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MAXIMO CARRASCO – OR WORKING CLASS LIFE
EN LIMA, 1900-1930

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While the field of social history, in focusing on the various elements of man's daily existence in the past, constitutes one of the most fascinating areas of historical scholarship, all too often written works on social history seem relatively dry efforts. In part the dullness of many such accounts results from the fact that a large proportion of the social historian's research material consists of statistical data culled from censuses, notarial archives, statistical abstracts and other like sources. The exposition of that data generally revolves around numbers, percentages, tables and their explanation. And despite the value of these materials for an understanding about social life in particular times and places, they commonly fail to communicate to the reader an important kind of "feel" for the piece of past reality under examination.

This essay on the life of the Lima poor in the first decades of the twentieth century is an effort to deal with social history in a more "human" fashion. While based largely on the statistical analysis of raw social data, it attempts to reflect the general patterns of urban working class existence between 1900 and 1930 by constructing a semifictional composit biography of the life of what might be called a typical member of Lima's popular masses. The description of the life of one representative working class man, Maximo Carrasco*, is intended to reveal what kinds of individuals made up the Lima working classes and how they lived.

Born in Lima in 1890, Máximo Carrasco was the second of two sons. His mother had actually given birth four times, but one of his brothers died in childbirth and another lived only nine months before succumbing to yellow fever. Like his brothers, he was an illegitimate son and never knew the identity of his father. With a mixture of white and indian blood running through his

* The name is fictional.

veins, racially Máximo was like most of his friends and neighbors who resided in the poor *barrio* of Rimac. Indeed, as Máximo observed on his daily travels through the streets of Rimac, racial variety was a distinctive feature of working class Lima. There was the *Mestizo* fruit vendor, the Chinese vegetable peddler with his corner stand, the Japanese barber, the Black woman who sold *tamales*, the Indian woman who displayed live chickens for sale and the *Mestizo* beggars who played guitars and sang in the hope of receiving small amounts of pocket change. Now forty years old, Máximo remembered that when he was still a boy he used to see many more Blacks and Orientals than in later years. He also noticed that with the passing of time the white population declined while the *Mestizo* population grew markedly.

In their youth Máximo and his brother Miguel attended two years of primary school. They learned to read and write but were unable to continue their studies because they were forced to seek employment at an early age in order to contribute to the economic needs of their household. Before his thirteenth birthday Máximo had already worked at a series of odd jobs. He shined shoes alongside the bullring in the Plaza de Acho, ran occasional errands for the local pharmacist and helped a friend of his mother who went from house to house buying used bottles and paper. At age thirteen, hoping to learn a trade, he apprenticed himself to a carpenter and began working in one of the many small artisan shops which employed a large proportion of the Lima working classes. Like the majority of his fellow workers, Máximo moved from apprenticeship to apprenticeship in the next three years without finding a permanent job. His longest tenure was the 18 months he worked in the carpentry shop.

At first his duties for the master carpenter differed little from his previous work experience. Learning no carpentry, he was required to carry out domestic chores in the house of his *patrón*. Indeed, the pervasive patriarchal atmosphere of the shop reminded him of his earlier life at home. After a year of these domestic duties, Máximo finally graduated to the shop itself. He began work at seven in the morning and often did not finish until ten or eleven at night. Máximo quietly underwent the rigors of this existence with the hope that he might someday become a master carpenter himself. He admired the situation of his *patrón* whom he thought lived truly an enviable life. The master carpenter had worked hard to save enough money for the purchase of his own tools and had finally established his own shop. In Máximo's eyes, he appeared to have few

economic worries. Although clearly a member of the working classes, the master carpenter had a large enough income to rent four rooms in a small apartment house called a *quinta* and employed two domestic servants to do the laundry, cooking and general cleaning. Just when Máximo began to visualize himself as the eventual boss of a carpentry shop he saw his hopes for the future destroyed. A temporary downturn in the economy and in the demand for carpentry work caused his employer to reduce his personnel. Máximo was one of the first to be laid off.

After leaving the carpenter's service he apprenticed himself for short periods to a painter, a shoemaker and a tailor but was unable to hold any one position for longer than eight months. Finally he decided to move out of the artisanry sector and seek other forms of employment. Over the next years he labored at a series of different jobs including waiter, railroad baggage handler, plumber's assistant, trolley car conductor and finally construction worker on various of the urban building projects during the *oncenio*".* Since during most of Máximo's working life until the Depression, Lima suffered from a manpower shortage rather than a flooded labor market, he encountered relatively little difficulty in shifting employment and finding new jobs. Although he had never reached his original goal to become a master carpenter, Máximo looked back without regrets on his working life. He was moderately proud that he had attained a higher economic status than many other working class men who had been unable to secure even semi-permanent employment or to rise above the condition of street cleaners, domestic servants, street peddlers or lottery ticket vendors.

