

Book Markets and Popular Learning in Nineteenth-Century Lima and Bogotá

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Scholarship on the history of education in nineteenth-century Peru and Colombia often highlights the weakness of new republican governments as they tried to expand education within a backdrop of political and economic instability, and discord over educational content and teaching methods.¹ Emphasis on public institutions, however, has obscured the significance of informal modes of education for broader social and economic history. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the proliferation of bookstores and expansion of book markets helped people in urban centers gain access to more affordable textbooks and instructional materials about a variety of trades and occupations. Taking Peru and Colombia as case studies, my research analyzes the production, circulation, and reception of educational texts within and outside the classroom, and self-instruction through popular, written compositions found in textbooks and instructional manuals. The broad dissemination and content of these “everyday reading” materials expose how writers, booksellers, and teachers built new learning spaces that promoted literacy, diversified readerships and honed skills of the urban labor force.²

¹ For recent works, see Antonio Espinoza, *Education and the State in Modern Peru: Primary Schooling in Lima, 1821-C. 1921* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and Bárbara Yadira García Sánchez, *De la Educación doméstica a la educación pública en Colombia. Transiciones de la Colonia a la República* (Bogotá: Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, 2007). Also see Carlos Daniel Valcárcel, *Breve historia de la educación peruana* (Lima: Editorial Educación, 1975); Margarita Guerra and Lourdes Leiva Viacava, *Historia de la educación peruana en la República, 1821-1876* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú—Universidad Femenina del Sagrado Corazón, 2001); Fernán E. González, *Educación y estado en la historia de Colombia* (Bogotá: Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, 1979); Mark Hanson, *Educational Reform and Administrative Development: The Cases of Colombia and Venezuela* (Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1986).

² On the concept of “everyday reading” see William Acree, *Everyday Reading: Print Culture and Collective Identity in the Río de la Plata, 1780-1910* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011), 7-8.

Research Questions and Methods

The works by book historian Robert Darnton and bibliographers Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker helped shape my research methods. Darnton's "communication circuit" encourages scholars to address broad social, economic, political and cultural factors that influence the relationships and interconnectivity that run from the author to the publisher, the bookseller, the reader, and other actors involved in the production and reception of books.³ Adams and Barker add the concept of the book's mode of "survival" which takes into account the "reworking of texts through new editions, translations, and the changing contexts both of reading and of literature in general."⁴ Instead of focusing on the history of a single work or text, however, my research takes an entire genre—that of didactic literature—and analyzes its proliferation and uses in everyday life. I guided my research using the following questions: What types of textbooks and educational materials circulated in Peru and Colombia? What establishments supported the production and supply of these materials? What do educational materials say about the demand for education or the constitution of urban readerships? What do readerships and the materiality of didactic books and other media reveal about informal education and reading culture? How were educational materials used and what was their impact on urban workforces?

With the generous support from the History Project and the Institute for New Economic Thinking, I conducted research at the archives of the Biblioteca Nacional and Archivo General

³ Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 65-83.

⁴ Thomas R. Adams and Nicholas Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book" in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society* (London, 1993). The quote is by Robert Darnton in his 1993 reassessment of the model, see "'What is the history of books?' Revisited," *Modern Intellectual History* 4 (3): 504.

de la Nación in Lima and in those of the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango and Biblioteca Nacional in Bogotá. Although I planned on comparing four major urban centers within Peru and Colombia, my research yielded mostly materials for the capital cities of Lima and Bogotá and only sparse information for the cities of Medellín and Arequipa. This report, therefore, focuses on my findings for the capital cities. My research methodology included a search for educational media (books, textbooks, newspapers, and manuals), and documents about the establishments (publishing houses, bookstores, libraries, and schools) that helped produce and circulate these materials. I also investigated the teachers, writers, and editors who authored or led efforts to disseminate didactic literature. In order to gain a better understanding of the practical impact of these materials, I gathered information from annual directories, government documents, and census data.

Preliminary analysis of the content and paratext of didactic manuals and textbooks demonstrates that these materials circulated broadly and addressed diverse readerships.⁵ Census data from government sources and annual directories support this conclusion because they reveal high urban literacy rates among diverse groups at the turn of the century, particularly for people in Lima. This report details these findings beginning with a discussion of the proliferation of urban bookstores in Lima and Bogotá. The second and third parts of this report analyze bookstore catalogues and advertisements, and of some of the salable books found in these establishments. They unearth the emergence of a popular market for school textbooks and didactic manuals and reveal how authors and booksellers sought to expand informal and formal economies by shaping the skills of their readers.

⁵ Gerard Genette defines paratext as the accompanying devices and conventions (including the author's name, a title, a preface, illustrations) to the main text of a literary work that mediate or present the work to its readers. See Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-4.

