliza de Sagasta, Juana Manso and an extensive list of other female authors who contribute to South America's enlightenment. She continues on a literary tour of the Americas, enumerating all of the different female authors' accomplishments, ending with Peru, her home country, where she mentions González de Fanning and Cabello de Carbonera as notable literary figures. She calls them female pioneers of women's intellectual thought and education, saying they are "verdaderas heroínas, [. . .] que no sólo tienen que luchar contra la calumnia, la rivalidad, el indiferentismo y toda clase de dificultades para obtener elementos de instrucción" (11) and maintains that their education is essential to the improvement of society, making a plea for the education of women. She argues that "postergar la ilustración de la mujer es retardar la ilustración de la humanidad" (3), thus linking women's education again to the concept of the nation and progress. This claim is substantiated by Gloria Hintze's work on themes in Matto's newspaper articles. She states that one of the primary purposes of "Las obreras del pensamiento en la América del sud" is to ally "el progreso y la importancia de la educación de la mujer para la prosperidad de la nación" (101).

In her other essay on the topic of women's education and work, "La obrera y la mujer," she also argues for the worth of women's education and work as a component of progress in Latin America. She argues that the situation of the working woman in America is not as hard as in Europe. The honest worker, she states, does not accept socialism because he knows that not all will work equally, but he knows how to work well and thus continues on (52). She critiques strikes and then uses this as an excuse to turn to the concept of the woman worker. Women, she says, don't go on strike as often

as men do. In fact, women are often very concerned with doing their jobs correctly (53-54). All of this makes women good candidates for work. Working women want to work and simultaneously maintain peace in their households, she says (54). Finally, she discusses implications of women's work on social progress, positing that just as society has become accustomed to steam engine trains, so too they will become accustomed to changes in work for women. Matto de Turner states,

Cuando Stephenson utilizó para el ferrocarril terrestre el descubrimiento del vapor, como fuerza, hecho por Fulton, ¿[Q]ué dijeron los estancadores? Cosas del diablo, seguramente [. . .] [C]omo el gigante de acero, será el correr de los tiempos, la causa de la mujer trabajadora, fuerte, con la fortaleza que da la virtud del trabajo libre [. . .] el sol de la esperanza está en el oriente sonriendo á la mujer obrera que se impone al mundo. Por do quiera, ella trabaja con fé, en la escuela, el taller, la academia, las fábricas, las oficinas civiles, el comercio, el libro, la cátedra, y el periodismo. El trabajo consagrado y aminorando la delincuencia como resultado inmediato. (55-56)

Using this strong argument for the progress of humanity and the strengthening of society by creating work and school opportunities for women, Matto de Turner establishes how women's work, while some may be skeptical of it, is ultimately helpful to the nation.

This particular essay has been discussed further by Mary Berg, who analyzes its thematic elements in an article on Matto de Turner's feminist literary contributions titled "The Feminist Essays of Clorinda Matto de Turner." In this article, Berg undertakes a brief analysis of both fictional works and essays by Matto de Turner, citing recurring themes. She also traces Matto de Turner's stint in newspaper editing and her commentary on women's roles in society in her periodicals. She states,

When Matto became the editor of *La Bolsa de Arequipa* in 1881, the first woman in the Americas to head a prominent daily newspaper, she had a national forum for her articles, many of which relate to women's education, women's role in society, and women's often suppressed capabilities. As director and editor-in-chief in 1889 and 1890 of *El Perú*

Ilustrado [. . .] she had an even larger audience for her views on feminism and education. (2)

Berg also argues that such works related directly to patriotic sentiments of the new nation. She states, “The steadiness and social committedness of women are crucial in the enterprise of nation building” (4). Thus, Matto de Turner’s works were both controversial and influential in their argument for women’s education and its relationship to the homeland.

Additionally, the influence of Manuel González Prada plays out in this relationship of women and the nation. According to Thomas Ward in “Clorinda Matto de Turner y sus ideologías nacionales,” Matto de Turner “conoció a González Prada en las tertulias del Círculo Literario, cuyos miembros promovieron una literatura comprometida en la que criticaron el egoísmo político y las injusticias sociales” (1, 401). This relationship fostered developing beliefs about the nation and its link to women’s education. Ward states,

Es dentro de este contexto que Clorinda Matto deja atrás el ideal doméstico que se intuía en *Aves sin nido* y se integra en la trayectoria industrialista. Por lo tanto, subraya que cuando se combinan el comercio, la manufactura y la educación, [. . .] un paso necesario para forjar una nación estable. Matto había planteado el desarrollo económico como parte del Círculo Literario de González Prada. [. . .] Matto adopta esta idea y la aplica a la condición de la mujer. Con un alma sana, la obrera recupera la dignidad, haciéndose disponible para la labor industrial o comercial. (13, 415)

In this way, Matto de Turner’s case for women’s education as linked to the nation drew on arguments of writers from her period, and applied the claims about education postulated in González Prada to the social standing of women and their work opportunities.

