MODERNITY, MATERNITY AND NATION:
THE WRITINGS OF CLORINDA MATTO DE TURNER

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores the meaning of Clorinda Matto de Turner's writing in the context of late nineteenth-century concepts surrounding femininity, domesticity, citizenship and the emerging modern state in Peru. Utilizing theoretical modes suggested by Benedict Anderson, Hommi Bhabha, Doris Sommer, and others, it is argued that Matto de Turner's fictional works should be read as national allegories outlining the appropriate roles for women within the Peruvian state. Complex contradictions in Matto de Turner's life and work are also considered, and the challenges faced by women writing in the nineteenth century are explored.

Chapter one provides an overview of Matto de Turner's life, and focuses attention on her connections to the intellectual and governing elite of Peru. Her views on women, the church, and the state are examined, as are her professional accomplishments and personal life choices.

Chapter two provides both the historical and literary background needed to contextualize Matto de Turner and her work within the larger debate concerning women and their ability to write. The tensions set up by conflicting social and gender expectations are touched upon, and related to the production of Matto de Turner's fiction.

Chapters three and four engage in a discussion of the novels Aves sin nido, and Herencia, and address the constructions of femininity and citizenship presented in them by Matto de Turner. Emphasis is given to the role of domesticity and the depiction of women as 'angels of the house.'

This thesis concludes with a call for Matto de Turner's work to be reconsidered, and recognized for its contributions to the discourse of modernization and to the nation-building project of nineteenth-century Peruvian intellectuals.
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Since Clorinda Matto de Turner began writing and publishing novels in 1889, many literary critics have debated the place of her works within the discourse of *indigenismo*. Recently, some academics have shifted the basis of this debate, and focused on discussions of the gender constructions in Matto de Turner's writing. At the same time, research has emerged that examines the cohesive imperatives of the young nation-states of Latin America. This new body of knowledge has brought into question the role of women as resisters and reflectors of prevailing

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1 The intellectuals involved in the discourse of *indigenismo* sought the vindication of the Indian within Peru's social, political and economic systems. Well known Peruvian proponents include Manuel González Prada (1844-1918) and José Carlos Mariátegui (1894-1930). While the movement also had counterparts in many other Latin American countries, especially in Mexico, Efraín Kristal suggests that it was the most important literary genre in Andean countries from the end of the nineteenth century until the 1960s (2).

prescriptions for femininity in the nineteenth century. By juxtaposing these research interests, questions surrounding the relationship between gender and the politics of national formation are brought into greater focus.

For Peru’s emerging modernizing elite, maternity and domesticity were the roles most appropriate for women, who were seen as the symbolic bearers of the nation. This thesis examines the difficulties faced by women writers in Peru as they struggled to participate actively in the discourses of nation-building while, at the same time, maintaining their social positions. It also engages with Matto de Turner’s conception of the modernizing elite.

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4 This socio-economic class is referred to differently by various academics. Francesca Denegri uses the term ‘modernizing elite’ and makes reference to intellectual elites (among whom she situates Matto de Turner) who form part of this class (74). Efrain Kristal refers to this same group as the ‘industrial elite’ (20). He claims the title ‘industrial’ not because those he names were involved in industry, but because they were interested in industrialization by any means possible (20). Paul Gootenberg also traces the rise of this class, but refers to them as ‘liberals’ (27-31). He suggests that their emergence as a class coincided with the guano boom. He further claims this elite group, who founded its economy on an export empire, was significant in shaping new discussions of national progress. He claims that this desired progress hinged on Peru’s entrance into the world economy (59). This thesis will make use of the Denegri’s terms ‘modernizing’ and ‘intellectual elite’. The author also recognizes that this class used much of the discourse of European liberalism without actually embodying liberal socio-political ideals.
of an internally consolidated nation, and with her vision for women within this entity. In studying her work, questions about the new elites’ prescriptions for women arise. Additional questions as to how these expectations were pushed and tested by the act of writing similarly come to the fore. Spaces for challenging the processes of national consolidation, with its accompanying feminine gender models, are examined and discussed by contrasting Matto de Turner’s life with her work. The contradictions produced by such an exercise exemplify the difficulties faced by a writer who lived at odds with the status quo of the society and the institutions surrounding her. An exploration of how these dual discourses of nationalism and gender intersect serves as a point of departure for addressing the problems such tensions raise.

In his foundational work on nationalism, *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson defines the nation as “an imagined political community--and [one] imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (6). The community is imagined because no one member of it will ever meet all of the others and, as such, each participant must, through his imagination, gain access to the whole (16). Given its specific geographical boundaries, the nation is also imagined as limited. This vision of the nation is in accord with a realist political perspective, which views nation-states as sovereign, autonomous entities. These states are defined by arbitrary frontiers, which do not take into

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5 The masculine pronoun is used intentionally, as the nation and its imagined community are almost always conceived of as masculine domains.
consideration the geography of racial or linguistic communities. Anderson further explains, "it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7). As such, the nation is an imagined space of community instead of the reflection of actual political antecedents; as a result, it comes to rely heavily upon the cultural constructs of mythical symbols and fiction. Within this psychic space of myth, literature plays an important role as the privileged cultural discourse through which nations are formed in nineteenth-century Latin America.

In deconstructing Anderson, Hommi Bhabha critiques his assertion that the nation "emerged as a powerful historical idea in the west. . . . whose cultural compulsion lies in the impossible unity of the nation as a symbolic force" (1). He suggests that "[d]espite the certainty with which historians speak of the 'origins' of the nation as a sign of the 'modernity' of a society, the cultural temporality of the nation inscribes a much more transitional social reality" (1). In trying to fashion a homogeneous whole, a sense of displacement is always created which leads to internal conflict. Bhabha recognizes that, unlike the fixed and finite boundaries of Anderson's vision, the nation must constantly remake its borders through the process of hybridization, thus doing away with the notion that what lies outside the national imaginary is simply 'other' (4). The hybridization that Bhabha suggests recognizes nations cannot be
conceived of as homogeneous units. Rather, such visions projected by elites that exclude other constituencies will fail as social and political realities are much more heterogeneous. Bhabha's theory of nation does not deny the existence of multiple discourses; thus, it allows women, who have been marginalized by their relegation to the reproductive sector, the opportunity to occupy a space within the national imaginary. As he puts it: "The margins of the nation displace the centre; the people of the periphery return to rewrite the history and the fiction of the metropolis" (6). Within this schema, women may occupy central roles in the imagination of the nation, through the production of literature.

What Anderson fails to take into account is that, for the nation to demarcate not only its physical but also its psychic territory, certain portions of the population must be left at the margins; only specific members may hold the privilege of citizenship. The deep, horizontal comradeship that Anderson envisions has direct historical implications for women who are not granted citizenship, either imagined or political. If, as Anderson suggests, the memorial to the unknown soldier is the symbol of the nation, women, who are not historically included as soldiers are left on the margins of the comradeship. The implicit assumption is that women are not active citizens within the national imaginary, regardless of the horizontal comradeship's ability, at least symbolically,

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6 Members of indigenous, black and Asian communities were similarly excluded from citizenship. Given that the focus of this thesis is on women writers, the status of other marginalized peoples will not be addressed in detail here; that task remains for others to engage.
to overcome vertical inequality and exploitation. The national imaginary is then envisioned as a white or Creole masculine narrative in which feminine voices are unheard, except in their reproductive capacity as mothers of the nation. Indeed, as Mary Louise Pratt observes in her critique of Anderson, women rarely have been viewed by the state as independent citizens; rather, they are envisioned only in terms of their reproductive capacities ("Women" 51). Women as physical beings remain the passive loci of the horizontal brotherhood's activities, rather than parties to the project of national imagining ("Women" 52). The tension between Anderson's contained brotherhood and Bhabha's writing margins gains greater clarity when women such as Matto de Turner attempt to subvert the projected idea that they are inherently other to the nation.

Through the practice of their lives, women writing in nineteenth-century Peru entered into a debate which was concerned not only with the shape of the new nation, but also with their role within it.

Matto de Turner's marginalization resulted from transgressing the boundaries of gender and class. These two defining categories mediated her participation in the world of literature. As a member of the privileged elite, she was able to participate in literary circles, but because of her gender, the political nature of her activities and commentaries received negative criticism. Pratt argues that, as members of the liberal elite, women were granted legitimate spaces in the literary world that

7 In this case, Pratt uses the term 'liberal elite' not in reference to the particularities of Peru, but rather as a reflection of Latin America as a whole.
“underwrote” the imagined nation; they were not, however, considered equal participants (“Women” 52). They were able to attend and hold literary events, to write, edit and critique, but only within the specific arena assigned to them. These women simultaneously reflected and resisted the domestication that the agenda of the modernizing elite prescribed for them (Pratt, “Women” 51). The question of how to balance the tension between being ‘assigned’ a space while, at the same time, resisting the definitions of male-dominated society underlies much of the writings by women in nineteenth-century Peru. While Matto de Turner took up the trope of women as ‘reproducers’ of the nation and located them in domestic spaces in her fiction, through her own actions she produced a dissident voice that included women in all areas of political and social life within the national imaginary. The underlying tensions between the privilege of their class and the subjugation of their sex, and between their roles as mothers and as writers, are constant themes in the writings left by the women who struggled to become active participants in the national imaginary of nineteenth-century Peru.

Both Anderson and Bhabha agree that as a political concept, and in order to be realized politically, the nation must rely on cultural constructions. Specifically, the nation relies on a created mythical identity which emerged as a powerful idea with the fall of the western monarchies, coinciding with the constitution of literature as the
privileged institution of knowledge of modernity. In the history of Latin America, the ties between a nation and its narration are inextricable. Doris Sommer traces this mutually dependent relationship to the rise of independence movements in Latin America at the beginning of the nineteenth century. She postulates that, given the relative youth of these nation-states, there were large spaces to be filled in the collective consciousness, gaps that were replaced by novels allegorizing the nation ("Irresistible romance" 76). The purpose of this fiction was twofold: not only were the writers creating history for the new states, but they were also envisioning a future, thus offering the populace a national imaginary which would ideally unify the citizens ("Irresistible romance" 76).

The political formation of Peru as a nation-state in 1824 did not necessarily reflect the emergence of a national imaginary or suggest a cohesive and unified community of citizens. The nature of Peru's shift from colonization to independence was indicative of a political revolution, but lacked economic or social counterparts. It was not until the late nineteenth century that this imaginary began to take shape and a new fledgling national discourse emerged. A development that coincided with the appearance of a new modernizing bourgeoisie (Sommer, "Irresistible romance" 78). This new class and its intellectual allies figured prominently in the configuration of a discourse of indigenismo.

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8 Thanks for this insight goes to Dr. Rita De Grandis, seminar on “Women in Latin American Literature, Culture and Society” Department of French, Hispanic and Italian Studies, University of British Columbia, Winter 1997.
that sought the integration of Indians into the modern civil society and began the process of creating a national imaginary.

The existence of a national discourse created through literature was essential to the formation of a national imaginary. It was precisely this engagement in a new dialogue which first identified Peru's lack of a unifying identity, therefore contributing to the formation of a national sense of self. The constitution of a collective identity, as with any identity, entails the employment of rhetorical strategies and, as such, the question of gender becomes a crucial variable in studying the nation as an imagined community. As Anne McClintock has asserted, nations are always gendered, finding their symbolic structural counterpart in models of the family (353-357). By presenting the Marin family as a microcosm for the Peruvian nation, Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido* and *Herencia* allegorize the construction of the nation through domesticity and education. In this manner, Matto de Turner fashioned a space for herself and her gender as an integral part of the emerging national imaginary.

Any critique of Matto de Turner's work must examine how she articulates the process of national consolidation, and how she situates women within the process of nation-building and its final envisioned form. For Matto de Turner, family is the cornerstone of the nation, each serving as mirrors for the other, and as starting points for the national imaginary. Most analyses of her novel *Aves sin nido* have focused on the space it occupies within the discourse of *indigenismo*. In the novel's
prologue, Matto de Turner clearly states that the Indian population is of utmost concern to her (52), and it is through this discussion on their assimilation that the reader is also made aware of her gender preoccupations.

However, what is of interest here is the manner in which Matto de Turner portrays what William Rowe and Vivian Schelling have termed "the family as the founding principle of national coherence" (205). The novel focuses on large scale national progress, as well as presenting the Marín family as a microcosm of the nation in which Matto de Turner's prescriptions for change are played out. This narrative position reflects Doris Sommer's characterization of the nation-building novel in nineteenth-century Latin America. In this genre, the natural and familial grounding, along with its rhetoric of productive sexuality, provides a model for apparently non-violent national consolidation during periods of internecine conflict. . . . [T]he domestic romance is another exhortation to be fruitful and multiply. ("Irresistible romance" 76)

By utilizing the allegories of domesticity and education, *Aves sin nido* and *Herencia* fit, for the most part, into the schema that Sommer has outlined. The project of Matto de Turner and her colleagues was to educate the Creole society ideologically about the need to instruct and assimilate the Indigenous majority, so that a cohesive Peruvian identity could support and sustain the community in its transition to the twentieth
century. Citing the contemporaneous example of nineteenth-century Mexico, Jean Franco posits that "[t]he intelligentsia confronted . . . problems of heterogeneity by representing themselves as teacher and guides who would eventually . . . lead the indigenous, the blacks, and women out of the wilderness by means of education" (Plotting Women 81). A unified national imaginary was achieved through the production and consumption of nation-building romances such as those by Matto de Turner. Sommer's vision of nineteenth-century Latin American literature is useful in interpreting Matto de Turner's work as it allows us to leave behind the traditional applications of indigenismo to Aves sin nido, and provides the basis for a different analysis. Sommer maintains

\[\text{[t]he hegemonic project of the class that would be dominant had to win the support of other interests for a (usually) liberal national organization that would benefit them all, just as the hero of romance won the heroine and her family through love and practical concern for their well-being.}^{9}\ (\text{"Irresistible romance" 81})\]

Within this narrative agenda, just as women and education can be read as symbols for one another--and by extension, progress--the nation and family become analogous.

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\(^9\) Sommer's use of a parenthetical "usually" allows for her paradigm's application to Peru, where many of the intellectuals surrounding Matto de Turner were not liberals. Regardless of an interest group's political leanings, it still had to find a fiction for the members of the nation to consume. As such, the connection Sommer makes between national projects and literary production provides a useful tool for analyzing Matto de Turner's work.
The newly emerged modernizing elite class used the press as a vehicle for their national projects. Anderson suggests that print-capitalism was one of the driving forces behind an emerging nationalism in the new nation-states of Latin America. He argues that the serialized novels of the newspaper columns linked members of the nation together as each of them read the same literature at the same time (35).\(^\text{10}\) The effect of this ritual, says Anderson, was that the readers were able to see fellow readers in their communities sharing the same fiction, thus grounding their imaginary worlds in the real world (36). Sommer takes Anderson to task for these assertions. She does so, not because she disagrees, but because Anderson does not analyze the importance that the gender models portrayed in the serialized novels would have had in the lives of the new members of the national community (Sommer, *Foundational Fictions* 40). By reading, each member consumed not only projected national ideals but also archetypal gender models which were to inform their personal relations. Printing presses were used to diffuse

\(^{10}\) It must be emphasized that the imagined community Anderson envisions includes only those members who are literate. Peru was not unlike other Latin American countries which had high rates of illiteracy. Ernst Middendorf cites the following population and literacy statistics from a census taken in 1876 in Lima in his book *Perú. Observaciones y estudios del país y sus habitantes durante una permanencia de 25 años (1865-1890)*. Population totals were as follows: whites, 42,694; Indians, 19,630; blacks, 9,088; mestizos, 23,120; Chinese, 5,624 (143). The total population consisted of 100,156 persons. Of these 52,835 were literate (144). The 1910 edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica notes that the total population of Peru from the 1876 census was 2,660,881 and that the white population represented 13.8% of the total, while Indians, blacks, Asians and mestizos made up the remaining 86.2% (21:268). While the literacy rates for the entire country are unavailable, it is likely that the higher density of whites in Lima is reflected in the elevated literacy rate. Given these statistics, it is obvious that the national community that was bound together by the press was not representative of the majority of the Peruvian population.
European and emerging Latin American ideas on progress, and so the progress of the family was regularly discussed in the context of national growth (Denegri 81). The emerging national projects required a particular type of participation by women. They were to maintain domestic order and to take on the elements of a powerful literary figure: the angel of the house (Denegri 40)." The growth of print-capitalism aided the emergence of nationalism by allowing certain interest groups to produce images of the nation, including stereotypes of femininity that aided their cause.

For Matto de Turner, a member of the intellectual elite, the intrinsic purpose of literature was to facilitate and influence the national imaginary, as she writes, "En los países en que, como el nuestro la LITERATURA se halla en su cuna, tiene la novela que ejercer mayor influjo en la morigeración de las costumbres . . ." (Aves sin nido 51). Such sentiments support Doris Sommer's suggestion that literature fulfills the need for history in the new nation-states of Latin America ("Irresistible romance" 76). This literature is also used to create ideals for the nation. As will be demonstrated, Matto de Turner was consciously producing an identity for literate Peruvians to consume and to imitate.

For Matto de Turner, the relationship between history and literature is clear:

"Si la historia es el espejo donde las generaciones por venir han

"The literary figure of the angel of the house first appeared in Victorian England. It later appeared in many other parts of the world, including the Americas. The term was not coined by any one author, and is used in Spanish as "el ángel del hogar." Because the Spanish term hogar lends itself to translation as house or home, the two will be used interchangeably in this thesis."
de contemplar la imagen de las generaciones que fueron, la novela tiene que ser la fotografía que estereotipe los vicios y las virtudes de un pueblo, con la consiguiente moraleja correctiva para aquéllos y el homenaje de admiración para éstas. (*Aves sin nido* 51)

Conceptualized in this manner history and fiction are mirrors for one another. It is important to recognize Matto de Turner’s emphasis on the exactitude with which she believed herself to be documenting history. Not only does she refer to fiction as photography, but she is also very specific about the manner in which she believes it to be an exact, representational art. As she observes in her prologue, “me inspiro en la exactitud con que he tomado los cuadros, del natural, presentando al lector la copia para que él juzgue y falle” (*Aves sin nido* 51). Matto de Turner saw her work as a method of capturing a precise history of her country on paper so that generations to come would be familiar with it. Her agenda reflects Sommer’s positioning of the relationship between history and nation-building novels. It also reinforces a shift in analysis away from *indigenismo* to the genre of national romance which Sommer posits.

In ending her *Proemio* Matto de Turner reiterates her reasons for writing:

Repito que al someter mi obra al fallo del lector, hágolo con la esperanza de que ese fallo sea la idea de mejorar la condición de los pueblos chicos del Perú; y aun cuando no fuese otra cosa
que la simple conmiseración, la autora de estas páginas habrá conseguido su propósito, recordando que en el país existen hermanos que sufren, explotados en la noche de la ignorancia, martirizados en esas tinieblas que piden luz; señalando puntos de no escasa importancia para los progresos nacionales y haciendo a la vez, literatura peruana. (*Aves sin nido* 52)

In this passage, Matto de Turner again ties her modernizing ideals of progress, and the subsequent formation of history, to literature. She privileges literature as a space to debate national progress and, as the novel unfolds, it is evident that for her a major concern was the role of women within the nation.

*Aves sin nido* and *Herencia* can be read as a fictionalization of her essay “Luz entre sombra.” In these novels, the female characters are inscribed with the attributes Matto de Turner ascribed to good mothers. These characters personify the elites' ideal of femininity and the manner in which this group manipulated the space of home to further their political and economic agenda. Through the voices of Manuel and Ernesto, Matto de Turner makes clear what space women were to occupy: “[u]sted sabe que la madre de familia es el sol de la casa, cuyo calor busca el corazón” (*Aves sin nido* 168), and how they are to be raised to take on this

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12 Many of the writings of nineteenth-century Latin American authors reflect one another. In fact, *Luz y sombra* seems to be a phrase that circulated among many nineteenth-century women writers. In Colombia, Soledad Acosta de Samper (1833-1913) published a novel of the same name in 1864. Thirty-nine years later in Puerto Rico Ana Roque de Duprey (1853-1933) also chose *Luz y sombra* as the title of her novel.
role: “el clima enerva la voluntad para el trabajo y aviva la imaginación para la lujuria” (Herencia 94). These two youths are representative of the new generation of Peruvian youth who will lead the nation to progress. As such, their recognition of the importance of a mother’s role in the family --in the home, and in their children’s education--is paramount for the agenda of Matto de Turner and the modernizing elite. The raising of new citizens, educated with new ideals and a new understanding of the family and the nation, was the proper role for women. Aves sin nido can be read as a recognition and privileging of this function, while Herencia provides an examination of the proper methods of education and social atmosphere for young women, enabling them to take on the role as reproducers of citizens.

Throughout the nineteenth century, editions of Aves sin nido carried the subtitle Novela peruana. By the twentieth century, this descriptive marker had disappeared from press. It is useful to think of this shifting subtitle as an invitation to reflect on Aves sin nido as a national novel, rather than one merely interested in the narrative of indigenismo. Considering this subtitle gives critics further cause for examining the overarching theme of her work: the nation.

Explored in their entirety, the works of Matto de Turner demonstrate a desire to influence the shape of the new Peruvian nation and are concerned especially with the role of women within this new entity. Matto de Turner’s project for women is most clearly visible when the essay “Luz
entre sombra" and the novels *Aves sin nido* and *Herencia* are read as a continuum. They situate the private sphere at the centre of the nation, and grant a central role to women as guardians of that space. These works suggest that through the privileging of domesticity and the education of women—who in turn are responsible for the upbringing of new citizens—the nation could be internally consolidated and move forward into the twentieth century. In order to better understand Matto de Turner's vision for women's role in a new Peru, this thesis provides a detailed analysis of both her life and her fiction.

The first chapter of this thesis provides biographical details on Matto de Turner's life and works. It demonstrates the way in which she aligned herself politically, and discusses both the resulting support and criticism she received.

The second chapter deals with the problematic of women's writing in nineteenth-century Peru. It outlines the public perceptions which surrounded women writers and demonstrates that, due to special circumstances, a group of women known as *La generación de los setenta* emerged in Lima who were very active within intellectual circles. However, they were not completely accepted, and the criticism to which they were subjected was even more pronounced when they stepped outside of the roles assigned to women. This chapter demonstrates the manner in which women such as Clorinda Matto de Turner and Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera walked a tenuous tightrope to maintain public and societal
support while maintaining the ability to publish their essays and novels.

The third chapter is dedicated to a discussion of the emergence of the character of the angel of the house, and the manner in which it is incorporated into Matto de Turner's work. This chapter analyses how fictive female figures possess the power of transformation in the Peruvian nation. In her work, Matto de Turner privileges the domestic realm of the family whom she perceives as the vehicle for social and political change. Specifically, her strategy lies in the nation aligning itself after her fictitious family, the Maríns. Through an analysis of the characters and relations presented in Aves sin nido, and the descriptions Matto de Turner provides of them, this chapter shows how she used Aves sin nido to project her vision of a new nation.