The Nineteenth-Century Bookstores of Bogotá and Lima

Bricks-and-mortar, exclusive bookstores proliferated in Lima during a period of relative prosperity in the middle of the nineteenth century. As a result of guano fertilizer sales, Peru underwent an economic boom that generated immense wealth for coastal elites, and expanded some of Lima's middle sectors.⁶ Affluent men and women as well as members of a growing class of teachers and writers attended salons [*tertulias*] where they discussed science, politics, European literature, and the work of a growing number of Latin American writers.⁷ Several bookstores were established to meet the demand for books by Lima's burgeoning professional and merchant middle class. Lima's 1860 directory lists four establishments that were exclusively dedicated to the sale of books.⁸ Bookstores and publishing houses capitalized on the economic boom by producing and selling a variety of newspapers, books and literary magazines that catered to the interests of their customers. By 1876, Limeños could find reading materials in twelve bookstores and dozens of other establishments that also offered books for sale. They included stationary shops [*almacenes de útiles de escritorio*] as well as printing houses [*imprentas*].⁹

The boom in the publishing industry and book commerce was followed by a brief contraction in the 1880s as Peru entered a period of economic depression and political turmoil, but these industries began to recover in the following decade. Commercial directories reveal that no more than eight bookstores were open for business between 1887 and 1898.¹⁰ Some

⁶ Peter Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 159.

⁷ See Ricardo Palma, *Recuerdos de España precedidos de La bohemia de mi tiempo, 1848 á 1860* (Lima: Imprenta La Industria, 1899) and Juana Manuela Gorriti, *Obras completas*, ed. Alicia Martorell, vol. V *Veladas literarias en Lima* (Salta, Argentina: Fundación del Banco del Noroeste, 1992).

⁸ Manuel A. Fuentes, *Guía histórico-descriptiva administrativa, judicial y de domicilio de Lima* (Lima: Librería Central, 1860), 189, Fondo Antiguo, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (BNP), Lima, Perú.

⁹ *Almanaque del comercio de Lima, 1876* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1876), 164-200.

¹⁰ See Gastón Soto y Ramírez, *Guía de domicilio é industrial de Lima y Comercial de las provincias del Callao y Huancayo correspondiente al año 1887* (Lima: Imp. Masías y Ca., 1887), 151-173 and Carlos B. Cisneros y Rómulo E. García, *Guía Ilustrada de Lima, El Callao y sus alrededores* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1898), 184, Fondo Antiguo, BNP, Lima, Perú.

bookstores closed their doors shortly after Peru entered an economic crisis that began with the global decline for cotton, one of Peru's leading exports. Making matters worse, depleting guano deposits crippled the fertilizer state monopoly and plummeted government revenues.¹¹ In addition, Peru entered the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), a military conflict that pitted Peru and Bolivia against Chile and saw the resounding defeat of the first two countries. The conflict also triggered the collapse of Peru's political system and a civil war that further disrupted economic activities.¹² As the Peruvian economy began to recover in the 1890s, so did Lima's publishing industry and book commerce. Booksellers were particularly interested in invigorating a national book industry.¹³ By 1910, the city already had thirteen bookstores, with seven operating their own publishing houses.¹⁴

Colombia also saw a proliferation of exclusive bookstores in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of the businesses exclusively dedicated to book commerce included the establishment of Don Fidel Pombo, Librería Barcelonesa, Librería Americana, and Librería Torres Caicedo. As some of these bookstores closed or changed ownership, new bookstores like the Librería Colombiana and Librería Nueva were established.¹⁵ According to a contemporary Colombian writer and historian, Laureano García Ortiz (1867-1945), the new bookstores appealed to Bogotá's growing and more refined readerships.¹⁶ Businessmen Salvador Camacho Roldan (1827-1900) and Joaquín Emilio Tamayo, founders of the Librería Colombiana, imported

¹¹ Peter Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes*, 180.

¹² See Bruce W. Farcau, *The Ten Cents War: Chile, Peru, and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific, 1879-1884* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2000).

¹³ Bookseller Juan Galland sought to promote national textbooks in particular, see "Rasgos biográficos" *La Escuela Peruana* (Lima), September 1, 1892, Año 1, no 6, 134. Carlos Prince promoted national books through one of the sections of his *Boletín Bibliográfico*, a newspaper organ for his bookstore and publishing house. See "Prospecto" and "Bibliografía Nacional in *Boletín Bibliográfico* (Lima), January 1, 1888.

¹⁴ *Directorio Anual del Perú para 1910* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1910), 499-500.

¹⁵ Laureano García Ortiz, "Las viejas librerías de Bogotá" in *Discursos académicos*, Biblioteca de la Presidencia de la República, 2 (19) (Bogotá: Editorial ABC, 1955), 21-39.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 37.

books, but also edited and published works by Colombian intellectuals.¹⁷ Toward the end of the century, writer and politician Jorge Roa (1858-1927) opened the doors of his Librería Nueva.¹⁸ Like Tamayo and Camacho Roldan, Roa helped disseminate Colombian literature, particularly through the affordable volumes of the collection *Biblioteca Popular*. Like in Lima, *papelerías* or stationary shops also sold books, particularly school textbooks, along with an array of office, business and school supplies [*útiles de escritorio*]. By 1898, the capital of Colombia had at least 12 bookstores, 18 printing houses, and 9 stationary shops.¹⁹

The proportion of bookstores to inhabitants in the capitals of Peru and Colombia was similar to that of some Latin American capitals by the turn of the nineteenth century. With a population that hovered around 120,000 people in 1898, Bogotá had no less than 1 bookstore for every 10,000 people.²⁰ In 1876, Lima had a higher number of bookstores with 1 for every 6,260 inhabitants, but the ratio changed to about 1 per 12,995 inhabitants in the years following the devastating War of the Pacific.²¹ By the turn of the century, Lima had about 1 bookstore for every 10, 837 people.²² In 1896, with a population of around 80,000 people, a directory for

¹⁷ Ibid, 32.

¹⁸ Ibid, 37-38.