One job that Máximo had never held was that of industrial laborer. When he started in the carpentry shop in 1903, only a small portion of the urban lower classes worked in the industrial sector; the important exception consisted of those employed in the craft industries represented by artisan shops. With the coming of World War I and its effects on the Peruvian economy, the manufacturing industries, particularly textiles, grew and employed an increasingly larger number of workers. Industrial growth was accompanied by an expansion in the size and power of union organizations and a gap which widened steadily between organized and unorganized workers. Máximo regretted that he had never obtained a job which would have allowed him to become a union

* The eleven year government of Augusto B. Leguía (1919-1930).

member. He saw that through union activity organized labor had been able to gain concrete advances not shared by the unorganized. Unions had won for their members the eight-hour day, better working conditions in the factories and protection against the excesses of management. The comparative advantage of organized labor was most clear in the area of wages. Unions had been relatively successful at gaining favorable settlements of work disputes for their memberships to the point where organized workers earned nearly twice as much as the unorganized.

In spite of their gains, even unionized workers lived in poverty, with the situation worse for the non-unionized majority of the Lima masses. Máximo often remarked to his wife Margarita, whom he had married at age 20, that he could never seem to make enough money to feel any measure of economic security, even after obtaining a fairly permanent and well-paying construction job. The steady rise in the cost of living, especially after 1920, made his paycheck barely adequate to cover simple everyday necessities. In 1928, for example, Máximo was earning a daily wage of three *soles* which meant 75 *soles* per month. He spent over 60 percent of his salary on food and nearly 25 percent on housing. The rest was hardly sufficient to pay for clothing and other necessities for his family of five. Máximo found himself constantly in debt to the grocer, to the tailor, to the pharmacist and to the shoemaker. He greatly feared the day on which an accident, an illness or an economic crisis might make him lose his job, and he repeated to Margarita many times that they would be lost in such an eventuality.

Máximo's limited earning power was most strikingly reflected in the type of housing he was forced to occupy. He wished for the day on which he could buy his own home, but the 16 to 18 *soles* he devoted each month to rent was barely enough to afford one or two rooms in a *callejón*. The *callejones* of Máximo's time took various forms. The most common was a long alleyway leading off the street banked on both sides by narrow, single-story buildings which were divided into one or two room apartments. These double rows of closely packed rooms generally stretched either the length of a whole city block with entrances on two streets or a half block, ending abruptly in an adobe wall. There were also *callejones* that traced intricate patterns with rows of rooms turning abruptly back and forth within a one-block area.

Two other common types of working class housing were *solares* and *casas de vecindad*. A *solar* was an old colonial or early Republican house vacated by its

upper class owners and subdivided into a series of small rooms for the housing of poor families. Generally containing two stories and two or three interior patios, the imposing external elegance of these residences hid an internal chaos of tiny chambers with even less living space than the apartments of the *callejones*. *Casas de vecindad* offered slightly better conditions. Originally constructed as two-story, low-rent apartment buildings, they were made up of two and three-room apartments which extended around a central patio.

The consequences of the concentration of the largest possible number of inhabitants in the smallest amount of space were severe problems of overpopulation in Lima's working class areas. A typical lower class family—made up of mother, at times father, grandmother and/or grandfather, and older and younger children—most likely lived in a single cramped room. Those in *callejones* and *casas de vecindad* generally had slightly more space than the inhabitants of *solares*. As the family grew, the living space per family member became smaller. In all types of working class housing there was generally little relationship between the size of the house and the size of the family. Máximo remembered, for instance, that in one of the *caallejones* he had inhabited there was a group of 14 people crowded into two small rooms. In their one or two-room flats, sometimes divided by flimsy partitions, large and small families saw their children born and maintained vigils over their dead. Although many moved three and four times during their lives, they considered their rooms in a *callejón*, *solar* or *casa de vecindad* as permanent homes.

During his lifetime Máximo Carrasco reside in four different *callejones* and one *solar*. As a child he lived with his mother and brother in a *callejón* called San José. Next to the Rimac River, it stood on extremely humid ground; the air in the *callejón* was laden with moisture from the river and a overpowering smell from two open toilets. The dwelling's central passageway, flanked on each side by 25 small rooms, had originally been paved with bricks and small stones, but continual use and no upkeep over the years had led to the deterioration of much of the original pavement. On rainy days, or when the women hung their wet wash out to dry in the sun, muddy puddles appeared on the uneven earth of the passageway. The *callejón* had two large sinks with water faucets to provide for the needs of its 127 inhabitants. Each adobe-walled apartment had small doors and windows which permitted only minimal natural ventilation and lighting.

When at age 20 Máximo married Margarita, they like their first year together with his mother. Thereafter they moved to a *callejón* called La Alegría.