Teresa González de Fanning also wrote about education after the conclusion of the Veladas, as she went on to found a school and continue developing her theories on education. Of the women present at the Veladas, she probably contributed the most to pedagogical writings. In 1905, she produced a collection on women's education entitled *Educación femenina* that united her essays on the subject. Most of the essays published in this collection were works previously published in *El Comercio*. These works argued for secular education, or "educación laica" instead of the more common religious education. In addition to arguments for a separation between the church and academic institutions in the work, which will be discussed in detail shortly, she also considers the implications of education on the nation, national progress and identity. González de Fanning continues previous assertions that women's education is a positive force for the nation. The collection of essays is primarily a call for more opportunities for women's education, and the proposal that parents, not just schools, should take some responsibility for this education. Another goal of the work is to discuss how women were systematically left out from academic opportunities afforded to men, such as studying overseas.

All of these ideas surrounding educational reform also relate to her argument about education in Peru being a positive force for the nation. This topic, present in her work presented at the Veladas, is expanded in her essays after the Veladas, and her arguments become much more specific. She argues that education in Peru needs to undergo dramatic reform to offer more opportunities for women's instruction. Since the wealthier classes in Peru tend to send their children (especially the boys) overseas, she feels that this is, to a certain extent, a disservice to the nation because professors from

other countries do not focus on the history of Peru, but instead they focus on history from their own countries. She states, for example, “[. . .] en tal caso el maestro francés, inglés ó alemán, enseñará de preferencia la historia y la geografía de Francia, Inglaterra ó Alemania y el amor al suelo donde nació; si es sacerdote ó monja todo lo pospondrá al acrecentamiento del culto, de la Iglesia” (*Educación femenina* 8). Thus, she believes that, while none of these groups are necessarily bad “No se crea que deprimimos y hacemos sistemáticamente oposición á los maestros europeos en general” (8), they will not be able to promote love for their homeland or the goals of Peru in the same way as Peruvian instructors. Specifically, she summarizes that they will not teach students to love Peru, “como el peruano lo enseñará á amar al Perú” (8). This argument for the necessity of a *Peruvian* based education was not prevalent in her earlier works. Women, she notes, are often put into convents for education. There their learning opportunities are again limited, all of this contributes to a weakened school system in Peru, where, “Amargada y llena de decepciones, la maestra peruana no obtiene ni aún la compensación de la gratitud” (13). In this way, she calls for reform and more attention on women’s education.

She concludes the first section with a restatement of such beliefs, tying women’s education and educational reform in Peru directly to the health of the nation itself. She states, “[. . .] la educación de la mujer es la base sobre que se alza el edificio social! De ella depende la suerte de la familia, ese laboratorio de hombres de donde han de salir los ciudadanos que den lustre á la patria ó que la hundan en el abismo del retroceso” (14). In this way, González de Fanning also directly ties the health of the nation to the education provided to women, as they help raise the future leaders of society. Women’s education

is essential for the health and future of the nation, and thus it should take the forefront in instructional reform.

Morality and Religious vs. Secular Education

The argument that women's education helps to enhance the ethics of society, continued following the *Veladas literarias de Lima* essays although with some changes. While some argued for a religious justification for the education of women, others believed that the moral imperative surrounding women's education was less related to religion and that religion and the church were actually stifling forces for women's educational attainment. The arguments related to religious education became a key piece of the debate surrounding women's education. As some authors increasingly argued for women's secular education, others viewed such a step as a directed attack against society's moral framework.