¹⁹ See entries for imprentas, librerías and papelerías in Lisimaco Palau, *Directorio general de Colombia. Comercial, geográfico, administrativo y estadístico, Año 1* (Bogotá: Imprenta nacional, 1898), 311-321, Libros Raros y Manuscritos, Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango (BLAA), Bogotá, Colombia.

²⁰ Ibid, 84. According to Palau's 1898 directory, Bogotá had over 120,000 people. The 1912 census puts the city's total population at 121, 257. See Pedro M. Carreño, *Censo General de la República de Colombia levantado el 5 de Marzo de 1912* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1912), 334, Libros Raros y Manuscritos, BLAA, Bogotá, Colombia. During the nineteenth century, Colombia underwent various constitutional changes which rearranged the country's territory and population, a process that complicates a more accurate estimate of Bogotá's population. Also see Germán Rodrigo Mejía Pavony, *Los años del cambio. Historia urbana de Bogotá, 1820-1910* (Bogotá, CEJA, 2000), 287-288.

²¹ For 1876 data on bookstores, see op. cited *Almanaque del comercio de Lima 1876*, 181. Lima had a population of 100, 156 in 1876 and 103, 556 in 1891, according to *Almanaque de "El Comercio" para 1892* (Lima: Imprenta de "El Comercio", 1892), 165. Information on bookstores after the War of the Pacific can be found in the op. cited Gaston Soto y Ramirez, *Guía de domicilio é industrial de Lima y Comercial de las provincias del Callao y Huancayo correspondiente al año 1887*, 151-173 and Carlos B. Cisneros y Rómulo E. García, *Guía Ilustrada de Lima, El Callao y sus alrededores*, 184.

²² Lima's total population in 1908 was 140, 884 according to the *Censo de la provincia de Lima* (Lima: Impr. De "La Opinión Nacional, 1915), 381, Colección Especial, Biblioteca Central "Luis Angel Cisneros," Pontificia

Quito, Ecuador advertised 9 bookstores. The Ecuadorian capital, therefore had 1 bookstore for every 8,888 residents.²³ These ratios compare unfavorably to those of European cities like Brandenburg and Berlin where there was a bookshop for every 3,700 inhabitants in 1913, or to Paris which had achieved a ratio of 1:2,000 in the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁴ We know, however, that stationary shops, printing houses and newspaper agencies also advertised the sale of a wide range of textbooks, manuals and religious books. In Bogotá for example, adding the number of bookstores and stationary shops that were active in 1898 yields the ratio of one bookstore or stationary shop to approximately 5,714 people.²⁵

Textbooks for the School and the Home

Through editorial work, publishing and advertising, booksellers became instrumental in developing national textbook industries and broadening the market for instructional manuals in Lima and Bogotá. During the colonial period and the early decades of the nineteenth century, a variety of European books and educational textbooks circulated in Spanish America, but by the second half of the century, these materials began to compete with those written, edited or translated in countries like Peru and Colombia.²⁶ New book markets certainly benefited from improvements in paper and printing technology, and from laws that favored freedom of the press,

Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, Peru. For bookstores, see op. cited E. Paulet, *Directorio Annual del Perú para 1910*, 499-500.

²³ Adolfo Giménez, *Guía Topográfica, Estadística, Política, Industrial, Mercantil y de Domicilios de la Ciudad de Quito con las efemérides, anales históricos y acontecimientos mas notables hasta el año 1862* (Quito: Tipografía de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios, 1894), 165 and 245. 165, <https://archive.org/details/guatopogrificaes00jimgoog>.

²⁴ Lyons, Martyn, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 150.

²⁵ Lisimaco Palau, *Directorio general de Colombia. Comercial, geográfico, administrativo y estadístico*, Año 1, 311-32.

²⁶ On the circulation of books in colonial Lima, see Pedro Guibovich, “La literatura francesa en el virreinato del Perú: comercio legal y contraband en el period tardío colonial,” *Historica* XXXI.1 (2007): 85-105. On Colombia see Pedro Guibovich, *Los ilustrados de Nueva Granada, 1760 – 1808* (Medellín, Colombia: Fondo Editorial Universidad EAFIT, 2002), 215-273.

but also from the efforts of teachers and writers who sought to educate the masses through textbooks and instructional materials customized for local readers.²⁷ At the same time, authors and booksellers needed to make the cost and content of books appealing for broad groups in order to ensure their successful reception. They achieved this through the creation of books that abridged, compiled, and simplified complex information and by marketing their works for use in schools and homes. The development of national book industries that largely rested on the production of school textbooks, and materials about diverse trades and occupations, therefore, also reveals a popular interest in both formal and informal ways of learning.

Benito Gil published and sold many of the instructional reading materials written by Lima's teachers and writers in the second half of the nineteenth century. A native of Spain born sometime between 1821 and 1822, Benito Gil migrated to Lima and established his first bookstore in 1854.²⁸ In the first newspaper advertisements of his Librería Hispano-Francesa, Gil sought the attention of readers by promoting his collection of the latest and most important European books from prominent Spanish and French bookstores. He emphasized the bookstore had a wide range of books about literature, as well as textbooks, compilations, and instructional

²⁷ On the explosion of print culture in Latin America during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Angel Rama, *The Lettered City*, ed. by Charles Chasteen (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996); Victor Uribe-Uran "The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Apr., 2000): 425-457; Sara Castro-Klarén and John Charles Chasteen, *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); William Acree, *Everyday Reading: Print Culture and Collective Identity in the Río de la Plata, 1780-1910* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011); Ortega, Francisco A., and Alexander Chaparro Silva, *Disfraz y pluma de todos: opinión pública y cultura política, siglos XVII y XIX* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2012).