A small complex with only seven rooms and 24 inhabitants, its chambers had even less space than those of the Callejón San José and received light only through a rectangular opening over each doorway. In order to obtain some alleviation from the cramped conditions, the residents lived much of their lives in the six-foot wide lane that cut through the center of the *callejón*, filling it with chairs, washbowls, cooking pots and domestic animals. Looking in from the street, La Alegría seemed a choked labyrinth of animals, people and old furniture. To make matters worse, it was located in front of a stable; the smell from the excrement of horses and mules which covered the street outside permeated the atmosphere of La Alegría.

After four years there, Máximo decide to seek better quarters. He had secured a steady job, and Margarita had borne two children. Both husband and wife felt that they could afford and needed something better for their growing family than the tiny room in La Alegría. After a fairly extended search on Máximo's part, the family moved to the Callejón Roberto. Its 18 rooms housed 44 people. Although the Callejón Roberto boasted slightly larger rooms than La Alegría, its residents lived under similarly cramped and cluttered conditions. Light from the sun never entered its narrow central passageway which was crisscrossed by ropes filled with drying clothes. In Máximo's room, for example, even at midday there was not enough natural light to distinguish the pictures of Jesus Christ and Santa Rosa that Margarita had carefully hung on the wall. At the back of the *callejón* there was a single faucet which provided a thin ribbon of water to the women who daily waited in line with basin in hand.

Máximo and his family lived in the Callejón Roberto for seven years. An extended illness which had kept Máximo out of work for some months finally forced them to look for less expensive lodgings. They moved to a large subdivided colonial house known as the Casa del Pescante whose 172 rooms held 353 inhabitants. It was evident from the remains of delicate wooden balconies and heavy nailed portals that in its day the Casa del Pescante had been a sumptuous mansion. But to Máximo and his family when they first arrived, it seemed a maze of short covered hallways, irregular staircases in various states of deterioration, more dank hallways and minute rooms scattered throughout. Settling into one of those rooms on the second story, the family found its living space even more limited than in their original dwelling in La Alegría. At first Margarita became frightened at night by the sound of footsteps on the creaking wooden staircase and the pockmarked wooden floor of the hallway outside of

their room. Máximo tried to overcome her distaste for their new lodgings by stressing the convenience of having a food store, a clothing store and a shoemaker all on the first floor of the *solar*. But Margarita would not be mollified and always complained of the smelly animals, coal burning stoves, rickety chairs, hungry crying children and ragged women that filled the noisy corridors.

As soon as Máximo secured a relatively well paying construction job, he, Margarita and his two children moved out of the Casa del Pescante to a *callejón* called Montañón. This residence was the best that Máximo had ever occupied. With 36 rooms and 135 inhabitants, it was highly overpopulated like his previous living quarters, but it had the advantage of a large, well ventilated patio at the front, a 12-foot wide center lane and larger rooms with individual plots of dirt in back for the growing of vegetables or the keeping of household animals. The general upkeep of the Montañón was clearly superior to Máximo's past places of residence. The central passageway and the floors of each apartment were paved with large round stones and all the walls had been freshly whitewashed. The wider spaces of this *callejón* allowed for good lighting outside, but the small windows of each room darkened their interiors. Although there was only one water faucet for 135 people, Margarita was encouraged by the additional space in the Montañón to take in laundry from outside in order to supplement the family's income. Máximo fully appreciated her efforts and found that he could certainly use the extra money from the laundry to hold his own in the face of rising living costs, but he grumbled when he tripped over Margarita's large wooden washtub and when he bumped into the wet clothes she had hung across their room to dry on drizzly winter days.

Besides having to endure life in severely limited physical space, Máximo and his family also suffered from the high incidence of disease prevalent in working class housing. Most of those who built *callejones* or who subdivided their old houses placed considerations of profit over those of hygiene. The single water faucet and toilet provided for *callejones* that housed up to 500 people were utilized day and night, forcing many to resort to the use of an outside open space to relieve themselves. The human excrement which accumulated was a major cause of the intestinal ailments that ran rampant in these dwellings. The shallow canals that ran through the middle of many *callejones* added to the disease problem. At the same time that they were used to dispose of garbage and as toilets, their waters were also employed for the washing of clothes, cooking

and even drinking. Furthermore, the close quarters and limited ventilation of most working class residences increased the incidences of tuberculosis and other respiratory afflictions, while the general lack of sanitation plus the poor construction encouraged the proliferation of disease-carrying rats and insects. In sum, widespread overpopulation and wholly inadequate sanitary facilities led to the spreading of all types of disease in working class areas with a resulting high rate of mortality among the urban masses. Hardly a year passed that Máximo's family was not afflicted with some serious illness, and two of his young children had died of dysentery and typhoid.

