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EDUCATION AND THE LEADERS OF PERUVIAN INDEPENDENCE

by

N. David Cook

The Independence movement in Peru was complicated by several factors which prolonged and confused the struggle. For example, after 1808 Peru became the military stronghold for the maintenance of Royal power in South America. The influx of vast numbers of military officers, born and educated in Spain, naturally tended to repress any revolutionary sentiments of the local population. Minor Indian uprisings were common in the eighteenth century and many leading Peruvians saw a possibility of another revolution on the scale of the Tupac Amaru rebellion of the 1780's. This fear whether real or imagined is illustrated by the Independence movement itself, for it certainly was not a social revolution beyond the overthrow of the dominant *peninsulares*.

In spite of these repressive factors there was within Peru during the last years of the colonial regime a growing sentiment in favor of Independence. The purpose of this article is to determine the part which higher education played in the maturation of this sentiment within the minds of leading figures of the emancipation movement. The historical method used in the attempt to establish this connection is perhaps unusual and should be explained. It is extremely difficult to establish any direct causal relationship in such a study or to say definitively that because a Peruvian studied at a certain university he automatically supported Independence. In fact, two Peruvians may have and did study at the same institution at the same time and fought on opposite sides in the struggle for Independence. It is probable that the personal affinity between the student and the faculty member was more important than the connection between the student and the institution. Hence, this research attempts not only to establish at what institution a certain Peruvian was educated but also under whom he studied. This material was compiled in a biographical study of almost every important Peruvian figure who lived between 1790 and 1830. The date was based primarily on the information found in Manuel de Mendiburu's multivolume *Diccionario Histórico-biográfico del Perú*. Each person listed in this

biographical dictionary who lived between 1790 and 1830 was scrutinized to ascertain the following: first, the place and date of birth; second, the place of education and the name of his teachers; third, the person's profession; fourth, his role in the Independence movement and the early years of the Republic. It was not possible to obtain all this information in every case. The more important figures, that is, those who were not only listed by Mendiburu but were also mentioned in the general histories and specific studies of the period, were examined more thoroughly. The use of the term "influential" or "important" to describe an individual was defined in a broad sense. For example, any member of the Constituent Congress was assumed to be "important", although some were obviously more so than others. In all, over two hundred Peruvians were studied. The date thusly compiled provides reasonably valid documentation for several generalizations about the nature and effect of education on the leaders of the Independence movement in Peru.

During the last years of the colonial regime higher education in Peru was given impulse by enlightened colonial officials in spite of possible repercussions. Viceroy Manuel Amat y Junient, for example, did several things which affected higher education. In a decree of 21 February 1766, he made it possible for military cadets in Callao, Tarma and Jauja to attend classes in mathematics at the University of San Marcos. The value of mathematics in warfare is evident.¹ This decree was in keeping with the military reforms the Viceroy had already made. He also insisted that at least one modern author should be taught in each of the colleges of Lima and that students should be free to accept the philosophical system that appealed most to their intellect.² The authorities did not give the students too much freedom, however. A decree of 20 February 1769 stated that all graduates, professors and teachers at the University of San Marcos should not observe or teach the doctrine contained in the 15th Session of the Council of Constance, a doctrine which justified regicide and tryannicide.³ The type of student entering the University was also limited. A Royal cedula of 27 September 1752 declared that no *mestizos*, *zambos*, mulattos or

1 Manuel Atanasio Fuentes (ed.), *Memorias de los virreyes que han gobernado el Perú, durante el tiempo del coloniaje español* (Lima: Librería Central de Felipe Bailly, 1859), IV, 471-472.

2 John Tate Lanning, "The Reception of the Enlightenment in Latin America", in *Latin America and the Enlightenment*, ed. Arthur P. Whitaker (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961), p. 82.

3 Fuentes, *op. cit.*, IV, 482.

cuarterones should enter the University, especially for the study of medicine.⁴ A similar order of 14 July 1768 indicates that this decree was not being strictly enforced.⁵

The Viceroy Teodoro de Croix installed the enlightened Toribio Rodríguez de Mendoza as rector of the important Colegio de San Carlos.⁶ He did not, however, approve the plan of studies which was presented. The next viceroy, Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, did approve the plan, which included courses in natural philosophy and natural law.⁷ The Marqués de Avilés, viceroy of Peru from 1801 to 1806, tried to improve the teaching method at the University after pointing out that the traditional system of dictation did not produce intelligent students. He tried to improve the financial condition of the institution by suggesting that the reception given each new viceroy should be abolished or curtailed. He rejected a demonstration for himself, as Viceroy Croix had done, and said that other organizations in the Royal Patronato did not make such displays, hence the university should not. He said further that it fatigues one greatly to suffer such adulation, so very different from the philosophical simplicity which one would expect from a group of literary figures.⁸

The enlightened Viceroy José Fernando de Abascal y Sousa (1806-1816) did much to further education in Peru. In his *memoria* he recognized the advantage that those who lived in Lima had. In the Seminario de Santo Toribio and the Convictorio de San Carlos the youth of Lima received the best education available in Peru. The study of medicine was being neglected, however. Bad medical practices were common in Peru at the time, and members of the *castas* dominated the profession, contrary to the wishes of the authorities. To remedy the situation Viceroy Abascal established the medical College of San Fernando even though it was a difficult and expensive task. In it mathematics, experimental physics, chemistry, natural history, medicine, theoretical and practical surgery, language, drawing and stenography were taught.⁹

During the last decade of the eighteenth century, education and the future leaders of Peruvian Independence were influenced by the members of the

4 *Ibid.*, IV, 480.

5 *Ibid.*, IV, 485.

6 *Ibid.*, V, 24.

7 *Ibid.*, VI, 59.

8 *Memoria del virrey del Perú, Marqués de Avilés*. (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1921), pp. 19-20.