The fourth and final chapter provides an overview of the educational practices for women in nineteenth-century Peru. It also demonstrates the manner in which Matto de Turner fictionalizes her ideas regarding the proper education for young women through the characters of Margarita and Camila in the novel Herencia. By juxtaposing these two characters, she is able to show what happens to young women whose mothers do not properly care for them or educate them for their future social roles as wives and, in turn, mothers themselves. This chapter documents how Matto de Turner, by utilizing the idea of inheritance, emphasizes the role of maternal ties in the transmission of 'virtue.' This chapter demonstrates that an education in virtue is ultimately the path to national progress.
This thesis maintains that the challenges faced by women writers--and Clorinda Matto de Turner's were emblematic--required them to find ways of balancing both public and private pressures, while still producing their fiction. Reflections of and resistances to the prescribed roles of domesticity are represented in both their lives and work. Novels such as *Aves sin nido* and *Herencia* illustrate this conflict. While these works position women as guardians of the private sphere, they also posit this space as the locus of national change. The resulting transformation occurs through a matrilineral system of education which would provide the modernizing elite with the virtuous daughters required for their national project.
Chapter One
Clorinda Matto de Turner: A Biographical Sketch

Mary Berg has suggested that Clorinda Matto de Turner was perhaps the “most controversial woman writer” of nineteenth-century Latin America (“Writing” 80). While the use of this superlative may be a matter of debate, Matto de Turner’s impact on society and the controversy surrounding her life and writing is unquestioned. To this day, the importance of her work is recognized; her novel Aves sin nido, first published in 1889, is still a required text for Peruvian secondary students and the issues raised by it laid the ground work for many future writings in the genre of indigenismo.13

Matto de Turner was born Grimanesa Martina Matto Usandivaras14 on 11 November 1852,15 to Grimaresa Concepción Usandivaras and D. Ramón Matto y Torres. She was the eldest of three children, and the only daughter in the family. They divided their time between Paullo Chico, a

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13 All the details of Matto de Turner’s life covered in this chapter are commonly available and, as such, they are not specifically cited. For information that is not widely agreed upon specific citations will be provided. For more information on her life see: Francisco Carrillo, Clorinda Matto de Turner y su indigenismo literario (Lima: Ediciones de la Biblioteca Universitaria, 1967); Manuel Cuadros, Paisaje y obra, mujer e historia: Clorinda Matto de Turner (Cuzco: H.G. Rozas, 1949); Alberto Tauro, Clorinda Matto de Turner y la novela indigenista (Lima: Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, 1976).

14 Francisco Carrillo comments that scholars are uncertain about when Matto de Turner’s name was changed from Grimaresa to Clorinda. As he notes, Manuel Cuadros provides conflicting information on this subject and suggests that there are two possible answers: either Matto de Turner’s husband gave her this name or this was her family’s appellation for her (Carrillo 7; Cuadros 122-123).

15 There appears to be slight discrepancy among sources as to the year of Matto de Turner’s birth. El Perú Ilustrado (8 October 1887) and Alberto Tauro (Elementos de literatura peruana) suggest it was 1854, while most other sources date this event to 1852.
small family estate near the town of Tinta, and their home in the Plaza de San Francisco in Cuzco. It was on this estate that, while playing with the local indigenous children, she learned Quechua. Her first-hand knowledge of indigenous language and culture played a prominent role in Matto de Turner's subsequent literary career. Shortly before she celebrated her tenth birthday, Matto de Turner's mother died, and she was sent to Cuzco to study at the Colegio de Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes (now called the Colegio Nacional de Educación). There, she studied under Trinidad María Enríquez, who fought for women's intellectual freedom and liberation. This formative experience informed Matto de Turner's views on education, and her belief that it was necessary to establish better schooling for all women (Berg, “Writing” 81). While attending school Matto de Turner displayed an aptitude for writing; she began editing her school's periodical at the age of twelve. Francisco Carrillo notes that she was a precocious student, who pleaded with her father to send her abroad so that she might undertake pre-medical studies. He also remarks that, in order to achieve her goal, she had already attained fluency in both English and French (7). Her father refused her request to study in Europe or the United States and, in 1868, at the age of sixteen, she left school to take

16 Matto de Turner would later take up indigenous issues in her novel *Aves sin nido* and, after her exile, she also translated several books from the New Testament into Quechua.

17 Trinidad María Enríquez was one of the first women in Peru to obtain a university degree. In 1874, she wrote to the President of Peru to ask permission to study law at the Universidad San Antonio Abad in Cuzco after the university's administration had denied her entrance. The government responded by passing a resolution in Congress that allowed women entrance into universities.
charge of housekeeping for her father and brothers. Although this marked the end of her formal schooling, she continued both to study and write. This pattern of activity from her teenage years demonstrates her sense of ambition, and foreshadows her future participation in spheres of influence normally considered masculine.

On 27 July 1871 Clorinda married Joseph Turner, a British medical doctor and entrepreneur. The two relocated to the village of Tinta, where he operated a business. Matto de Turner's first published essays date from the early years of her marriage, when they appeared in print under pseudonyms, which included María, Rosario, Lucrecia, Betsab, Edelfay and Carlota Dimont. In 1876, Matto de Turner became the editor of the local newspaper, *El Recreo del Cuzco*. The following year she traveled with her husband to Lima, where she was presented at a *Velada Literaria* hosted by Juana Manuela Gorriti. There, she very successfully read two of her *Tradiciones*. Many of Lima's well-known literary personalities attended the evening, including essayist and novelist Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, poet Abelardo M. Gamarra and Matto de Turner's mentor, Ricardo Palma, the author of the celebrated *Tradiciones Peruanas* (1860-1914). At the end of the evening Gorriti crowned her with a wreath of laurels and placed a gold pen in her hands. These two presents were

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18 Tinta is a town of historical importance. It was the site of the uprising against the Spaniards and of the subsequent death of Tupac Amaru and his followers. These historical themes appeared in the writings of Matto de Turner which date from her stay in Tinta.

19 Available sources exhibit some confusion regarding the nature of his business ventures, but suggest it was in some way linked to agriculture (Carrillo 7).
representative of the enthusiasm with which Matto de Turner was received, and were suggestive of her future success as a writer. They are also reminiscent of practices in Greek city-states, where the connection between laurel wreaths and citizenship was very strong. Ironically, while these presents symbolize Matto de Turner’s acceptance into the realm of literature, the texts she later produces result in her exile from Peru.

Three years later, during the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), Matto de Turner began to take a more active and public role in politics. She did so by supporting Andrés Cáceres and his troops in the Andes. She transformed her family home into a war hospital and offered refuge to men such as Nicolás de Piérola, who would later become President of the Republic and, later still, be responsible for her exile from Peru. It is unclear what motivated a move toward greater public participation on Matto de Turner’s part. It is possible that because so many men were recruited to fight in the war, her services were more accepted in their absence than they otherwise would have been. Paul Gootenberg notes that the war left Peru in economic and political shambles: Peru’s international economy collapsed, it lost its most important nitrate fields, the civilian government was replaced once more with rivaling caudillos, and the Biblioteca Nacional lost 58,000 volumes when it was sacked by Chilean troops. In short, the war had devastating consequences for Peru and, in its aftermath, there was a new preoccupation with national reconstruction (Imagining 182-185). It is likely then, that within an intellectual and
political atmosphere of concern for the future of Peru as a viable nation-state, Matto de Turner turned to more overtly political activities and writing.

After her husband’s death in 1881, Matto de Turner took over his business, which was in serious financial trouble. In order to clear some of the debt, she accepted a position as editor of La Bolsa in Arequipa. In doing so, she became the first woman in the Americas to head an important daily newspaper (Berg, “Writing” 81). While in Arequipa, Matto de Turner published *Perú: Tradiciones Cuzqueñas* (1884), and *Elementos de Literatura según el Reglamento de Instrucción Pública, para el Uso del Bello Sexo*, (1884), a textbook for young women.

Matto de Turner moved to Lima in 1886. A year later she established regular meetings for Lima's intellectuals in her home. Augusto Tamayo Vargas notes that these gatherings served two purposes: they provided a space for intellectuals to discuss the future of post-war Peru, and also began to close the social and political divide between coastal Lima and the in-land Sierra (Vargas, *Apuntes* 217-218).20 This second function was particularly important as Matto de Turner, unlike the majority of Lima's intellectuals, was from the Sierra. The distance between the Sierra and the Coast was not only geographic but social. Lima’s elite looked down on the upper class of the Sierra for being less ‘sophisticated’ and ‘advanced.’

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20 These meetings were known as Veladas Literarias. The Veladas are discussed in greater detail in chapter two. The main difference between Matto de Turner’s meetings and the other Veladas is that they not only focused on women’s issues, but also placed emphasis on national concerns.
This theme is one that Matto de Turner developed in her novels. Her experience growing up on Paullo Chico and in Cuzco profoundly affected her understanding of the indigenous peoples, and also later influenced her writing. In 1888, she wrote her only published play, *Hima Sumac*, which depicts the life of a young indigenous woman. That same year, she was also named an honorary member of the influential writers' association *Unión Iberoamericana*, located in Madrid. This honour raises many questions as to the significance of the event: Were women normally admitted to this group? Who sponsored her nomination? What did it mean for a Peruvian to be given membership in a primarily Spanish institution? Unfortunately, the existing biographical information on Matto de Turner provides few answers. Regardless of the relative silence surrounding her nomination, it does point to a certain amount of international recognition for her literary contributions.

In 1889, Matto de Turner became the editor of *El Peru Ilustrado*, an important weekly periodical featuring articles of a political, economic and literary nature. This position granted Matto de Turner a large public space from which to call for social change in the form of educational reform and ethical public institutions (Berg, “Writing” 83). As editor, she wrote feature editorials on Peruvian writers, many of whom were women (Berg, “Writing” 83). This gave her the opportunity to highlight women’s writing, and to affirm their capabilities publicly.

In 1889, Matto de Turner also published her first novel *Aves sin*
*nido*, to great acclaim mixed with considerable criticism. This novel was not only of literary importance, but it also had political, social and religious repercussions. In the novel strong anticlerical sentiments are coupled with a powerful critique of the Sierra's social and economic structure. Clergy and landowners reacted by criticizing Matto de Turner personally and denouncing her writing. However, not all commentators were so oppositional. The laudatory letter of 8 February 1890 of then-President of the Republic, Andrés Cáceres, amply illustrates Matto de Turner's ties to the government, and merits quotation in full:

Mi distinguida amiga: Con el interés que me es muy natural he leído su novela *Aves sin nido*, que refleja con una exactitud digna de encomio lo que ocurre en la sierra y que yo en mi larga peregrinación, he podido observar y alguna vez hasta reprimir. No hay duda que se siente profunda indignación cuando se pasa la vista por aquellas líneas en que pinta usted, con todo su clorido, el sacrificio del indio a manos del gobernador, del juez o del párroco. Y lo más grave es que las autoridades llamadas a defender al ciudadano, sean los explotadores del indígena, en cuya protección he dictado, durante mi gobierno, medidas que han abolido los servicios de pongo, mitas y otros abusos de este género; pero, para que la acción del Gobierno alcance en aquellas apartadas regiones la eficacia civilizadora, es necesario que los llamados a recibirla y secundarla, sepan...
colocarse en su puesto de abnegación. No hay, pues, duda que
para conseguir la obra de la regeneración del indio, sería
preciso hacer una peregrinación de pueblo en pueblo, estancia
por estancia, aldea por aldea, a fin de corregir esos abusos,
teniendo una mirada investigadora y la firme convicción de
hacer el bien. Convencido de que el único medio de cortar los
vicios sociales inveterados y que vienen desde la época del
coloniaje, es atacar el mal de frente, cortándolo en su origen,
esto es, fomentando la instrucción, que es la única
independencia del indio, como será la base de la futura
grandezza del Perú. He preparado el terreno fundando las
escuelas-taller en los departamentos. Me ha faltado tiempo
para completar mi obra; pero abrigo la convicción de que,
cualquiera que sea el ciudadano que me suceda en el poder,
continuará empeñado en ella principalmente si, como yo,
conoce la defectuosa organización social de las poblaciones
andinas. Por lo que a usted respecta ha cumplido su deber como
escritora denunciando graves delitos, muy especialmente de
los servidores de la Iglesia, sobre los que yo llamaré la
atención de su jefe el arzobispo. Dirigiendo a usted una palabra
de felicitación y aliento en su noble tarea de escritora, soy su
atento amigo y S.S. (3 May 1890, El Perú Ilustrado, qtd. in
Schneider 27)
This letter of congratulations published for public consumption by *El Perú Ilustrado* not only highlights the political ramifications of Matto de Turner's writing, but it also sheds light on the reaction of the Church and the landed elite. Cáceres' letter makes evident the clarity with which Matto de Turner viewed Peru's social and political problems. It also suggests that, for her admirers at least, Matto de Turner succeeded in meeting the tasks she set for her novel in the *proemio* or prologue to *Aves sin nido*. Cáceres affirms in his letter that she was able both to record the existence of the subjugated indigenous population and draw attention to issues of importance for national progress.

Along with his congratulations Cáceres also sent Matto de Turner a diamond bracelet. According to a notice in *El Perú Ilustrado* the bracelet "figura de carcaj guarnecido de ocho brillantes en el que van cinco plumas y un pincel, todo artísticamente abrazado por una media luna que tiene 21 brillantes de magnífico tamaño y pureza de aguas, como lo es el que va en el mando del pincel" (1 February 1890, qtd. in Schneider 27-28). The decision to publish both the letter and the bracelet's description suggests that Matto de Turner's editorial position allowed her a venue to demonstrate the extent of her support from Peru's highest public office. Matto de Turner's public relationship with Cáceres established her political allegiances very clearly. It demonstrated, too, that she was able to effect political and social change in her country without any of the civic privileges, such as the right to vote, which are associated with
'citizenship.' Joaquin de Lemoine, then the Belgian consul to Lima, provided the following description of Matto de Turner:

[al]ta estatura; aire distinguido; constitución vigorosa; busto bizarro, mórbido, magistral y esbelto, como tallado por cincel griego en viviente mármol. La cabeza, ese depósito misterioso de luz, que modela la inteligencia, es en ella rítmicamente perfilada, y su cabellera, aunque no es larga, es abundante y parece de oro crespo y tostado, con ondulaciones que adornan los contornos de su frente serena, inteligente y noble; la nariz es delicada; los labios encarnados, finos y risueños en sus extremidades; los ojos, resplandecientes cuando se alzan acaso, cuando se bajan, dejan los párpados pronunciadamente caídos, pero lucen bajo el arco de cejas bien dibujadas. Con más delicadeza aún se delinea el contorno de su barba hoyuelada en el medio: “ese hoyuelo en la mujer parece formado por el dedo del amor”, dice Byron.

Contrasta con la blancura intensa de su garganta ebúrnea, la púrpura vivaz de sus mejillas, ligeramente tostadas, bruñidas,

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21 It was not until sixty-five years after Cáceres' letter that women in Peru first voted in federal elections. Peru was one of the last of the Latin American states to grant full suffrage for women, doing so in 1955. By comparison, Ecuador extended the franchise in 1929, Cuba in 1934, El Salvador in 1939, Costa Rica in 1945, Venezuela in 1947, Chile in 1949, and Mexico in 1953. Only two states acted later than Peru: Colombia in 1957, and Paraguay in 1961. Thus, while Peru was comparatively late in enacting universal suffrage, during Matto de Turner's lifetime it was hardly reprobate.
acariciadas por el mismo sol que los Incas adoraban de rodillas. Y todas estas facciones están encuadradas en un contorno oval de simpático perfil. (qtd. in Carrillo 14-15)

The favorable impression offered by Lemoine is indicative of the reception she received from some of the elite in Lima’s society. It was neither her physical appearance, her social poise, nor her intelligence which eventually earned her disfavour. Rather, the manner in which she employed her intelligence would be her downfall.

In 1890, a short story by Brazilian author Henrique Coelho Netto was published in *El Perú Ilustrado*. The story portrayed Jesus Christ engaged in a sexual relationship with Mary Magdalene. Despite Matto de Turner’s claim that she was ill and not present at the time the decision to publish was made, she was forced to resign as editor. The unfortunate publication also provided the Church a convenient pretext for retaliating against Matto de Turner’s anti-clerical views. Matto de Turner was also excommunicated from the Church and burned in effigy. Her novel *Aves sin nido* was placed on the list of prohibited books by the Bishop of Lima. The public was prohibited by the Church from reading *El Perú Ilustrado*. The ban was lifted on 7 July 1891, only after the Archbishop received a promise from the periodical’s owner that in the future he would be more
vigilant regarding the paper's content.  

At the time, many believed the ensuing public defamation of Matto de Turner was politically motivated. In *Viaje de recreo* (1909), Matto de Turner recounts a visit she made to Coelho, and provides her own analysis of these events:

> It is true, Netto, but do not believe that everyone in my country was blind; men of great learning and open minds may be found there; it was a campaign led by those priests who took up their habit for commercial purposes, like the shopkeeper behind his cabinets and all this is over now; today they judge me quite differently in my country, and I myself judge the events with a different view; after this visit with you, I am off to visit the Pope; in religion as well as in politics the same things happen: there are true and false patriots; I respect the true believer, whatever his affiliation or creed. (25, qtd. and translated in Fox-Lockert 146)

This excerpt serves to highlight Matto de Turner's political involvement in Peruvian society, and its consequences for her. Matto de Turner's stinging analysis of clergy members in the Andean social structure gained her many powerful enemies. Even after fleeing to Argentina, Matto de Turner

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22 During a trip to Europe, shortly before she died, Matto de Turner was granted an audience with Pope Pius X. This event helped to reverse some of the public condemnation she had previously received from leaders of the Catholic Church. It is difficult to reconstruct how Matto de Turner managed to arrange this meeting; nevertheless, her audience demonstrates her political savvy, and her status as a literary figure of international renown.
continued her public anti-clericism. In reflecting upon her exile, Matto de Turner linked it to the Church’s relationship with Piérola’s government:

Las consecuencias de nuestra inmiscuición las hemos arrastrado con serenidad, presenciando la destrucción de nuestro hogar, primero, después, la de nuestro taller de trabajo y por último aceptando el camino del extranjero para buscar el pan que no podíamos hallar en aquel suelo cargado de venganzas de atropellos y de cuanto innoble puede producir la comandita del clericalismo con el pierolismo. (Boreales 24, qtd. in Kristal 158)

Ironically, Matto de Turner’s political actions in speaking out against the abuses of the clergy resulted in similar consequences for her as for Lucia, the heroine of Aves sin nido. Acts of feminine trespass—a concept which will be discussed at length in chapter two—into the public political realm were punished by various forms of silencing. For Matto de Turner, this included excommunication and official silencing by one of the very institutions whose reform interested her.

The last issue of El Perú Ilustrado edited by Matto de Turner highlights her growing concern for women’s issues. The editorial of 11 July 1891 is dedicated to a discussion of women’s roles, and to the
opening of Lima's *El Pabellón de Isabel*. This building's primary function was to provide a space for women to gather, and to further women's participation in society. It is fitting that the end of Matto de Turner's term with *El Perú Ilustrado* coincided with an obituary for Trinidad María Enríquez. Enríquez, Matto de Turner's first mentor, had encouraged her desire for reform. *El Perú Ilustrado*'s large circulation allowed Matto de Turner greater public access for the ideas she had begun to develop with Enríquez. Matto de Turner also included a second, farewell editorial in her last issue:

Terminados mis compromisos con *El Perú Ilustrado* en Octubre del 90, debí retirarme; pero atravesando el semanario una situación azarosa, razones de delicadeza me ordenaba permanecer al frente de su dirección. Solucionando el conflicto en forma que el propietario del periódico encuentra satisfactoria, cúmpleme retirarme de la redacción. Al separarme de la dirección de *El Perú Ilustrado*, quieran mis amigos y colaboradores aceptar la expresión de mi más cordial reconocimiento. (11 July 1891)

Matto de Turner's tactful statement contrasts with other commentaries both by her and other members of the public surrounding the controversy.

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23 While the editorials appearing in *El Perú Ilustrado* are not signed by a specific author, Matto de Turner's name appears as the publication's editor-in-chief. Librarians at the Biblioteca Nacional de Lima suggested to this author that, as Matto de Turner held this position, she would have been responsible for writing the weekly editorial column or at least for reviewing its contents.
In her letter to the author of the offending story, Coelho, Matto de Turner alluded to a campaign by the priests against her. It was also publicly known that the Church's prohibition on El Perú ilustrado was lifted with the implicit understanding that Matto de Turner be curbed through more vigilant oversight of the editorial staff. These events hint at greater conflict than Matto de Turner acknowledges in her farewell editorial.

In 1891, Matto de Turner founded the press La Equitativa, where she employed only women. This policy reflects her commitment to furthering women's writing, as it allowed her to create a women-centred literary space. There, she edited Los Andes (1892-1895), a periodical dedicated to political discussion, and published two more books, Leyendas y Recortes (1893) and Herencia (1895). This period of writing and publishing was interrupted by civil war. As a public and ardent supporter of Cáceres in Los Andes, she was a target for Nicolás de Piérola's troops. In 1895, her press was sacked and destroyed, and she and her brother David were placed under house arrest. She describes this episode at length in her book Boreales, Miniaturas y Porcelanas (1902):

> A diversas lucubraciones estaba entregada la fantasía, en medio de aquel grupo del hogar íntimo, cuando sentimos algazara en el patio y luego en las escaleras. Era un pelotón de gente armada con palos, machetes, sables, pistolas de

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24 After the collapse of Manuel Pardo’s civilian government, Peruvian politics were once again dominated by caudillos. The most powerful of these were Cáceres and Piérola. Piérola was in power 1879-1881 and 1895-1899. Cáceres’ two terms were 1886-1990 and 1894-1895 (Kristal 225-226).
revólver, comandado por un mulato que llevaba rifle. La puerta de calle les había sido franqueada por nuestros vecinos, y todos invadieron los altos. Los niños, aterrorizados, buscaban refugio en nuestros brazos y los del doctor Matto; la servidumbre también se plegó hacia nosotros, y los asaltantes, mandados exprofesamente, pretextaron buscar armas que díz teníamos escondidas, y en su investigación saquearon cuanto poseíamos, destruyendo lo que no podían cargar. (29)

After these events Matto de Turner went into exile, first in Chile and later in Argentina; she never returned to Peru.25

While in Argentina, Matto de Turner published the periodical *El Búcaro Americano* between 1896 and 1909. Mary Berg notes a marked change in Matto de Turner's focus during this period. Matto de Turner no longer involved herself directly in politics, and chose instead to focus on issues of women's education and labour (Berg, “Writing” 84). She contributed to a variety of periodicals, and lectured widely at schools for women, including the Escuela Comercial de Mujeres and the Escuela Nacional de Profesoras.

She traveled through Europe in 1908, and subsequently wrote *Viaje de recreo: España, Francia, Inglaterra, Italia, Suiza, Alemania*. The book was published posthumously in 1909. In her will, Matto de Turner left part

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25 Although her family tried to have her remains returned to Peru they were unsuccessful until 1924 when President Augusto B. Leguía y Salcedos' government publicly recognized Matto de Turner's contribution to Peruvian society and had her body reinterred in Peru.
of the proceeds of her final book as an endowment fund for girls who entered Buenos Aires’ orphanage the day of her death. Other monies were donated to the Women’s Hospital in Cuzco. Matto de Turner died 25 October 1909, still in exile, at the age of 56.