Máximo found little physical or spiritual comfort in the dark and humid room he shared with his wife, their two sons, his mother-in-law and his grandfather. Furniture of all ages and styles which he and Margarita had carefully purchased over the years filled the apartment. A once proud sofa with faded silken fabric and squeaky springs retained enough of its former elegance to seem out of place amidst rough wooden chairs—some with missing legs—and old table, two second-hand beds and a large cabinet without a door that was filled with worn clothing. Upon returning home after a day of hard work, Máximo tried without success to close off his mind to the seemingly never-ending complaints of his wife and mother-in-law about subjects ranging from his children's ill health to the perennial shortage of water from the *callejón's* single faucet. Under his breath Máximo thanked God that at least his grand-father was a quiet man who caused relatively little trouble.

What Máximo disliked most about life in a *callejón* were the constant arguments and fights that broke out among the residents living in close physical contact. It seemed that not a day passed without some quarrel between the women, and the children appeared never to tire of hitting each other. The water faucet, which was the center of *callejón* social life, was also usually the center of conflict. The women often jostled each other to gain a better place in line, and frequent verbal and physical battles ensued. Máximo long remembered the day that he was greeted by his sobbing wife who told him that when she had gone out to rinse her laundry the woman in No. 12 had placed a dirty chamber pot on top of her clean wash. When Margarita started to insult her, the woman picked up a large stone and threw it, hitting her on the shoulder. As Margarita searched for her own weapon, other women bystanders broke up the fight. The next morning, filled with anger, Máximo arose at 6:00 a.m., emptied out a large drum he used for storing household articles and carried it out to the water faucet. He

patiently watched the water slowly dribble into the drum. In the four hours that this process took, Máximo would not allow anyone to fill even a small pot. Finally he returned proudly to his house, oblivious to the grumbled insults of the waiting women.

Even at night when fights and arguments had ceased outside, bitter gossip was a major theme of conversation behind the closed door of each dwelling. Margarita often commented to Máximo that their neighbors were "no good". She complained that the son of the woman in No. 10 was always beating up on the smaller children: "He should be out working, helping his family and not running around with all those *palomillas* (delinquents)". A favorite target for gossip in the whole *callejón* was the woman that lived in No. 16 who was always fighting with her husband. Her screams were heard by all when he beat her after coming home and finding strange men in his house drinking beer. Many times she ran into the central corridor and there, in front of everyone, received the blows of her irate husband. Following these incidents, she told eagerly listening women that she had to see other men, because her husband's meager earnings as a street peddler were not enough to pay for food for her three children. As it was, they usually ate only twice a day: a cup of coffee and a piece of bread in the morning and beans with rice or potatoes and more coffee at 2:00 p.m. When she had a little extra money she would go out in the afternoon and buy a few sweet cakes in the street for her children to eat at 5:00 or 6:00 in the afternoon. Although the residents of the *callejón* often referred to each other in their daily gossip, and the women conversed long hours in front of the water faucet, few families made lasting friendships. Mutual distrust was prevalent among *callejón* families.

Máximo Carrasco's experiences, his work and his living conditions were also those of the majority of Lima's working class population. His is the story of a man—or a group of men—who perceived relatively few changes in their lives during the first decades of this century. Each day they faced the same problems, the same hardships, the same insecurities. Although Máximo and his fellow members of Lima's popular elements may not have realized it, the period from 1915 through 1930 marked an era of almost revolutionary lower class change in the capital city. The urban masses grew during these years to unprecedented numbers. Transformed in size, makeup and importance, as a group they were about to assume a new role in the nation's political life as participants in the populist movements of the 1930's.

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

Historians can consult rich and varied sources on Latin American urban social history. In the particular case of early twentieth century Lima, available materials include the 1908, 1920 and 1931 censuses of Peru's capital city, a series of highly detailed reports made in 1907 on sanitary conditions in working class dwellings, cadastral surveys on housing from the late 1920's, and a respectable number of secondary accounts. Specific references to these sources are included in the following pages.

Data from the Lima censuses of 1920 and 1931 shows that average family size in the city was relatively small. The mean family size increased only slightly from 4.1 in 1920 to 4.57 in 1931 remaining in that latter year at 4.29 in the poorer areas of the city. See:

Perú, Ministerio de Hacienda, *Resumen del censo de las Provincias de Lima y Callao levantado el 17 de diciembre de 1920* (Lima, 1927), pp. 183-185; and Perú, *Censo de las Provincias de Lima y Callao levantado el 13 de noviembre de 1931* (Lima, 1932), p. 40.

Also striking is the number of working class families decimated by infant mortality at birth and by disease. In 1908, for example, of 2,839 mothers counted who had borne three children, only 905, or approximately one-third, had three surviving children. The proportions of living children dropped even more as family size increased. See:

Perú, Dirección de Salubridad Pública, *Censo de la Provincia de Lima (26 de junio de 1908)*, (Lima, 1915), Vol. II, pp. 990-91.