9 Vicente Rodríguez Casado and José Antonio Calderón Quijano, *Memoria de Gobierno del virrey Abascal* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1944), I, 34-37.

famous Sociedad de Amantes del País of Lima and its publication, the *Mercurio Peruano*. The contributors to this periodical were familiar with the books of the Enlightenment, including the *Encyclopédie* and the writings of Hume and Lamarck. Some men, such as Diego Cisneros and Baquijano y Carrillo possessed their own private libraries and received books directly from Europe, without being seen by the vigilant eyes of the authorities. The works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Fontenelle, and Bayle easily reached those associated with the Society. Others, such as Pablo de Olavide entered personal intellectual relations with Diderot, d'Alambert, the Barón de Holbach, Voltaire, and the other masters of the *Encyclopédie*.¹⁰

An examination of the twenty academic members of the Society listed in the March 20, 1794 edition of the *Mercurio*¹¹ reveals that many were educators in various institutions of learning in Lima and that further, some were active participants in the Independence movement. For example Ambrosio Cerdán de Landa, who was an *oidor* in the Audiencia of Lima and the president of the Society was a member of the administration of the Convictorio de San Carlos. He wrote in the *Mercurio* under the pen name of Nerdacio.¹² His son, Dionisio, studied at both the Convictorio and San Marcos.¹³ José Baquijano y Carrillo, professor of Cannon Law at the University of San Marcos,¹⁴ was also a member of the "Amantes del País" and wrote in its publication under the name of Cephalio. Baquijano received many honors during his lifetime. He was a member of the distinguished Order of Charles III, the "Sociedad vascongada de amigos del País", and the Academic Society of Cuba. He was an alcalde in the Audiencia of Lima and held various positions in the Consulado.¹⁵ In spite of these honors and high governmental positions he was placed in a difficult position on several occasions by his enlightened views. For example, in 1780 he delivered an oration upon the occasion of the reception of Viceroy Agustín de Jáuregui. In this he

10 Felipe Barreda y Laos, *Vida intelectual del virreinato del Perú* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos Argentinos L. J. Rosso, 1937), p. 373.

11 *Mercurio Peruano* (Num. 335, 20 March 1794), X, 188-190.

12 Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú* (Lima, 1931-1934), IV, 141-142. Hereafter, the citation for this source is Mendiburu, volume number, and page number.

13 Mendiburu, IV, 140-142.

14 Luis Antonio Eguiguren, *Catálogo histórico del claustro de la Universidad de San Marcos (1576-1800)* (Lima: Imprenta El Progreso Editorial, 1912), p. 25.

15 Mendiburu, II, 351-372.

clearly stated the errors and injustices of the Spanish regime. As a result, officials collected and burned copies of his critical speech.¹⁶ On a later occasion Baquíjano was called before the Inquisition because he possessed prohibited books.¹⁷ Baquíjano was definitely inclined towards Independence, although he did not see any men capable of carrying out such a scheme. Because of this he refused to take part in any revolutionary meetings or plans and died in 1818 before the final break with Spanish authority.¹⁸

Dr. Hipólito Unánue was also a member of the Society¹⁹ who was associated with the University. In 1789 he became a professor of anatomy at San Marcos.²⁰ Unánue's influence is fully discussed in a later section on the medical College of San Fernando. Jacinto Calero y Moreira was likewise a member of the organization²¹ who taught at San Marcos. He was politically influential as a lawyer of the Royal Audiencia and a fiscal agent of the Intendency of Lima although his role in the Independence movement was not determined.²² Furthermore Tomás Méndez y la Chica was a member of the "Amantes del País". He was a notable literary character who wrote in the *Mercurio* under the name of Teagnes. In 1822 he was a deputy to the Peruvian Congress.²³ Francisco Romero, of the religious order of St. Camillus, was a Spanish-born member of the Society. He was a learned scientist who taught mathematics at San Marcos. From 1812 to 1814 he edited the important *Almanaque de Lima*.²⁴ The professor of theology at the University, Dr. Cipriano Gerónimo Calatayud y Borda,²⁵ was also a member of the Society and contributed to the *Mercurio* using the name Meligaro.²⁶ He was a member of the Order of Mercy, was an eminent orator and theologian, but died in 1814, seven years before Independence.²⁷ Rodríguez de Mendoza, already mentioned, was a member of the Society and was associated with both San Carlos and San Marcos. Mendoza was

16 Jorge Basadre, *La iniciación de la república: contribución al estudio de la evolución política y social del Perú* (Lima: F. y E. Rosay, 1929), I, 9.

17 Lanning, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

18 Mendiburu, *loc. cit.*

19 *Mercurio Peruano*, *loc. cit.*

20 Eguiguren, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

21 *Mercurio Peruano*, *loc. cit.*

22 Mendiburu, III, 220-227.

23 Mendiburu, VII, 306.

24 Mendiburu, IX, 476.

25 *Mercurio Peruano*, *loc. cit.*

26 Eguiguren, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

27 Mendiburu, III, 217.

one of the most influential figures of Peru who supported Independence. Another member of the Society was Gabriel Moreno.²⁸ Dr. Moreno was an enlightened and talented professor who held the First Chair of Mathematics at San Marcos from 1801. He was regent of the Chair of Anatomy, fiscal agent of the *protomedicato*, and was the *cosmógrafo* mayor of the realm. Like Calatayud y Borda, he died before Independence.²⁹

Perhaps even more influential was an associate member of the organization, Dr. Ignacio Moreno. He was both a scientific and literary figure, and contributed to the *Mercurio* under the name of Nepeña. Dr. Moreno studied mathematics, astronomy, theology and law in San Marcos. He later taught Latin, Indian Languages and Greek at the Colegio de San Carlos. As vice-rector of this institution he aided the study of Newtonian physics. He was afterward rector of the Colegio del Principe. He was active in the Independence movement and wrote discourses for the establishment of a new form of government for Peru. In 1822 he became a member of the famous "Sociedad patriótica."³⁰ Dr. Vicente Morales y Duárez was another extremely influential figure of the period who was a member of the "Amantes del País." He was born in Lima in 1755 and studied at the colleges of Santo Toribio and San Carlos, where his displayed exceptional talent in the sciences. He later taught Institutes, Códigos, and Cánones in the University of San Marcos. In 1810 he was named deputy of Lima to the Spanish Cortes. In this position he was a member of various commissions and was influential in writing the Liberal Constitution of 1812. Unfortunately, he died on April 2, of that same year.³¹ Dr. Francisco Arrese y Layseca, the editor of the *Mercurio Peruano*, and a member of the Society, also taught at San Marcos. He had studied at the seminary of Santo Toribio and had become a lucid writer, well-known for his elegance, precision, and knowledge of the idiom. In 1813 he was an official of the cabildo and a year later was made a deputy to the Spanish Cortes.³²

From this study it is evident that at least ten of the twenty academic members of the "Sociedad de Amantes del País" were teachers at the various institutions of higher learning in Lima. Of these ten, nine taught at San Marcos and one at San Carlos. Three of the nine who taught at San Marcos shared

28 *Mercurio Peruano*, loc. cit.