In Cabello de Carbonera's post-Veladas works, religion is seen in a conflicting light, although she does treat it more directly than she did in "Estudio comparativo." Specifically, while she previously just argued that education was moral and intelligence was a godly trait, she actually examines women's education and its relationship to the church. In her later works, a spiritually-based education is a positive, moralizing force, but it is also a trap of ignorance if not tempered with other instruction. In "Una cuestion sociológica," She argues that women should be given education outside of that of the church, and that receiving such opportunities is actually a positive step for their edification. Purely-religious instruction is therefore seen as a negative force on women and Cabello de Carbonera condemns the aforementioned traditional instructional methods denying women an education in the sciences. This, she believes, polarizes the family (as

men learn scientific and mathematical concepts) and is dangerous for society. Cabello de Carbonera states,

Y he aquí el punto de donde surgen en la vida social e íntima las luchas, las desavenencias y desequilibrios. El hogar resulta, pues, como barco gobernado por dos pilotos que miran hacia puntos opuestos en el horizonte; el hombre ha estudiado en las ciencias positivas y ha aprendido en las Universidades, muchas cosas que son antagónicas de las creencias de su esposa, de esa mujer que, como la generalidad, continúa adscrita a la tradición, al dogma de creencias nacidas en los primeros albores de nuestra civilización. (742)

Cabello de Carbonera continues this line of reasoning, claiming that this is a backwards, dangerous methodology for instruction and that the focus on just religious education for women has a negative impact on their households. She states, “Preciso es decirlo, la mujer hoy, en estas sociedades, vive en plena Edad Media, en tanto que el otro sexo se aleja moralmente de ella por esa colosal barrera que la Ciencia ha levantado entre ella y los viejos dogmas del catolicismo” (743). She goes on to argue that women have been trapped with their religious beliefs while men have been heretically questioning. These two polarized extremes create a schism in the family: the woman is prevented from being the positive moral force that she should be because the man’s studies (and the woman’s lack thereof) have so segregated the woman from skills to debate. A discourse between religion and science is thus not possible. Owing to this division between the genders, women are unable to have a solid, positive influence on their families. She concludes with, “¿Qué remedio para esta mal? . . . Uno solo: ilustrar a la mujer. Mientras las mujeres sean ignorantes y fanáticas, los hombres serán escépticos e inmorales” (744).

This argument for women’s ethically enriching influence is one that pervades Cabello de Carbonera’s work, and it is most obvious here in “Una cuestión sociológica,” written nearly twenty years after the *Veladas*. An earlier version of these same concepts

can be seen in Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera's earlier works, "Influencia de la mujer en la civilizacion" (1874) and in her Veladas work "Estudio comparativo de la inteligencia y la belleza de la mujer" (1876). Cabello de Carbonera argued an early version of this point in "Influencia," proposing that women's education and work would help to positively influence society, and arguing that religion alone is not the answer to society's need for morality, progress or civil rights. She states, "[. . .] ilustrar a la mujer! [. . .] Para que la mujer, al unirse al hombre pueda elevarle a combatir por medio de la persuasión sus errores y elevar su alma al verdadera conocimiento de Dios" (Cabello de Carbonera).¹⁰ Thus, again, religion is important, but it is a moralizing force and does not suffice in and of itself for the salvation of society. Women must be educated because they are a truly moralizing force within their families, which are falling victim to negative influences because women do not know how to promote morality, as they are not receiving the scientific education that men receive.

Also noting this attitude towards women's rights and the church, Batticuore discusses Cabello de Carbonera's views on the church, stating, "Es cierto que la Iglesia es el peor amigo de la familia: un 'monstruo,' un 'pérfido tirano' que tiende sus garras sobre la sociedad doméstica y sobre el pueblo, afirma la ensayista [Cabello de Carbonera]" (60). This same religion, however, retains some influence, as Cabello de Carbonera maintains that "conocimiento de Dios" (as previously cited) is a positive goal for both men and women. It appears that women's religiosity is not the problem so much as their lack of scientific and practical knowledge. Additionally, Mercedes Mazquiarán de Rodríguez discusses the same conflicting religious sentiments, stating that Cabello de Carbonera's critique of the church was primarily against church practices and some

¹⁰ There are no page numbers available for this article.

clergy, rather than biblical teachings (96). Thus, while Cabello de Carbonera's pro-secular education sentiments may not be as strong as some of her contemporaries, they are still markedly present. The examination of her Veladas and post-Veladas works allows us to see her conflicted views on religion and its role in education.