The 1908 and 1930 Lima censuses indicate that approximately two-thirds of the Capital's working class children were illegitimate. See:

Perú, *Censo de Lima 1908*, Vol. I, p. 232; and Perú, *Censo de Lima 1931*, pp. 130-31.

Statistics on the changing racial makeup of Lima must be handled carefully, as the margin of error is quite high. In the 1931 census, for example, the questionnaires were filled out by those being questioned and not by census takers. Frequently *Mestizos* and Indians called themselves whites. It is doubtful that the returns would be considerably more accurate if filled out by the census takers who themselves found it extremely difficult to judge racial characteristics. Materials consulted on the racial makeup of the Lima popular sectors were:

Perú, *Censo de Lima 1908*, Vol. I, pp. 90-97; Perú, *Censo de Lima 1920*,

pp. 118-25; and Perú, *Censo de Lima 1931*, pp. 92-94. See also: Enrique León García, *Las razas en Lima* (Lima, 1909), especially pp. 14-15, 40 and 69; Pedro M. Benvenuto Murrieta, *Quince plazuelas, una alameda y un callejón* (Lima, 1932), p. 137; José G. Clavero, *Demografía de Lima en 1884* (Lima, 1885), p. 29; José Luis Caamaño, *Apuntes limeños*, (Lima, 1935); and Eleuterio Vigil Pelaez, *El Callao de ayer y de hoy* (Callao, 1946).

In employment terms, the *Mestizo* population clustered in manual occupations such as artisanry, industrial labor and transportation. Extremely few *Mestizos*, Blacks or Indians were property owners in Lima, and the commerce, law, medicine and education fields were dominated by whites: "Those professions that earn the highest income or produce the highest social status are preferentially exercised by whites". León García, *Las razas*, p. 20.

During the period from 1900 to 1931 literacy was strikingly high in the urban areas of Lima. In 1908 the literate proportion of the male and female population of the city over six years of age stood at 76 percent with total illiteracy calculated at 18.3 percent (the other 5.7 percent constituted semi-literate and "no information" categories). By 1920 illiteracy had dropped to 9.6 percent. In 1931 it rose slightly to 11 percent, reaching 13.6 percent in the working class *barrio* of Rimac. This increment appears to have resulted from the migration to the city of a less educated rural population. If the cutoff age is raised to 10 years old, illiteracy drops to 9.6 percent in 1931. One reason for the substantial literacy was a generally high rate of school attendance. In 1931 72 percent of Lima's school aged children had received some formal education. See: Perú, *Censo de Lima 1908*, Vol. I, pp. 370-76, and Vol. II, pp. 894-900; Perú, *Censo de Lima 1920*, pp. 139-46; and Perú, *Censo de Lima 1931*, pp. 150-66.

An excellent discussion of the working conditions of the urban popular elements at the turn of the century is contained in Joaquín Capelo, *Sociología de Lima* (Lima, 1895), Vol. II, pp. 39 and 43-45. Capelo's descriptions closely parallel the later ones for the 1920's and 1930's of:

Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para una interpretación Marxista de historia Social del Perú*, (Lima, 1947), pp. 74-75; José Carlos Mariátegui, *Temas de educación* (Lima, 1970), pp. 138-39; and Magali Sarfatti Larson and Arlene Eisen Bergman, *Social Stratification in Peru* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969), p. 105.

Data on the overall employment structure of Lima may be found in: Perú, *Censo de Lima 1908*, Vol. II, pp. 906-43; Perú, *Censo de Lima 1920*, pp. 163-82; Perú, *Censo de Lima 1931*, pp. 192-207; David Chaplin, *The Peruvian Industrial Labor Force* (Princeton, N. J.: 1967), p. 279; and Federico Debuyst, *La población en América Latina* (Madrid, 1961), pp. 125 and 128.

Material on the economic categories of lower class jobs is derived from: Santiago Basurco and Leonidas Avendaño, "Informe emitido por la comisión encargada de estudiar las condiciones sanitarias de las casas de vecindad en Lima, primera parte", Ministerio de Fomento, Dirección de Salud Pública, *Boletín*, III: 4, (April 30, 1907), 33-35; Pedro Reyes, *A la Capital* (Lima, 19?), p. 46; *El Perú*, January 20, 1931, p. 1; Hugo Marquina Ríos, "Cincuenta casas de vecindad en la Avenida Francisco Pizarro", in Carlos Enrique Paz Soldán, *Lima y sus suburbios* (Lima, 1957), p. 78; and Benvenuto Murrieta, *Quince plazuelas*, p. 318.