29 Mendiburu, VIII, 31.

30 Mendiburu, VIII, 32.

31 Mendiburu, VIII, 8-15.

32 Mendiburu, II, 203-207.

teaching duties during their careers; for two taught also at San Carlos and one, much later, taught at San Fernando.

Enlightened tendencies in the last years of the colonial regime were not without opposition, however. At the head of philosophical reaction and political caution in Peru stood the aggressive archbishop, Juan Domingo González de la Reguera. His close connections with Manuel Godoy gave him substantial political prestige in Lima. His conflict with Rodríguez de Mendoza, who has been called the precursor of Peruvian Independence, is an excellent example of the opposition which enlightened tendencies in Peru faced. As already mentioned, Mendoza introduced natural law and physics into the curriculum of the Colegio de San Carlos. In 1788 the Inquisition of Lima called in Mendoza because José Antonio de Vivar, a student of the Convictorio, had defended a controversial thesis the year before. As a result of this confrontation a report was sent to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition which recommended that Mendoza and his students follow authors of "sound doctrine". In 1791 the Archbishop González de la Reguera verbally attacked Mendoza. The famous rector replied with an *informe* on his program which was published in the *Mercurio*. At the termination of the clash, Mendoza was denied the authority to offer a course in natural law, although he continued to do so covertly. This controversy, coupled with the political upheaval which made the Convictorio de "seed-bed" of revolutionary ideas, resulted in the removal of Mendoza in 1817 by Viceroy Pezuela.³³

The *Mercurio Peruano* also came under strong attack from conservative forces, including the archbishop. The request for a file of the publication from Charles IV naturally worried its sponsors. As this apprehension grew, increasingly banal material was published. Thus, articles passed from "Pedro Nolasco Crespo's attack on the Copernican system back to the typical colonial panegyric on the occasions of the birthdays of the royalty".³⁴ Archbishop González de la Reguera finally withdrew his subscription to the publication, a gesture which in part stimulated the decline of subscriptions from 349 to 241 in one year. This decline, in addition to official opposition, brought about the demise of the periodical in 1795.³⁵

It is interesting to note that of the approximately two hundred leaders who were examined, only twenty-five were sent to Spain to receive an

33 Lanning, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

35 *Ibid.*

education. The majority of this number had travelled to the Continent in order to enter the military profession. For example, Diego Castrillón y Taboada, who was born in Lima, went to Spain in 1797 and began his career as a cadet in the infantry regiment of Guadalajara. In 1800 he entered the Colegio militar de Zamora where he studied mathematics, fortifications, statistics, military architecture, hydraulics, and artillery. In 1808 he returned to Peru where he served in various positions in the military establishment before the final downfall of Spanish power.³⁶ Perhaps better known is General José Manuel de Goyeneche y Barreda, born in Arequipa in 1775. He too decided to enter the military career and journeyed to Spain in 1795. After military study in Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Holland, he returned to Peru to suppress the earlier movements for Independence. He was very active in Upper Peru during the administration of Viceroy Abascal.³⁷ Ignacio Landázuri followed a similar course. He was born in Lima and while still young travelled to Spain to enter the military profession. He returned to America with the expedition of Morillo to Costa Firme as commander of the Squadron of Peru. He began actions in Peru in 1817 and by 1823 he had risen to the rank of brigadier. As most loyalists, he left for Spain after the wars were over in 1825.³⁸ José Montenegro y Ubalde, who was born in Moquegua in 1776, also went to Spain for a military education. He returned to Peru in 1818 as Governor intendant of Huancavelica. In the Wars for Independence he fought on the Spanish side and rose to the rank of brigadier. After the battle of Ayacucho he and his family fled for Spain.³⁹

Manuel Villanueva y Oyague, the Marqués de Alvo, is another important military figure who was educated in Spain. He left Lima, where he had been born in 1770, to be educated in the career of arms. He began fighting in Peru in 1808 as a member of the distinguished "Guardias españolas". By the end of the wars he had risen to the rank of field marshal.⁴⁰ Domingo Tristán y Moscoso, who was born in Arequipa in 1768, also went to Spain after a brief education in Cuzco. In Spain he was first a marine guard, then he served in the Spanish legation in England. In 1791 he returned to Peru as a colonel in the regiment of the "Dragones of the Militia of Majes". He fought under the command of Goyeneche in 1809. In 1813 he was elected deputy to the Spanish Cortes from Arequipa, but he was forced to return to Peru when he found out in Jamaica

36 Mendiburu, IV, 99-100.

37 Mendiburu, VI, 123-128.

38 Mendiburu, VI, 406-407.

39 Mendiburu, VII, 420.

40 Mendiburu, XI, 337.

that the Cortes had disbanded. In 1821 he united with San Martín and was made a brigadier general in the patriot army.⁴¹ His brother, Juan Pío de Tristán y Moscoso was perhaps even more influential. He was born in 1773 in the same city as his brother. He also went to Spain, and after a "scientific education" was sent to Sores in France, which was under the direction of the Benedictines. With the coming of the French Revolution he returned to defend Spain, joined the "Guardias Walonas", and fought in the battle of Rousellon. In 1809 Juan Pío was in Upper Peru with Goyeneche and was active in various battles. In 1823 he was made field marshal by La Serna. After the battle of Ayacucho he was temporarily given the title of Viceroy and as such was indispensable in coming to an understanding with the Patriots as he resigned his imaginary powers. It is interesting to note that after independence he held several positions within the Republic. For example, he became a prefect of Arequipa, was a Brigadier general, and was the president of the "South Peruvian State" in the time of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation.⁴²

Not all Peruvians who went to Spain for an education entered the military profession however. José María de Pando, who was born in Lima went to Spain at the age of fifteen to begin a diplomatic career. In 1804 he went to Rome, then returned to Peru via Spain in 1811. By 1815 he was back in Spain and was active in political affairs. He cooperated in the reestablishment of the Constitution in 1820 and was made Secretary of State by the legislative body in 1822. As such, he unsuccessfully advocated the recognition of American Independence. In 1824 he returned to Lima where he was permitted to remain under security. After Independence, when the political scene was somewhat less vindictive, he became at different times minister of finance and foreign affairs.⁴³ Manuel Quimper Benites del Pino, who was born in Lima in 1740, was sent to Spain for an education. Quimper Benites lived a long and interesting life. In 1790 he was a lieutenant on the frigate that explored north to the present southern boundary of Alaska and west to the Philippines. During this voyage of exploration he wrote an interesting description of the Islands of Otaheti which was published in the *Mercurio Peruano*. From 1810 to 1814 he was the Intendent of Puno; from 1816 to 1819 he held the same position for Guamanga. After Independence he served in the Peruvian navy. He died in 1844 at the ripe

41 Mendiburu, XI, 25-26.

42 Mendiburu, XI, 26-29.

43 Mendiburu, VIII, 325-326.

old age of 104.⁴⁴

This brief study of the influential Peruvian who were educated in Spain indicates first, that most were educated for a military career; and second, that they almost without exception supported the maintenance of Spanish authority in America. It is interesting to note, however, that Domingo Tristán y Moscoso united with San Martín in 1821, and that Castrillón y Taboada, Quimper Benites del Pino, and the Tristán y Moscoso brothers were allowed to remain in Peru after Independence and actually held later positions of authority within the Republic.