Matto de Turner’s literary career spanned forty years and bespoke a continuous commitment to social change. She was both praised and criticized by her fellow Peruvians. Reflecting on Matto de Turner, and her role in Lima’s literary circles, Z. Aurora Cáceres26 wrote:

En el [salón literario] pequeñas estrellas, algunas de las cuales hoy han adquirido la magnitud de los grandes astros, entre otras Clorinda Matto de Turner; ninguna escritora ha adaptado mejor su vida ni sus obras han recibido mayor influencia de su patria que esta escritora, á la cual tanto admiramos. . . . Lo que más nos sorprende en ella es su carácter, formado de energías, ajenas á la peruana, y su laboriosidad poco común. La suerte la ha convertido en una luchadora, en una heroína del destino, y con entereza admirable ha sabido resistir á todo; á la persecución fanática, á la venganza política y aún á la regional . . . . (Mujeres 190)

As Aurora Cáceres makes clear, Matto de Turner’s literary life and, as a

26 Specific details on the identity of Aurora Cáceres were unavailable at the time of writing. However, given her last name, she was most likely related to the President. While this publication may be considered part of an effort to vindicate Matto de Turner politically, it is also one of the few commentaries available written by a fellow Peruvian while Matto de Turner was in exile.
consequence, her private life, greatly influenced by the politics of
her time. Matto de Turner distinguished herself among her colleagues
through her overtly political choice to support President Cáceres, a
choice which was not especially acceptable for women in nineteenth-
century Latin America.

Matto de Turner's life and writing were extraordinary. She
accomplished what very few men (let alone the women) of her time did. As
an author, she published in all genres and, as a woman, she traversed
established gender and class boundaries to enter the realm of the
political. The public acclaim and criticism she received for her political
and social actions was widespread, and attests to the impact she had on
nineteenth-century Peru. The biography of Clorinda Matto de Turner's life
also emphasizes the difficulties women in Peru faced in maintaining their
lives as writers. The society in which they lived had specific spaces from
which an elite woman could participate. These spaces were defined in
terms of a split between the public and private spheres of influence,
reflecting a corresponding divide between men and women. At different
times, distinct interfaces appeared between these realms allowing
women to move with limited ability between them. Disregard for or
pushing against established norms became transgressive acts for these
women, as they risked ostracization from their family, peers and
community for such acts. Through the limited public forum of literature
which they were granted, women were able to speak politically, but they
were actively discouraged from speaking outside of those boundaries. Matto de Turner exemplifies the continuous tensions placed upon a woman whose desire for participation in political debate was compromised by social norms which required a political agenda of women's domestication.
Although Peru’s liberators had decreed in 1822 that all members of Peruvian society should receive an education, the manner in which women were educated was radically different from that of their male counterparts.\textsuperscript{27} Government documents from 1825 suggest a belief that women’s education should have two objectives. The first was to impart a knowledge of Christian doctrine, reading, writing and basic arithmetic; the second was to educate women in matters pertaining to their future responsibilities as wives and mothers (Villarán 349). Placing emphasis on maternal roles did not encourage the educational training necessary for women who aspired to be authors. From a young age, women were set on a path to become mothers and wives; it was only the tenacious such as Matto de Turner who would embark upon literary careers.\textsuperscript{28}

The rise to power of a civilian government, headed by Manuel Pardo in 1872, opened the doors to educational reform. The aim of this reform was to incorporate women into the modern civil society (Denegri 127). This shift in governmental attitude allowed women a point of entry into the realm of the written word. It also played a significant role in the

\textsuperscript{27} Chapter four of this thesis discusses the education of women in nineteenth-century Peru at some length. This chapter therefore will not include a detailed argument regarding women’s education, but rather will focus on the ways that this education prescribed specific ways in which women could enter into the realm of authorship.

\textsuperscript{28} Chapter three of this thesis engages in a detailed discussion of the role of women as mothers and as ‘angels of the home.’
growth and acceptance of *La generación de los setenta*, who were able to make their voices heard within the arena of writing.

Peruvian society did not encourage women to step out of the private space of home to take up public literary careers. To do so was to act transgressively and carried with it both private and public consequences. Women were expected to place priority on their domestic lives, and anything perceived as an obstruction to their success as homemakers was to be removed, this included intellectual pursuits. In an article, from 1876, published in *El Correo del Perú*, Teresa González de Fanning wrote that “la mayoría de los hombres, y lo que me parece más raro, muchísimas mujeres, les tienen una profunda aversión a las escritoras y se burlan de ellas sin piedad” (1 October 1876, qtd. in Denegri 44). This article, written under the pseudonym María de la Luz, continues by summarizing three arguments advanced by critics against women's writing, namely that the act of writing was the work of men; that the deterioration of home life was the result of women engaging in literary careers; and that women’s frivolous nature limited their capacity to produce valuable writing (qtd. in Denegri 44).

As Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar successfully argue in their book *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (1984), the legitimacy of authorship and the use of
the pen are intimately linked to the possession of a phallus.\textsuperscript{29} They quote Robert Southey's letter to Charlotte Brontë: "Literature is not the business of a woman's life, and it cannot be" (8). Southey believed that literature was not part of a woman's life because it removed her from her proper duties as a housewife (David vii). Gilbert and Gubar read Southey's reasoning on a more symbolic level. They continue by explaining that this cannot be, the metaphor of literary paternity implies, because it is physiologically as well as sociologically impossible. If male sexuality is integrally associated with the assertive presence of literary power, female sexuality is associated with the absence of such power. . . . (8)

This narrative is tied to the understanding of the author as 'father,' linked, of course, to the original Father of the world, God. The author's inherited creative power flows from his phallus/pen (Gilbert and Gubar 6).

According to this theory women lack the phallus, the source of creative

\textsuperscript{29}In recent years theorists who place an emphasis on gender as the defining category for Latin American women writers, have been criticized as being essentialist in their assertions. See Deborah Shaw, "Problems of Definition in Theorizing Latin American Women's Writing," \textit{Gender Politics in Latin America. Debates in Theory and Practice}, ed. Elizabeth Dore (New York: Monthly Review P, 1997) 161-174, for an example of this type of criticism. While this same argument could be applied to Gilbert and Gubar, it is important to recognize that much of this recent literature focuses on the twentieth century, to the exclusion of the issues faced previously by women. Within the context of the class structures of late nineteenth-century Peru, Gilbert and Gubar's concepts provide useful tools for understanding the reaction many women, and their work, elicited. Gilbert and Gubar's text is also useful in that it provides British examples that are contemporaneous to the works in this thesis. Whereas they tend to privilege gender to the exclusion of other constitutive factors (such as class and race), the application provided here remains mindful of these elements of identity. As members of the modernizing elite, these creole women writers enjoyed many class privileges. Yet, within their own sociopolitical grouping, these women continued to face considerable obstacles which are best understood as resulting from their gender.
power, and thus they also lack the authority to write. Gilbert and Gubar further assert that women who do write are considered eunuchs (9). As will be discussed later, women writing in the nineteenth century are often portrayed as, and or criticized for being unsexed. It would seem then that the very act of women writing is often construed by critics as a fundamental betrayal, or loss, of their gender.

Where then does this leave any woman who wishes to write in the nineteenth century? Gilbert and Gubar suggest that the main obstacle a woman author must face is that of finding her own voice and identity, outside of the confines of masculine discourse. This problem is even further complicated for the woman: as the voice she has always heard is different from the one with which she speaks, she is unsure of which voice to write. They have used the image of the Queen in reference to the fairy tale about Snow White. The obsessive and ever-questioning Queen serves as a counterpoint to the mute and docile Snow White (36-42). The Queen becomes the ‘monster’ to Snow White’s ‘angel.’ However, it is the Queen who is faced with the choice either to listen to the King or to find her own answers. ‘Female author’ can be written in place of ‘Queen’ in this scenario, just as ‘male author’ can substitute for ‘King.’ As the Queen gazes into her looking glass, they propose, it is not her own voice which answers her questions but rather the King’s. The problematic runs as follows:

Since his is the chief voice she hears, does the Queen try to
sound like the King, imitating his tone, his inflections, his phrasing, his point of view? Or does she talk back to him in her own vocabulary, her own timbre, insisting on her own viewpoint? (45-46)

These, they argue, are the major questions of feminist literary criticism (46).

Gilbert and Gubar assert that, as the possessors of authorship, men create both the texts and the characters within them. Further, as the patriarchs in society, they own these texts and these characters (7). Gilbert and Gubar propose, that in a society where authorship is the masculine domain, and where women such as the Queen are written or spoken into existence by the King, images of women in society are both created by and reflected in literature. As a result, the women writing are confronted with another problem: men have written an image of them into existence, and they are at a loss as to where to begin the process of ‘writing back’. The concluding societal message communicated to these aspiring authors, Gilbert and Gubar argue, was that if they did not succeed in meeting the expectation of being an angel then, logically, they must be monsters (53).

This social dichotomy does not offer women many choices for self-definition. Caught between the archetypes of angel and monster, created for them by their patriarchal precursors, women writers must confront those images which conflict with their self-identities (48). For the
woman writer the challenge of inscribing herself, according to Gilbert and Gubar, requires a revisionary process: “[h]er battle . . . is not against her (male) precursors’ reading of the world but against his reading of her. In order to define herself as an author she must redefine the terms of her socialization” (49). This is precisely the problem faced by women writing in nineteenth-century Peru. Caught within the dichotomy of angel/monster, women such as Matto de Turner had to redefine what it meant to maintain their private roles in their homes while stepping into the public sphere through writing.

The tightrope they walked brought with it the balancing act of being under the constant scrutiny of a public eye which was more than prepared to criticize. Such criticism was frequently linked directly to their sexuality. This practice of questioning a woman author’s sexual fitness is not a thing of the past. Gilbert and Gubar note that recently the critic Anthony Burgess suggested that Jane Austen’s writing “lack[ed] a strong male thrust” (9). Similarly, William Gass hypothesized that women writers “lack that blood congested genital drive which energizes every great style” (qtd. in Gilbert and Gubar 9). The criticism leveled against Matto de Turner placed a similar emphasis on sexuality; instead of suggesting that her writing was not of the caliber necessary for authorial success, her critics threw her sexuality as a woman into question.

The public perception that a woman who wrote somehow impinged upon a masculine domain is in clear evidence in a satirical letter
addressed to a ‘Tia Clorenda,’ published on 29 April 1893 in *El Chispazo*. The author, Juan de Arona, takes the opportunity to suggest that Matto de Turner was a *marimacho*. This genderized, sexual insult called into question the space occupied by Matto de Turner, and follows immediately on a severe criticism of her ability to mother. She was not adhering to her place in the private sphere, but she was also not fully accepted into the public sphere. While there is no specific evidence, the letter is most probably linked to Matto de Turner’s successful republication of *Aves sin nido*. The success which surrounded Matto de Turner’s novel was uncommon for works by women of this period. It is possible that the novel, first published in 1889 to great acclaim, and the subject of many further republications both in Lima and abroad, sparked criticism by parties who did not believe that writing was the domain of women.

This letter, supposedly written by a fictional nephew of Matto de Turner who had been hidden away in a hacienda, echoes the tones of the critics cited above. The claim is that because Matto de Turner’s sexuality does not meet the approved standards of Peruvian society, she is incapable of correctly mothering her nephew. The letter’s author prays that Matto de Turner will not return to the ranch to take up her mothering role again as “[p]or tu mala educación--no he llegado á vestir frac,--pues metido en un rincón--me enseñaste á chupar ron--y tu tirabas conac!”

Since he, and the society around him, claim that it is a mother’s

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30 A direct translation of a marimacho is a mannish woman. In colloquial English, the term would be a ‘butch.’
responsibility to raise a son who is socially acceptable, it then stands to reason that if he is a social failure, it is because of her: she failed in her task to educate him properly. The author of the letter immediately follows with an accusation, suggesting that her poor mothering skills demonstrate her homosexuality: "[t]e has metido á marimacho . . . no lo ves porque eres ciega--y zarca como mi macho." He questions her sexuality specifically because she refuses to remain within the bounds of social expectations. According to her ‘nephew,’ Matto de Turner has not remained within the supposed fictional private space of the ranch, but left it for the city and a life as an author. Offended by this, he then conflates her sexuality with her ability to write: "siempre serás Maritornes--escribirás mamarrachos . . . déjate de nidos y Aves,--pues ni ortografía sabes. . . ." Here, Matto de Turner is the object of criticism similar to that leveled at Jane Austen. She is not a man; therefore she will never be able to author ‘real’ fiction. This discourse places Matto de Turner in an ambiguous gender landscape: she did not meet the expectations placed upon her sexuality as a woman, but neither was she fully accepted into the realm of the possessors of phalli and pens. Thus, she is left ‘unsexed,’ just as the eunuchs whom Gilbert and Gubar describe. Juan de Arona’s letter is distinctive in that it presents a particularly vicious attack on Matto de Turner’s authorship, but it is also representative of many nineteenth-century Peruvian criticisms published against writing by
women. This implies that women writing in the nineteenth century were placed in an ambiguous, even suspicious, space due to social restrictions and expectations.

Women's writing was frowned upon by Peruvian society partly because it threatened to shift the power balance already established between men and women. In 1884, Matto de Turner published *Elementos de Literatura según el Reglamento de Instrucción Pública, para Uso del Bello Sexo*. In this guide, one of Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera's poems, "Mujer escritora" is published to represent a "bellísima" example of the *letrilla*. This instance illustrates in two important ways the societal tensions produced by women's emergence as writers. Firstly, it details the expectations placed upon women in the private sphere:

Me cuentan que un día

el joven Camilo,

muy serio pensaba,

entrar en el gremio

feliz de casado.

.................

--No quiero por nada

*mujer escritora.*

Yo quiero, decía,

---Maritza Villavicencio notes that many female authors came under public criticism for their work (*Del Silencio* 55). A reading of periodicals from late nineteenth-century Peru reveals a plethora of editorials, poems and essays which debate the role and legitimacy of women writers.
mujer que cocine,
que aplanche y que lave,
que zurza las medias,
que cuide á los niños
y crea que el mundo
acaba en la puerta
que sale á la calle.
Lo digo y lo repito
y juro que nunca
tendré por esposa
mujer escritora.

¿Qué sirven mujeres
que en vez de cuidarnos
la ropa y la mesa,
nos hablen de Byron,
del Dante y Petrarca,
cual si esos señores,
lecciones les dieran
del modo que deben
zurcir calcetines
ó hacer un guisado?
Lo juro, no quiero
mujer escritora. (1-5, 11-36)
This poetic satire of the woman writer mimics the social and familial expectations for women. A woman must never forget her domestic duties; she must, above all, remember that her world ends at the door to the street. If she remains within the private sphere, as she should, she will find ample life there. This poem illustrates the notion that women writers were trespassing into a world that was not their own.

Secondly, the poem reproduces negative images of women who wrote, detailing the social consequences they would face:

Mujer literata,
por mucho que sepa
es plaga maldita
que echó Dios al mundo;

por eso en su cólera
les dijo á los hombres:
daréles en cambio

mujer escritora. (37-40, 45-48)

The poet makes it abundantly clear that the woman writer was a punishment inflicted by God on men. The woman pictured here is not the cherished angel of the home, but a plague to be avoided. For the narrator, the woman author commits a double sin; not only does she not limit herself to cooking, ironing and washing, but she emerges from the private world into the public arena of the written word: this kind of woman
therefore refuses the standards by which women's success is measured, and must suffer the consequences of her choice.

The poem refuses the young Camilo the last word. The character Cristina is given an opportunity to retort:

--¡Qué sabia es natura
que así ha separado
con odio bendito,
 del grajo á la alondra,
 del cuervo á los cisnes,
 del bruto ignorante
mujer escritora!

Los topos reniegan
del sol que ilumina
y encuentran hermosa
su oscura topera.
El negro gusano
que surca en el suelo
no siente el perfume
riquísimoy suave
que exhalan las flores.
Así para el necio
no tiene atractivo
mujer escritora. (54-72)
Through Cristina, the author states that the problem with women's writing is not with the woman writer, but with the male audience. The implicit criticism in the poem is directed at those members of society who are unable to lift themselves to the heights required to appreciate women's writing.

Cabello de Carbonera was not alone in voicing such sentiments. In the periodicals of the time there are a variety of poems published containing similar ideas. These poems mirror the prevailing social attitudes that women who wrote disrupted societal norms not only through the act of writing, but also because the writing did not restrict itself to traditional women's domains.

The irony in the panicked labeling of such women as trespassers in the public arena is that, once allowed into these spaces, the majority of women were only allowed to participate in specific genres. The greater part of women's writing from this period is dedicated to issues relating to the private sphere. Quoting an author of the time, Denegri demonstrates that as long as women confined themselves to such topics as "el templo de las afecciones llamado hogar" and marriage, "el puerto de paz y ventura," they were accepted (48). It was when women like Juana Manuela Gorriti and Clorinda Matto de Turner took on topics such as the Church,

priests, Creole hegemony, feminism, and socialism that they were made to pay for their transgressions (Denegri 49). The punishments were not light ones: ex-communication, social and political exile, and prohibitions against reading their texts were the results of such disobedience to the norm.

For example, Manuel Adolfo García criticized Carolina Freire de James, a prominent author who wrote columns dealing with politics and economics, as well as with domestic issues. He suggested that "a la mujer que mucho escribe le sucede lo que a la que mucho habla, yerra." García imagines that women should be pardoned for their writing only when and if

se presente con las armas que le son propias (discreción, modestia y primor propios de quien pertenece al sexo de los hechizos) . . . pero no cuando tomando un aspecto viril que no le cuadra, se presenta arrogante vestida con el peto y esgrimiendo la espada de las amazonas. (14 December 1872, El Correo del Perú, qtd in Denegri 45)

This criticism was made at a time when women were beginning to show themselves as competent writers in all areas, rather than just in those considered feminine domains of discourse. Such comments also demonstrate how the public and private divide worked in the domain of literature. García's response exemplifies what Gubar and Gilbert observed: when women stepped into masculine spaces, they were rejected in two
ways. As they did not possess the phallus, they lacked the key to authorial success; and they were perceived as casting off what were considered feminine virtues for more virile qualities.

The debate surrounding women's writing became more heated as women began to cross genre, as well as gender, boundaries, and exerting their presence as authors. Maritza Villavicencio asserts that the social and political climate in Peru circa 1870 allowed for the formation of a group of women who would come to be known as La generación de los setenta. These upper-class Creole women had received sufficient education to participate in the intellectual and political spheres, yet tradition and ideology restricted their entry into the public arena of debate (Del silencio 48). Nevertheless, this group claimed for themselves the right to participate in the intellectual activities of Peruvian society; they declared themselves capable of taking up the pen and breaking into the realm of the written word.

The authorial success of many of these women was directly linked to the type of literature they produced. The majority of those writing at this time confined themselves to women's journals or to novels. While the production of this writing took women physically into the public sphere, the actual themes of these works were directed toward the private sphere. Denegri suggests that one of the reasons for the auspicious debut of women's writing was that the novels followed the genre of the modern Peruvian romance, which was rooted in domestic and sentimental values
conceived of as feminine (41). When women restricted themselves to that which was already classed as ‘feminine,’ their authorship could be ‘forgiven,’ as Manuel Adolfo García’s commentary demonstrates. It was only when women such as Matto de Turner stepped out of this limited sphere that critics such as Manuel García and Arona found excuse to attack. In 1924, Elvira García y García outlined the problem faced by many of these women, and the response required if they wished to avoid attack:

Aún ha sido necesario, que luche con una doble serie de prejuicios: uno que era apoyado por el llamado sexo fuerte, quien sostenía, que la mujer no deba entregarse a otros estudios, que no fueran los que, habían de prepararla para el manejo de la casa, declarando que, cuanto estuviera fuera de ese margen era de todo punto inútil. . . . [A]gunas no publicaban porque se sometieron, aunque de mala gana, al criterio dominante, esto es, que la mujer no debe ser escritora. (13)

Although many women abandoned writing, there were also many who chose to persevere, and developed a growing circle around them while they continued to publish periodicals and works of fiction.

While periodicals such as La Revista de Lima and El Correo del Perú accepted women’s writing for publication, most women were published by an emerging women’s press. These presses were generally backed financially by powerful guano trustees, but were directed and
administered by women. In 1872, *La Bella Limeña* was first published, followed by periodicals such as *El Album*, founded in 1874 by Carolina Freire de James and Juana Rosa de Amezaga, and *La Alborada* in 1875, established by Juana Manuela Gorriti and Numa Pompilio Llona. These periodicals were produced and consumed primarily by women. The editorial of the first *La Bella Limeña* spoke clearly to its anticipated audience. The paper was established to share "los dulces goces de la literatura y de la poesía" with "nuestras vírgenes y sus familias" (7 April 1872, qtd. in Denegri 42). These periodicals at once opened up an arena for discussion and, at the same time, kept women to topics deemed appropriate for the feminine sphere. Although some women dared to broach other themes and, as Villavicencio notes, the debates were heated (*Del silencio* 59), the fact that both the producers and consumers of periodicals such as *La Bella Limeña* were women implies that this genre of writing and creativity was limited to 'angels of the home.' As such, it is possible that their impact on men in the public sphere was limited. Periodicals directed at 'virgins,' sharing the sweet pleasures of literature are unlikely to have engaged the serious attention of those in the public sphere.

Denegri is careful to point out that these periodicals may be considered feminine writing, but not necessarily feminist writing (133). The distinction is important because it provides a useful tool to analyze the work of nineteenth-century women. Elsa Chaney, in her book
Supermadre: Women and Politics in Latin America, argues that the women writers of nineteenth-century Peru were the precursors (or precursors) to this century's Peruvian feminist movement (52), and contrasts the Peruvian experience with Chile. While in Chile women's emancipation was linked to their entrance into higher education and the professions, for Peruvian women change came about through the work of novelists and poets. It was not until later in their writing careers that women like Matto de Turner would use such terms as feminism. In her last book Viaje de recreo, (1909), she contrasts French women with American women and suggests that unlike the Parisian women, Americans could claim "the cradle rocked by the fairy godmother of feminism, that is, of the womanperson, of the conscious and free being" (69, qtd. in Berg "Writing" 87).

It is important to note, however, that this proliferation of female-authored periodicals marks a breakthrough in women's writing. Women left behind the use of pseudonyms and began to sign their works with their real names, thus claiming for themselves the right to authorship and to the pen. Luis Alberto Sánchez notes that although women had a long history of writing in Peru, from the War of Independence forward, the crisis of the War of the Pacific was the first time women broke with the tradition of anonymous texts and pseudonyms, and brought their talent out
of obscurity (784).\textsuperscript{33}

Villavicencio asserts that, except for a few exceptional cases, most of this production was linked to an age-old definition of 'woman' as mother, wife and daughter, whose primary concern was the home and family (58). No matter how heated the debate, women were careful not to go against what was considered biologically predetermined, and were constantly required to prove that their writing did not interfere with these primary functions (\textit{Del silencio} 59). In her article, discussed above, Teresa González de Fanning assures the public that it need not worry about women writers, for whom writing was merely a distraction, not an occupation. Women should not and do not possess the necessary authority to discuss political matters, she explained, but rather should restrict themselves to that which pertains to them: education, customs, things which require imagination and observation more than intelligence, feelings and love for the beautiful in the physical and moral realms (1 October 1876, \textit{El Correo del Perú}, qtd. in Denegri 44). The apologia provided by González de Fanning again serves to underscore the expectation placed on women writers: they were to stay out of the world of reason and remain in the world of feminine duties. The suggestion that men need not concern themselves with women's writing again reveals the

\textsuperscript{33}Matto de Turner is quite typical in this respect, and she abandons her use of pseudonyms at approximately this time. Why a woman of her literary aspirations chose to use pseudonyms in the first place is unclear. The reasons that motivated her decision to sign with her own name after the war are also unavailable, but perhaps Sánchez's suggestion also sheds light on her choice.
split between private and public interests; since women's writing was for consumption within the private sphere, it would not interfere with the public.