²⁸ Benito Gil's approximate birth date is based on his 1877 will; he was fifty-five years old at the time it was written, see Escribano Felix Sotomayor, "Testamento de Benito Gil," 18 January 1877, Folio 477 Indice Terán Tomo iii, 124, Protocolos Notariales, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Lima, Peru. According to a receipt issued to Lima's national library in 1884, the bookstore was established in 1854. See "Librería Universal de Benito Gil," Legajo 71, Biblioteca Nacional 1883-1909, Ministerio de Justicia Culto, Beneficencia e Instrucción (RJ), AGN, Lima, Peru.

manuals on the various arts and sciences.²⁹ By the late 1860s, however, Gil rebranded his bookstore as Librería Universal, a name that no longer emphasized Eurocentric literature.³⁰ Gil's establishment also began publishing the textbooks of educator and fellow Spanish émigré to Peru, Sebastian Lorente.³¹ In the following decades, Gil published the work of many other local teachers and writers including that of Manuel M. Salazar, A. T. Whilar, Miguel Antonio de la Lama, José Luis Torres, Máximo Vázquez, José Francisco Maticorena, Artidoro García Godos, Leopoldo Arosemena, and others.³²

Authors seeking to publish educational content had many more options by the last decades of the nineteenth century. In addition to publishing their work with Benito Gil, they could also use the services of Juan Galland who advertised his bookstore and editorial house as “provider of school textbooks and materials of the republic.”³³ The bookstore's periodical, *La Escuela Peruana*, emphasized Gil's interest in publishing more textbooks written by national

²⁹ See “Librería Hispano Francesa,” *El Comercio* (Lima), July 9, 1858. The advertisement can be found in *Guía de Domicilio de Lima para el año 1864* (Lima: Imprenta del Autor Administrada por Carlos Prince, 1863).

³⁰ Gil began using “Librería Universal” as the name of his publishing house in 1968, see for example Jean Joseph Gaume, *Compendio abreviado del catecismo de perseverancia para el uso de los niños* (Lima: Librería Universal, 1868), Fondo Antiguo, BNP, Lima, Perú. An 1878 advertisement in *El Comercio* used “Librería Universal” over the previous “Librería Hispano-Francesa,” see “Librería Universal de Benito Gil,” *El Comercio* (Lima), February 9, 1878.

³¹ Some of the titles by Sebastian Lorente included *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austríaca, 1542-1598* (Lima: Benito Gil, 1863), *Primeras lecciones de geografía astronómica: para el Colegio de Guadalupe* (Lima: Benito Gil, 1865), *Catecismo histórico de la doctrina cristiana para el colegio Guadalupe* (Lima: Libr. de Benito Gil, 1865), available in Fondo Antiguo, BNP, Lima, Perú.

³² Manuel M. Salazar, *Gramática castellana para los colegios de instrucción media* (Lima: Benito Gil, 1871); A. T. Whilar, *Curso teórico-práctico de gramática castellana según el novísimo método seguido por los mas notables gramáticos alemanes, franceses, ingleses y norteamericanos* (Lima: Benito Gil, 1888); Miguel Antonio de la Lama, *Catón Cívico* (Lima: Benito Gil, 1889); José Luis Torres, *Catecismo patriótico y los mártires* (Lima: Benito Gil, 1893); Máximo Vázquez, *Estudio de la constitución peruana para los cursantes del segundo grado de instrucción media y para los ciudadanos en general* (Lima: Benito Gil, 1899); José Francisco Maticorena, *Compendio de Geografía Universal* (Lima, Benito Gil, 1899); Artidoro García Godos, *Compendio de aritmética práctica conforme al programa oficial para uso de los alumnos de instrucción primaria de primer y segundo grado* (Lima: Benito Gil, 1896), Fondo Antiguo, BNP, Lima, Perú.

³³ The original text stated “*Casa Provedora de los Colegios y Escuelas de la República*” in *La Escuela Peruana* (Lima), March 1, 1896, *Revistas Antiguas de Lima*, Hemeroteca, BNP, Lima, Perú.

authors and for teaching the Peruvian masses.³⁴ Carlos Prince offered “advantageous publishing contracts” for the authors of school textbooks.³⁵ Librería San Pedro specialized in selling religious paraphernalia and catechisms, but still published three out of the four textbooks by teacher and writer Teresa González de Fanning (1836-1918).³⁶

Many teachers and authors of school textbooks wrote them in order to provide students with a book customized for the needs of a specific class, school or *colegio*, but some authors also hoped their work would be used beyond the classroom. Máximo Vázquez, a jurist and teacher, hoped his civics textbook would be read by people beyond his classroom at Lima’s Colegio de Guadalupe. He believed it could be useful to all citizens who had not attended formal juridical classes and particularly, if they held a position in government.³⁷ Similarly, Leopoldo Arosemena wrote a book on Spanish grammar that could be used as an autodidactic text by people outside a formal classroom setting. According to the author, his readers only needed basic notions of Spanish grammar to teach themselves how to write correctly with the use of his *Ortografía fundamental de la lengua castellana*.³⁸

In Colombia, Milcíades Chaves wrote his *Elementos de educación* (1899) for the “use of schools and families.”³⁹ Perhaps the enthusiastic endorsement of renowned author Soledad Acosta

³⁴ “La exposición del 92,” *La Escuela Peruana* (Lima), May 1, 1892, Revistas Antiguas de Lima, Hemeroteca, BNP, Lima, Perú

³⁵ *Boletín Bibliográfico* (Lima), January 1, 1888, Revistas Antiguas de Lima, Hemeroteca, BNP, Lima, Perú.