Mobility between occupations was widespread and jobs over most of the period from 1900 to 1931 were plentiful. As Arturo Sabroso pointed out in an interview with the author: "To change jobs we only had to check out the announcements", (February 26, 1971). See also: *El Comercio*, December 10, 1931, p. 2. Apparently some overcrowding of the labor market began to occur in the mid-1920's due to the influx of large numbers of rural migrants, and the demand for labor in the construction industry, for example, dropped accordingly. See:

Las causas de la desvalorización de la propiedad urbana en Lima (Lima, 1932), pp. 12-13.

The differences between union v.s. non-union employment are described in:..

El obrero textil, (Lima), V: 62, (June, 1924), 2; Arturo Sabroso, *Repúblicas proletarias* (Lima, 1934), pp. 38-39; Leoncio M. Palacios, *Encuesta sobre presupuestos familiares obreros realizada en la ciudad de Lima en 1940* (Lima, 1944), pp. 112-14; Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para una interpretación*, Vol. II, p. 353; and Enrique Echeopar, *Aptocracia*, (Lima, 1930), p. 79.

Information on working class incomes and spending may be found in:

Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para una interpretación* Vol. I, pp. 22 and

108-09; Federico Ortiz Rodríguez, "Página del pueblo", *Mundial*, VI: 251, April 3, 1925, 32; Basurco and Avendaño, "Casas de vecindad", 35; Ernesto Galarza, "Debts, Dictatorship and Revolution in Bolivia and Peru", *Foreign Policy Reports*, (May 13, 1931), 116; and Lawrence Dennis, "What overthrew Leguía: The Responsibility of American Bankers for Peruvian Evils", *The New Republic*, LXIV: 824, (September 17, 1930), 117-118.

That most working class Lima residents in the first decades of the 20 century lived in either *callejones*, *casas de vecindad* or *solares* is substantiated in: Basurco and Avendaño, "Casa de vecindad", *passim*; Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú*, 6th ed., (Lima, 1968-69), Vol. XII, p. 249; Benvenuto Murrieta, *Quince plazuelas*, p. 209; Alberto Alexander to Director de Salubridad in *Boletín de la Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, Segundo Semestre, (1926), 185; J. P. Cole, *Estudio geográfico de la gran Lima* (Lima, 1957), p. VII-18; and José Muñoz and Diego Robles, *Estudio de tugurios en los distritos de Jesús María and La Victoria* (Lima, 1968), p. 68.

The description of the architectural features of *callejones* is derived from: El Tunante (pseud.) Abelardo Gamarra, *Lima: unos cuantos barrios y unos cuantos tipos* (Lima, 1907), pp. 22-23; Benvenuto Murrieta, *Quince plazuelas*, p. 270; Sánchez, *Testimonio personal*, Vol. I, p. 61; Basurco and Avendaño, "Informe emitido por la comisión encargada de estudiar las condiciones sanitarias de las casas de vecindad en Lima, segunda parte", Ministerio de Fomento, Dirección de Salubridad Pública, *Boletín*, III; 5 (May 31, 1907), 55-57; Marquina Ríos, "Cincuenta casas de vecindad", p. 79; and Oscar Romero Fernández, "Un espacio urbano libre: La Alameda de los Descalzos", in Paz Soldán, *Lima*, p. 100.

Also a series of discussions with prominent Lima architect and historian Juan Gunther in May 1971, and personal observation of contemporary working class housing in Lima by the author were immensely useful in the understanding of *callejón* structure. Muñoz and Robles, *Tugurios*, provide an excellent study of *callejones* and other types of slum housing in two zones of present-day Lima. Interesting to note are the striking parallels between *callejones* at the time of wirting and those that existed 70 years ago. Their comparison demonstrates the negligible evolution undergone by this type of housing over time. See especially pp. 50-51. For floor plans of various types of *callejones* see:

Alberto Alexander, *Los problemas urbanos de Lima y su futuro* (Lima, 1927), Table VII; and Pedro E. Paulet, *Directorio anual del Perú*, Vol. I, *Provincias de Lima y El Callao* (Lima, 1910-11), p. 190.

The proliferation of *callejones*, *solares* and *casas de vecindad* was not a novel phenomenon in early 20th century Lima. The city's first *callejones* grew up alongside the large mansions of the rich during the 18th century. Stimulated by a general increase in the urban population and a shortage of housing in the metropolitan area, many owners of large colonial houses built a series of small rooms on the empty lots alongside and behind their dwellings that had been formerly used as vegetable patches. Later the form of the *callejón* was adopted throughout Lima as the most economical way to crowd a substantial number of people into the large city blocks which divided the downtown area. The diffusion of *solares* and *casas de vecindad* was particularly noticeable in the latter part of the 19th century when it became increasingly apparent to the city's property owners that the construction of low-rent housing promised to be a lucrative investment. One product of the renewed interest in this area was the *casas de vecindad* of which American entrepreneur Henry Meiggs was one of the first promoters. A more prevalent form of lower class dwelling than these primitive apartment houses were the *solares* that grew in number especially after 1900 when Lima's upper classes began to move steadily out of the central part of the city to outlying suburbs. They subdivided their old houses into minuscule dwellings for working class families. The rent from a *callejón*, *solar* or *casa de vecindad* provided a steady and secure income for its owner.