Within the circle of women writing there was a group of women which Villavicencio has denoted as *escritoras contestatarias* (*Del silencio* 94). This group consisted of women like Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera (1845-1909), Juana Manuela Gorriti (1818-1892) and Clorinda Matto de Turner. While the views of these women were diametrically opposed to those of writers such as Carolina Freire de James (1839-1916) and the so-called *liberales*, all agreed that there was no space for women in the existing political system (*Villavicencio Del silencio* 94). For Matto de Turner, the essence of femininity lay in motherhood. Her point of departure from other writers was in seeing this maternity as the locus for change. She believed that the feminine sphere of maternity was that of “Amor y la Verdad,” while the masculine sphere of politics was that of falsehood and hypocrisy (“Luz” 814). Cabello de Carbonera posited that the task of women was to effect change in the public political sphere from the private spaces they occupied as women. She did not want to incorporate women into politics, but rather to change politics from the outside (*Villavicencio Del silencio* 89). The *escritoras contestatarias* used writing as a method of bringing their perspectives into the public sphere. They believed that through these avenues of cultural production new terrain could be opened for women's participation in society and the
As mentioned earlier, women who strayed from the path of writing merely as a distraction found themselves under criticism. In 1892, Matto de Turner founded the journal *Los Andes*, and dedicated it to the discussion of political and economical issues facing the country. As editor, Matto de Turner found the space to publish her views without limiting the topics or the audience, and without entering the ‘official’ world of elected politics. This newspaper had such strong political ties to Cáceres' government that when it was overthrown, the presses were sacked and Matto de Turner was forced to leave the country. Matto de Turner’s exile was directly linked to her commitment to publishing a journal that stepped from the confines of “feminine” writing into the arena of the political.

Denegri notes that there were marked differences between what women wrote in newspaper articles, and what appeared in their novels. In their fictive productions, women tended to water down their opinions (132). In their novels they rarely explored the image of the free, strong, independent women they called for in their articles. Instead, characters are depicted in the domestic realm, far from independence. The novels follow familiar plot lines, and are filled with traditional characters in accordance with the genres previously developed in Latin America.\(^{34}\)

\(^{34}\) Examples of these novels include: *Sacrificio y recompensa* (1886), *Eleodora* (1887), *Blanca sol* (1889) and *Las consecuencias* (1890) by Cabello de Carbonera; *La quena* (1845), *Peregrinaciones de una [sic] alma triste* (1876), and *Oasis en la vida* (1890) by Gorriti.
Denegri suggests that this phenomenon occurred because the common denominators of import for these authors were race and class, not gender. With their writing, they supported a liberal agenda of modernization that gave preference to a white, European, Christian culture (132). While Denegri is correct to suggest that these women were linked by characteristics other than gender, and were all part of the same modernizing sector, it is also important to note that women such as Matto de Turner and Cabello de Carbonera relied upon the sale of their work for their livelihood. It is possible that, faced with economic necessity, these women chose to write to a public with purchasing power, and save their more radical ideas for spaces which were not as lucrative.

The genre of the Peruvian Romance is closely linked to certain definitions of the melodrama. In his discussion of melodrama, Andreas Huyssen suggests that "during the nineteenth century . . . mass culture is somehow associated with woman while real, authentic culture remains the prerogative of men" (191). By 'mass culture literature' Huyssen means serialized feuilleton, popular and family magazines and fiction bestsellers (193). This category is in line with the feminine literary production of nineteenth-century Peru. While in other cultures, arguments could be constructed that women's literary production is deemed as inferior and closely aligned with low or mass culture, in Peru the genre of
Romance was used by all authors, male or female.\textsuperscript{35} This observation supports Denegri's assertion that the women writing in nineteenth-century Peru were linked by class and race, rather than by gender.\textsuperscript{36}

However, what is interesting is that Huyssen makes a further connection between woman as a symbol for mass culture, and an ensuing identification of her as a political threat (194). Placing such a connection in tandem with the criticisms already noted against women writers can further the readers' understanding of the reactions of Peruvian society to women such as Matto de Turner. Thus, it is not so much what and how these women wrote, but what the act of writing symbolized in the face of that society's strongly entrenched gender roles. Only when women deviated from the paths set out for them by the modernizing elite did their writing became problematic. If they maintained the approved discourse, they were not considered transgressive.

Another way women chose to undermine the divide between the public and private spheres was through the establishment of \textit{veladas}

\textsuperscript{35} In fact, Lilly Escobar-Artola asserts that the publication of Matto de Turner and Cabello de Carbonera's novels marks a turning point in Peruvian literature. It is with their appearance that the Peruvian novel is consolidated as a form. Escobar-Artola notes that Peru, unlike other Latin American countries, developed the genre of the novel late, as the literary focus had been on the genre of poetry. She cites a few notable exceptions to this rule: Narcisco Aréstegui, \textit{El Padre Horán} (1848); Luis Benjamín Cisneros, \textit{Julia o escenas de la vida en Lima} (1861) & \textit{Edgardo o un joven de mi generación} (1864); and Fernando Casós, \textit{Los amigos de Elena} and \textit{Los hombres de bien} (1874). The last two were published in France.

\textsuperscript{36} Many authors including Bartolomé Mitre (Argentina), José Martí (Cuba), and José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (Mexico), produced novels that fall into Doris Sommer's category of nation-building romances, and are similar to the work of Matto de Turner. What is interesting here is that while women were restricted in the type of fiction they could produce, men had the freedom to choose the genre that best suited their goals.
literarias in their homes. Villavicencio notes that, unlike the tertulias, in the veladas women played as important roles as the men. They were no longer merely hostesses or intermediaries between men, but reigned as the central players of the evening (Del silencio 111). They were essentially feminine spaces, organized and hosted by women.

Augusto Tamayo Vargas suggests that the veladas allowed for compliance with the custom of keeping women in the home, and yet permitted their participation in the literary community (Apuntes 218). Hosting veladas was perhaps a slightly more transgressive act than Vargas allows. By turning their homes into centres of cultural activity, women such as Gorriti and Matto de Turner transformed their private spaces into public arenas, and thus tested established boundaries by questioning where those boundaries lay. These women knew that they were not welcome on the battlefield or in public politics, and so they engaged public discussion in the one space reserved for them (Villavicencio Del silencio 110). Denegri posits that the veladas temporarily erased the lines between the public and the private, allowing women and men to enter into dialogue together (123).

The veladas followed in the Hispanic tradition of tertulias, and served as a space for people to come together for an evening of debate and entertainment. Men were often invited, but the main subject of discussion

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37 As Antonio Urrello observes, the veladas occurred within the home, theaters and clubs. For the purposes of this thesis the veladas discussed only consider those which took place within the private sphere (Antonio Urrello, notes to the author, October 1998).
was the condition of women. These meetings strengthened solidarity among women who, although they did not always agree on political and literary issues, confronted similar obstacles in finding their political and literary voices (Villavicencio Del silencio 111).

Chaney holds that women in Peru were able to legitimize their writing and political activities because they were natural extensions of the maternal role (52). In her analysis of Victorian women’s writing, Diedre David suggests that authors constantly demonstrate the inherent conflict between their desire to write and Victorian prescriptions for the role and function of a woman (viii). When this observation is applied to nineteenth-century Peru, the struggle between writing and mothering likewise becomes obvious. Women wrote out this conflict; as a result readers sometimes received mixed messages regarding women’s roles in the fiction and periodicals of the time. Adding Gilbert and Gubar’s ideas to the mix, it is possible to reconcile further Peruvian women’s adherence to the ideal of motherhood. Gilbert and Gubar suggest that “[t]he woman writer . . . searches for a female model not because she wants dutifully to comply with male definitions of her ‘femininity’ but because she must legitimize her own rebellious endeavors” (50). As such, women authors in nineteenth-century Peru used motherhood as a stepping stone towards

The veladas also were used to discuss politics, and allowed women a space other than writing for periodicals to voice their views without becoming directly involved in politics. This arena allowed them to make their mark on politics without being tainted by the negative traits that they felt public politics had. Chaney posits that the space provided by the veladas linked women to the nation and its future in a way that had never before occurred (Supermadre 52).
their other activities.

While introducing Carolina Freire de James, the second woman ever invited to join *El Club Literario de Lima* in 1874, Ricardo Rossel praised how

ha demostrado que nada hay más sublime, más poético, que la figura de la buena madre y excelente esposa, que terminadas las tareas domésticas, callada la bulliciosa máquina de coser y silencioso el hogar, se sienta cerca de la cuna donde duerme el fruto de su amor y al compás de la suave respiración de su pecho infantil, deja correr la pluma empapada en su santa aspiración. Ella olvida entonces las penalidades de la vida, remonta su espíritu a las remotas regiones donde habitan la Verdad y la Belleza, y cuando desciende de esa encantada mansión, vuelve a sus prosaicas tareas con el alma retemplada por la fe y el amor. (13)

His praise illustrates the social dilemma for women who desired to write and the expectations placed upon them. Writing came only after a woman's domestic obligations had been filled, and was a tool used to inspire her and help her return, enriched, to her place in the private sphere. Furthermore, the subject matter appropriate to women's writing was that of Truth and Beauty, rather than the world of Reason, which was normally associated with the territory of the public man. Rossel's commentary highlights the paradigm in which Matto de Turner and other women
functioned. It is no wonder that many of them were unable to maintain their authorial positions in Limeñan society. Unable to conform to the contradictory prescription offered them, they sought intellectual and economic independence in their own ways. Unfortunately, many suffered severe consequences for following their own authorial trajectories, as any deviation from predetermined roles of femininity was considered unwelcome and threatening.
Chapter Three
Prescriptions for Angels: Reading Aves sin nido as a Manual for Motherhood

Jean Franco has suggested that in Latin America "[t]he public woman is a prostitute, the public man is a prominent citizen. When a woman goes public, she leaves the protected spaces of the home and convent and exposes her body on the street or in the promiscuity of the brothel" ("Self-Destructing" 105). As was shown in Chapter Two of this thesis, the divide between public and private life in nineteenth-century Peru was deeply entrenched. For women such as Matto de Turner, this divide impacted not only personally and professionally, but also played an influential role in their work and their subsequent vision for Peru's future. While the line between the two worlds of the public man and the private woman was contested by the very act of women's writing, the influence of the private over the public still remains in their production of fiction. In domestic romances such as Aves sin nido, the nuclear family is imagined as the training-ground of the political nation. In fact, the family unit is portrayed as a microcosm of the nation at large. Within this space, children are raised and educated to be 'good' citizens, and women become the active agents of national and political transformation.

The conflation of the values of the public and private spheres evident in Matto de Turner's writing was not limited to Peru. Rather, it was symptomatic of a larger, end-of-century movement throughout Latin
America. Francine Masiello notes that in the 1880s and 1890s, questions of State formation, the definition of modernity and the raising up of 'good' citizens was almost an obsession for state leaders and intellectuals in Latin American countries. Bound up in these issues was the larger question of how to tie the state and the family together in the social and national imaginary (139). In this political agenda, the family became Rowe and Schelling's "founding principle of national coherence" (205). The values and structure of the 'ideal' family were reflected in the 'ideal' state, the two serving as mirrors for one another.

It should also be noted that the relationship of 'nation' to 'family' was not only a literary production; in some cases it was a tangible and historical fact in parts of Latin America. Sommer explicates this idea by pointing to countries, such as Argentina and Chile, where marriage was used as a political institution for internal consolidation ("Irresistible romance" 86). Marriage, she suggests, had a dual role in the nation: it simultaneously aided the nation and was the result of the nation's existence ("Irresistible romance" 88). In other words, the romantic/political alliances which stabilized the nation were only useful if the concept of nation also existed ("Irresistible romance" 89). Occasionally in fiction, marriage and/or frustrated attempts at relationships symbolically brought together or demonstrated the
disparities between classes and races. Observing fictive marriages, readers could identify with heroines and heroes, and thereby consume the nation-building ideals put forward (Sommer, *Foundational Fictions* 14). It stands to reason, then, that writers such as Matto de Turner would write from within this ideology, using marriage to project their values for the new nation.

Sommer notes that the rise of the novel as a genre in Latin America did not occur until the early nineteenth century, after the independence movements had occurred. This new genre therefore coincided with new nation-states facing issues of internal consolidation. She suggests that “[t]he coincidence of romance and consolidation, along with the rise of the bourgeois nuclear family, was . . . not merely casual,” rather, these “coincidences” were both politically and socially useful (“Irresistible romance” 78). Positing the family as a microcosm of the nation allowed writers and writer/statesmen to prescribe changes for their nations via a medium accessible to a greater number of members of the national imaginary than those who attended political speeches.

The majority of relationships presented in this genre were between members of like races or classes. A few notable exceptions do exist; among them are Chile’s *Martín Rivas* (1862) by Alberto Blest Gana and Cuba’s *Cecilia Valdés* (1829) by Cirilio Villaverde and *Sab* (1841) by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda. In Peru, post-independence national projects were not inclusive of Indians, blacks or Asians. It was this exclusion that cost Peru dearly during the War of the Pacific. Neither pre- nor post-war Peruvian literature displays a preoccupation with indigenous integration through the use of fictional marriage. Although Matto de Turner claimed the presentation of indigenous issues as one of her goals, the marriages (between Fernando and Lucia, Ernest and Margarita) in her novels are more focused on a liberal moral agenda than a crossing of racial boundaries. It can be argued that Margarita, as a mestizo figure, fills this gap but it is equally possible that her successful marriage into Limeñan society is symbolic of a complete ‘whitening,’ or erasure of her indigenous past.
Using the case of Mexico as a departure point for her analysis, Franco suggests that the conflation of the symbolic value of nation and family became increasingly deliberate as the need to recode the position of women in society was recognized by the intelligentsia. Women were especially crucial to the imagined community as mothers of the new men and as guardians of the private life, which . . . was increasingly seen as a shelter from political turmoil. (Plotting Women 81)

In addition to the family's role as a microcosmic view of the nation, the domestic sphere was also to serve as a safeguard against the public sphere. In a speech presented at the “Ateneo de Lima” in 1889, Matto de Turner suggested that the predominantly male sphere of politics was a space of deception and swindling, while the feminine sphere of the home gave off the sacred light of ‘Love’ and ‘Truth’ (“Luz entre sombra” 9). The sacred domestic space was needed to influence and shape the national imaginary, specifically as women raised and educated children and influenced husbands. In her study of the post-revolutionary period in the United States, Linda Kerber argues that “[t]he Republican Mother integrated political values into her domestic life. Dedicated as she was to the nurture of public-spirited male citizens, she guaranteed the steady infusion of virtue into the Republic” (Women 11). In this passage, Kerber highlights the relationship between the public and the private alluded to
in Matto de Turner's work.

Matto de Turner very specifically named what she considered to be the main reason for Peru's crisis situation in the nineteenth century. She emphatically declared that "[l]a Patria desfallece por falta de principios morales y religiosos" ("Luz entre sombra" 11). The fundamental unit of the State was the family, she claimed, and it was the lack of moral organization within the home that led to Peru's contemporary condition of disarray ("Luz entre sombra" 10). The remedy for the nation lay in the heart of the family:

Juzgo que el remidio [sic] para la decadencia actual de la patria, se ha desprendido del curso de nuestras investigaciones en el seno de la familia; y que no puede ser otro que la propaganda de principios de moral y de religión á la práctica. ("Luz entre sombra" 14)

The family to which Matto referred was not only the nuclear family unit, but also the larger national Peruvian family which included all cultural and racial groupings.

After its costly war with Chile, Peru needed to reduce and reconcile internal differences in order to enter the new century as a united country. In returning to Sommer's argument presented in the introduction of this thesis, namely that the scenario of the hero's winning the heroine encapsulated a larger political project, it is interesting to note that it was often
[a] white elite, often in the large port cities, [who] had to convince everyone, from landholders and miners to indigenous, black, and mulatto masses, that liberal leadership would bridge traditionally antagonistic races and regions in a new prosperity. ("Irresistible romance" 81)

This was precisely the case in Peru, where Lima’s coastal intellectuals sought to reconcile racial differences through the dual practices of assimilation and ‘whitening.’ As will be shown, Matto de Turner also reflects this agenda in her work.

A careful reading of the available literature offers instructive lessons into the structural power dynamics of the social metaphors employed to conceive the nation. The engendering of the nation as family, and its subsequent domestication, traditionally requires that its leader or head be male and that all who find themselves either symbolically or structurally under him become feminized, as was the case with women and Indians. In Aves sin nido, just as the nation looks to its male president, the Marín family and its Indian clients look to Fernando

40 Antonio Urrello notes that in Peru, the position of a strong oligarch such as Andres Cáceres did not require convincing anyone of the intrinsic goodness of government leadership (Antonio Urrello, notes to the author, October 1998). The white elite to whom Sommer refers was not necessarily interested in “liberal” leadership in Peru. However, a white, coastal, intellectual elite did call for a national consolidation that did not exist prior to the War of the Pacific. This agenda did require convincing disparate elite classes that it was in their interests to bridge the gaps between classes and races for progress.

41 For two different book-length treatments of this theme, see Jean Franco, Plotting Women: Gender and Representation in Mexico (New York: Columbia UP, 1989), and Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest (London: Routledge, 1995).
for guidance, and the matter of education falls to women. All of this occurs within the boundaries of the home, the reproductive space.

In the prologue to this novel, Matto de Turner explicitly states her purpose for writing. She regards the novel as a medium capable of providing direction for Peru, and writing "con la consiguiente moraleja correctiva para aquéllos y el homenaje de admiración para éstas" (51). Matto de Turner criticizes those who would stand in the way of Peru's progress. Specifically, the justice of the peace, the magistrates, and the clergy whom she sees as especially vice-ridden, are the targets of her rebuke. It is the family unit, symbolized here by the Maríns, to whom she pays tribute as the providers of a legitimate morality for the nation.

The narrative of her novel implies a familial ideal which, when translated to a national level, provides a perceived solution for the nation's ills. Anne McClintock suggests that "[s]ince the subordination of woman to man and child to adult was deemed a natural fact, hierarchies within the nation could be depicted in familial terms . . ." (357-358). This is the case with Aves sin nido, in which Indians are not only feminized, but presented as innocent children under the protection of women such as Lucía. Lucía, in turn, is subordinate to the male head of the family (i.e. nation). The metaphor of family permitted modernizing interests to maintain their view that hierarchies within the State were natural occurrences. This allowed the subordination of the Indigenous population to function under a rhetoric of an "organic unity of interests," rather than
under an appeal to more overtly racist theories (McClintock 357).

The Maríns are representative of the modernizing Creole elite of Lima. Matto de Turner posits that this class, through their dual privileges of status and education, holds the transformative power to change the lives of rural Indians. This ideological agenda is played out through the relationship the Maríns establish with the Yupanqui family. The plight of Marcela and Juan Yupanqui is brought to the attention of Lucía. Horrified by Marcela's account of their exploitation by the the rural priests, governors and magistrates, Lucía sets out to right these injustices and to integrate the Yupanquis into the Maríns' vision of a new Peru. Rather conveniently, Marcela and Juan are killed while defending the Maríns, leaving their two daughters, Margarita and Rosalía, as adopted goddaughters to the Maríns.

It is precisely this plot development that enables Matto de Turner to promote her prescription for Peru. Margarita and Rosalía are integrated into the Marín family by Fernando's offer of protection: "Margarita, Rosalía, desde hoy esas palomas sin nido hallarán la sombra de su padre en esta casa--afirmó don Fernando" (101). By becoming their adoptive father, Fernando, who represents the power and education of the modernizing elite, symbolically proffers his protection to the Indians of Peru. On her deathbed, Marcela is reassured by Lucía that her daughters will be well cared for: "Tus hijas no son las aves sin nido; esta es su casa; yo seré su madre!" (112). With this declaration, the transference of
maternal power is complete: the Yupanqui daughters' futures will be molded by the Creole elite. In fact, Margarita becomes fully integrated into the upper-class stratification in Matto de Turner's subsequent novel, *Herencia*.

The integration and assimilation of the Indian girls is facilitated by the education the Marins provide for them. Margarita's new education begins in the home, and continues in a private school in Lima. The epitome of familial (and national) bliss occurs when Margarita's would-be suitor arrives at the Marín residence and observes the educational domesticity at play unnoticed. Lucía embroiders her husband's initials on a watch case thus weaving him into the fabric of the home, while Rosalía plays house, and Margarita learns the alphabet. All of this takes place as the young hero, Manuel--representing the next Peruvian generation--arrives to declare his love for Margarita (127).

The character of Fernando is described as "justo, prudente, sagaz" (56). Thus, he is well equipped to instruct readers as to what constitutes the good of the nation: "Los progresos de Margarita, la docilidad de Rosalía, que promete ser una buena muchachita, el estado de mi Lucía, todo me muestra una nueva faz encantadora para la familia" (141). So it is that Margarita is educated and assimilated, Rosalía the Indian figure grows up under the guidance of her adopted mother, and Lucía's pregnancy promises a new future for the nation. The fictional construct of the Marín family allows Matto de Turner to incorporate the necessary elements for
the progress of the nation—education, assimilation and renewal.

All of Matto de Turner's prescriptions and observations of the nation at large are realized within the context of the home. Lucía's words reveal the centrality of the home to the melodrama of the nation: "¿Qué nuevo drama va a presentarse en mi hogar, donde una mano invisible reúne ahora a los principales actores, perseguidores y perseguidos, culpables e inocentes . . ." (113). The home is located at the very heart of the nation: it represents the locus for gathering all the elements and players of the nation. It is also important to note that, in this particular case, these people are brought together in Lucía's and Fernando's home. It is the private space of the modernizing elite, who will guide the new nation.

Matto de Turner explains her hypothesis for the well-being of the Peruvian nation through Manuel: "Tengo la esperanza don Fernando, de que la civilización que se persigue tremolando la bandera del cristianismo puro, no tarde en manifestarse, constituyendo la felicidad de la familia y, como consecuencia lógica, la felicidad social" (115). Thus, public happiness is the direct consequence of private happiness. Matto de Turner has shaped Manuel's speech so as to echo some of her own public words:

El Cristianismo que ha ganado bajo su estandarte fraternal el predominio de las naciones más adelantadas del viejo y del nuevo mundo, asegurando la paz de los gobiernos y la felicidad de las familias, brinda la salud social y los progresos de perfeccionamiento á nuestra patria decadente. ("Luz entre
For Matto de Turner, pure faith, untainted by the impure morals of village priests like those of Killac, was the vehicle for domestic and public change—the two being one and the same.

As the novel closes, the Maríns host a farewell breakfast, inviting all of the notables of Killac. And it is now, still within the setting of the domestic sphere, that justice is finally meted out to those responsible for Marcela and Juan's deaths (189). The authorities arrive with arrest warrants for the guilty ones, and the Marín family begins its journey to Lima. Once again, the public world is brought into the private, and the home is positioned at the centre of reclaiming the good for the Peruvian nation. With the Marín family's good example, the wheels for national progress are set in motion.