In Clorinda Matto de Turner's contributions, "Las obreras del pensamiento en la América del sud" and "La obrera y la mujer," she also addresses themes of religion and morality as related to education. Matto de Turner's excommunication by the Catholic Church, among other evidence, like the limited discussion of religion in her works themselves, indicates that she may have sided with those in favor of secular education.¹¹ Additionally, Matto de Turner's calls for education for women center on the creation of learning centers and other scholastic spaces and not around religion or the church. In "La obrera y la mujer," for example, she calls for education and guidance for women workers, because they are medicine for social ills. Thus, the morality of society is again rooted in the education of women and not in church teachings. She states, "Cuidemos pues, la educación y la dirección de la mujer como del precioso antídoto que tenemos que ofrecer al varón contra el veneno de las perturbaciones sociales como gloriosa conquista de la civilización dentro de la industria" (57). As a solution to moral ills of society, Matto de Turner calls for centers of education and recreation for women, as well as societies that protect their rights as workers "fundemos centros de instrucción recreativa y sociedades

¹¹ Matto de Turner was excommunicated while she was the editor of *El Perú Ilustrado* (between 1889-1890), one of several periodicals that she founded. (Her others included *El Recreo* and *La Bolsa*). After *El Perú Ilustrado*'s publication of a controversial religious essay, Matto de Turner came under fire by the Catholic Church and was excommunicated in 1890. She later founded another periodical called *Los Andes* in 1892. Forced into political exile in the mid 1890's, she fled to Argentina, where she continued writing ("Writing for her Life: The Essays of Clorinda Matto de Turner" Berg 83-4). It is interesting to note that Bonnie Friedrich affirms a different theory: that Matto de Turner's excommunication hinged more on the publication of *Aves sin nido* (1889) than on her periodicals, because it portrayed corrupt clergy members (179).

protectoras de los derechos de la obrera” (57). She begins her conclusion stating the positive effects that women’s education and work will have on the nation: the educated woman will be “una alma diáfana impulsora del bien y de la felicidad en el hogar y en la patria” (57). Finally, she states that women’s work is for all of humanity, based on a slogan used by the National Council for Women of the Argentine Republic (Meyer 98). Instead of buying into the rhetoric that education and work were corrupting to women and the family, she asserts that such activities ameliorate the ills of society, citing author Max Nordau whose research suggested that educated, industrious women were also less likely to commit crimes (56). Thus, Matto de Turner establishes women’s right to education and work and demonstrates the ways in which this right is actually helpful for society’s decency and ethics.

Mary Berg briefly discusses the topic of women’s work and its morality in “The Feminist Essays of Clorinda Matto de Turner.” She states that, while Matto de Turner “advocates a mixed belief in Spencer’s Social Darwinism and in resignation to God-given social stratifications and sexual differences” (2), best exemplified through her statement, “existen funciones físicas imposibles de canjearse. ¿Puede un hombre ser madre?” (Matto de Turner 54), she also emphasizes that women should have the right to work. Her ideas about social hierarchy, which were common for the period, contrast with her more central endorsement of the female labor force, as one of her purposes in writing is to argue that “The working woman is happier and better off than the idle middle-class or wealthy man-supported woman” (Berg 2). This happiness thus serves as a moralizing force within families.

In contrast to her laical argument in “La obrera y la mujer,” in “Las obreras del pensamiento en la América del sud,” faith does play a role in education and the call for women’s rights to work. This role is different from that posited by the church, however, as Matto de Turner uses God, Jesus and the Bible as justification for her point of view that women should be the companions of men, but also should have their own rights. This serves as a counterpoint to some church doctrine about women’s role as submissive to men through matrimony. Matto de Turner states,

El cristianismo, con su antorcha novadora, despidió las tinieblas, y en las róseas claridades de la nueva era, apareció Jesús [. . .] El filósofo Dios de la dulce mirada y de túnica, inconsútil, patrocina los derechos de la mujer, destinada a ser la compañera del varón, y, como la llama Jacolliot, descanso del trabajo; consuelo de la desgracia. / Su causa, empero, ¿quedaba triunfante al pie del árbol simbólico donde cayeron, como perlas de Oriente, las lágrimas de la enamorada de Magdala? / ¡No! / Los oscurantistas, los protervos y los egoístas interesados en conservar a la mujer como instrumento del placer y de obediencia pasiva, acumulan el contingente opositor; la cámara obscura para lo que ya brilla con luz propia, sin fijarse en que, de la desigualdad absoluta el hombre y la mujer, nace el divorcio del alma y del cuerpo en lo que llaman matrimonio, esa unión monstruo cuando no existe el amor. / La lucha se inició. (2)

Using this condemnation of those who marginalize women’s interests, Matto de Turner shows that the link between morality and the institutions of society (like marriage through the church) may be illusory, but that morality is directly connected to women’s rights and opportunities, as this is what God would see as just.