³⁶ See Teresa González de Fanning, *Lecciones de economía doméstica* (Lima: Imprenta y Librería San Pedro, 1893), *Lecciones de Historia Santa* (Lima: Imprenta y Librería San Pedro, 1894) and *Lecciones de Geografía* (Lima: Imprenta y Librería de San Pedro, 1897).

³⁷ See the foreword “Dos palabras” in Máximo Vázquez, *Estudio de la constitución peruana para los cursantes del segundo grado de instrucción media y para los ciudadanos en general* (Lima: Benito Gil, 1898), Fondo Antiguo, BNP, Lima, Perú.

³⁸ Leopoldo Arosemena *Ortografía fundamental de la lengua castellana. Obra escrita expresamente para que cualquiera persona que tenga ligeras nociones de gramática, pueda por su misma aprender a escribir correctamente el idioma* (Lima: Benito Gil, 1876), Fondo Antiguo, BNP, Lima, Perú.

³⁹ The original text stated “*para el uso de escuelas y familias*,” see L. Milcíades Chaves, *Elementos de educación ó sea moral, higiene, urbanidad y economía doméstica para el uso de las escuelas y familias* (Bogotá: Imprenta de El Heraldo, 1999), 6-7.

de Samper (1833-1913) helped in the book's success.⁴⁰ The author published three editions, with the third one meriting a 13,000 print run. An 1898 book that instructed on the combined teaching of reading, writing, and drawing stated that although it was produced especially for schools, it could also be used by families. The author added some indications that might be superfluous for teachers who were well versed in the art of teaching. These indications included recommendations on the placement of chalkboards, seats, and desks, as well as instructions on how students should hold writing instruments.⁴¹ Even the book *Pedagogia para escuelas y colegios*, which discussed more complex theories and methods of teaching, highlighted that it was arranged for its use in normal schools and other institutions dedicated to the training of teachers, but also for the guidance of parents [*padres de familia*].⁴² Similarly in Lima, Mariano Bolognesi published a book that summarized modern pedagogical methods in only twenty pages. He dedicated the book to mothers and suggested that the short manual would reach the far corners of the republic.⁴³

The volume and variety of textbooks that were published in the second half of the nineteenth century posed concerns for some teachers and government officials who sought to homogenize education. In Lima, contributors to the periodical, *La Escuela Peruana* hoped the government would implement stricter regulation of textbooks.⁴⁴ A proposal published in 1895 reveals the reforms that at least some educators expected to implement through the Consejo Superior de Instrucción Pública, a government body charged with organizing the curricula of

⁴⁰ Ibid, 5.

⁴¹ Francisco García Rico, *Guía para la enseñanza de la lectura combinada con la escritura y el dibujo* (Bogotá: Imprenta y Librería de Medardo Rivas, 1898), 6, Libros Raros y Manuscritos, BLAA, Bogotá, Colombia.

⁴² The book was written by professor of pedagogy and graduate of the National Normal School, Mercedes Aragón, see, *Pedagogia para escuelas y colegios* (Bogotá: Imprenta Moderna, 1910), 3.

⁴³ Mariano Bolognesi, *Explicaciones provisionales sobre la enseñanza colectiva con el Nuevo método de lectura dedicado á las madres de familia por el Crel. M. Bolognesi* (Lima: Impr. De la Escuela de Ingenieros, 1892), 1, Fondo Antiguo, BNP, Lima, Perú.

⁴⁴ "Libros de Texto," *La Escuela Peruana* (Lima) June 1, 1895, Revistas Antiguas de Lima, Hemeroteca, BNP, Lima, Perú.

primary and secondary education since 1876.⁴⁵ Educator Pedro A. Labarthe argued that a new set of prerequisites for the approval of books should take into account book content, method, form, exemplification and material composition.⁴⁶ New and more accessible textbooks enabled existing teachers to hone their teaching skills by learning new methods without necessarily attending school, a process that also threatened efforts to create schools that followed uniform methods and curricula. An 1899 report of “clandestine” schools in Lima suggests that a significant number of teachers operated home or private schools without formal schooling.⁴⁷ School inspector Filiberto Ramirez found at least 63 schools that operated in Lima without official sanction. Of these schools, 39 were run by teachers without a “diploma.” The schools serviced at least 1,134 students in Lima.

The subject of textbook regulation and educational content proved even more contentious in Colombia. Between 1876 and 1877, liberals and conservatives had already fought a civil war known as the “War of the Schools” principally over the liberal Organic Decree of 1870. Conservatives disagreed with the law because it made elementary schooling compulsory and secular, undermining traditional Catholic instruction.⁴⁸ The law also created the Dirección General de Instrucción Pública, a governmental body in charge organizing curricula and regulating school textbooks. Although liberals maintained power after the 1876-77 conflict, violence erupted once again between 1884 and 1886. This time conservatives gained power and passed the Colombian constitution of 1886. In 1887, they handed control of textbook regulation to the Catholic Church and granted the institution broad powers over the organization and inspection of public schools and universities. This conservative turn explains the moralistic endorsements and general content

⁴⁵ *Reglamento General de Instrucción Pública del Perú* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1876), 10.