Matto de Turner saw her political project as nothing less than shaping Peru's evolution to modernity, evidenced by Peru's ability to compete in the world community of nations. What makes Matto de Turner's work so important is not that she subscribed to notions of modernization and industrialization, but that she posits women as the agents who would effect the necessary political and social transformations through the previously private sphere of the home. While women become the catalysts for change, they are not to directly influence the public. Rather, their actions are to influence their husbands and sons, and to educate their daughters. She articulates this in her speech "Luz...".
entre sombra":

¡Madres de familia! no sea nuestra palabra como la ola que se
levanta, lame la arena y vuelve á confundirse en la mar salada.
Sea, como el buril del lapidario que pulimenta y aquilata el
diamante. Hagámos á nuestra juventud seria y reflexiva, y
habremos reconquistado el bien estar de la patria en absoluto
. . . . Mas, la labor de disipar aquellas sombras que oscurecen
nuestro sol y nuestro dia, es de la mujer, de la madre peruana.
(15-16)

In this speech, Matto de Turner positions women as active participants in
the nation. Women are not passive recipients to be acted upon by male
citizens; rather, they are the source and embodiment of a new era of
Peruvian history.

For Matto de Turner the inherent nature of a woman was fulfilled in
motherhood: "El fuego siempre será quemante y la nieve fría. La mujer ha
nacido para madre y debe ser toda ternura y sentimiento, porque el código
que la rije es el corazón" ("Luz entre sombra" 9). Matto de Turner did not
find herself alone in advancing this understanding of women; however, she
was alone in positing them as the agents of change. As Denegri notes, each
cultural group in Peru used symbols of femininity to further their
attempts at maintaining and consolidating power (40). In late nineteenth-
century Peru, a certain type of femininity came to represent the essence
of a ‘modern’ Peru. An imaginary chaste, domestic, maternal and educated
femininity was conflated with descriptions of a ‘civilized’ nation (Denegri 41). The principal character of the private sphere became the “angel of the house.” In Aves sin nido, it is precisely these angels who actively produce the new nation; and as noted above, the home becomes the locus for political and national change.

Bridget Aldaraca traces the angel of the house phenomenon in nineteenth-century Spain in her article “El ángel del hogar: the cult of domesticity in nineteenth-century Spain.” She focuses on the emergence of separate and antagonistic spheres of influence for men and women, and examines how this image is reconciled with the concept that the family is the first building block of the nation. She suggests that the contradiction involved is “resolved at the level of rhetoric by the allocation to women of the social responsibility for exerting a civilizing influence on the members of the family within the structure of the Christian home” (71). Matto de Turner’s writing reflects this conjunction of ideals. Women within Aves sin nido open a passageway between the two spheres of influence through the activities that remain in the home. Women become angels of the home, who are charged with the responsibility of educating their children and safeguarding the moral sanctity of the family. As Aldaraca notes, this education is predicated on morality, rather than on intellectual development. The angel of the home was the guardian of the private sphere, and influenced the public world through her private moral example; therefore, she did not require a working knowledge of the
outside world. As the following two excerpts from nineteenth-century writings demonstrate, the expectations placed on women were based on a belief that they could provide happiness in an otherwise brutal world:

La mujer es mucho más buena de lo que generalmente se la juzga; es un ángel creado por Dios para sufrir con nosotros, enjugar nuestro llanto y producirnos las únicas felicidades que hay en la tierra: el amor y la familia (qtd. in Aldaraca 62);

and:

La mujer tiene una misión principalísima en la vida, la de ser el encanto y la alegría del hogar. (qtd. in Aldaraca 66)

These angels provided relief from the outside world, and were held up as morally superior individuals with the ability to provide happiness for their husbands and children.

Matto de Turner provides three angelic examples for her readers. Marcela, Lucía, and doña Petronila are representative of three different types of Peruvian women: the rural Indian, the urban Creole, and the rural land-owner. The three are united by their common bond of motherhood, and provide variations on the theme of the virtuous wife and mother, acting selflessly for the good of her family and nation.

The first to appear in Aves sin nido is Marcela. The narrator remarks that she is notable for her ‘Peruvian beauty’:

cuyos cabellos negros, largos y lacios, estaban separados en dos crenchas, sirviendo de marco al busto hermoso de tez algo
This physical description is followed by a detailed account of her clothing. Both of these explanations provided nineteenth-century readers with sufficient details to ascertain her race and economic class. Marcela is obviously from a poor indigenous background. She represents a class and racial grouping that was normally placed at the bottom of the social stratum of Peruvian society. Nevertheless, Matto de Turner highlights her by positioning her as the first female character encountered by the reader.

It should be noted, however, that Marcela is introduced after her husband. Before Marcela arrives, he enters the novel as a labourer on his way to his fields. This is important because it shows the systemic stratification of Peruvian society in a nuanced way: women were always defined by of their relationships to men. As will be discussed shortly, this idea is further expressed by the way Lucía's honour hinges on her husband's name. In the case of Marcela, the relationship of honour to possessing a husband is evident not only in the sequence in which she is introduced to the reader, but also in the way she presents herself to Lucía: "Soy Marcela, señora, la mujer de Juan Yupanqui, pobre y desamparada" (55-56). In this passage, Marcela provides an encapsulation of her position in life: she is the wife of Juan and, as such, is poor and defenseless.
Marcela may be doubly marginalized as a woman and as indigenous, but Matto de Turner depicts her as an angel of the house who is no less virtuous and loving than her wealthier, whiter counterparts, Lucía and doña Petronila.

Marcela's love for her husband and children motivates her to cross class boundaries and throw herself upon the mercy of Lucía. In Lucía, Marcela finds the hope necessary to save her husband from despair: “Las esperanzas que Lucía le infundió le hicieron otra; y su lógica, mezclada con la voz del corazón, que es inherente al corazón de la mujer, era irresistible, y convenció a Juan” (65). The epitome of Matto de Turner’s ideal, Marcela successfully clears away the clouds of depression and doubt Juan harbours about the future of his family.

Through Marcela, Matto de Turner exemplifies her thesis that women are born to be mothers (and obviously wives), and that they are guided by their hearts. Marcela’s role is to show that mothers who aid the nation do not require financial affluence, because it is grounded in their hearts. When a despondent Juan laments his lack of monetary resources, Marcela is quick to respond with advice about what should be important to them both:

Te quejas más de lo preciso, hombre; ¿acaso no te acuerdas que cuando el tata cura llega a su casa con los bolsillos llenos

42 The structure of Andean feudal relationships between Creoles and Indians regularly allowed for the crossing of class boundaries. However, what is unique in the context of this novel is that the plea for help places emphasis on the interconnected relationships between the various angels of the house.
Her love is capable of overcoming all other concrete obstacles such as money, and the home and the love that they share is far superior to that of a wealthy but lonely priest. Marcela is completely self-sacrificing, to the point that she ultimately gives her life for her new protectors, Lucía and Fernando. If this act is read against the structure of the family as a microcosm of the nation, it can be asserted that Marcela and Juan, the good parents, sacrifice their lives in order to provide a better future for their children who, in turn, will become assimilated and whitened members of the Creole elite.  

Lucía represents this Creole group. Like Marcela, she is introduced to readers by a detailed description of her clothing, immediately setting her apart from Marcela. Marcela sports bone buttons and fake silver trim; Lucía's class position, on the other hand, permits her to wear much finer clothing. In the same sentence, the reader is also informed that Lucía is the wife of Fernando Marín, and that the couple has come to Killac temporarily (55). Not only is Lucía in a distinct economic class from Marcela, but she and her husband have access to a mobility Marcela and Juan do not possess. The effect of these parallel descriptions is to

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43 The inherent but unconscious racism present in concepts of assimilation and whitening are troubling for many twentieth-century readers. The attitudes expressed by these ideas are endemic among all members of the nineteenth-century Peruvian intellectual elite.
underscore their differences. While each may be perceived as an angel in her own right, throughout the novel it is Lucía who is lauded for her angelic and virginal qualities.

Lucía's very name is reminiscent of Matto de Turner's speech Luz entre sombra. It would appear that Lucía is the embodiment of Matto de Turner's conception of the angel of the house. The reader first glimpses Lucía standing in the doorway of a white home (55). The Christian symbolism of purity and light in these passages is overt: the reader understands quite clearly that Lucía, and the ideals of the group she represents, hold salvation for the Peruvian nation. It is Lucía's angelic nature that attracts Marcela, ultimately providing her with the hope she seeks. Marcela suggests that "tú [Lucía] tienes la cara de la Virgen a quien rezamos el ALABADO, y por eso vengo a pedirte" (56). In a conversation with Juan, Marcela repeats this assertion: "yo he visto la cara de la Virgen lo mismo que la cara de la señora Lucía" (65). For this couple Lucía embodies hope of salvation from their problems with the local priest and governor. Marcela approaches Lucía with this belief (56), and then takes the news home to her family. The narrator informs the reader that "Dios puso a Lucía para que Juan volviese a confiar en la Providencia, arrancada de su corazón por el cura Pascual, el gobernador y el cobrador o cacique, trinidad aterradora que personificaba una sola injusticia" (93). Matto de Turner continues to communicate her ideals in a far from subtle matter: her Lucía is God's agent on earth, who returns
faith to those suffering under an abusive system. Lucía's goal, and that of the modernizing elite she represents, is to change this stratification of society. From her position as an angel of the house, Lucía provides the possibility for political and social change. From her vantage point, enclosed within the private sphere, she can offer hope, but cannot act to make concrete change publicly.

All of Lucía's virtue is framed within the context of the home. From the moment of her appearance in the white doorway, it is obvious that the locus of her action will be her private world. After her attempt to have a direct impact on the public world fails, Lucía restricts herself to offering salvation to those inside her home. This is not to imply that her power is thus weakened. Lucía's angelic presence is so strong that she temporarily revives Marcela with her words:

Era tal la influencia benéfica que ante ella ejercía aquella mujer tan llena de bondad que, a pesar de haber declarado el barchilón de Kíllac que la herida era mortal y de término inmediato, porque la bala permanecía incrustada en el omoplato, adonde había llegado atravesando el hombro izquierdo, y la fiebre ya invadía el organismo, Marcela fue alentándose visiblemente. (102)

The narrator is careful in this passage to provide the reader with the scientific and rational reasons for Marcela's quick entry into death. This technique underscores the importance of Lucía's role as an angel in the
home, and allows Matto de Turner to emphasize the power behind feminine virtue and love in the face of scientific data.44

Lucía also proves her salvatory abilities while she and Fernando are trapped in their home as it is being attacked. While she may not be able to save her physical home, she is able to save her family, the essence of the home. The evening of the attack, Lucía is kept awake by a sense of premonition that something threatens the sanctity of her home:

El espíritu, que no duerme y se agita, luchó con la fuerza del presentimiento, ese aviso misterioso de las almas buenas; sacudiendo el organismo de Lucía, la despertó y le inspiró vacilación, temor, duda, todo ese engranaje complicado de sensaciones mixtas, que acuden en las noches de insomnio. Lucía sentía aquellos estremecimientos nerviosos, que no alcanzaba a ver ni a explicarse ante un peligro para ella desconocido... Ella velaba. (91-92)

Lucía’s sense of foreboding is against an evil so strong that her angelic nature is incapable of even recognizing a direct threat to her home—the result of her desire to help and protect the Yupanquis. Through the “miracle” of her tears and supplications, Lucía is able to convince her husband to save himself in order to save her, thus protecting Lucía’s most important space, her family. In the aftermath of the event, Fernando

44 While the presentation of scientific facts is used by many naturalist writers to demonstrate that they are aware of the latest developments in science, it can also be argued that Matto de Turner plays with her position, somewhere between romanticism and naturalism, to highlight Lucía’s angelic features.
recounts that "[e]l milagro es de Lucía. . . . Estuve resuelto, Manuel, a ofrecerme al sacrificio y morir matando. Pero las lágrimas de mi buena y santa esposa me hicieron pensar en salvarme para salvarla también" (100). Lucía's angelic nature is doubly highlighted during this event. Her spirit is able to intuit that something has gone wrong and, miraculously, she is able to save her husband. Through these acts, Lucía embodies the qualities of the angel of the home. She places the protection of this space above all else and keeps watch over it, safeguarding it from the vices of the outside world.

Despite the many references to Lucía as an angel ("su alma ángel" (62), "un ángel de bondad" (72) and "ángel de los buenos" (101)) she is always an indoor angel: a guardian of the private sphere and a protector from public vice. Through the character of Lucía, Matto de Turner is able to outline the qualities of goodness and virtue she ascribes to women in her essays and speeches.

Doña Petronila typifies the land-holding class of the Sierra. She is introduced in the novel as the wife of a governor, Sebastián Pancorbo. This angel is a mature version of Lucía, differentiated only by a lack of refinement resulting from her life in the Sierra, and by greater experience at bridging the divide between public and private worlds. As with Lucía and Marcela, Matto de Turner again provides a detailed description of doña Petronila's character and outward appearance:

Su fisonomía revelaba, al primer examen, una alma bonacha
que, en el curso de la vida y en un centro mejor que aquel en que le cupo la suerte de nacer, podía despuntar de noble y en aspiraciones elevadas. Su vestido es de lo más distinguido que se gasta en Killac y sus comarcas. . . . [D]oña Petronila es el tipo de la serrana de provincia, con su corazón tan bueno como generoso. (77)

Matto de Turner is careful to inscribe doña Petronila with the most important characteristics of the angel of the house: a good soul and a generous heart.

The emphasis placed on her angelic features is particularly important, as Matto de Turner’s words suggest coastal readers might have preconceived prejudices against the Sierra. Matto de Turner is careful to point out that a lack of outward refinement is not necessarily indicative of a similar, inward deficit. It is implied that women such as doña Petronila can not be judged by the same measuring stick that would apply to others of the coastal elite. She is among a

[t]ipo desconocido en las costas peruanas, donde la elegancia en el vestir y el refinamiento de las costumbres no permiten dar una idea cabal de esta clase de mujeres, que poseen corazón de oro y alma de ángel dentro de un busto de barro mal modelado. (78)

Her most important feminine characteristics are underscored. Again, this notion is reflective of “Luz entre sombra,” which places emphasis on
raising morally upright citizens. Doña Petronila is Matto de Turner’s answer not only to coastal snobbery, but also to the challenge posed in “Luz entre sombra”: she is an angelic mother and housewife who puts the good of the nation before personal gain.

The majority of doña Petronila’s characteristics as a mother are mediated for the reader through the words of her son Manuel. This is especially significant because Manuel represents the new generation of Peruvians referred to by Matto de Turner in “Luz entre sombra.” Doña Petronila epitomizes the mothering characteristics esteemed in Matto de Turner’s essay. As a result, she raises a son who is serious, reflective and exemplary in terms of the Christian morals that will aid the progress of the state (“Luz entre sombra” 15-16). Manuel shares his thoughts on the importance of mothers directly with readers after encountering his own mother in the kitchen preparing one of his favorite meals: “¡Benditas las madres! Quien no ha sentido los mimos y las caricias de su madre, ni recibido los besos de la que nos llevó en su seno, ¡oh!, no sabe lo que es amor” (105). In her maternal role, doña Petronila is the epitome of love for Manuel. She becomes the blessed personification of goodness.

Doña Petronila does not, however, spend all of her time dedicated to producing culinary treats for her son. She is also portrayed as a financially secure and astute landholder. It is important to note that while she works from within the sanctity of her home, and is motivated by her love for her son, she is also a public figure. Through doña Petronila,
Matto de Turner illustrates the possibilities for elasticity in the prescriptions for household angels. Doña Petronila occupies a central, public role in the life of Killac. She demonstrates that a woman could perform a man's duties (and, in this case, better than her husband) in feudal Andean society. Through her position in the novel, an interface is opened in the exclusionary and binary relations of the public and the private. Doña Petronila is strong and financially independent but her motivations for this are based in her role as the angel of the home. Her successful management of her properties fosters a sense of admiration and gratitude in her son not only because of her work, but also because her motivation is his well-being (150-151). He reiterates this with his exclamation that: “¡Benditas sean las madres como tú! ¡Para ustedes la dicha está en el bien de los hijos!” (151). Here, Manuel lauds doña Petronila as an exemplary mother: one who realizes that her own happiness lies in that of her son.

For Doña Petronila, a self-sacrificing mother, joy is to be found in her son

El sol de la felicidad alumbraba la casa de doña Petronila con los más puros de sus rayos. Doña Petronila era la madre venturosa porque había estrechado en sus brazos, después de larga ausencia, a su querido Manuel, al sueño de sus horas dormidas, al delirio de sus días tristes; al hijo de su corazón.

(89)
The underlying assumption in this passage is that for such women, there is no greater happiness or self-fulfillment than the presence of a child. With the return of her son, doña Petronila's home is bathed in light and purity, thus firmly placing her at the heart of Christian notions of goodness.

In *Aves sin nido*, education is presented as the key factor in the development of the feminine character: "Lucía no era una mujer vulgar. Había recibido bastante buena educación . . ." (58). Coupled with her recent marriage, Lucía's education raises her to the status of a great lady: now she is to be not only respected, but also emulated (59). Lucía's honour and identity are the direct result of her marriage to Fernando, which creates the space from which she derives her joy: "Ella, que horas antes parecía lánguida y triste como las flores sin sol y sin rocío, tornose lozana y erguida en brazos del hombre que la confió al santuario de su hogar y su nombre, el arca santa de su honra, al llamarla esposa" (66). Name, honour, and the private space of home are all juxtaposed and placed within the realm of the sacred. Without her education and the societal status gained from her marriage, Lucía would have had no hope of fulfilling her role as a mother of the nation.

Doña Petronila is placed in opposition to Lucía to reveal the possibilities available to a woman who is offered neither an education nor the name of an honorable man. "Doña Petronila, con educación esmerada, habría sido una notabilidad social, pues era una joya valiosa perdida en los
Not only are education and masculine influence credited for the transformation of women, but the importance of that influence playing itself out within the context of the city's Creole class is also detailed. With its misinformed customs and greedy men such as doña Petronila's husband, Killac is hardly the ideal setting for the development of feminine sensibility.

Fernando and Lucía's decision to remove Margarita and Rosalía from Killac is, in essence, an attempt to save them from a life such as doña Petronila leads. Salvation for the girls will come in the form of a solid Limeñan education, which will later lead to a good marriage. Again, the importance of this educational experience being played out in Lima is paramount. In response to the Marín's decision to take the girls to Lima, Manuel declares that "[v]iajar a Lima es llegar a la antesala del cielo y ver de ahí el trono de la gloria y de la fortuna. Dicen que nuestra bella capital es la ciudad de las hadas" (132). Lima functions as the opposite of the disutopic Killac. The city will provide the two things that are unavailable to women in the country: a good education and a respectable husband. As the girls' new guardians, the Maríns will do their best to bring them up with the values of the modernizing elite that they represent. Fernando outlines his plan for Margarita and Rosalía:

Ellas son nuestras hijas adoptivas, ellas irán con nosotros hasta Lima, y allá, como ya lo teníamos pensado y resuelto, las colocaremos en el colegio más a propósito para formar esposas
With these words, Fernando encapsulates Matto de Turner's educational project for women. It is implied that Margarita and Rosalía are to be trained not only to be good mothers and wives, but that at the same time they will be able to learn and follow the model of Christianity that Matto de Turner advocates in "Luz entre sombra".

Aside from the influence of men and education, Matto de Turner reveals another perceived possibility for the salvation of women, that offered by following nature's path, and becoming a mother:

Si la mujer, por regla general, es un diamante en bruto, y al hombre y a la educación les toca convertirlo en brillante, dándole los quilates a satisfacción, también la naturaleza le está confiada mucha parte de la explotación de los mejores sentimientos de la mujer cuando llega a ser madre. (78)

Thus through three influences—maternity, matrimony and education—a woman is prepared for her role in the domestic sphere, which is in turn the cornerstone of the nation. Lucía reminds Marcela that "[h]abrá remedio; eres madre y el corazón de las madres vive en una sola tantas vidas como hijos tiene" (56). Remedy for the plight of the Yupanquis lies within the role of motherhood and the private sphere. In maternity lies the cure for the nation, which only needs to model itself after an honourable family like the Maríns.
Lucia's maternal role in the lives of Margarita and Rosalía is symbolic of women's moving beyond the expectations of immediate nuclear families to take on the role of mothering the nation. The transferal of maternal responsibilities from Marcela to Lucía emphasizes the social function of mothering, over the biological one. In *Aves sin nido*, mothers are not required to be genetically linked to their children; this allows for a crossing of racial and class boundaries that would otherwise be unacceptable.

To further subvert commonly perceived notions which surrounded motherhood, the mothering in this case is of daughters, and not of sons. This feminine emphasis undermined the idea, presented by Kerber, that women were to create 'good sons' of the nation. In this novel priority is given to a matrilineal heritage of knowledge. While this inherited insight may contain the necessary ingredients of virtue for the raising of good male citizens (as suggested in earlier passages by both Kerber and Matto de Turner), the fictive emphasis in *Aves sin nido* is on the imparting of feminine wisdom across generations of women. Lucía perceives her relationship with Margarita to be similar to the one that Lucía shared with her own mother (183). The narrative voice explains: “Lucía estaba llamada al magisterio de la maternidad, y Margarita era la primera discípula en quien ejercitara la transmisión de las virtudes domésticas” (183). As the physical bearers of the nation, women are responsible to pass on their virtue from one generation to the next. This is the space in
which their importance lies. As guardians of the private sphere, they must teach their daughters well enough to ensure that the state and family both remain virtuous.

On another level, the physical writing of the novel can be considered Matto de Turner's method of fulfilling the expectations set out for the Republican Mother. She was educating reading citizens through the public act of writing. As such, Matto de Turner was 'giving birth' to educated literary members of the imagined nation even if she was not physically bearing children in her private life. In the prologue to her last novel, *Herencia*, Matto de Turner even refers to the work as her daughter (26). If, as Gilbert and Gubar suggest, male authorship is intimately tied to the notion that the father of a text is engaging in an act of procreation (6), then Matto de Turner's desire to project the new nation through her writing can be read as a similar act of procreation. Matto de Turner symbolically gave birth to the new nation of Peru through her writing from a feminine perspective. As *Aves sin nido* gives priority to feminine spaces, the birthing of this text can be seen as an answer to a predominately male field of literature.

The private sphere, as representative of the physical and symbolic heart of the nation, is shown not only through the relations of women to one another and to men. It is also shown through the placing of the home as the original locus of activity within the novel. The *proemio*, written by Matto de Turner to explain her reasons for writing, is followed by a first
chapter narrated by a third-person, omniscient narrator, who describes for the reader the setting of the novel and the particulars of Killac on the morning that the plot begins to unfold. The events of the novel are instigated by a woman, and it is through the help of other women that the plot of the novel is propelled forward. Marcela steps out of the sanctity of her home and into Lucía's private world to plead for help. Marcela's desire to protect her loved ones is rewarded through Lucía's pledge to help her.

Lucía's counterpoint action to Marcela's is to invite public figures into her private space in an effort to solve the Yupanqui's plight. The ensuing response to Lucía's attempt to involve herself in public affairs has devastating consequences for the Marín family's home and the Yupanqui family. The priest and the governor are both deeply offended by Lucía's 'meddling'; they decide to arrange for an attack on the Marín residence which leaves Marcela and Juan dead, and the physical space of the home seriously damaged. The lesson demonstrated here is that any woman's desire to affect the public sphere must not include a foray into the public. Matto de Turner is careful to show that the division between public and private exist regardless of class. Before the Marín residence is attacked, the Maríns and the Yupanquis are drawn together to deal with another crisis. In this case it is Fernando and Juan who go out into the public to resolve the problem. Lucía, who has learned her lesson, and Marcela stay in the privacy of the home to pray for resolution. Through Marcela and Lucía's actions, acceptable lines of behavior are drawn.
Movement and influence from private sphere to private sphere is honoured, but any attempt to shift the influence from private to public by a woman is not to be tolerated, according to Matto de Turner's ethos.