In fact, Batticuore places Matto de Turner right at the center of this polemic regarding morality and women’s education, and quotes Juana Manuela Gorriti as responding to her denouncement and excommunication by Peruvian authorities and the church in a letter to Ricardo Palma stating, “Con motivo de la trastada clerical que ha caído sobre nuestra Clorinda, *La prensa*, diario muy acreditado, pone *de vuelta y media* a

la gente de sotana, y lo exalta a U. por haber derrotado a los jesuitas” (Gorriti in a letter to Palma November 16, 1890, as cited in Batticuore 63). This declaration against the church, Batticuore argues, was one that, “celebra un triunfo largamente anhelado, que no es ajeno a las preocupaciones de los asistentes a las veladas limeñas” (64). Thus, as evinced by Batticuore’s argument, Matto de Turner’s excommunication thus served as a culmination of the ideas that had emerged much earlier during the Veladas.

Another perspective on these essays is given by Bonnie Fredrick in *Wily Modesty: Argentine Women Writers, 1860-1910*. She discusses Matto de Turner’s approach to women’s rights in articles written for *El Búcaro Americano*, a periodical she founded after fleeing to Argentina in political exile. She states that in this new journal, women’s education was “presented as an element in a Darwinian sort of social evolution” (28) that portrays women’s education as “perfectly proper and unobjectionable—it even obeys the laws of nature. This evolutionary completion and perfection of society allows equal and complementary roles for women and men” (Fredrick 29). This element is definitely present in Matto de Turner’s works, as she argues that educating women increases the morality of society and that women deserve the opportunities that men receive, (In “Las obreras,” for example, she mentions evolution specifically [54]). Throughout her essays, however, she ultimately came across as much more controversial and progressive in her calls for change than Fredrick suggests as evidenced by the debate surrounding her writings, and her blend of religion, Darwinist sentiments, and feminism.

González de Fanning’s *Educación femenina* takes into account the different types of schooling offered to both girls and boys and makes the argument that faith-based schools are not always the best and that girls should have greater opportunities for study,

outside of a religious context. Her justification for women's education also takes a moral stance, but instead of necessarily agreeing with the church, she agrees with general morality and roles of women and men with regards to the family and society. She begins her argument with a discussion of women's education as frequently taking place in the church or convent. This, she argues, affords them less opportunities and a less balanced education than many of their male counterparts. She continues this argument, finally stating, "Todas las cargas y desventajas son, pues, para la maestra peruana; porque la moda, más ciega que el mitológico Dios del amor, quiere que la mujer sea educada por monjas" (14). She laments in various moments the education that women receive in such an environment, asking how girls can be expected to learn about the world, learn about marriage, or learn about anything other than religion in such an environment. She gives an example:

Otra señora, —y conste que estos son hechos auténticos; —se lamentaba de que sus hijas, después de varios años de estar en el mejor colegio de monjas, no hubieran aprendido sino á rezar; cosa decía, que también ella podía enseñarles. Siquiera se reconocía competente para esto: ya es algo. Sin embargo, á la vez que reconocía el atraso de sus hijas y que solicitaba que recibieran lecciones que las adelantaran durante las vacaciones, se proponía después de ellas, volverlas al mismo colegio. (4-5)

This is one of the more substantial contentions with religious education, and González de Fanning spends several pages detailing the reasons why learning should take place in a secular environment, which she feels is crucial because religious education is insufficient. Additionally, González de Fanning argues that priests are not necessarily the best instructors of values just because they are part of the clergy. She states, "No faltará quien nos acuse de odio á la Religión y á sus ministros: ni lo uno ni lo otro; respetamos las creencias que nos legaron nuestros padres, pero no desconocemos que los sacerdotes,

como hombres, están sujetos á todos los errores y pasiones inherentes á la humanidad” (20). Thus, this supposedly moralizing force, González de Fanning argues, is not necessarily the finest example, and educated women again serve as the moralizing, central force of the family: “¡ [. . .] la educación de la mujer es la base sobre que se alza el edificio social!” (14). In this way, González de Fanning responds again to the polemic between those who believed in women’s education outside of the church and those who did not, thus answering the query she herself lays out at the beginning of the essay as a guiding question: “¿Conviene más á la mujer la educación que se le dá en los colegios de monjas, ó la que recibe en los colegios laicos?” (1).

González de Fanning and Matto de Turner, in particular, were united in the fight against purely religious education, as discussed by Jorge Moreno Matos in an article published in *El Comercio* in 2008 about the history of education in Peru depicting the polemic that sprung up at the end of the 19th century regarding the topic. Specifically, Matto de Turner and González de Fanning proposed secular religion for women that added the sciences, whereas Lastenia Larriva de Llona, another writer and educator of the period, felt that education should still have a basis in religion, especially for women. These strong religious convictions are found in a variety of her works, for example, in *Fe, patria y hogar: Coleccion de poesías* (1902). The articles on education produced by both González de Fanning and Matto de Turner show a clear response to critics of women’s educational reform and secular education. Thus, the two women were united in their beliefs and common cause, decades after the conclusion of the Veladas, where they first encountered each other’s ideas.