⁴⁶ See op. cited “Libros de Texto,” *La Escuela Peruana* (Lima) June 1, 1895.

⁴⁷ Filiberto Ramirez, “Escuelas que funcionan en la Ciudad de Lima, sin la respectiva licencia” August 21, 1899, Legajo 67, Ministerio de Justicia, Beneficencia e Instrucción (RJ), Archivo General de la Nación, Lima, Peru.

⁴⁸ Jorge Enrique González, *Legitimidad y Cultura: Educación, cultura y política en los Estados Unidos de Colombia, 1863-1886* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, 2005), 146-156.

of school textbooks published in Colombia at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ Efforts to regulate school textbooks whether through laws or printed endorsements reveal the tensions produced with the emerging textbook market in both Bogotá and Lima.

Manuals *Within Everyone's Reach*

The demand for educational books extended beyond school subjects and encompassed a wide range of “how to” manuals and “self-help” books. This market flourished as literacy rates expanded particularly by the turn of the century. In Lima, for instance, literacy rates for people over six years of age reached nearly 59 percent by 1876 and 80 percent by 1908.⁵⁰ In Bogotá, the literacy rate for the age group of eight years and older reached approximately 70 percent by 1912.⁵¹ Although instructional manuals about diverse crafts and occupations were certainly not an innovation, they circulated more broadly in the nineteenth century as a result of a combination of factors. Iron presses replaced older wooden presses by the 1820s, making the production of newspapers and books more efficient.⁵² At the same time, booksellers, teachers and enthusiasts of education sought to vulgarize practical information among broad sectors of the population.

⁴⁹ See op. cited L. Milciades Chaves, *Elementos de educación ó sea moral, higiene, urbanidad y economía doméstica para el uso de las escuelas y familias*, 4-7 and García Rico, *Guía para la enseñanza de la lectura combinada con la lectura y el dibujo*, 72.

⁵⁰ Toward the end of the colonial period, only about 20 percent or about 1,000 school-age Limeños could read. This figure remained the same toward 1845. For literacy rates in the late colonial period, see Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, *Caudillos y constituciones* (Perú, 1821-1845) (Lima: Instituto Riva-Agüero, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000). Aljovín's work as well as figures for 1845 and 1860 are mentioned in Jose Ragas, “Leer, escribir, votar. Literacidad y cultura política en el Perú (1810-1900),” *Historica* 31 (2007): 115. For 1876 and 1908, see comparisons of both years in *Censo de la provincia de Lima* (Lima: Impr. De “La Opinión Nacional, 1915), 102.

⁵¹ Pedro M. Carreño, *Censo General de la República de Colombia levantado el 5 de Marzo de 1912* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1912), 176. We do not have earlier literacy rates for Bogotá, but we know that the between the 1850s and 1860s, literacy rates of other Spanish American capitals ranged between 45.9 and 57 percent. See Carlos Newland, “La educación elemental en Hispanoamérica: Desde la independencia hasta la centralización de los sistemas educativos nacionales,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 71, No. 2 (May, 1991): 358.

⁵² Nicole Howard, *The Book: The Life Story of a Technology* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2005), 115. An advertisement of an iron press for sale in Lima demonstrates they were in use in the city by 1849. See “Se vende” in *El Comercio* (Lima), May 10, 1849.

Benito Gil published catalogues of his entire collections, advertising a wide range of manuals and didactic books that could be found in the sections “Manuals” [*Manuales*], “Biblioteca Popular” [*Popular Library*], “Biblioteca de la Juventud” [*Library for the Youth*], “Sección de Enseñanza” [*Teaching Section*], “Biblioteca de las Maravillas” [*Library of Wonders*], and “Biblioteca Hispano-Americana” [*Hispanic-American Library*].⁵³ The last section contained manuals about a variety of trades and professions and was advertised as the most complete collection of manuals published to date.⁵⁴ The manuals instructed on subjects about agriculture, law, the fabrication of foods, wines and liqueurs, bricklaying, commercial arithmetic, architecture, astronomy, the preparation of varnish and lacquer, law enforcement, and many others. The table below shows all the titles listed under this collection categorized by their subject.

Agricultural	Agriculture and Cattle Ranching Cotton Farming Indigo and Prickly Pear Cultivation Coffee, Cacao and Vanilla Cultivation Sugar Cane Production Dairy Farming Surveyor	Skilled Labor	Brickwork and Construction Varnish and Lacquer Preparation Carpentry Railway Construction Photography Gardening and Landscaping Mining Turner Telegraphy Watchmaker Tailor Tinsmith Tanner
Industrial	Oils and Soaps Fireworks Candle Fabrication Artificial Flower	Law & Professional	Lawyers Architecture
Recreational	Fencing Games	Administrative & Commercial	Administration Arithmetic for Commerce Capitalist
Sciences	Astronomy Agricultural Science	Food/Drink	Candy making Distiller, Liqueur and Perfume Maker Beer maker and Manufacturer of Fermented and Soda Drinks
Military	Sargent Weapon Strategy	Other	Public and Ecclesiastical Law Political Economy Ephemeris Bloodletting and Dentistry White Magic Christian Morality Mythology Hydrotherapy Music Recreational Chemistry

⁵³ *Catálogo General de las Librerías de Benito Gil* (Lima, 1886), Fondo Antiguo, BNP, Lima, Perú.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 31.