Doña Petronila provides readers with an example of how the public sphere can be influenced through the home. Perhaps because of her age and its ensuing wisdom and experience, she succeeds in intervening in political ways that elude Lucía. She does so by influencing her husband in the most intimate space of the home, the bedroom. Petronila persuades her husband to leave his bad ways in an attempt to bring peace and righteousness to their family again. Echoing Matto de Turner's views on politics, she explains to her son that her husband has been corrupted by his new post in public life: “Desde que lo hicieron gobernador a tu padre, se ha vuelto otro, y . . . ya no puedo con él” (106). In order to influence public good, Doña Petronila wields moral authority over her husband. In this case, the love and truth of Matto de Turner's private sphere succeeds in affecting change in the world of deception and swindling. It must be underlined, however, that this is only possible because Doña Petronila did not step outside of the home, but restrained herself to its confines in order to effect outside change.

Through the female characters of Aves sin nido, Matto de Turner is able to write out the daily struggles of women to overcome class, race and gender barriers in nineteenth-century Peru. While the characters of Doña Petronila and Marcela epitomize the place of women in certain race
and economic classes in Peru, it is perhaps Lucía who best represents Matto de Turner's own position within her society. Lucía is presented as a woman of strong character, education and economic power; and yet when she steps into the public realm to act in accordance with her liberal sense of justice, she is harshly silenced. Through Lucía, Matto de Turner shows the dichotomy present for women like herself as they struggled to find a voice for themselves in Peruvian society, and to locate themselves within the public and private domains. Through her novel Matto de Turner transforms the private world into a sphere of action for women. She proposes that, by remaining in that space, and by utilizing their feminine gifts to influence their husbands and educate their sons and daughters, women had the power to wipe away the darkness that had settled over the Peruvian nation.
Chapter Four
Inheriting Virtue or Vice: How to Educate a Daughter

The debate surrounding the role of women within the newly formed nation-state of Peru naturally led to discussions concerning women's education. The national identity projected by the modernizing elite required a certain model of education for women to maintain the carefully constructed social order. As Denegri notes, during the period of national internal consolidation, a proliferation of pamphlets and articles circulated that dealt with the importance of education for women. This profusion of writing went hand in hand with the re-valorization of the family as the unit of national good and progress. Women's education had to be restructured to ensure not only the success of individual nuclear families, but also that of the greater Peruvian family (Denegri 80). Within this discourse, the voices of the women writers once again both resisted and reinforced the ideal of domestication for women. In her fiction, Clorinda Matto de Turner presented a role of feminine domesticity that centred around the education of children. Through her novel Herencia, Matto de Turner demarcates how women are to educate daughters to avoid the pitfalls of vice, thus becoming depositories of virtue in the new nation.

Both Francesca Miller and Gertrude Yeager argue that studying the role of women's education allows researchers a window to perceptions of
women's roles in a given time and place for a society (Miller 36; Yeager 149). Miller further suggests that this can be undertaken by examining: “first, the history of the idea of educating females; second, the debate over what the content of that education should be; and third, the establishment of educational institutions that admitted females” (36). Within this research schema, there is room for the study of the fictionalization of societal perceptions of education and feminine roles. If, as Doris Sommer posits, the links between the history and literature of the new nation-states of Latin American are inextricable, then there is ample space for an examination of Matto de Turner's Herencia as a reflection of the public debate surrounding women's education in nineteenth-century Peru.

During the colonial era, the education of women did not go undebated in the Spanish viceroyalty of Lima. Luis Martín notes that there was a widespread interest in, and at times an almost obsessive concern with, the training and education of young women. Kings, viceroys, governors, city fathers, families, and public and private agencies showed that interest and concern at one time or another during the three hundred years of colonial rule. (qtd. in Miller 38)

The education of women in Lima, as in other parts of Latin America, was

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45 While Yeager's argument deals specifically with the case of Chile, it is still useful in the context that it lays the groundwork for research of women's lives historically within the context of educational policies.
greatly influenced by the publication of Fray Luis de León's *La perfecta Casada*. This manual offered models for the perfectly virtuous and chaste wife, and for her formative education. This type of prescriptive texts were useful as tools for producing idealized representations of domesticity and women's education within this social construct. As Miller notes, and has already been discussed above, the goal of education from the colonial period through to the nineteenth century was to prepare women for their moral roles within society, not to fulfill intellectual pursuits (38).

Education for young women at this time lay in the hands of the Catholic Church. In convent schools, wealthy young ladies studied the necessary skills (reading, music, French, embroidery and basic mathematics) befitting their future lives in society. Poor young women received a parallel education that would serve them in their lives as servants to the aforementioned affluent women (Miller 38-39). Miller also notes that until the nineteenth-century, little change would occur in the educational system. Emphasis on moral education for men and women did not shift until after the independence movements, when a new discussion on the education of citizens came into being (Miller 39). This shift is not unlike that of other Latin American countries. In examining the nineteenth-century Argentine educational system, Cynthia Jeffress Little

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46 Pilar Gonzalbo notes that it was predominately religious men who wrote these texts, many of which originated within the court in Spain. She notes two other authors, Fray Martín de Córdoba and Fray Hernando de Talavera (30).
also explains that the exchange of Enlightenment ideals with Europeans led to new philosophical outlooks on education (235). For women in Peru, this new debate did not have any perceivable effect until the emergence of a new modernizing elite, at the end of the nineteenth century.

The history of education for women in Peru contrasts with other Latin American countries, where women were granted access to public educational institutions early in the nineteenth century. Miller attributes Peru's backward nature to the lack of an emergent middle class until well into the twentieth century. In Peru, unlike in other countries, education remained in the hands of the Catholic Church, an institution that guarded the status quo (63). Thus feminine education continued within the confines of a body not interested in the modernizing elites' agenda of progress. The intellectual circle to which Matto de Turner belonged renewed its interest in feminine education as part of their call to national progress. Writers such as Francisco de Paula González Vigil, an outspoken writer who exemplified the liberal ideals of the era, did not necessarily disagree with the manner in which women were being

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educated by the Catholic Church. The opposition he and many of his colleagues held against feminine education was that it was carried out by the Church and its priests, which they perceived to be in conflict with the modernizing agenda for the nation (Villavicencio, *Del silencio* 40).

In 1826, three years after Peru gained its Independence, the Escuela Central Lancasteriana was created to provide all girls with formal primary schooling (Guardia 103). Despite the best intentions of Peru's liberators, the educational opportunities for women in nineteenth-century Peru were dramatically different from those available for their male counterparts. In 1849 there were 260 schools for boys, with an enrollment of 13,118 students, as compared to 33 schools for 295 girls. In spite of changes to the schooling system and a growth in number of educational institutions, in 1853 the inequality between the two sexes had not diminished. There were now 652 boy's schools with 28,558 students enrolled, and only 73 girl's schools for 3,404 pupils (Villaran 350). Not only was access to education segregated by sex, but the

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49 González Vigil's writing falls within the category demarcated by Asunción Lavrin. She suggests that the decline in the writing of prescriptive texts, such as *La perfecta casada*, toward the end of the eighteenth century was the result of the Church's weakening hold over women's lives in most of Latin America. Lavrin posits that the State took over this role. The consequence of this shift is that proponents of the new liberal agenda became the writers of educational works for women. She notes that the content of the texts is remarkably similar in nature to the previous prescriptive writings (302). González Vigil's text, *Importancia de la educación del bello sexo*, is representative of these new writings. It first appeared in 1858, and also ran as a serialized column in the newspapers, *El Constitucional* and *El Perú Ilustrado*. The essays were later brought together and republished as a book by Lima's Instituto Nacional de Cultura in 1976 (*The Year of the Peruvian Woman*).

50 Shortly after its establishment the Reglamento de Escuelas de Lima was also established, thus securing free primary schooling for young women.
education received was different. Women were prepared for their roles as mothers and as wives, while men were educated to become full citizens within the new nation (Villaran 349).

As power shifted from the traditional ruling elite to the new bourgeoisie, further educational reform began to be contemplated. With the rise to power of a new civilian government, educational policy in Peru underwent dramatic change (Prieto de Zegarra 681). Manuel Pardo’s government proposed that women should be educated to teach children, and so in 1873 four Escuelas Normales (teacher training schools) were opened in Cajamarca, Junín, Cuzco and Lima. In 1876, the government declared primary school obligatory for boys and girls until they reached the age of 12. Parents who did not comply with this new ruling were subject to legal action by Pardo’s government (Prieto de Zegarra 681). Private secondary education was established for upper and middle class girls, who in turn went on to demand entrance into the institutions of higher education (Denegri 127-128).

Although Lima had established its first university in 1551, the Universidad Nacional de San Marcos did not officially open its doors to women until 1908. A notable exception to this exclusion was Trinidad María Enríquez, whose entrance to study law, in 1874, was only achieved through direct governmental intervention. On 9 October of the same year, that government published a statement regarding higher education for women in El Peruano. In their declaration they suggested that it was
el deber del gobierno, conforme al espíritu y tendencias de las leyes de la República procurar todas las facilidades posibles a fin de obtener la más amplia propagación y difusión de las luces en todas las clases sociales sin distinción de sexos. (qtd. in Denegri 128)

While government policy reflected a desire to offer post-secondary education to both sexes, in reality equality of education was not even approximated. Few women graduated from university before 1908.51

Periodicals dating from the 1880s are full of advertisements for newly established schools. They demonstrate not only the type of education received, but also the perceived value attached to it. An advertisement in La Revista Social lists “[e]studio de Español, Francés e Inglés--Educación moral y religiosa, conforme á los últimos sistemas--Costura, Bordados y tejidos--Dibujo y otras clases de adorno” as their offerings for the coming year (25 July 1885). In a letter addressed to “Fathers of Families,” Matilde Ingunza, the director of the Colegio de Santa Rosa de Santa María, expressed the motivations behind the newly established school. She begins with an encapsulation of the liberal ideology of education:

[e]ducad á vuestras hijas, y hareis la felicidad de todas las naciones del mundo--ha dicho un gran escritor de estos

51 In addition to Trinidad María Enriquez, other exceptions to this unequal access included Margarita Práxedes Muñoz, who studied medicine; Felicita Balbuena, who entered dentistry; and Laura Esther Rodríguez Dulanto, who graduated as a medical surgeon (Denegri 128).
In this command to parents, Ingunza makes very clear the justification for educating young women: a solid education would enable them to make men happy in the future. Ingunza also explains how this could be best accomplished:

Las Directoras se proponen dar á las niñas cuya educación se les confie, una instrucción sólida y cristiana, consultando para ello los textos mas convenientes y, á la vez que los más delicados refinamientos del buen trato social, las prácticas más saludables de la vida privada. (15 May 1886, *Perlas y Flores*)

In this passage Ingunza is very direct in her understanding of the importance of education: it was to model young women into good guardians of the private sphere, through the refinement of their spiritual and social skills.

Not all educators were in agreement regarding the ultimate goal of education for women. Denegri notes that many women writers, such as Teresa González de Fanning, Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, and Clorinda Matto de Turner, began to voice concern over the economic dependence of
women in marriage (128). She posits that, as these women came from old landholding families who had been relatively impoverished by the War of the Pacific, they were seeking new means of economic independence (129). This new need for viable methods of earning a living resulted in their pressure of the government to provide sufficient training for young women to enter the work force under 'legitimate' circumstances. Writing was just one of these options, and the proliferation of feminine voices during this era demonstrates that an increasing number gained varying degrees of economic independence. By following this career, women were resisting the powerful dictum of domesticity not only by the act of writing but also by calling for an education that would remove them from the home. Becoming economically self-sufficient also reduced their need for a husband. This independence flew in the face of traditional education that was only to prepare them for lives within the private sphere. Denegri notes that almost all of the women writers of this time period were either widows or divorcees (130). The women used their

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52 In her article, *Una necesidad imperiosa*, Carolina Freire de James also called for education for less fortunate women that would provide them with an income. She suggested that this would help them provide for themselves economically, and also put a barrier between women of the proletariat and vice (*Una necesidad imperiosa, El Correo del Perú*, 2 March 1872). As shown later in this chapter, the position of Freire de James shifts considerably depending on the economic class of the women she is discussing. While she argues that women of lesser economic means should be provided with job training, she also suggests in an article entitled *Una gran misión* that women (read here, "members of the elite") should under no circumstances leave the home for careers other than teaching and writing (*El Correo del Perú*, 10 January 1872). To enter masculine domains of medicine and law, she suggests, would be against nature.

53 This need to provide for themselves and their families left women writers living inside the uncomfortable contradiction that their writing and teaching often conflicted with the model of domesticity subscribed to by the elite (Denegri 130).
personal situations in life to remind the government that educating women for professions would further the cause of modernization and progress in the new nation. In her article *Necesidad de una industria para la mujer* Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera equated modernity with feminine emancipation:

> la historia de la esclavitud y el envilecimiento de la mujer es la historia de la barbarie y el embrutecimiento de los pueblos; así como la de su emancipación y completo desarrollo de sus facultades, será la historia de la civilización y del desarrollo del progreso. (13 March 1875, *La Alborada*, qtd. in Denegri, 173-174)

Thus, women writers used periodicals simultaneously to call for educational change and to consolidate their role in the modern nation.

The debate around feminine education was carried out within the same context as that of women's role within the home and society. Periodicals that were published and consumed by the modernizing elites became the setting for heated exchanges between the various perspectives present in Lima. The articles presented here offer a sampling of the most prominent voices within debate from nineteenth-century periodicals. Several of the opinions expressed appear to at times contradict themselves. This tension is due to the position of the writers within their own society. Many of the women were negotiating new subject positions for themselves, both as writers and educators outside
the confines of a prescribed domesticity, yet they reinforced that very position in their work.

The leading men in the debate also display similar inconsistencies within their work. At times they appear to call for equal education for women, but they question neither the societal structures nor the mandate to domesticity which prevented many women from obtaining a more complete education. Very few of these writers question the class structure of Peru. Their discussion is directed at the elite, who could afford to discuss the possibilities for their daughter's futures. When the articles touch on the subject of class, the education discussed differs from that for the elite. The debate surrounding women's education was typically generated and consumed by the same source: the new modernizing elite. The exchange of ideas in these periodicals also demonstrates how the debate surrounding the role of women and women's education emerged before the War of the Pacific, and how it continues to develop afterwards. Even more importantly, the debate almost always linked the progress of the nation inextricably with the betterment of women's education.

Francisco de Paulo González Vigil, a Catholic priest later excommunicated by the Pope for his criticism against priestly celibacy, is considered one of the most important thinkers on women's education in nineteenth-century Peru. His work *Importancia de la educación del bello sexo* (1858) is exemplary for the liberal ideas it presents regarding the
position of women (Villavicencio, *Del silencio* 38). First published in 1858, it formed the beginnings of a debate that would lead to the rise of *La generación de los setenta* (Guardia 106). Villavicencio asserts that the importance of González Vigil’s thought is that demonstrates both the advances and the restrictions placed on women by the liberal agenda (38). While González Vigil explores the mechanisms used by the Church to subjugate women under its control, he does not propose the emancipation of women from all forms of control as a solution. Rather he suggests that they should then come under stricter parental and spousal vigilance, as this would remove them from the Church (Villavicencio, *Del silencio* 40). Once free from the Church, women could be educated for the new elites’ agenda of domestication.

In her introduction to González Vigil’s work, Helen Órvig de Salazar posits that it is possible to explain the contradictions in González Vigil’s work if the reader treats the two goals of his writing as separate ideas. She suggests that his double intention was to remove women from the influence of the Church, and to suggest a new vision for a civil education for women in its place (9). The apparent contradictions in González Vigil’s writing disappear when the reader realizes that he was questioning, not the fact of women’s marginalization, but the terms of their marginalization (15).

Women’s emancipation from the restrictions of the Church were in no way to be followed by social and political emancipation from their
masculine counterparts. González Vigil suggests:

La mujer, en el campo de la política, quedaría degradada desde los primeros pasos; porque estaría expuesta a que los hombres le faltasen el respeto. Haría mucho mal a la mujer quien pretendiera darla lugar en los destinos políticos y sacarla del hogar doméstico, que es su recinto propio. (*Importancia de la educación del bello sexo* 50-51)

Though he advocates a shift from a purely religious education to a civil one, González Vigil maintains that women should still only be prepared for roles as spouses and mothers of the new nation. He further suggests that "[el] [d]ía llegará en que los legisladores de los pueblos escriban sobre una alta columna estas palabras: A las madres de la familia, la Patria agradecida" (178). In this passage, he encapsulates what would come to be the liberal position on women: as mothers they are responsible for the education of new citizens, and as such they must be educated.

Several years later, Mariano Amezaga began to publish articles on women's education. His main claim was also that women should be better educated so that they might better perform in their role as mothers. His criticism accuses society in general for the subordinate position of women, but goes on to lay specific blame against the institutions of public education:

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54 The original articles were published in *El Nacional*. They appeared under the titles *Instrucción de la mujer*, 13 July 1869; *La educación de la mujer*, 22 November 1869; and *Escuelas de mujeres*, 11 March 1870. The articles were later republished in book format under the title *Problemas de la Educación Peruana* in 1952, with a prologue and notes by Alberto Tauro.
Existe un enorme vacío en nuestras instituciones. Todas ellas se refieren a la prosperidad y al bienestar del varón, con presindencia de la mujer. Este hecho que denuncia no sólo descuido, sino imprudencia y ceguedad, es más patente que en ningún ramo, en el de instrucción pública. (46)

The changes he proposed included the establishment of *Escuelas Normales* so that women could be trained to enter the work force as teachers. He further suggests reforms to the curriculum and course materials in the existing public school system (Villavicencio, *Del silencio* 44). Perhaps his most important contribution was that he proposed that women, especially those of lesser economic means, should be trained for professions so that they need not rely on men for material needs (Villavicencio, *Del silencio* 44).

Amezaga also posits that the result of women’s constant instruction by the men in their families or marriages results in feminine ignorance and servitude (46). This condition had to be rectified if Peru was to progress: “Hay países--y entre ellos está el nuestro--donde no parecen apercibirse de que a la rehabilitación de la mujer va asociado el progreso de los pueblos” (46). The problem, he suggests, is not women’s fault but stems from men’s pride:

Ahora bien, el orgullo del hombre se siente humillado ante la superioridad intelectual y científica de las mujeres. ¿Y por qué? Porque esa superioridad le parece una usurpación, desde
que la mujer misma lo tiene acostumbrado a verla fuera de aquel terreno; y porque si la mujer tomara en sus manos el doble cetro de la pasión y de la inteligencia, cree nuestro sexo que su inferioridad sería absoluta. (52)

This problem is magnified, he states, by the fact that women, who by nature are pure and chaste, are not respected by men (52). The result is a doubly troubling problem for women: they are morally disgraced by men, and they are not properly educated (52). The solution he posits for these problems is the equal education of women and men (55). Of course, he does not suggest women should further their education by entering university, nor does he claim other possible careers for them outside the realm of teaching. The main purpose of this education is to raise women to social equality with men, and to prepare them to teach their children (55). In this aspect he is like González Vigil, questioning the educational marginalization of women but neglecting to remove them from their political marginalization.

Of an equally contradictory nature is an anecdote that Alberto Tauro includes as a footnote in Problemas de la Educación Peruana. In reference to Amezaga's claim that men find women's intellectual superiority to be a usurpation of masculine territory, Tauro notes that Amezaga himself was guilty of this. While Amezaga directed his sister's first years of education, he refused to continue by teaching her the art of poetry, because he wanted to dissuade Juana Rosa from her ambition to take up
her pen and write verse (52). This contradiction points to a greater problem within Peruvian society. While intellectuals were able to argue convincingly for educational reform, actual change on both a political and personal level was much more difficult to effect.

Carolina Freire de James' position on the education of women reflects the more conservative elements of the debate among Lima's intellectuals (Villavicencio, *Del silencio* 88). The majority of her writing on education dates from the beginning of the Pardo government; and coincides with a rise in public discussions surrounding women's education and emancipation. She was a strong proponent of education for women as long as it did not spill over into demands for political equality. In her opinion, women should receive equal educational training to men, especially in the area of scientific knowledge ("Una gran misión," 20 January 1872, *El Correo del Perú*). This education should not under any circumstances lead to their pursuit of careers in medicine or law as it had in the unfortunate cases of France and the United States. As mothers, the task of regenerating society through educating their children fell to women; therefore women should be completely prepared for this role through receiving proper training ("Una necesidad imperiosa," 2 March 1872, *El Correo del Perú*).

Freire de James justifies women's participation in periodicals, including her own writing, by suggesting that this occupation had the

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55 While Mariano may have tried to limit his sister's entrance into poetry, she nevertheless persevered, and many of her poems were published in newspapers such as *El Perú ilustrado*. 
same effects and calling of motherhood. She suggests that writing and
teaching were both the entrance and limit points of women’s participation
in the public world

las mujeres han propagado las luces, han estendido la
civilizacion por medio de la educacion, y hay miles de mujeres
verdaderos ángeles, que llevan la instruccion á los libertos,
fundando así una sociedad libre, grande por la conciencia de
sus derechos, y el conocimiento y desarrollo de sus facultades.
Hay infinitas mujeres periodistas cuyo sublime destino es
descorrer el velo que cubre los ojos del pueblo, aclarar los
horizontes de la duda é iluminar su corazon con los gratos
resplandores de la fé. Hé ahí hasta donde debe limitarse la
mision de la mujer. . . . (“Una gran misión,” 20 January 1872,
El Correo del Perú)

By linking the nature of the role of motherhood with that of teaching and
writing, Freire de James extends the role of the angel of the home without
actually changing her activities. Education and domesticity are thus
intimately interconnected.

For Freire de James, the successful modernization of Peru requires a
balance between men's and women's education:

Que las mujeres ocupen un lugar preferente en la sociedad, que
se ilustre su entendimiento, que se eleve su inteligencia,
iniciándola en los grandes secretos de la ciencia, dando á su
instruccion todo el desarrollo posible, que no haya, si cabe, diferencia alguna entre el saber del hombre y de la mujer, es el deber de toda sociedad ilustrada que tiende á edificar el sólido cimiento de su bienestar futuro, de su prosperidad y grandeza.

("Una gran misión," 20 January 1872, El Correo del Perú)

Freire de James repeats this admonition a week later in her next article for El Correo del Perú:

Mientras el Perú, esta nación tan rica y tan fecunda en cuantos bienes ha derramado Dios en el mundo, no haga por impulsar su sistema de educación, imitando el ejemplo de los países antes citados, [Estados Unidos, Inglaterra] no podrá nunca llegar á fundar su grandeza sino sobre cimientos de arena. ("La educación del hombre," 27 January 1872)

This perceived connection between women, education, and the future of the nation is a theme that dates itself from the period initiated by Pardo's government, continuing well into the 1890s, as will be shown in an analysis of Herencia.