Worth mentioning, is that this critique of religion was emerging as a prominent theme at the end of the nineteenth century in contexts other than just the writings of women treated in this thesis. Other writers and scholars were also discussing the need for secular education, and their ideas mirror those of these female authors. The aforementioned González Prada, for example, wrote an essay entitled “Instrucción católica” (1892) where he states, for example, “Los colejos dirigidos por institutoras laicas viven difícil i precariamente, porque las madres de familia prefieren educar a sus hijas en el Sagrado Corazón, los Sagrados Corazones o el Buen Pastor, aun cuando las directoras de esos planteles renombrados hagan de las niñas todo lo que se quiera, reinas o cortesanas, menos buenas esposas i buenas madres” (2). This topic, while controversial, was one that continued to grow in visibility during the period, as evidenced by its presence in period texts.

Inequalities in Women’s and Men’s Education

More resolute arguments for women’s education emerged after the Veladas with explanations of differences between women’s and men’s educational opportunities. The inequalities in women’s vs. men’s education are considered by Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera in her “Una cuestión sociológica.” Specifically, she highlights the religious-only education given to women and compares that to the scientific education given to men previously discussed. The discussion of this difference forms the platform of her argument throughout the entire essay. She argues that this disparity causes societal and marital strife and she calls for more equal education. She states, “Este desequilibrio y desemejanza en la fe y las creencias de ambos sexos, parécenos a primera vista, uno de aquellos inmensos males de la vida social, cuya índole los hace irremediables e

indestructibles. [. . .] ¿Qué remedio para este mal?... Uno solo: ilustrar a la mujer” (744).

This plea calls for rectification of the inequalities between men and women’s education that were discussed in the essays written during the Veladas. Whereas during the Veladas, Cabello de Carbonera focuses more on praising women’s intelligence and less on specifics of inequalities of education, in “Una cuestión sociológica” one can see the more direct argument that educational inequalities have direct negative consequences.

Clorinda Matto de Turner addresses this topic in her essays, stating that women have not had the same opportunities as men and have been denied equal rights to men. She states in “Las obreras del pensamiento en la América del sud,” that women have been refused education and work for centuries, silently repeating their desire for rights. She states, “la mujer, silenciosa y resignada, cruzó barreras de siglos repitiendo apenas, con miedoso sigilo, las mágicas palabras: libertad, derecho” (2). This statement about the lack of rights offered to women in society is coupled with the call for women’s instruction, which has been denied because of indifference, among other things. She states, “tienen que luchar contra la calumnia, la rivalidad, el indiferentismo y toda clase de dificultades para obtener elementos de instrucción” (2). Thus the theme again emerges in Matto de Turner’s works that women are often denied to opportunities offered to men and that they must fight for more instructional opportunities.

The theme is also briefly mentioned in “La obrera y la mujer,” as she states that women often do not have education and job opportunities or societies that protect their rights (56). Through the discussion of educational inequalities, Matto de Turner also makes a case for a renewed focus on women’s education. Specifically, she calls for the founding of schools “centros de instrucción” (57) for women because they don’t have

such facilities. This focus on righting inequalities in education is seen as a moral imperative and a logical step in the evolution of society.

Teresa González de Fanning also discusses disparities in education in her *Educación femenina*. In these essays, González de Fanning describes how women are often given religious education, whereas men often get a better, often secular, education or study overseas. She states, for example, “A las mujeres rara vez se las manda á educar en Europa: á esas se les encierra en los colegios de monjas donde solo les es dado ver á los suyos *una vez en el mes* ó recibir en *el salón* la visita de algun deudo en los días y horas en que lo permite el reglamento del colegio” (11). This imprisonment in religious schools, away from opportunities to learn and grow that men receive, is unacceptable, and González de Fanning proceeds to argue for equal educational opportunities for men and women.