José de la Riva-Agüero, one of the most important figures in the Independence movement, should here be noted, for he did receive some of his education in Spain. He was born in Lima in 1783 and was educated from 1791 to 1798 in San Gerónimo de Arequipa.⁴⁵ He then left to continue his education in Spain. He returned to Peru by way of Buenos Aires in 1808. In Lima he formed secret clubs for correspondence with Buenos Aires and Chile and served as a secret agent and source of revolutionary news.⁴⁶ He was also a member of the "Logia Lautarina" which met either in his house or in that of the Conde de la Vega del Ren.⁴⁷ His activities caused the authorities to confine him on several occasions, but their lack of evidence and the influence of his friends prevented prolonged imprisonment. After Independence Riva-Agüero was made the first prefect of Lima. When the first Junta de Gobierno fell in January of 1823 he was proclaimed president of Peru by the Army. After Bolívar's entrance into Peruvian politics he rapidly lost power. He soon became frustrated with the unstable political situation and left for Europe, where he advocated recognition of Peru and the coronation of a Spanish *infante* as the only way to prevent political chaos. Perhaps this recommendation was due in part to his past education. At any rate, he returned to Peru in 1833 and served in various capacities, including the presidency of the North-Peruvian State.⁴⁸

Enough has been said of those Peruvians who studied in Spain; for, as obvious, the majority were educated in Peru. A great number of those educated

44 Mendiburu, IX, 266-267.

45 Clements Robert Markham, *A History of Peru* (Chicago: C. H. Sergel and Company, 1892), p. 257.

46 Mendiburu, XI, 370-376.

47 Alva Curtis Wilgus (ed.), *South American Dictators during the first century of Independence* (Washington: George Washington University Press, 1937), p. 221.

48 Mendiburu, *Loc. cit.*

in Peru received their degrees from the University of San Marcos in Lima. At the close of the eighteenth century, there were 313 members of the Claustro, or governing body, of the University. Of these, 172 were in law, 124 in Theology, twelve in Medicine and five in Arts. Of course it should be noted that a person who was a member of the Claustro did not necessarily teach, for this organization was composed of those who had received their Masters or Doctor's degree and had remained incorporated with the University. The Claustro was divided into two groups; first, those who had Chairs and actively taught; and second, those who did not teach but participated in the general sessions.⁴⁹ In 1800 there were thirty-five active Chairs, divided among the five faculties of Cánones, Laws, Theology, Medicine, and Arts. In 1798 fourteen higher degrees were conferred in Theology and Law. Forty-nine Bachelor's degrees were also given, of which twenty-five were in Arts, seventeen in Cánones, and seven in Theology. Seventeen of these degrees were conferred free to the poorer students.⁵⁰

Those who were associated with the University of San Marcos and who took part in the Independence movement include Dr. Juan Egaña. Dr. Egaña had studied six years in the Colegio seminario de Santo Toribio before he entered the University of San Marcos. After he received his Doctorate in Theology and Law he returned to his home in Chile and played an important role in the Independence movement there.⁵¹ Dr. Ignacio Moreno, already mentioned in respect to the "Sociedad de Amantes del País", was also active at San Marcos and took part in the Independence movement.⁵² Also, Dr. José Gregorio Paredes, who was long inclined towards Independence, was associated with San Marcos. His early education was directed by the enlightened Francisco Romero of the Convento de la Buenamuerte. As a teacher, Paredes' knowledge of mathematics and astronomy aided in the development of scientific studies at San Marcos. In 1810 Viceroy Abascal named him co-editor of the *Gaceta Oficial*. In the Republic Paredes served as deputy to the Congress and Minister of Finance.⁵³ In addition, Dr. Carlos Pedemonte y Talavera played a part in the

49 Carlos Daniel Valcárcel Esparza, "La Universidad de San Marcos en el siglo XVIII", *Icpna*, No. 16 (January-June, 1951), p. 11.

50 Carlos Daniel Valcárcel Esparza, *Reformas virreinales en San Marcos* (Lima: Imprenta de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1960), pp. 65-66.

51 Mendiburu, IV, 389.

52 Mendiburu, VIII, 32.

53 Mendiburu, VIII, 339-342.

Independence movement. He was born in Pisco in 1774 and was educated by Dr. Rodríguez de Mendoza in the Colegio de San Carlos. After this he received his Doctor's degree from San Marcos and was well-known as a writer and orator. In 1822 he presided over the Constituent Congress and helped draw up the new Constitution. In 1825 he was named one of the five members of the "Sociedad Económica" set up by Bolívar. He was also Bishop of Trujillo and was named the first rector for the newly-formed University of Trujillo.⁵⁴

Dr. Francisco Arias de Saavedra also received his Doctor's degree at San Marcos, after first studying philosophy and civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence in the Colleges of San Martín and San Felipe. In 1802 he became a perpetual *regidor* of Lima. He was also active in military pursuits and became a colonel of the infantry in 1816. After Independence he joined San Martín and was made a colonel in the Republican army. In addition, he was associated with the "Order of the Sun", was an honorary Councillor of State, and was a member of the "Sociedad Patriótica" before his death in 1823.⁵⁵ A certain Augustinian friar, born in Pachacamac in 1771 was one of the more notable men of San Marcos. His name was José Salia. At the early age of eighteen he served as a professor in the first chair of writing; he later taught theology. After Independence he was a member of San Martín's "Sociedad patriótica".⁵⁶