Information on the history of Lima's working class housing was from:

José Gálvez, *Estampas limeñas*, 2dn ed. (Lima, 1966), pp. 109-110; Juan Gunther, Interview, May 18, 1971; Tunante, *Lima barrios*, pp. 21-22; Marquina Ríos, "Cincuenta casas de vecindad", p. 79; and *El Perú*, January 12, 1931, p. 1

Basurco and Avendaño in their admirable study of Lima's lower class dwellings in 1907 estimated that in the city as a whole 66.7 percent of the population lived in overpopulated or insufficient housing. They also affirmed that on the basis of their research, "overpopulation and *callejón* life coexist". See: Basurco and Avendaño, "Casas de vecindad, primera parte", 24-27. More recent data on population density bears out their findings. See:

Cole, *Estudio geográfico*, pp. V-16-17; Romero Fernández, "Espacio urbano libre", p. 100; and Muñoz and Robles, *Tugurios*, pp. 52-53.

According to Muñoz and Robles, p. 53, those presently living in subdivided *solares* have even less space than the inhabitants of *callejones*. For further information on the crowded living conditions of Lima's working class areas see:

Rómulo Eyzaguirre, "Influencia de las habitaciones de Lima sobre las causas de su mortalidad", *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento, Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, II: 1, (January 31, 1906), 23-52; Tunante, *Lima barrios*, p. 23; Richard W. Patch, "Life in a *Callejón*", *American Universities Field Staff Reports* (West Coast South America Series), VIII: 6, (June, 1961), 1; Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para una interpretación*, Vol. I, pp. 77-78; and Basurco and Avendaño, "Casas de vecindad, primera parte", 113-120.

The descriptions of Máximo Carrasco's various residences are distilled from the minute house-to-house survey of Lima lower class dwellings undertaken by Basurco and Avendaño, "Casas de vecindad, primera parte", 38-107. On the general conditions of working class housing see also: Galvez, *Estampas limeñas*, p. 109; Muñoz and Robles, *Tugurios*, p. 7; and *El obrero textil*, III: 36, (July 1-15, 1922), 3-4. Muñoz and Robles, *Tugurios*, pp. 54-64 and 69, which contains specific data on the materials employed in the construction of slum dwellings in contemporary Lima, shows that only floors have changed from stone to concrete over the years. The walls in *callejones*, *solares* and *casas de vecindad* continue to be of adobe, and wood continues to predominate in roof construction. They also show that little progress has been made in the area of plumbing over time, with seven of every ten *callejones* still having common rather than individual water, sewage and toilet facilities. See page 56.

General information on health conditions among the Lima poor is found in:

Basurco and Avendaño, "Casas de vecindad, primera parte"; "6-7, 58-59 and 108-111; *La Tribuna*, July 5, 1931, p. 4; *Patria*, July 2, 1931, p. 2; Tunante, *Lima barrios*, pp. 20 and 22; and Romero Flores, "Espacio urbano libre," p. 99.

A detailed study on the correlation between lower class housing, disease and mortality is: Eyzaguirre, "Influencia de la habitación," see especially 44-48.

Information on the internal features of lower class housing came from: Basurco and Avendaño, "Casas de vecindad, primera parte", 109-10; Marquina Ríos, "Cincuenta casas de vecindad", pp. 79-80; Enrique León

García, "Alojamientos para la clase obrera en el Perú", *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento, Dirección de Salubridad Pública*, II: 1 (January 31, 1906), 57-58; and Emilio de la Barrera, *Estampas del ambiente* (Lima, 1937), p. 35.

Various observers have emphasized the high degree of social disorganization and mistrust among slum dwelling residents in Lima. See:

Galvez, *Estampas limeñas*, pp. 110-12; Tunante, *Lima barrios*, p. 23; and Basurco and Avendaño, "Casas de vecindad, primera parte", 68.

The descriptions in these early works are strikingly similar to observations of later authors including:

Patch, "Life in *Callejón*", especially 4-5, 7, 12, 15-16 and 19; and Humberto Rotondo, "Psychological and Mental Health Problems of Urbanization Based on Case Studies in Peru", in Phillip M. Hauser, ed., *Urbanization in Latin America* (New York, 1961), pp. 250-51 and 255.

Also an interview with Alcides Carreño, May 4, 1971, was revealing about many of the aspects of the daily life of the Lima poor during this period.