Women’s Intelligence Redux

Cabello de Carbonera’s “Una cuestion sociológica” also discusses women’s abilities to learn and their intelligence. Rallying against the idea that women are merely objects of lust, and not people, but things, Cabello de Carbonera argues that women do have talents and worth. She states,

Sí, allí está sintetizada la mujer cosa, el objeto de la pasión, el instrumento de un placer; la mujer bella, pudorosa y amante que el hombre necesita para saciar sus hambres concupiscentes, y luego arrojarle lejos de sí, como flor marchita e inodora. [. . .] ¡[S]in que os importe ni os preocupe, ese cerebro repleto de errores y entenebrecido de sombras! ‘con tal que ella no gobierne el mundo ni le imponga demasiado su ley.’ Pero se equivocan lastimosamente los que así piensan. La vida tiene una faz real y positiva, y en ella la mujer—es decir la esposa y la madre—, desempeña tan alta e importante misión que, mal que le pese al hombre, es la mujer que nos pone la base el cimiento de todo el edificio social. (742)

In this way, Cabello de Carbonera argues against those who see the woman as a mere object, who should not have a place in the development of society, and states that women are capable and play an enormous role in society. The passage actually responds directly to a book titled *Memorias intimas* by Ernesto Renán, in which he discusses a variety of things, including the concept of a nation, and also the role of women, which she gives counterpoints to in the essay.

In her “Las obreras del pensamiento en la América del sud,” Clorinda Matto de Turner takes a literary tour of women’s achievements and intelligence throughout Latin America. This exploration of women and their accomplishments provides cause for the end goal of her essay: to inspire women writers and thinkers and to continue crusading for women’s instruction and employment. She establishes this proposal by citing multiple examples of the intelligence of women throughout South America and in her native Peru. For example, she considers the women who have defended and promoted education, stating, “Carmen Póts de Pérez Uribe y María Natividad Cortés, también pertenecían al número de las escritoras con los nobles anhelos femeninos; así como Trinidad María Enríquez, [. . .] la primera que en el Perú acometió las aulas universitarias en la facultad de jurisprudencia. [. . .] fundó un colegio para señoritas y una escuela para artesanos donde ella misma daba lecciones a los obreros” (11). She also discusses the women who have demonstrated their intelligence in multiple moments, stating, for example, “Las inteligentes Adela Zamudio, Natalia Palacios y la señora de Campero, completan las noticias que de aquella república tengo” (9). The multiple examples of women’s progress, brilliance, and hard work demonstrated again that they have a right to an education.

In “La obrera y la mujer,” she repeatedly touts women’s prowess and competence. Women workers are described as “honesta y pensadora” (54) and are more likely to work honestly and diligently, as they are less likely to strike since they are family oriented. She thus establishes both the integrity and intelligence of the woman worker, making a case for their education. Using multiple examples of female intellectuals, as Matto de Turner does in her essays, was a relatively new technique, as up to this point there were fewer examples of such thinkers because of limited opportunities for women. Her works thus reflect the growing women’s movement in South America and show a marked progression from its early stages in Gorriti’s salon and other locations.

Finally, In Teresa González de Fanning’s *Educación femenina*, she discusses women’s intelligence and their right to instruction as educable beings. Specifically, she states, “La verdad es una: y la mujer, como ser inteligente, tiene derecho á ella al igual que el hombre” (2). Using comparisons between women’s and men’s intellectual capacity, as well as the types of opportunities they receive, González de Fanning makes a case that women have the aptitude for study if provided with better opportunities.

New Directions in Women’s Education

As discussed, after the conclusion of the Veladas, arguments became stronger for women’s education using some of the same arguments previously espoused (strength of the nation, morality, correcting inequalities, and the intelligence of women), but some newer arguments also emerged, especially with regards to work and pedagogical guidelines. The first group of novel arguments involves the labor force and women’s place within it. An increased focus on this issue and more specific demands for women’s rights appear in the works published by Matto de Turner after the Veladas. Specifically,

she argues for women's right to work in "La obrera y la mujer," a topic that was becoming more and more common during the period. Women's work was on the rise, as previously discussed, and she argues for specific work reforms and more opportunities for women's work (through education and training) than previously offered. By making a strong case for women's work (a possibility little pursued in previous time periods), she adds more to the debates. These ideas, as already discussed, also played out in González de Fanning's argument for women's education and work.