Dr. Miguel Tafur, a distinguished professor of medicine in the University was also of some importance during these years. From 1801 to 1814 he was a member of the Tribunal of the Consulado. He was *Protomedico genral* from 1814 to 1817 and held the same position in the Army in 1821. In the Republic he was a deputy to the Congress and the director of the Colegio de la Independencia. He died in 1835, after having been rector of the University of San Marcos.⁵⁷ Another medical doctor, José Manuel Valdés was also an important figure and is especially interesting because he was a mulatto. He was born in Lima and studied at the Augustinian Colegio de San Idelfonso. In 1788 he practiced medicine in the hospital of San Andrés and studied surgery under the famous Dr. Hipólito Unánue. He was so well-known and respected that in 1806 the Cabildo of Lima asked Charles IV to waive the requirement for pure blood so that he could receive the University diploma. This was done in 1807

54 Mendiburu, VIII, 358-361.

55 Mendiburu, X, 5-6.

56 Mendiburu, X, 17-18.

57 Mendiburu, X, 276.

with Doctors Unánue, Tafur, and Vergara as his examiners for the degree. In 1811 he became the examiner of surgery and the clinic at the University of San Marcos. Five years later he was made a member of the Royal Academy of Medicine. He was also a member of the "Sociedad Patriótica" during Independence, was, *protomedico general* in 1836. Like Dr. Tafur, he was a director of the Colegio de la Independencia.⁵⁸

Although the men thus far discussed who were associated with the University of San Marcos favored Independence intellectually, few outrightly engaged in propaganda to promote it. This is understandable when one considers their relationship to the Spanish authorities. Financially they were dependent on the royal treasury. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century Viceroy Toledo had set up an ample source of income from the Indian tributes, but the number of Indians rapidly declined and a new source of revenue became necessary. As a result Viceroy Montes Claros assigned, in 1613, a portion of the nine-tenths set aside for the royal treasury by all the dioceses in the viceroyalty for the maintenance of the University.⁵⁹ By the last part of the eighteenth century these funds had also dwindled to the extent that there was not enough to repair the buildings or to pay adequate salaries. Had not several of the chairs formerly occupied by professors been vacant, and if those by whom the others were filled did not give up one-half of their salaries, the situation would have been much worse.⁶⁰ The dependence of the University on the authorities is partly evident in the elaborate and costly ceremonies given when each new viceroy entered Lima, this being done to assure his support as vice-patron of the institution. Dependence on political authorities did not end with Independence, however, for the University received both San Martín and Bolívar in a similar manner. In fact, San Martín requested that the Claustro of the University meet in order to proclaim Independence. This was done as rector Ignacio Mier called the Claustro to meet on Tuesday July 30, 1831, at ten o'clock in the morning. The members of the organization affirmed the following oath:

We swear to God and the Patria to sustain and defend with our opinion, person and property, the Independence of Peru from the Spanish Government and from any other foreign domination.⁶¹

58 Mendiburu, XI, 162-165.

59 "Historia de la fundación, progresos, y actual estado de la Real Universidad de San Marcos de Lima", *Anales Universitarios del Perú*, I (1862), 9-10. This is a reprint of an article published in the *Mercurio Peruano*, III, 160-f.

60 Joseph Skinner, *The Present State of Peru* (London: B. M'Millan, 1805), 172.

61 *Acta de la jura de la independencia por la Universidad el 30 de julio de 1821* (Lima: imprenta Lux, 1937), pp. 2-3.

It would be interesting to know exactly what was implied in the last phrase.

Perhaps of an even greater influence in the education of the leaders of the Independence movement was the role of the Convictorio Carolino or Colegio de San Carlos, founded in 1770 by Viceroy Amat with the fusion of the Colegio Real de San Felipe with the one of San Marín of the recently expelled Company of Jesús.⁶² Its classes were at first held in the old Casa del Noviciado de los Jesuitas.⁶³ In this Colegio were educated many of the leaders of Peruvian Independence. Viceroy Abascal once said, in rather poor humor, that even the stones were rebels in the Convictorio.⁶⁴ Some of the students of San Carlos were in fact so imbued with patriotic aspirations that Viceroy Pezuela closed it for three months and when it was reopened only a few selected students were admitted, and only then under a reactionary rector.⁶⁵ Further importance of this institution is evident in the fact that approximately fifty-four of the sixty-four members of the First Peruvian Constituent Congress of 1822 had been educated at San Carlos.⁶⁶ It is obvious the other members of the Congress were educated elsewhere, or received only part of their education at San Carlos. This is evident in the biographical material already presented. However, there is not enough evidence available to give the exact figures. The role of the Colegio de San Carlos in the Independence movement was formally recognized in an official decree of January, 1823 as Peruvian statesmen recorded their gratitude for the influence of the institution as a revolutionary center.⁶⁷

It is possible that the importance of San Carlos was due in part to the role of the enlightened Dr. Toribio Rodríguez de Mendoza. Mendoza's students and admirers called him "the Peruvian Bacon, and his renovating influence was so great that in his school were formed the intellectuals that transformed the colonial spirit."⁶⁸ The prestigs of San Carlos grew rapidly after he was named rector in 1785 by Viceroy Croix. He was appointed due to the influence of Father Diego Cisneros, an opponent of the Inquisition and intellectual suppression in

62 Luis Antonio Eguiguren, *Diccionario histórico cronológico de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de San Marcos y sus colegios: crónica e investigación* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1940), p. cclvii.

63 Roberto Mac-Lean y Estenos, *Sociología educacional del Perú* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1944), p. 96.

64 *La Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos* (Lima, 1950), p. 154.

65 Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

66 *La Universidad. . . op. cit.*, p. 138.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 139.

68 Mariano Peña Prado, *La Fundación de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos de Lima* (Lima: La Universidad, 1938), p. 37.

general, and an owner of prohibited books which he willingly loaned to friends. It is interesting to note that Farher Cisneros had previously been confessor to Queen María Luisa of Spain.⁶⁹ Mendoza set out at once to rid the school of the old intolerances and preoccupations with scholasticism and Aristotelianism which had characterized much of education in Peru.⁷⁰ As has already been mentioned in the section on the influence of the "Sociedad de Amantes del País", Mendoza was openly defending the introduction of a more modern curriculum, in spite of the repressive influence of the conservative members of the clergy led by Archbishop Reguera.⁷¹ He promoted the study of the ideas and methods of Descartes, Gassendi, Newton and Leibnitz, and initiated the study of experimental physics, Astronomy and Mechanics.⁷² In the Convictorio, Helvecio was used for the study of Logic, ethics, Natural law and the history of philosophy. The text for Physics was that of Isidoro de Celis, the notable author who introduced the works of Sir Isaac Newton to the students of the Convictorio.⁷³ Father Celis, a *peninsulare*, taught Philosophy, Theology and Physics in Peru. He also belonged to the "Sociedad" and published in the *Mercurio* before returning to Madrid in 1793.⁷⁴ For the study of Theology, the writings of Duhamel were used; for Cannon law, Selvagio; and for Religion, Pauget. The teaching of Natural law, which was prohibited by the authorities, was covertly taught under the title of Moral Philosophy.⁷⁵ By 1799, the Colegio had seventeen active professors,⁷⁶ who taught Classical language and literature, Philosophy, Metaphysics, Logic and Political Economy, Geography, Castilian, the Natural Law of Man, History, Public, Cannon and Roman Law and Practical