Teresa González de Fanning was another of the female writers in the debate surrounding women's education. She was an ardent supporter of women's right to a full education. After the War of the Pacific she opened a school for young women where she applied theories that would later come to be used widely by educational institutions. A speech which she presented at the Ateneo de Lima encapsulates much of her pedagogical
agenda. It was later published under the title “Sobre la educación de la mujer.” In it she voices many of the arguments that Matto de Turner would later fictionalize. González de Fanning suggests that, as the nation and the family have a symbiotic relationship, proper education of women should be part of the nation’s foundation:

La familia es al Estado, lo que las ondas al mar, la raíz al árbol, las moléculas al cuerpo; suprimid la familia y desaparecerá el Estado. Fuerza es, pues, que la regeneración de éste empiece por la familia. Educad á la mujer; levantad su nivel moral haciéndola comprender que es la sacerdotiza del bien, la obrera del porvenir, y, como la onda sonora, su eco armonioso repercutirá en la familia y en la sociedad: y el Perú se salvará. (June 1888, El Ateneo de Lima, 21-22)

This passage resonates with Matto de Turner’s essay “Luz entre sombra.” Many writers, both men and women, at this time envisioned the family as the bedrock of the nation. What sets these women writers apart is the concern they show for the nature of the education of women within the program of national reconstruction. To ensure the production of proper mothers, they argued for an education that included science and reason, as opposed to one which limited itself to religion and sewing.

González de Fanning also proffers the argument that because women are guardians of the home, they are the first individuals to have an impact on the citizens of the nation (25). She does not dispute the reasoning or
conditions that situated women within the home. Instead, she argues that in order for mothers to educate their children properly, they themselves must first receive a well-rounded education. One cannot accuse women of frivolity if that is the core of their curriculum:

Se acusa de frivola a la mujer, sin fijarse que la frivolidad no está en su espíritu sino en la completa y superficial educación que se la da. Su actividad y su inteligencia, faltas de un sólido alimento que las nutra, se emplean en futilezas, á la manera que la rica vid que la hoz del labrador no ha preparado diestramente se cubre de verde follaje; pero en vez del apreciado fruto solo da pobres y escasos racimos. (31)

The solution she presents for doing away with this past lightness is to give women a sound education based on religion, morality and home economics (28).

González de Fanning posits that women's religious education has at its heart the unification of the family. She suggests that “si de alguna manera ataca el arca santa de la familia, separándola en vez de unirla, seguro es que se ha desviado de la ruta marcada por el Divino Maestro” (28). The importance that she places on the religious training of women stems from the rise of the angel of the home as the primary role model prescribed to women by the emerging modernizing agenda. The pure and virtuous mother had become the depository for the nation's morality. During this time, as argued above, the domestication of women through
the definition of the angel of the home became the leading portrayal of the ideal woman within the projected nation-state.

While González de Fanning questioned the manner in which women were being educated, she did not criticize the goal of this education. In her arguments, women are presented as ever self-sacrificing angels. Their most virtuous quality, she argues, is that of abnegation (29). She posits that

*e]l hombre egoísta es antipático: la mujer egoísta es un ser repulsivo, una especie de fenómeno que se aparta del orden regular de la naturaleza. ¿Es tan propio de la mujer sacrificarse por el bien de los suyos; esparcir la alegría y el consuelo á su derredor; sufrir, con tal de dulcificar el sufrimiento de sus allegados; ser el angel tutelar y la providencia de sus hijos! Su misión es consolar; y nunca parece más bella y angelical sino cuando inmola sus placeres y hasta el necesario resposo en obsequio de los suyos. (29)

González de Fanning regards parents’ scrupulous education of their daughters as the only strategy to avoid a repulsive egoism taking root (29). She concludes her speech by arguing that if the education of young women is taken seriously, and if it is changed to produce angels of the home instead of frivolous beings, then a virtual social revolution will take place that will heal the wounds of Peru (31).

Matto de Turner was in agreement with these women writers’
convictions that educational change was necessary for Peru's progress. An interest in the education of women was part of her ongoing preoccupation with national growth. In her editorial column of 3 May 1890, she wrote, "[I]a instrucción del pueblo es el único baluarte de la prosperidad de la Patria" (El Perú Ilustrado). After her exile to Argentina, she taught in many girls' schools and wrote extensively on the subject. In 1895, the same year that she was forced to leave Peru, Matto de Turner published her third and last novel, Herencia. This novel is very similar to Aves sin nido in that it examines the lives and roles of women within the family. Herencia can be read as a fictionalization of Matto de Turner's views on the relationship between mothering and education. She used the novel as a vehicle to reach a larger audience than any periodical production could provide. Through this method she was able to spread her ideas on national progress and its relationship to the nuclear family. While Herencia makes use of the same fictional family as Aves sin nido, the Maríns, and while it can be read as a continuation of the first novel, it differs in that it focuses primarily on one theme. Although Herencia does provide an ongoing commentary on politics in Peru, its principal issue is that of the importance of exemplary transgenerational mothering for the progress of the nation.

Both the dedication and the renaming that Matto de Turner provided for her novel allow the reader valuable glimpses into the goals that she put forward for her novel. Unlike Aves sin nido, where she explicitly
listed her reasons for writing, the preface to *Herencia* is slightly more subtle. In the dedication, Matto de Turner specifies the type of reader she addresses:

El paladar moderno ya no quiere la miel ni mistelas fragancias que gustaban nuestros mayores: opta por la pimienta, la mostaza, los *bitters* excitantes; y, de igual modo, los lectores del siglo, en su mayoría, no nos leen ya, si les damos el romance hecho con dulces suspiros de brisa y blancos rayos de luna: en cambio, si hallan el correctivo condimentado con morfina, con ajenjo y con todos aquellos amargos repugnantes para las naturalezas perfectas, no sólo nos leen: nos devoran. (24)

The general tone of this work is much more frank than that of *Aves sin nido*; at times, its tone is condemnatory. The narrative voice operates with a greater degree of directness because Matto de Turner manipulates it to express clearly her views on the role of mothering and the education provided during the maturation of young women. Perhaps the greatest difference between the two novels lies in the inclusion of parallel yet contrasting characters. Whereas in *Aves sin nido* the reader is presented with the epitome of the angel of the house, in the character of Lucía, in *Herencia* Matto de Turner depicts two young women: one lives a life of angelic virtue, and one is given over to vice. The important distinction that she makes between these two girls, Margarita and Camila, is the
herencia or inheritance that they have received from their mothers. This legacy, she posits, is what will determine their future as mothers and as educators of the citizens of the nation.

Unlike Aves sin nido, there is virtually no critical bibliography available for Herencia. In fact, the only available criticism is Antonio Cornejo Polar’s prologue to the 1974 edition. In it he argues that this novel follows the same course as its two predecessors. The work, he suggests, has two objectives. Firstly, it describes and judges a particular part of Lima’s social structure; secondly, it develops a thesis which Matto de Turner sets out to prove through the lives of Margarita and Camila (14-15). The thesis of this novel is embedded even in its title, and is articulated in the commentary provided by Matto de Turner’s letter to her editors. After providing a lengthy discussion on the importance of giving women suitable names, she changes the original name from Cruz de Agata to Herencia. She voices her request as follows:

para esta hija mía. . . . Pongan ustedes en los originales Herencia, que si con ello no alcanzo a decir mucho de lo que digo en el libro, por lo menos algo significará para mis lectores acostumbrados ya al terreno en que suelo labrar, y a la dureza de mi pluma. (26-27)

56 While Aves sin nido was immediately published by three separate presses, was translated into English early in the twentieth century, and has seen many editions since its initial appearance, Herencia was only published once in the nineteenth-century by Matto de Turner’s own press, La Equitativa, and once this century. In 1974, the Instituto Nacional de Cultura in Peru republished the novel. It has since once again gone out of print.
Matto de Turner's proposal not only reflects the importance that she places on her writing as an act of creation, but it also demonstrates that she was very conscious of her reader's expectations. In effect, Matto de Turner planned to use her title to prepare her audience for the thesis she would present in the body of the text.

Cornejo Polar interprets Matto de Turner's choice of title as a reflection of her interest in the ideas of French naturalism. He posits that the title reflects the theories of Emile Zola. He quotes Zola to support this theory: “creo que la cuestión de la herencia tiene mucha influencia en las manifestaciones intelectuales y pasionales del hombre” (27). In this passage Zola's main tenet of naturalism is underscored. It includes a belief that human life can be explained through scientific evolutionary models (“Naturalism” 563). In literature, proponents of naturalism “[regarded] the literary act as an ‘experiment’ on the scientific model” (“Naturalism” 563). European authors’ use of naturalism dates from the 1870s. Shortly following this date, the ideas were transmitted to the Americas where, as can be seen in Matto de Turner's work, they were used to demonstrate the causal relationship between science and human 'moral' behavior.

There is no doubt that Matto de Turner read Zola's works and was influenced by them. In an editorial published 20 August 1887, she wrote: 

Debemos ya concurrir a los certámenes del viejo mundo con elementos propios y no estar empeñados en la antigua labor de
These comments are interesting not only because they clearly demonstrate that she had access to Zola’s writings, but because they once again emphasize her preoccupation with the creation of writing unique to Peru. She suggests that authors in the Americas should generate their own literary models, rather than imitating European ones. Ironically, she was willing to borrow European ideas, of which naturalism is one example, and manipulate them to meet the ends of her fiction.

The ideas present in French naturalism are played out by Matto de Turner in a variety of ways. She ends her novel with the following exclamation: “En el curso de la vida, a través de los sucesos Margarita y Camila habían entrado en posesión de lo que les legaron sus madres: su educación, su atmósfera social y más que su sangre era pues, la posesión de la HERENCIA” (247). The legacy referred to by Matto de Turner is composed of more than just a blood lineage. Throughout the novel she is careful to point to the need for proper education and social surroundings in the upbringing of the two girls. She underscores the idea that it is the combination of these three ingredients which determine the paths of Margarita and Camila. One route leads to virtue and happiness, while the
other ends in vice and despair. Throughout the novel it is obvious that Matto de Turner privileges Margarita’s narrative. Through the education and social circumstances provided for Margarita by the Marín family, she and her new husband come to embody the author’s ideals for national progress.

In his discussion of Matto de Turner’s concept of *Herencia*, Cornejo Polar suggests that at times her promotion of the idea is confusing and contradictory. He points out that sometimes the inheritance is posited as being purely physiological, while at other times it is education that affects the final outcome (16). Cornejo Polar suggests that notions of blood inheritance only come into question when sexuality, especially in the context of immorality, is discussed. He also comments that the influence of education was a greatly debated topic at the time, which accounts for some of the inconsistencies in Matto de Turner’s writing (16).

At this point, it is perhaps useful to consider the discussion of education presented thus far in this thesis. As has been demonstrated, much of the education proposed by the modernizing elite was concerned purely with morality, and not with intellectual pursuits. Within the framework of the nineteenth-century Peruvian modernizing elites’ agenda, an education constructed solely in moral terms is not completely contradictory to conceptions of inherited sexual purity or impurity. Cornejo Polar posits that the contradiction played out in the novel exists
initially at the level of an unresolvable conflict between idealism and positivism (16). This argument is fitting: following the ideas of purely physiological inheritance to their final implications one would be forced to conclude that the society that Camila’s family represents would be incapable of producing virtuous daughters.

Taken literally, then, the novel’s thesis would embody a particularly pessimistic outlook on Peru’s future. However Matto de Turner was concerned with the regeneration of Peruvian society, not with its complete downfall. As such, what she appears to put into question in her novel is not whether or not a daughter of a libidinous woman is capable of overcoming her blood inheritance to act within Matto de Turner’s conceptions of virtue. Rather she seems to approach the question with an uncertainty as to how a daughter such as Camila can possibly escape the vices of her mother (and the society at large) when all of her education is misdirected. Neither does Matto de Turner question the ability of a family such as the Maríns to produce a virtuous daughter: she focuses her concerns on Camila, while Margarita simply provides an exemplary model for emulation. The novel ends with the exclamation, cited above, which does not necessarily resolve the issues at hand. Instead, it suggests that somewhere in the intermingling of three influences, passed on to young women from their mothers, is the key to the successful raising of daughters.

Throughout *Herencia*, Matto de Turner strategically presents the
reader with contrasting characters who embody her version of virtue or vice. The Maríns and the Aguileras are archetypal families that function as allegories for Matto de Turner's political and social critique of turn of the century Peruvian society. The vices of Lima's landholding elite are enacted by don José and doña Nieves Aguilera, while the virtues of the emerging modernizing elite are embodied in Fernando and Lucía Marín. While the former are characterized as members of a stagnant established social class, the latter represent the possibilities for progress. Read together, both families represent the distinct, contrasting ends of the social elite in Lima. They embody Matto de Turner's prescription for social change, and thus the relations within their families can be further read to be indicative of her prognosis for progress or stagnation.

Reading *Herencia*, readers of *Aves sin nido* would have immediately recognized Fernando and Lucía Marín. The couple, who had previously appeared in *Aves sin nido* as members of the new modernizing elite transplanted from the coast to the sierra, reappear here, once again happily settled into the city. Living in Kíllac, the couple had been positioned as extraordinary, therefore experiencing conflict with the long-established traditions of the country elite. Returning to the city, they are once again placed in opposition to the elite. Matto de Turner used this subject positioning to underscore the position of virtuous privilege she assigns them. Within their new social ambience of the city, the Maríns distinguish themselves both in their social and their private relations.
Matto de Turner emphasizes two traits in particular. Firstly, their public relations are characterized by a reserve which removes them from the circles that are frequented by the Aguileras. Secondly, they are depicted as happily married by choice, while other marriages in the novel are riddled with unhappiness and infidelity. The emphasis on the Maríns’ distinctiveness allows Matto de Turner to exaggerate their virtue, in contrast to the Aguileras’ vices.

As the novel opens, Lucía is readying Margarita for her debut in Lima’s society. These preparations include the fateful shopping trip in which Ernesto first spots Margarita. The manner in which Matto de Turner sets up this first chapter immediately underscores the luxury in which most Limeñans were accustomed to living, and allows her to separate the Maríns from a lifestyle of excess. She makes it abundantly clear that the Maríns’ excursion is not an ordinary occurrence. When Margarita questions the cost of such an undertaking, Lucía responds by suggesting the context of Limeñan society makes it necessary:

Es necesario, Margarita mía. Las de Aguilera son personas muy rumbosas, allí estarán las de Bellota, las Mascaro, las Rueta, las López todas, y si yo condesciende en que asistas a un baile no ha de ser para que vayas de cualquier modo expuesta al repase de vista que las limeñas usan con las que llegan al salón. Ya me verás también salir de mis hábitos. (36)

Lucía claims that attending the party will be novel in two ways. Not only
do the Maríns not frequent such events, but doing so requires them to step out of their regular fashion routine. This chapter reiterates that it is not that the Maríns cannot afford to move within Lima’s most exclusive circles, but that frequently they choose not to enter them. The Maríns are repeatedly depicted as an example, not of frugality, but of moderation.

In the case of the shopping expedition, the narrative voice provides a brief lecture on the narcotizing affect that many of the stores have on women of weak character. It is suggested that the desire to feign wealth is so strong that many women succumb to spending their grocery money on luxuries, and are then forced to starve themselves. The reader is assured that Margarita and Lucía are above this:

Esa era la resignación heroica de la mayoría de las mujeres; pero en las actuales compradoras predominaban sentimientos bien diferentes al deseo de aparentar ante el mundo luces de Bengala, cuando en casa sólo hay noche lóbrega y eterna. (38)

Matto de Turner takes the opportunity to set the Maríns apart from the other women in Lima by suggesting they posses superior qualities of restraint and moderation. It is obvious that Matto de Turner is consciously producing an example for her readers to imitate. In this context, the world of endlessly changing women’s fashion functions as a trope for a mindless consumption which operates regardless of utility or need. The virtue Matto de Turner espouses here reflects González de Fanning’s argument that women educated for frivolity will only become frivolous. As Matto de
Turner's thesis unfolds, the importance of this episode becomes more evident. To educate women as mothers of new citizens, virtues such as moderation must be instilled, and it is precisely this lesson that Lucía exemplifies for Margarita while they are shopping.

The discourse of moderation is again reiterated through the narrative description of the Marín residence. Their home is depicted as simple, yet elegant (94), which suggests that the outward appearance of the residence is unimportant when compared to the values that it houses. The moral, the narrator suggests, is that “el fondo encerraba la felicidad de los corazones que han sabido conservar el amor y la estimación recíproca” (94). The Maríns embody the virtue of moderation in physical luxuries, which is in turn meant to reflect the ability to maintain a happy relationship. The maintenance of moderation in this instance serves as a reminder that the vice of living outside of one's means is directly related to other problems. It is this quiet, moderate, private space of home that contrasts morally against the apparent luxury of the Aguilera residence, which in turn is a front for debt and despair.

The Marín home also serves as a reminder that they spend much of their time in this space, rather than engaging in many of the activities of Lima that lead to social and financial ruin. Social temperance is to be desired as an accompaniment to moderation in physical luxuries. As Ernesto explains to his mother, the Maríns prefer the quiet of home to the raucous nature of Lima's society: “hace más de un año que vive acá, pero
retirada; no gusta del bullicio social" (140). In fact, the Aguilera's party is the first time that Fernando and Lucía have been out until the early hours of the morning in Lima (98). If the thesis of the novel is that the social climate of a daughter's upbringing determines her future, readers can conclude that the atmosphere of moderation and simplicity in the Maríns' residence is precisely what should be emulated. It is clear that the Maríns' good example will provide Margarita with the necessary habits to be able to raise a family in Lima and maintain the modernizing elites' ideals inculcated in her.

The Maríns' marital relationship also fulfills Matto de Turner's mandate for parental guidance. Public perceptions of marriage are provided for readers through conversations at the Aguilera's party. A lady comments to her friend that "[p]ues, hija, así es, y para la querida son los cariños y los mimos, y para la esposa las cargas de la casa y las responsibilidades del nombre y el qué dirán de la posición" (60). This excerpt reflects the tail end of a conversation overheard by Lucía in which one of the two ladies suggests that Fernando would be a 'catch.' Lucía is outraged and shocked by the suggestion, as it goes against the notions of marriage espoused by the Maríns. The contrast implied is obvious: as a good angel of the home, Lucía would never consider unfaithfulness, nor would she suspect her husband of it. Throughout both Aves sin nido and Herencia Matto de Turner implies that the relationship shared by the Maríns is to be imitated; however, she also suggests that in Lima it is a
rarity to find such happiness. As the Maríns leave the Aguileras' party, they are again presented as exemplary, and it is suggested that Margarita will follow in their footsteps: "en el carruaje quedaban encerradas dos parejas en quienes estaba representada la dicha humana como una rareza social. Un matrimonio en la realidad de la ventura, dos adolescentes con la esperanza de la felicidad" (88). As such, the Maríns embody Matto de Turner's prescription for happiness for Peru. Margarita and Ernesto, as the new generation of citizens, will continue demonstrating the exemplary leadership which they have learned from Fernando and Lucía.

The Aguileras' marriage counterpoints the Maríns'. From its first appearance, it is obvious that the Aguileras' is not exemplary:

en la casa, doña Nieves era el sargento y don Pepe el cabo,
como él mismo decía cuando acrecían las grescas conyugales y don Pepe confesaba paladinamente que casarse era suicidarse, asegurando que fue sabio de tomo y de lomo el que dijo que el matrimonio era la tumba del amor y la cuna de los celos, de las impertinencias y del hastío. (39)

The picture painted here of the Aguilera's marriage provides a stark contrast to the harmony of the Maríns. The primary target of Matto de Turner's rebuke is doña Nieves, whose lifestyle does not match the purity implied by her name. She is described as "la hija legítima y predilecta de la vanidad y del orgullo" (40). The narrator is careful to point out that Camila and Dolores would have had very happy futures if their mother had
not intervened (40). The text is not particularly subtle in its implication that doña Nieves does not embody the ideals so valued by the Marínís. Doña Nieves is only interested in money and is therefore not able to provide worthy suitors for her daughters.

To attract wealthy potential husbands for her daughters doña Nieves holds many social functions which are not approved of by her husband. The discord between Pepe and Nieves is highlighted through Pepe’s thoughts on the matter: “Al señor Aguilera poco le gustaban esas reuniones de forma aparatosas, en que a la par se quiebran las copas de vino y la honra de las damas” (41). These gatherings did not in any way model the liberal virtues of moderation and chastity. The antagonism between the Aguileras is further underscored in their discussions regarding their daughters’ futures. On occasion, Pepe tries to voice his concern by suggesting “a tus hijas no las estás educando para madres de familia y madres de ciudadanos: mira que el oropel envenena el corazón” (41). This statement foreshadows things to come; it also removes the blame for Camila’s impending disaster from Pepe and places it on Nieves. Through Nieves, Matto de Turner proves that women given over to luxury and frivolity are unable to pass on the necessary requirements that daughters will need for mothering good citizens. The problem is not that Pepe is not a strong husband; rather, Nieves’ vanity and pride, combined with her marital infidelity, has marked Camila since infancy (102). Although Camila was an innocent child, her mother’s silent comings and goings with other men left
an indelible impression on Camila's imagination, which in turn affects how she deals with Aquilino. Through these examples, Matto de Turner reiterates her model that transgenerational feminine virtue is the cornerstone of strong nation, further suggesting that lives of vice cannot participate in the building of a new Peru.

The importance of the relationships modeled by the Maríns and the Aguileras lies in the idea that they pass the values which shape their own lives over to their daughters. Margarita and Camila will grow into adulthood inheriting either the vices or the virtues modeled for them. In the interest of the new nation, Matto de Turner promotes the life of virtue: the spiritual love shared by the Maríns can only serve to help Margarita, while the posing of the Aguileras will only damage Camila.

Throughout the text, the narrator and the male characters provide commentary on the difference between spiritual love and sexual attraction. Fernando expounds to Lucía the qualities of love that they share, distinguishing it from pure lust:

Yo te vi y te amé. El amor es como la electricidad que fulmina el rayo; hiere como una chispa, viene del cielo, es luz divina, y por eso el que ama se regenera, se idealiza, sueña, teme, confía y espera en intrincado tropel; porque has de saber, querida, que el amor no es la misma cosa que el instinto del macho y el calor de la hembra. (115)

In this passage Matto de Turner makes it abundantly clear that what
Fernando and Lucía share is to be valued. She infers that the love they share is a spiritual love based on heavenly attributes, as opposed to mere corporeal sensations. It is precisely this difference that the Maríns and the Aguileras model for their children, and which guarantees that Margarita will inherit the ability to love spiritually, while Camila will love only through the flesh.

The entire text is littered with comments regarding the importance of the influence of mothers over their daughters, especially in the area of morality. A conversation between Fernando and his friend Doctor Pedreros sheds light on the novel’s modernizing ideology: “El ejemplo del hogar importa para mí toda la doctrina de moral social. . . . Por eso las esposas y las madres libidinosas dejan a las hijas la herencia fatal” (114). In straightforward language, Matto de Turner underscores her thesis by putting it into the mouths of two socially respectable characters: that of Fernando, the exemplary liberal gentleman, and that of Doctor Pedreros, a medical doctor. She again uses science to prove this idea when Fernando and Ernesto discuss a possible matrimony for Margarita. Fernando posits that science can prove that morality is physically inherited:

La ciencia ha demostrado y patentizado la herencia directa de los males que he enunciado, así como la herencia perruna de la hembra, y toca al hombre honrado precaver su descendencia, pues, crimen, y crimen inaudito es el de dar vida a hijos enfermos. (206)
This declaration gathers all of Matto de Turner's theses. Science, the great provider of knowledge, is able to prove that not only would mothers play an important role in the moral education of their children but their very physical inheritance would also determine the course of their daughters' lives.