Additionally, women started to contribute ideas about pedagogical practices, which had been previously written primarily by men (as outlined in Valcarcel's *Breve historia de la educación Peruana*). In González de Fanning's *Educación femenina*, she offers much more developed, detailed suggestions for new pedagogical methods than in her earlier writings. *Educación femenina* serves as a culmination of women's writings on education for the period, especially since its publication came towards the end of the writing careers of the women who had participated in the Veladas, as much of the book carries a composition date of 1898, and the book itself was published in 1905. González de Fanning's purpose extends beyond an examination of the lack of women's educational opportunities and an argument for their increase, since she also explores and appraises the opportunities available for women and their efficacy. González de Fanning calls for women's education outside of the church, for more parental involvement in education for both boys and girls, and urges recognition and support for secular Peruvian educational programs. The suggestions proposed by González de Fanning thus take some of the previous arguments about women's education one step further, espousing specific constructive changes in the instruction of women. Due to her specific recommendations,

González de Fanning's ideas have endured, and she is considered the primary notable female advocate for pedagogical method changes (Chasteen and Tulchen 147). Several schools in Peru, in fact, bear her name. Thus, Cabello de Carbonera, Matto de Turner, and González de Fanning exemplify how female participants in the Veladas profited from these gatherings and continued to argue in new ways for women's education well after the literary tertulia's conclusion.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Juana Manuela Gorriti's *Veladas* provided a space for discussion of women's education, an emerging topic during the nineteenth century in Latin America, and several key concepts resulted from the gatherings. Women's education came to be regarded as essential to the strength of the nation and the morality of the household. The deficits in educational options for women were considered and criticized, and women's intelligence was affirmed. After the conclusion of the *Veladas*, some of the female participants continued writing about education and their calls for change grew stronger as their arguments became more specific. Many of the same themes continued to appear in their publications, but their voices were more self-assured, their arguments more straightforward, and their demands for equal, less-religious education, became more pronounced. The emergence of specific recommendations for educational practices, stronger critique of religious schooling, sounder pedagogical methods, and other new, well-thought-out arguments resulted in the eventual reform of women's education.

The individual women writers discussed here differed in the extent to which they argued for social and political rights for women, but as a group they were able to promote women's education and rights as a topic of debate and interest. This was the fledgling women's movement in Latin America. The labor of women linked through the *Veladas* helped widen the dialogue between women about their instructional and employment

opportunities, and gave these arguments the momentum they needed to extend the conversation beyond the walls of the salon and into the public space of publication and increased readership. Such conversation, writing, and the development of theory around women's rights and education led to concrete social changes in the opportunities available to women.

The analysis of topics related to women's education and rights in nineteenth century women's essays realized in this thesis fills a void in previous research on the development of the "gender essay" (Pratt) and the history of the women's movement in Latin America. The examination of what arguments were being made for women's education and how they were developed during the period contributes new insight into the intellectual climate for women in Peru at the end of the nineteenth century and offers a snapshot into the evolution of women's writing. Additionally, the identification of how education relates to topics like nation building, religion, gender inequalities, and women's intelligence situates the essays in their historical context and demonstrates how their authors used arguments relevant to their societies to promote women's rights. Finally, an examination of the descriptions of women's instruction during the nineteenth century in these essays offers perspective on the development of pedagogical methods. While this thesis provides this detailed view of specific educational topics in the essays discussed, there is more room for further research. Hopefully this analysis of the progression of ideas about women's education both enriches our understanding of how women's rights in Latin America took flight and raises awareness of the progress still to be made.

While Peru did not open its first public secondary school for women until 1927 (Chaney 332), it is clear that the debate and reform propelled by pioneering women such as Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, Clorinda Matto de Turner and Teresa González de Fanning (and their contemporaries like Eléspuru y Lazo) helped to move the country in that direction. Additionally, following in the footsteps of these trailblazers, the suffragette movement appeared. Chaney describes how this new movement was inextricably linked to the past saying, “María Alvarado launched public discussion on the ‘woman question’ in Peru in 1911 [. . .] The daughters of Palma, Angelica and Augusta (who 30 years earlier as young women had heard similar ideas from Clorinda Matto and Mercedes Cabello), were enthusiastic” (335). Other future crusaders, like Amanda Labarca, for example, finally pushed women onto more equal footing to men when they gained the right to vote in 1955. Much is left to be done to gain gender equality, but progress continues.

Through the perseverance of early women writers who were linked to the Veladas Literarias of Lima in the 1870’s, women’s rights and educational reform were increasingly discussed and demanded. The social changes proposed by these forerunners to the suffragettes and modern feminists cannot be discounted. Their arguments had real, long-lasting positive effects that carry into modern times. Through a variety of arguments based on strengthening the Peruvian nation through women’s instruction, enhancing the morality of society through women’s academic pursuits, the injustices of the educational system, and the affirmation of women’s intelligence, trailblazing authors like Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, Teresa González de Fanning, Mercedes Eléspuru y

Lazo, and Clorinda Matto de Turner left their mark on generations of women and on their society.

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