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- 69 Robert J. Shafer, *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World (1763-1821)* (Syracuse, 1958), p. 167.
 70 Mac Lean y Esteños, *op. cit.* p. 96-97.
 71 John Lanning, *On century enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala* p. 84.
 72 Peña Prado *op. cit.* p. 37.
 73 Mac Lean y Esteños, *op. cit.* p. 97.
 74 Mendiburu, IV, p. 110-111.
 75 Mac Lean y Esteños *op. cit.* p. 97.
 76 Tadeo Hanke, *Descripción del Perú* p. 40.

Forensics.⁷⁷

The political influence of Rodríguez de Mendoza can not be ignored. In 1813 he was made a member of the *junta censoria de imprenta*. In 1820 he became its president. In 1814 he was made a deputy to the Spanish Cortes from Trujillo. Unfortunately this was made too late to be effective. He was an influential deputy to the First Peruvian Congress in 1822. He was also associated with the Order of the Sun and was a member of the "Sociedad Patriótica"⁷⁸ This interesting organization had been established on January 10, 1822 by decree of San Martín. As originally set up, with Monteagudo as president, its purpose was to promote the acceptance of a monarchical form of government for Peru. However, against the wishes of San Martín, its enlightened members strongly advocated a Republic.⁷⁹ Some of the more important men who studied under Mendoza were Francisco Javier Mariátegui, Sánchez Carrión, Cuéllar, Rolando, Muñoz and Herrera Oricain.⁸⁰

Other influential graduates of the Colegio included Dr. Manuel Pérez de Tudela,⁸¹ a distinguished lawyer from Arica. He was in possession of secret plans against the Spanish government in 1809 in Lima. As a lawyer, he successfully defended those accused of conspiracy. In 1818 he became official in the Cabildo. In 1821 he was a *regidor* of the constitutional *ayuntamiento* and in 1822 was a member of the Constituent Congress. During the period of the Republic, he was a *vocal* of the Supreme Court of Justice and was Minister of State.⁸² José Joaquín de Olmedo also attended the Colegio. He was named a deputy to the Spanish Cortes from Guayaquil and helped form the Constitution of 1812. He was prominent in the Guayaquil revolution of October 8, 1820 and presided over the *junta gubernativa* that advocated independent status for the

77 Eguiguren, *op. cit.* p. CCLDVII

78 Mendiburu, IX p. 473-474.

79 Wilghes, *op. cit.* p. 239.

80 Mac Lean y Estenós, p. 96 y Mendiburu IX p. 473-474.

81 Mac Lean y Estenós *op. cit.* p. 98.

82 Mendiburu XI p. 30.

Province.⁸³ Dr. Manuel Lorenzo Vidaurre, who had studied at San Carlos, was made *Oidor* of the Audiencia of Cuzco in 1811. In 1816 he was named by the king to a similar position in Coruña. When he returned to Peru in 1824 Bolívar immediately made him President of the Superior Court in Trujillo. In 1826 he served on the Supreme Tribunal of Justice. He was later deputy to Congress and twice minister of state.⁸⁴ Another influential figure, Dr. José Joaquín de Larriva y Ruiz, studied at the Colegio. He received his Doctorate in Theology and Civil and Cannon Law. He was well-known as a historian, geographer, poet and satirist.⁸⁵ Fernández de Cornejo Araníbar, who was born in the province of Moquegua in 1767 also studied at the Convictorio. He received his degree in Law in 1814, gaining recognition for his exceptional knowledge of juridical concepts. Arequipa made him deputy to the Spanish Cortes of 1812 but he didn't wish to accept. After serving as *alcalde*, *fiscal* and *asesor* of the Intendancy of Arequipa he became a member of the provincial delegation conforming to the Spanish Constitution of 1820. During the Republic he was president of the Supreme Court of Justice and held the positions of Senator, Councillor of State, and Minister of Foreign Affairs.⁸⁶ The son of the viscount of San Donás, Juan de Berindoaga y Palomares, was educated in law at San Carlos. After becoming a successful lawyer, he was made *regidor* and secretary of the Constitutional cabildo of 1814. He died in 1825, after he had served as minister of war and general of the brigade of the young Republic.⁸⁷

Dr. Ramón Olaquer Feliu was much accredited for his enlightened knowledge. For example, he argued that the native idiom should be used for the teaching of the sciences. He was a deputy from Lima to the Cortes in Spain. Along with others, he attempted to get the organization to make certain

83 Mendiburu, VIII p. 228-229

84 Mendiburu, XI p. 305-308

85 Mendiburu, VI, p. 410-412

86 Mendiburu, II p. 112

87 Mendiburu, III p. 1-34

concessions in favor of the Americas. Unfortunately, after Ferdinand VII regained his power Feliu was sentenced to eight years imprisonment at the Castillo de Benasque for his role in the adoption of the Liberal Constitution. He died shortly thereafter, while still in prison (December 15, 1815).⁸⁸ Another student of the Convictorio, Dr. Justo Figuerola, was an enlightened scholar. He became a professor of laws at the University of San Marcos and wrote an important text on practical forensics. In 1814 he was the secretary of the *junta censora de imprenta*. In the Republic Figuerola was a member of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice, a deputy to the Congress, Vice-president of the Council of State, and for a short time in 1844 exercised the executive power.⁸⁹ Dr. José Cabero y Salazar followed a course similar to that of Figuerola. After he completed studies at San Carlos he became a professor of laws at the University. As a result of his services he was made rector of this institution from 1817 through 1819. He held other positions of influence in the Spanish hierarchy. He was *alcalde ordinario* in 1813, and he was vice-president of the *junta censora de imprenta* in 1820. In 1817 he was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Batallon. After Independence, Cabero was rector of the Colegio de San Carlos, where he had previously studied. He was also minister to Chile and a member of the Supreme Court of Justice.⁹⁰