In their catalogues and advertisements, booksellers noted the type of construction and physical descriptions of their books in order to attract specific customers. The majority of the titles in Gil's catalogues had physical descriptions indicating the size of the books and the number of volumes per item. The books often came in 4° [*quarto*] or 8° [*octavo*] formats. The formats referred to the number of leaves produced after folding a single folio or sheet of paper in different ways. A folio folded in half twice yielded 4 leaves of paper and 8 total pages, creating a quarto format. Books in the octavo format had folios folded three times to create 8 leaves or 16 pages. Smaller books came in the sizes of 12° [*duodecimo*] and 16° [*sextodecimo*] with additional folding.⁵⁵ Although folio and binding descriptions had become a common practice for booksellers and bibliographers who inventoried their libraries, they also informed potential customers about the affordability or, in some cases, the costly and premium construction of books. Gil, for instance, advertised the more costly quarter binding of some of his collections.⁵⁶ Bookseller, Carlos Prince advertised his "Biblioteca Popular" in the octavo format and noted the prices were accessible to everyone.⁵⁷ The bookseller held this collection in particular esteem because it included instructional manuals for the education of the populace at low prices.

One of the books in Prince's popular collection was a manual on soap making or *Manual del Jabonero ó sea la fabricación del Jabon al alcance de todos* which Prince advertised as adapted for the most "rebellious minds."⁵⁸ Prince published a review of the manual within the pages of his bookstore's long-running newspaper organ, *Boletín Bibliográfico*.⁵⁹ He noted that the manual was

⁵⁵ Nicole Howard, *The Book: The Life Story of a Technology*, 63.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 68.

⁵⁷ "Biblioteca Popular" in *Boletín Bibliográfico* (Lima), March 1, 1888, Revistas Antiguas de Lima, Hemeroteca, BNP, Lima, Perú.

⁵⁸ "Libros nuevos editados por nuestra Casa-Librería durante el mes de diciembre" in *Boletín Bibliográfico* (Lima) January 1, 1888, Revistas Antiguas de Lima, Hemeroteca, BNP, Lima, Perú.

⁵⁹ He published *Boletín Bibliográfico* for fourteen years. It had a print run of 4,000 copies per issue and was distributed once a month for free. See Carlos Prince, *Mi estancia de medio siglo en Lima* (Lima: Impreso en casa del

another “small work” [*obrita*] of general utility edited by Prince’s publishing house. Likely, copying directly from the introduction of the book, the reviewer stated that some readers would use the manual out of financial need while others would use it for recreation.⁶⁰ He stressed that the manual would help make soap an abundant and cheap product rather than a scarce and expensive one.⁶¹ The title emphasized the accessibility of its content for people of diverse educational backgrounds while the review incentivized potential readers. It underscored the book’s modest construction which signaled a cheaper price, and affordability for people of distinct economic backgrounds. According to Prince, such books were carefully picked to meet the demands of consumers.

In some cases, manuals instructed on ways in which homemakers could assist in the sustenance of their home, promoting occupations that nurtured informal economies. A Colombian cooking manual first published in 1853 and reedited in 1874 targeted a broad, popular audience, noting that in addition to aiding women in the home, it could also be used as a profitable tool for people in the business of preparing meals, sweets, or pastries for homes, bakeries, or candy shops. It compiled a variety of “national” recipes from establishments and homes that prepared meals and sweets in the capital city, making the manual more useful because its recipes would appeal more to Colombians.⁶² Educational books that targeted girls and younger women highlighted their importance in helping in the sustenance of the home, albeit through socially acceptable occupations for women. Writing on the subject of home economics in 1896, Colombian teacher

autor, 1913), 13. Lima’s Biblioteca Nacional has copies of all issues printed between 1888 and 1889 and one issue from 1897.

⁶⁰ The advertisement in Prince’s *Boletín Bibliográfico* does not mention the author, however, the writer of the review appeared to copy directly from the prologue of Puigmoltó’s *Manual del jabonero ó sea el jabonero popular al alcance de todas las inteligencias y fortunas* (México: Librería y Papelería de M. Cambeses, 1891). A version of this book is available online: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b4274702;view=1up;seq=1>.

⁶¹ “Libros nuevos editados por nuestra Casa-Librería durante el mes de diciembre,” 5.

⁶² *Manual de cocina y repostería, conforme a los usos y a las costumbres de nuestro país y del extranjero* (Bogotá: Imprenta de Nicolas Gomez, 1874), 3, Libros Raros y Manuscritos, BLAA, Bogotá, Colombia.

and author, Milcíades Chaves detailed the duties of women in the home while adding that women should also use their time producing items that could be sold for profit to support the family. These included bread, chocolate, soap, flowers, hats, clothing, and other items. Alternatively, women could also grow and sell fruits and vegetables, teach, or use their skills in painting and music to help support the family.⁶³