Through this "law" of inheritance Matto de Turner explains the difference in the course of Margarita and Camila's lives. As Fernando notes, Margarita has all of the necessary qualities to provide for children: "El corazón de Margarita es tan puro como su sangre; será una buena esposa, madre y ama de sus hijos; tiene la preparación doméstica necesaria" (208). He specifies several markers of preparation, not just physical inheritance. Margarita is of pure blood, but also of a pure heart, and as such will provide both an excellent physical and spiritual example for her daughters. Of course, that she is well prepared in home economics is also mentioned. In contrast, Camila has received none of these gifts from her mother. As her father states: "¡Perra!... ¡perra!... sí señor... la madre... y se me entregó a mí... la hija; es natural que se entregue a otro... ¡la ley hereditaria!... ¡perra! ¡perra!" (181). In this passage it is at times unclear to whom he refers. The mother and the daughter become one and the same, reinforcing the idea that a mirrored image is transferred from one generation to the next.

Matto de Turner seems to want to leave open the possibility Camila might, after all, be able to overcome the life provided for her by doña
Nieves. In a conversation with Doctor Epifanio Raicero, Camila is portrayed as distinct from her mother, and it is suggested that her spiritual attributes could help her break the cycle given to her by doña Nieves. The Doctor expresses the hope that Camila will choose a husband in a manner outside her mother's agenda: "Cierto; su mamá dice que quiere un rico; pero usted tan espiritual, tan buena, puede ser que piense de otro modo, puede ser que encuentre el amor digno de los pobres" (83). However, despite Camila's personality and the best intentions of the Doctor, the law of inheritance proves to be stronger than her difference from her mother:

¿Camila y Lolita por la cruel expiación ajena, iban a recibir la herencia de la madre, a ser las víctimas escogidas para abatir el orgullo y la falsa virtud? Es ley que se cumple con rigorismo doloroso; ley fatal de trasmisiones de sangre que se cumple en las familias por la inevitable sucesión de acontecimientos que dieron origen al dicho de hijo de quesera ¿qué será? (153,154)

Matto de Turner broadens her evidence for a law of physical inheritance by adding an excerpt from popular culture to the scientific reasoning earlier explained through Fernando's voice. This technique allows her to clarify the reasons for Camila's downfall to her readers who might otherwise not understand or accept Fernando's scientific explanations.

Camila and Margarita are interesting characters because through them Matto de Turner is able to demonstrate the potential outcomes of her
thesis. The young women represent the possibilities for virtuous or vice-filled lives within the privileged of Lima. Margarita epitomizes the modernizing elites' agenda for young women of her class, while Camila embodies what Matto de Turner wishes to criticize among the landed elite of Lima. Within an agenda of internal national consolidation, the two young women are used to demonstrate both a thesis for change and progress, and a condemnation of the existing social and political system.

In contrast to Camila, much energy is spent expounding on Margarita's virtues. She epitomizes the future Matto de Turner envisions with the implementation of her modernizing agenda. If this novel is considered the author's guide to the good education of daughters, then Margarita fills this role par excellence. In the first chapter, Margarita is immediately set apart from other young women through two qualities: she is destined to be the spiritual partner of a man (as opposed to a mere sexual object) and she is also to be a future angel of the house. These two characteristics provide her with the subject positioning she will need to continue the matrilineral descent of knowledge provided for her by Marcela and Lucía.

A detailed account of Margarita's attire reveals that she does not use a corset. This distinction is important because it suggests that the curves of Margarita's body are softer and more aristocratic, and therefore those of la mujer nacida para ser codiciada por el hombre de gusto.

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delicado, del hombre que, en el juego de las pasiones, ha alcanzado a distinguir la línea separatista entre la *hembra* destinada a funciones fisiológicas y la *mujer* que ha de ser la copartícipe de las espirituales fruiciones del alma. (33, italics mine)

With these ideas Matto de Turner juxtaposes two different ‘types’ of women: those who wear corsets and those who do not. These two stereotypes are then translated into women who satisfy sexual functions only, and those who are partners in a spiritual union with men. The first juxtaposition is particularly interesting. Women such as Margarita with their softened curves become almost de-sexualized in comparison with women who wear corsets. This underwear defined the lines of a woman’s body, emphasizing the breasts, waist and hips. The erasure of the body’s lines allows Margarita to approach properly a future as an ethereal angel of the house. From the beginning, Margarita is set apart as a member of a more spiritual elite whose future role as a spiritual companion is privileged over the possibility of fulfilling a merely sexual role.

The words with which Matto de Turner chooses to describe these two positions are also of interest. She suggests that the difference lies in being an *hembra* or a *mujer*. The linguistic choice is important because an *hembra* is usually only used to described animals of the female sex while *mujer* is used when referring to grown women. Women whose sexual lives take them outside of Matto de Turner’s carefully prescribed confines of
morality are frequently referred to as *hembras* or as *perras*. The opposition implied between sexuality and spirituality within a relationship is of interest to her because it demonstrates the potential existence of a binary opposition. Matto de Turner’s use of an animal-specific term for a sexualized woman creates an absolute divide between a patriarchally owned, ‘safe’ sexuality (that of the wife, which is so invisible as to be almost erased) and that of a ‘wild’ sexuality. The resulting distinction does not allow women to make her own sexual decisions. Instead, she is faced with black and white choices: to be a human woman or a female animal. The language used by Matto de Turner reinforces this division and also serves to teach fear to women who might consider extra-marital sexual relations.

Matto de Turner reinforces the presence of Margarita’s spirituality in several descriptions of her. The young men walking behind Margarita and Lucía are

>nuevamente cautivados por el dulcísimo timbre de voz que, así en la joven como en la dama de treinta años, parecía un distintivo de familia con abolengos celestiales; lo que era mucho decir en esta época de materialsimo helado y realismo crudo. (35)

Once again Margarita is set apart as exceptional for her generation. The suggestion that her voice is so sweet that she appears to be descended from a heavenly lineage reminds the reader of her future role as an angel
of the house. This role is one she will inherit from her mother Marcela and her adoptive parent Lucía. Thus Margarita’s asexuality, and the quality of her voice, underscore her position within the modernizing elites’ agenda for the nation. She will be an angel of the home and pass on to future generations the same education that she herself received. Through the ‘exceptional’ character of Margarita, Matto de Turner is able to state the key components of a virtuous young woman.

Surprisingly very little time is spent on the details of Camila’s character and her life. Perhaps this is because Matto de Turner did not wish to delve into the particulars of the vices produced by Camila’s poor education. However, enough is said about Camila to state in no uncertain terms that she has been raised with a different parental agenda than what Margarita knew. Subtle clues are given to signal the results of this difference. One evening, as Camila and her sister undress, it is revealed that they wear corsets (101). Given Matto de Turner’s previous commentary, the obvious implication of this attire is that the two girls are much more sexualized characters than Margarita. The detail signals that Camila is destined for a very different end than Margarita, as the reader recalls the author’s suggestion that corsets mark women for sexual functions, which in turn operate only in opposition to spiritual relationships. It is implied that, because of less rigorous parenting, Camila will not be able to participate in a spiritual partnership.

The most notable difference in the lives of Camila and Margarita is
the end result of the matrilineal education they have received, which is
the key purpose of Matto de Turner's narrative. Margarita lives a life of
virtue and receives love, while Camila falls into vice and benefits from
none of the things available to Margarita. Ernesto declares to Margarita
that:

El amor es uno, es la planta mágica de rosadas flores, de aroma
embriagador; estas flores, bella niña, brotan espontáneas en
todo clima, en todas las zonas donde existe un corazón
virtuoso, porque el amor es virtud. (204)

The insinuation here is that the love that Ernesto and Margarita share is
virtuous, as they are. This spiritual love is placed in opposition to the
corporeal, limited, sexual love that Camila and Aquilino share. Further
articulating this point, Ernesto describes what a virtuous woman like
Margarita can expect to receive from her husband. He states that
Margarita "será mi ángel bueno, a usted le daré lo que un hombre honrado
sólo da a la mujer digna que adora; es decir, mi corazón, mi nombre, mi
porvenir" (202). Thus, what is offered to the ethereal angel of the home--
a heart, a name and a future--is unavailable to Camila. Aquilino, it is
implied, does not have these things to give except where they have been
falsely created for him by doña Nieves in an attempt to cover up the vices
of her family.

Perhaps one of the most interesting devices that Matto de Turner
uses in Herencia is the moralizing tone applied towards Margarita and
Camila's potential husbands. This aspect of the novel is particularly important because during this period in Peru, marriage was considered the ultimate goal for young women, regardless of class. As Fernando states in *Aves sin nido*, one of the reasons he and Lucía moved to Lima to be able to provide Margarita with a proper education, and then to find a good husband for her (132). In *Herencia*, Matto de Turner goes on to demonstrate that the type of education and the social surroundings provided by a girl's family will determine the type of suitor a daughter attracts. The moral of this part of the novel appears to be that a family will reap what it sows. Naturally, Margarita attracts a young man who fits within the Marín's (and Matto de Turner's) ideals. Camila, on the other hand, finds herself involved with an immigrant whose methods of achieving his version of success are remarkably similar to her mother's. The girls' futures, then, are not only molded by their parental influence, but after marriage they are inextricably tied to their husbands' futures. Thus the lesson runs as follows: educate a daughter well so that she will attract and choose a proper husband who will ensure not only her own felicity, but also national virtue.

Margarita's suitor, the aptly named Ernesto, embodies all of the same virtues that the Marins do. When Fernando seeks out a reference for Ernesto, he is told

> Es uno de los poquísimos jóvenes de mérito que tenemos, señor; porque hoy la juventud se distingue por fatua,
Ernesto is a more than suitable match for Margarita; he is, in fact, exceptional. Not only does he not possess the above-mentioned vices, he is also a law student. As the reader of Aves sin nido is well aware, this profession is held in particular esteem by Fernando (Aves sin nido 90). In fact, a career in law fulfilled perfectly the liberal ideals of a gentleman’s career. The only possible negative trait he has is that he possesses a history of past love affairs. However, even this “fault” is transformed into a positive attribute: after receiving Fernando’s blessing to ask Margarita to marry him, Ernesto returns home and burns all of the mementos he has carefully saved from his past liaisons (213-214). This act is presented as the ultimate sacrifice to the altar of love he has built for his intended (214). Even Ernesto’s relative poverty is resolved when he conveniently wins the lottery. Thus, all things considered, he will, it is implied, be the necessary exemplary counterpart who will with Margarita form the morally sound future of Peru.

The political and social contexts in which Aquilino is situated serve not only to highlight his opposition to Ernesto, but they are also at the same time potentially troubling for the reader. Aquilino is a poor Italian immigrant who earns his living by making potato alcohol and selling it in his pulpería. Nowhere in the novel does Matto de Turner make any

57 It is interesting to note that Margarita’s first love, from the previous novel, Manuel, was also a law student.
disparaging comments regarding immigration, yet the fact remains that Aquilino is the only character of any importance in the novel that is not of Spanish or Peruvian descent, and he is certainly not presented in a favourable light. Matto de Turner’s purpose in portraying Aquilino as a foreigner is unclear. While his heritage is textually present only through his frequent lapses into Italian, it is also precisely this ‘otherness’ that enables him to conceal his old identity when he becomes Camila’s husband. As a poor immigrant he has been unable to infiltrate Lima’s upper class, but through the pretext of being an Italian ‘count,’ and thus foreign to the class, he is able to disguise his ‘true’ self.

Unlike Ernesto, Aquilino is poor, uneducated, and ambitious; and his attentions are certainly not solicited by Camilla’s family. While the first three of these qualities could perhaps be construed as ‘noble,’ they eventually function to highlight the Aguilera family’s vices. After marrying Camila to Aquilino, doña Nieves discovers that he has a propensity for gambling and drinking. The problem is so grave that she is finally forced to mortgage more of her properties to maintain her new son-in-law (237-238). Through Aquilino, Matto de Turner amply demonstrates her thesis that the vices of families such as the Aguilera’s will only attract the attentions of men who are less than desirable matches for their daughters. Her conclusion is unwavering: vice will attract vice.

Another set of moral contrasts in the text is the manner in which
the suitors contemplate the women they desire. Matto de Turner allows Ernesto nothing but pure thoughts about Margarita, while Aquilino’s thoughts towards Camila are driven by pure lust. After his first glimpse of Margarita on the street Ernesto states to his friend:

Te aseguro que por la chica iba yo a la vicaría./ No hables tonterías, chico. Hoy los hombres estamos en alza, ya ellas nos enamoran./ Pues me declaro en baja. (62)

Thus, from the very first moment Ernesto is posited as interested in love. As will be shown, this immediately places him in opposition to Aquilino. While listing Margarita’s qualities to his mother, Ernesto includes “[s]encilla, modesta, buena, hermosa” (140). As he is speaking with his mother, he might only voice that which she would like to hear; however, his private thoughts maintain his interest in Margarita as a woman of character:

¡Será mía! ¡Mía! Qué mujer más digna de llevarla al altar, coronada de azahares, luciendo esos ojos soñolientos y melancólicos detrás del finísimo velo de novia. ¡Y después! ¡la dicha de quitar yo mismo uno a uno, los broches de su corpiño y comerme a besos las cerezas que guarda en los labios! ¡ella! ¡ella! (168)

The narrative in this passage is careful to mention that even when Ernesto contemplates his future sexual relationship with Margarita, he does not consider it possible prior to marriage. All of Ernesto’s meditations are
meant to flag his, and most likely Margarita's, virtue. In their commitment to the moral agenda of the modernizing ideology, Ernesto's thoughts unmistakably contrast with Aquilino's much more overtly sexual ones of Camila.

From the beginning of his interest through to the end of the novel, Aquilino only contemplates Camila in terms of a sexual conquest and as a point of entrance into the Aguilera family. Unlike Ernesto, he does not have a mother to confide in; but he does comment to a customer, doña Espíritu, that "[e]stá hermosa como las vírgenes de mi país, de comérsela" (46). Aquilino's sexuality is always likened to that of an animal force, as the narrator carefully articulates:

"con sonrisa que dejaba entrever los triunfos del macho, sin la cautela del hombre, repasaba en la memoria el archivo animal, donde estaban detalladas una a una las mujeres que había poseído, siempre por accidente, jamás por consentimiento deliberado. (49)

Later, the narrative mentions that Aquilino is like a tiger waiting for his prey. In this case the prey is Camila, who is on her way to meet him in the courtyard (179).

In these and other incidents, Aquilino's thoughts and actions are based purely on his body's lustful instincts, and not on the spiritual values of love espoused by the Maríns. In fact, Aquilino inverts the order of events followed by Ernesto and that gained the Maríns approval of him:
to marry Camila, Aquilino seduces her and then marries her. While Ernesto categorically rejects any option of lustful interactions with Margarita, Aquilino sees sexual relations with Camila as a strategy: "--¡Iré resuelto a todo!--se decía mentalmente--primero el ruego, después la persuasión, el engaño; luego el miedo y por último la fuerza del nervudo sobre el débil" (156). In this relationship, Camila is merely a vehicle through which Aquilino is able to gain entrance into Lima's society.

Given the nature of Ernesto's and Aquilino's thoughts toward the young women, Matto de Turner's privileging of Ernesto and Margarita's relationship is transparent. She posits that they have the essential characteristics of a spiritual, and not purely sexual, love that will provide them the skills necessary to model their relationship after the Maríns. Along with their respective suitors, the two girls create relationships based on opposite personality characteristics. Matto de Turner has set them up so that the one founded on the spiritual love espoused by the Maríns will prosper, while the other, grounded on a sexual attraction will wither and die.

The political allegory in Herencia is very transparently written. It is one predicated on purely moral terms. Matto de Turner's politics in this case are relevant not in terms of the state, but in the sense of the nation. Here she is working within Anderson's imagined community, and using the press to disseminate a morality for the national body to consume. The prescriptions contained in Herencia are of a small 'p' political nature.
They are concerned with the moral virtue of the nation, not with the functions of the governing state body. Within the text Matto de Turner's own political and social values are thinly disguised as the Maríns'. Her thesis is in line with these beliefs, and its clarity serves a dual purpose for the reader. As what will transpire between the characters is obvious from the beginning of the novel, readers are able to focus on the political and social agenda she advocates. Read as an allegory, Herencia highlights the political and social shifts in Peru during the end of the nineteenth century as it sought both modernization and progress.
Conclusion

Human beings do not perceive things whole; we are not gods but wounded creatures, cracked lenses, capable only of fractured perceptions. Partial beings, in all senses of that phrase. Meaning is a shaky edifice we build out of scraps, dogmas, childhood injuries, newspaper articles, chance remarks, old films, small victories, people hated, people loved...


A period of national reconstruction followed the devastating losses suffered by Peru in the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). Through writing, many intellectuals played a crucial role in an attempt to create an internally consolidated national imaginary. Among this group, Clorinda Matto de Turner was a particularly outspoken member, both as a journalist and as a novelist. Throughout her literary career, she demonstrated her commitment to unifying and modernizing Peru. In analyzing her writing, it becomes evident that Matto de Turner was primarily concerned with the creation of a new national identity. This discourse was constructed through various 'feminized' domains of influence. In *Aves sin nido* and *Herencia* the Marín family can be seen as an allegorical representation of the Peruvian state, illustrating how the very idea of nation is constructed through the practices of domesticity and education.

In examining both Matto de Turner’s life and her work, it becomes obvious that she was as prone to contradiction as are all other human beings. She perceived the world, as Rushdie would have it, through cracked lenses. To assume that the life and work of an author would be
void of discrepancies is to assign them super-human powers. Matto de Turner was a nineteenth-century writer who desired social and political change on a national scale; the inconsistencies she demonstrates underline the ongoing development of her ideas, and the conflicts involved in their realization. These tensions were augmented by Matto de Turner's involvement with a group of women who struggled to establish their authority as writers. While she had an unquestionable impact on her society which continues to resonate even today, it should come as no surprise that there are contradictions contained within her vision for progress.

After reading both novels, readers could be forgiven for finding Matto de Turner's mythologization of Lima in *Aves sin nido* and her subsequent strong critique of it in *Herencia* contradictory. It remains unclear where she believed that the Maríns' modernizing agenda could be played out most effectively. Even though both Killac and Lima are filled with vice, the Maríns do not flee from the latter as they once did from the former. Perhaps this is because Lima offers Fernando and Lucia a less hostile space from which to transform society. Matto de Turner's apparently ambivalent attitude towards these two cities is perhaps better understood once her own experiences are taken into account. It is difficult to believe that Lima was always welcoming to the reforms proposed by its intellectuals and, as readers know, Matto de Turner eventually fled Lima. Given this historical context, her decision to position Killac as
dystopic while, at the same time, suggesting Lima as vision of perfection--but from a distance--allows her to interrogate prevailing nineteenth-century binary oppositions between the Sierra and the Coast. Matto de Turner makes clear that, in the end, neither locale is wholly evil nor perfectly virtuous.

From within the modernizing program for national consolidation, Matto de Turner examines the role of women. One of the most obvious contradictions in her work involves the contrasting spaces occupied by her female characters as compared to the one in which she lived in Lima. While Marcela, Lucía, doña Petronila and Margarita are consigned almost exclusively to private domestic spaces in accordance with prescriptions for angels of the house, Matto de Turner lived a very different life. Through her social and political activities--for example, as editor of *El Perú Ilustrado*--she garnered a degree of public acclaim and a level of criticism few men ever attracted. The character of doña Petronila perhaps best demonstrates a movement between the private and the public spheres; such fluidity is more in line with the life Matto de Turner fashioned for herself. None of the female characters are able to leave behind the angelic paradigm completely, as Matto de Turner attempted to do. Even doña Petronila’s actions are determined not by a desire for self-definition, but by the ideological maternal ideals of Peru’s modernizing elites. It is possible that Matto de Turner offers these female characters as alternatives to her own tension-filled efforts to leave the private
sphere in order to participate politically and find authorial legitimacy. The discrepancy between her fictional characters and her life remains difficult to reconcile. Nevertheless, this contradiction may also be read as one of the many positions Matto de Turner embraced while trying to understand and resolve the issues faced by women in nineteenth-century Peru.

Matto de Turner's writings create a national allegory that is primarily for the consumption of the modernizing elite. While her work recognizes stories from the margins, it does not envision them as a part of the future. People who do not move in tandem with the Creole elite are to be either assimilated or excluded. Although she includes the life stories of the Yupanquis in Aves sin nido, in their death they are removed from the future nation. Their daughters Margarita and Rosalía are assimilated or are not at all mentioned in Herencia. The only mulatto to appear in the two novels does so in the latter, and also perishes. As such, the works are troubling for twentieth-century readers; unless they can be assimilated into the Creole class, all marginal characters--Juan and Marcela Yupanqui, Margarita and Rosalía, and Espíritu (the mulatta)--are absent from Matto de Turner's vision for a modern, progressive nation.

Jean Franco has suggested that, while national movements in the twentieth century search for a heterogeneous vision, those projected by nineteenth-century intellectuals were predominately homogeneous in nature ("A Ghost Dance"). Matto de Turner expresses this homogeneity in
her novels, and yet also calls for land and Church reforms to better the lives of indigenous peoples. This apparent inconsistency between her homogenizing vision for Peru and her strongly voiced concern for indigenous conditions creates unresolved tensions within her work. This contradiction is best apprehended by understanding Matto de Turner was not alone in her unconscious racism, but formed part of a larger group of intellectuals who, through their "fractured perceptions," were unable to conceive of a heterogeneous nation.

Even if readers do not consider Matto de Turner's work radical by contemporary standards, it is crucial that the importance of her oeuvre in her own time be recognized. It is also important to study her works in their entirety, not as fragmented pieces, so as to better understand her complete agenda for national progress. Simply put, while Matto de Turner's work lends itself to many types of interpretation, its study with the historical context of the modernizing elites' agenda for progress is imperative. Although Aves sin nido has been studied within other theoretical frameworks, the most notable among them being indigenismo, this novel is only the starting point for Matto de Turner's sequence of thesis novels. Much room for worthwhile and creative scholarship remains before an overarching analysis of Matto de Turner's fictional representations of Peru can be enunciated.

The arguments presented in this thesis provide many points of departure for future studies. Questions regarding the socio-economic
nature of Peruvian intellectuals’ and politicians’ search for modernization and progress arise from Matto de Turner’s fictional accounts. A larger study of the connections between this agenda and changes in educational policies affecting women has yet to be undertaken. Late nineteenth-century governmental attitudes concerning women’s schooling, as demonstrated through prescribed literature and other textbooks, requires sustained examination. If, as Matto de Turner suggested, the education of new citizens is indeed paramount to the nation’s success, it stands to reason that governments would manipulate such programmes for their own aims. Along with a study of educational practices, the means by which morality was legally constructed remains open for exploration. The degree of confluence between Matto de Turner’s moral agenda and the civil code of Peru also needs to be determined. A study of prescriptions for femininity, as evidenced in school textbooks, and the legalization of the ensuing social moral code would lend further clarity to the national project of Matto de Turner. The dividends of such endeavors will enable readers to better assess Matto de Turner’s role in Peruvian intellectuals’ nation-building project.
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