Dr. Carlos Pedemonte y Talavera was another important figure of the period. He was born in Pisco in 1774 and studied at San Carlos under Mendoza. After this he entered San Marcos and received his doctorate. He was well-known in Lima as a distinguished writer and orator. When Mendoza was removed in 1817 by Viceroy Pezuela, Pedemonte y Talavera became acting rector of the Colegio. He was very influential in the early years of the Republic. In 1822 he was a deputy to the Constituent Congress and was one of the members who formed the Constitution. In May of 1824 he was made first rector of the newly organized University of Trujillo. He later became bishop of this province. Bolívar

88 Mendiburu V p. 147-154

89 Mendiburu, IV p. 300-301

90 Mendiburu, III p. 164

named him one of the five members of the Sociedad Económica which he had created on January 25, 1825. He was also at one time Minister of Government and Foreign Relations.⁹¹ A less well-known figure, Dr. Francisco Valdivieso y Prada, studied at San Carlos, and later became a professor of Arts in the University. He was elected a delegate to the Spanish Cortes and spent 1813 to 1815 in Spain. At this time he was named *oidor* of the Audiencia of Chile. After the Wars of Independence Valdivieso became a member of the Peruvian Supreme Court and was a minister of State.⁹² Before he became a professor in the University of San Marcos, Dr. José María Galdiano y Mendoza also studied at the Colegio. He was politically active; for, in 1813 he became a regidor of the Constitutional Cabildo. His influence was recognized by Viceroy Pezuela who commissioned him to meet with San Martín in the abortive peace negotiations of 1821. After Independence, he was a deputy to the Congress, a member of the Supreme Court of Justice, and a Minister of State.⁹³ Augustin Gamarra was an even more important figure. He was born in Cuzco in 1785 and first enrolled at the Colegio de San Buenaventura. He later studied at San Carlos. In 1809 he entered the military profession and rose rapidly in rank. He fought under Goyeneche, Pezuela, Ramírez and La Serna. He became disenchanted with the Spanish cause, however, and joined the patriots on January 24, 1821. His military experience stood him in good stead, for he became first General, then Field Marshall in the Republic. It did not hurt his political career either, for he was president of Peru on two occasions.⁹⁴

Other figures active in the early life of the Republic include many who were educated at the Seminario de Santo Toribio in Lima. For example, Baquíjano and Arrese, already mentioned for their role in the "Sociedad de Amantes del País", spent their early years in the Seminario. Dr. Juan Egaña, whose influence has been examined for his relationship to the University of San Marcos, studied six years at the Seminario. Dr. Ignacio Mier, who was a professor at San Marcos and its rector from 1819 through 1822, was also associated with Santo Toribio. In addition to holding ecclesiastical offices in the Church at

91 Mendiburu, VIII p. 358-361

92 Mendiburu, XI p. 81-82

93 Mendiburu, V p. 321-322

94 Mendiburu, V p. 328-338

Lima, he was rector of the Seminario from 1815 to 1831.⁹⁵ Evaristo Gómez Sánchez, a well-known lawyer who was born in Arequipa, also studied in the Seminario. He was one of the initiators of the Tacna Revolt of June 20, 1811. As a result of his activities he was captured and condemned to death. He was transferred to Lima where his friends influenced the authorities to reduce the sentence to ten years imprisonment. He remained in Peru 4 years before being transported to Chagres where he died in 1819.⁹⁶

The medical college of San Fernando was also a hot bed for the growth of revolutionary sentiment. It was founded in 1810 by Viceroy José Fernando de Abascal y Sousa⁹⁷ and fell immediately under the influence of the man who had advocated its establishment, Dr. Hipólito Unánue. Dr. Unánue's influence in the "Sociedad de Amantes del País" has already been discussed in a previous section. He was born in Arica in 1755. At first he studied at the Colegio de San Jerónimo in Arequipa and planned to begin an ecclesiastical career. He went to Lima in 1777 and studied Math, Physics, Anatomy, Natural history, Classical Latin and Greek and Medicine.⁹⁸ In 1789 he was made professor of anatomy at the University of San Marcos.⁹⁹ In this position he promoted the foundation of an Anatomical Amphitheater in Lima in 1792. As early as the viceregency of Gil y Taboada he projected the creation of a separate medical college. He was made *protomedicato general* of Peru in 1807. He went to Spain in 1814 as deputy of Arequipa to the Spanish Cortes. In 1820 Viceroy Pezuela made him secretary of the negotiations with San Martín in Miraflores. After Independence Unánue was a member of the Order of the Sun and the *Sociedad patriótica*. In August of 1821 he was made first Minister of Hacienda, and counsellor of state. He was also President of the first Congress. In 1826 he was minister of Justice and vice-president of the governing council.¹⁰⁰ His power over the minds of the students of San Fernando was so substantial that John Tate Lanning once wrote "So profound was the influence exercised by Unánue upon the mind of Peruvian youth that the medical faction finally came to be synonymous with revolution

95 Mendiburu, VII p. 385

96 Mendiburu, VI p. 103

97 Apuntes sobre la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos p. 5

98 Mendiburu, XI, 90-97.

99 Eguiguren, *Catálogo histórico del claustro*. . . , p. 60.

100 Mendiburu, *loc. cit.*

not only in science but in politics".¹⁰¹ In fact, the name of the institution was changed to the Colegio de Independencia as a result of its role in the movement.¹⁰²