With the object of promoting national industry and the circulation of knowledge, another manual compiled information about trades and occupations suitable for food makers, shop owners, capitalists, and artisans in Colombia.⁶⁴ Like manuals that targeted women, this book had sections on food recipes including Colombian favorites like “*arepitas*” or “*huevos chimbos*,” and remedies for different ailments. Other parts of the book addressed the production of different products made by the artisan class. They included instructions on how to make beer, wine, soda drinks, and other beverages.⁶⁵ Further, the book instructed on the manufacturing of dozens of varnishes, perfumes, soap, ink, and many other items.⁶⁶ Artisans could also learn new skills through short treatises on metalsmithing, woodworking, and shoemaking.⁶⁷

Some private authors preceded state efforts to stimulate agricultural industry through the dissemination of vulgarized treatises on the production of cotton, coffee, tobacco, and other crops suitable for Colombian soil.⁶⁸ They adhered to precepts of economic liberalism which “sought to

⁶³ L. Milcíades Chaves, *Elementos de educación ó sea moral, higiene, urbanidad y economía doméstica para el uso de las escuelas y familias*, 105.

⁶⁴ *Manual de artes, oficios, cocina i repostería. Obra sacada de los mejores autores y acomodada a las necesidades de los granadinos, así como a las circunstancias de esta república* (Bogotá: Imprenta de Nicolás Gómez, 1853), I-VI, Libros Raros y Manuscritos, BLAA, Bogotá, Colombia.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, “Tratado de Cocina,” 113-114.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, Parte I, 5-160

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, Parte II, 95-1

⁶⁸ The state became more involved in the publication of manuals about agriculture at the turn of the century with the newly launched Imprenta Nacional. See Anselmo Perez, *Industria Azucarera* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1906) and Samuel Alredo Leon, *El Veguero. Manual Práctico del cultivo, preparación y beneficio del tabaco* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1908).

free economic activity from all constraints on the market, and promoted the international division of labor through the alleged complementarity of parts of the world economy” based on different factor endowments.⁶⁹ Progress, they believed, could be achieved once Colombians learned to exploit their country’s natural resources in order to stimulate exports, and insert Colombia into its rightful place in the world economy. In the prologue of his 1853 manual on agriculture, author José M. Morales Puerta, highlighted Colombia’s superior climate and diverse resources for distinct agricultural enterprise.⁷⁰ Compiling some of the work written by Prussian naturalist, Alexander von Humboldt, but also New Granadan naturalist Francisco José de Caldas, botanist Juan María Céspedes, and writer Rufino Cuervo, the author customized the manual for Colombian farmers. These authors had written on subjects relevant to Colombia’s geography, climate, topography, and agriculture. Morales Puerta abridged their work into more accessible lessons on the farming and production of crops like sugar, cotton, vanilla, coffee, cacao, and others. Once the author earned back the costs of the publication of the manual on agriculture, he planned on also publishing a manual on animal-rearing.

Like artisans and farmers, Colombian intellectuals also benefitted from the expansion of bookstores and the broader range of books they offered. Laureano García Ortíz recalled that the new bookstores functioned as a center for auto didacticism where he and other Colombian politicians and writers nurtured their intellectual formation. He cited Nicolás Pinzón W., Roberto Ancízar, José Camacho Carrizosa, Carlso Arturo Torres and Diego Mendoza as only a few of the politicians who benefitted from the collections of Bogotá’s bookstores, particularly Librería Nueva

⁶⁹ Joseph Love quoted in Frank Safford, “The Emergence of Economic Liberalism in Colombia” in *Guiding the Invisible Hand: Economic Liberalism and the State in Latin American History* ed. by Joseph Love and Nils Jacobsen (New York: Praeger, 1988), 35.

⁷⁰ José M. Morales Puerta, *Manual de Agricultura, según varios artículos publicados por Humboldt, Caldas, Cuervo (Rufino), Céspedes i otros autores &* (Bogotá: Imp. De Francisco Tórres Amaya, 1857), 6-7, Libros Raros y Manuscritos, BLAA, Bogotá Colombia.

and Librería Colombiana.⁷¹ These bookstores, García emphasized, allowed Colombian intellectuals to remain current on the intellectual renovation in history that was aided by developments in the disciplines of ethnography, philology, and other sciences.

Conclusion

This report has detailed some of my findings from the research I conducted in Lima and Bogotá during June and July of 2016 with the generous help of the History Project and the Institute for New Economic Thinking. I digitized textbooks, manuals, newspapers, census data, and other government documents that helped unearth the burgeoning of the textbook and instructional book markets in Lima and Bogotá, a process that will constitute an important part of my doctoral dissertation. Importantly, these book markets reveal the symbiotic relationship between producers and booksellers on one side, and readers on the other. While authors and booksellers wanted to expand education by producing inexpensive books, they also needed to take into account the diversifying taste and needs of their readers. To make books more appealing they abridged, simplified and compiled older works, but also added information pertinent to local conditions. They further incentivized readers by noting how the books could help them profit through developing a skill or an industry useful in formal or informal economies. Some authors used instructional manuals about diverse industries to connect individual productivity to national well-being.

The development of markets for more affordable textbooks and instructional manuals also brought significant changes to reading culture and popular learning. Advertising the affordability

⁷¹ García Ortíz, “Las viejas librerías de Bogotá”, 32.

of books for people of all classes placed emphasis on the possibilities of individual reading and self-instruction within the home. Placing a book into the hands of an individual made him or her a visual reader rather than an auditory reader. By extension, individual reading opened the possibilities of self-instruction and self-interpretation even if the latter was not the end goal in moralistic and many educational texts.