There appears to have occurred a slight decline in the circumstances of the urban masses beginning in 1920 and extending through the Depression. A significant increase in the size of Lima's population, the product in part of extensive rural-urban migration, led to additional crowding in lower class domiciles during this period.

A general deterioration of lower class dwellings accompanied their increased overpopulation during the 1920's. Under the circumstances of a growing demand for new middle and upper class housing developments and rising costs of construction materials, little capital was allotted to the improvement or even maintenance of existing *callejones*, *solares* and *casas de vecindad*. These types of abodes decayed gradually over this period to the point that according to a register of urban property compiled from 1927 through 1929, approximately 53 percent of Lima's dwellings offered substandard living conditions and two-fifths of that number were totally beyond repair.

For information on the fluctuations in population throughout Lima from 1908 to 1940 see:

Alberto Alexander, *Estudio sobre la crisis de la habitación en Lima* (Lima, 1922), especially pp. 8-12; Perú, *Censo de Lima 1931*, pp. 28-31; Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolucion urbana de la ciudad de Lima* (Lima, 1945), pp. 117-18; *The West Coast Leader*, May 3, 1932, p. 3;

Ricardo Tizón y Bueno, *El plano de Lima* (Lima, 1916), p. 54; and Emilio Harth-Terré, "Lima contemporánea", in *Lima en el IV centenario de su fundación* (Lima, 1935).

Muñoz and Robles, *Tugurio*, p. 88, present data on the evolution of population density in lower class housing from 1961-1967. And excellent discussion of the consequences of the construction boom in the 1920's for the scarcity of working class dwellings is found in Alexander, *Crisis de la habitación*, pp. 1 and 34-35. See also:

Alexander to Dirección de Salubridad, 186-87; Alexander, *Causas de la desvalorización*, p. 4; M. Montero Bernal and Alberto Alexander, "Contemplando la situación de los desocupados y la crisis de la vivienda" *El Perú*, January 23, 1931, p. 2; Bromley and Barbagelatta, *Evolución urbana*, p. 105; Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para una interpretación*, Vol. I, p. 77; and Harth-Terré, "Lima contemporánea".

Figures for the comparison of overpopulation in 1907 and 1931 are drawn from:

Basurco and Avendaño, "Casas de vecindad, primera parte", 24; Eyzaguirre, "Influencia de la habitación", 27, 30, 32 and 34-37; and Montero Bernal and Alexander, "Contemplando la situación", p. 3.

Even when these temporary fluctuations are taken into account, however, the comparison of early 20th century and later accounts of working class living conditions in Lima's *callejones*, *solares* and *casas de vecindad* shows that those conditions have not varied greatly over the years.

An evident exception to this hypothesis has been the growth of squatter settlements, especially since 1945, on the edges of the urban area. Nevertheless, center-city life has changed little. There are pronounced parallels between the data collected in 1907 by Basurco and Avendaño, "Casas de vecindad, primera parte", and studies made in the 1950's and 1960's like Muñoz and Robles, *Tugurios* and Cole, *Estudio geográfico*. Cole, p. VII-16, for example, estimates that as late as 1957, fifty percent of Lima's population lived in small congested houses, *callejones* and other deficient dwellings while only five percent lived in squatter settlements. Apparently even major epidemics which were perceived to be directly related to poor housing conditions brought little effort to better those conditions. See León García, *Razas en Lima*, pp. 34-35.

Figures on the state of Lima housing in the 1920's are distilled from:

Perú, Dirección de Salubridad, Ministerio de Fomento, Inspección Técnica

de Urbanizaciones y Construcciones, "Primer informe anual sobre el registro sanitario y catastro de la propiedad urbana de Lima", *Ciudad y campo y caminos*, V: 38, (March-April, 1928), 25-26 and 28; Perú, Dirección de Salubridad. . ., *Segundo informe sobre el registro sanitario y catastro de la propiedad urbana de Lima* (Lima, 1928), p. 4 and tables I-III; Perú, Dirección de Salubridad. . ., "Catastro del Distrito de la Victoria", *Ciudad y campo y caminos*, VI: 44, (1929), 45-46; and Perú, Dirección de Salubridad. . ., *Cuarto informe sobre el registro sanitario de la vivienda y catastro de la propiedad urbana de Lima* (Lima, 1929), pp. 4-5 and tables I-III.

A discussion of how that register was compiled is found in Alexander to Dirección de Salubridad, 184-85. On the deterioration of working class housing in the 1920's see:

Alexander, *Crisis de la habitación*, especially pp. 38-41; Alexander, *Causas de la desvalorización*, p. 9; Basadre, *Historia de la República*, Vol. XIII, p. 300; and *El hombre de la calle*, I: 13, (December 12, 1930), 2.