Dr. Francisco Javier de Luna-Pizarro was another prominent person associated with the Colegio de San Fernando. Luna-Pizarro was born in Arequipa in 1780 and began studies in the Seminario de San Jerónimo of that city in 1791. He then went to Cuzco where he received his Law degree at the University of San Antonio Abad in 1800. After teaching in the Seminario de Arequipa he went to Spain as Chaplain of the president of the Council of Indies. Later Viceroy Abascal named him rector of the Colegio de San Fernando. When Independence was proclaimed he presided over the first Congress. He was the chief of the Republican Party (Partido republicano exaltado) and wished for the establishment of liberal principles which he had seen during his experience with the Cortez of 1812. He became archbishop of Lima before his death in 1855.¹⁰³ Dr. José Gregorio Paredes, already mentioned in the section on San Marcos, taught mathematics at San Fernando.¹⁰⁴ Also, José Pezet was a professor of Anatomy at San Fernando, and was *fiscal* of the Tribunal of the *Protomedicato* and secretary to the President of the Department of Lima during the Republic. Juan Cevallos was also from the medical college and was a deputy to the Congress. Navia y Moscoso was a practicing physician who had received his degree from San Fernando. He was influential as a deputy to the Congress from Cuzco. Laurano de Lara was one of the most erudite graduates of the Colegio de San Fernando. In 1814 he occupied the Chair of Philosophy of this school. He was later its secretary. He was also the Chief Surgeon of the Army and was a deputy to the Congress from Cuzco.¹⁰⁵ Other men who studied at San Fernando and took part in the Independence movement were Cayetano Heredia, Eduardo Pellegrin, Javier Cortés, Ignacio Huidoboro, Juan Concha, Juan Francisco Alvarado, Ignacio Pizarro, Miguel Morales, Melchor Ramos, Manuel Pastor, Miguel Ríos, Mariano Sierra, Francisco Soberón, Manuel Hidalgo, Pablo Alzamora, José Damaso Herrera, Fernando Flores and Pedro Minondo.¹⁰⁶

101 John Tate Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 136-137.

102 *La Universidad Nacional*. . . , p. 150.

103 Mendiburu, VII, 118-120.

104 Mendiburu, VIII, 339-342.

105 Juan B. Lastres, *La cultura peruana y la obra de los médicos en la emancipación* (Lima: Editorial San Marcos, 1954), pp. 312-313.

106 *La Universidad Nacional*. . . , p. 150.

Several of the leaders of Independence were educated in the provincial institutions of learning. For example, Domingo Tristán y Moscoso studied in Cuzco before he left for Spain to begin a military career. As mentioned in the section on those educated in Spain, he joined San Martín in 1821. Mariano Melgar, the famous poet, was educated at the Seminario de Arequipa. He was born in 1791. As a child he was extremely precocious. He could read at the age of three; by twenty he had mastered Philosophy, Theology, Law, History and the *Bellas letras*. In 1814 he joined in the revolt in Cuzco. On March 11, 1815 he was captured in the Battle of Umachiri and shortly thereafter executed.¹⁰⁷ Dr. Francisco de Paula Gonzalés also studied at the Seminario, from 1803 to 1812. After emancipation he was named vice-rector of the Colegio de la Independencia in Arequipa. He served as a deputy in several Congresses, although he at times suffered persecution for his intense liberalism during the various political crisis which plagued Peru.¹⁰⁸ José Manuel Escobedo also studied at the Seminario de Arequipa. He later enrolled at the University of Chuquisaca. He graduated from this institution with a degree in laws and went to Spain. Escobedo was at that time on Inquisitor at Valladolid. He also taught at Segovia. Escobedo was later the Archbishop of Cuba. He remained loyal to the Spanish government.¹⁰⁹ His brother, José Gregorio was a Patriot, however, and proclaimed Independence in Guayaquil in October of 1820.¹¹⁰

Other Peruvians educated in America remained loyal to Spain. Pedro Gutiérrez Coz, who was born in Piura and who received his degree from San Marcos, became bishop of Guamanga in 1818. In 1821 he left Peru in order to go to Spain,¹¹¹ Diego Miguel Bravo del Rivero also studied law at San Marcos. He was a prominent figure in the Spanish bureaucracy; for he was the subdelegate of the province of Canta from 1796 to 1807, lawyer in the criminal court, *oidor* of the Audiencia of Lima from 1814 to 1821 and General Auditor of the Army from 1814 to 1820. He fled to Spain in 1821 where he received an honorary title for past services.¹¹² Martín Ruiz de Somocurcio began his career as a military cadet in 1806 after studying in San Jerónimo of Arequipa. He rapidly rose in rank and by 1833 he was a brigadier. In 1824 he was named intendant of the province of Cochabamba. He was captured in the Battle of

107 Mendiburu, VII, 268-294.

108 Mendiburu, XI, 308-309.

109 Mendiburu, IV, 419.

110 *Ibid.*

111 Mendiburu, VI, 192.

112 Mendiburu, III, 124-125.

Ayacucho and died while being taken from Cuzco to Arequipa¹¹³.

A survey of the data compiled in this research reveals some interesting facts. Out of the approximately 200 men who were studied, twenty five were educated in Spain. Of these men ten remained loyal to the Spanish Crown, and four joined the Patriots. Of the four Patriots, three had switched from the loyalist side in 1821. Fifteen of the men who were educated in Spain entered the military profession. The other ten were divided relatively evenly among the other professions. The remainder of the 25 were either dead in 1825 or not enough information was available to determine whose side they were on.

Forty-two of the men studied were associated with the University of San Marcos. Of these, nineteen were patriots and three were loyalists. The others were either dead by Independence or inadequate information was available to categorize them. Thirty-five of the figures examined were educated in the Colegio de San Carlos. Of these, twenty-three supported Independence, two remained loyal to Spain, and the remaining ten died or could not be determined. Of the three still living men out of the twelve examined had studied at the Colegio de San Martín, two were patriots and one was not known. There were no loyalists. There was one man still alive in 1821 from the Colegio de San Felipe who supported the cause of Independence. The other four men examined had passed away before this date. The twenty-three men from the medical college of San Fernando who were surveyed supported Independence with one exception, and his role could not be determined from the available information. A similar result was found for the eight men who studied at the Seminario de Santo Toribio of Lima. Of these, seven were active in the emancipation movement. As in San Fernando, there were no loyalists. It is difficult to make any generalizations on the fragmentary evidence available concerning those who studied at the provincial institutions of learning. Of the five studied who were educated at San Jerónimo of Arequipa, three supported Independence, one was a loyalist, and the other was unascertainable with the available information. Of the six who studied at the Colegio de San Antonio of Cuzco, two were Patriots, two were Loyalists, and two died before 1821. This fragmentary evidence suggests that those educated at the provincial schools were not as inclined towards Independence as were those educated in the Capital.

113 Mendiburu, X, 240.

One can reasonably conclude that education did influence the political role of important Peruvians in the years from 1790 to 1830. This is especially observable in those Peruvians who went to Spain for an education. It is also obvious that scientific and literary men, especially those capable of leading a revolution, did not have to travel to Europe to get an education. It is also possible to state that, as was the case of the University of Guatemala studied by Professor Lanning, "Without being a focus of revolution, the University could at least offer the literary and familiarity with the world of ideas making the leadership of the wars of independence possible."¹⁴

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114 Lanning, *The eighteenth century.* . . , p. 331.

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