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## **Roads to Progress: Public Perceptions of Highway Construction in Peru, 1920–30**

**Mark Rice**

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The government of Augusto Leguía that ruled Peru between 1919 and 1930 has long attracted – with good reason – the interest of historians. Leguía’s *oncenio* marked a key turning point in Peruvian history as he contested the traditional oligarchical rule of the Civilista Party that had dominated Peru’s Aristocratic Republic since 1895. Leguía’s *Patria Nueva* promised to use a strong, central state to politically and economically integrate competing social movements in Peru’s factories, middle-class sectors, coastal plantations, and vast Andean highlands. To do so, Leguía promoted ties with labor, encouraged the formation of indigenous communities, and vastly expanded the state bureaucracy and participation in the economy. In order to link these projects, both figuratively and physically, Leguía embraced a vast public works campaign.<sup>1</sup> Road construction emerged as one of the most important aspects of Leguía’s public works during the *oncenio*. Enacting the *Ley de Conscripción Vial* (Road Conscription Law), the Leguía government sought to enact labor conscription in the creation of a national highway network to integrate Peru both politically and economically.

As a result, the road-building campaigns of the Leguía state, and its labor demands in particular, have attracted much scholarly attention. Many have noted the conflicts provoked by the road projects, especially in regards to the abusive labor demands required by the law.

Observing the effects of the Road Conscription Law on indigenous communities firsthand, José

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<sup>1</sup> Of the many historical examinations of the Leguía government, see: Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo, *Apogeo y crisis de la República Aristocrática, 1895-1932*, (Lima: Ediciones Rikchay Peru, 1980); Marta Irurozqui, “El Perú de Leguía: Derrotes y extravíos historiográficos,” *Apuntes* 34 (1994), 85-101; Peter Klären, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes*, (New York: Oxford, 2000), 241-262.

Carlos Mariáteguí labeled the policy as a resurrection of the abusive colonial mita.<sup>2</sup> Road conscription requirements also fed into and, at times, contributed to agrarian revolts against the established gamonal class in Peru's Andean highlands. And finally, historians have also noted the long-term negative effects of road construction that opened local Andean markets to global competition and price fluctuations.<sup>3</sup>

Examinations of the many negative consequences of the Leguía road policy have often overlooked the fact that, during the *oncenio*, road construction and the conscription of labor garnered tremendous support in certain, powerful sectors of Peruvian society. While important to understand why large numbers of Peruvians objected to the road policies of the Leguía state, it is also critical to understand how its leaders and backers justified these policies. I argue that support for road construction and automobile culture in Peru stemmed from two goals. The first source of support for the program centered on the importance that roads promised for national economic development. Equally important, however, was the growing consensus that the automobile and automobile culture represented modernity. Automobile travel quickly emerged as a sign of Peru's entry into a modern world. Historical studies have examined the connection between the automobile and modernity.<sup>4</sup> It is important to note that the automobile was not a singular sign of modernity in Peru – something that was also represented by other trends like

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<sup>2</sup> See, for example, José Carlos Mariátegui, "La Conscripción Vial," *El Mundial*, 5 de marzo de 1926; and "El Problema del indio," in *Siete Ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana*.

<sup>3</sup> Road construction and its effects on regional agrarian revolts are discussed in: Manuel Burga, "Las profetas de la rebelión, 1920-1923," in *Estados y naciones en los Andes: hacia una historia comparativa*, ed., Jean Paul Deler and Y. Saint-Geours, (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1986), 463-517; Wilfred Kapsoli, *Allyus del sol: Anarquismo y utopía andina* (Lima: TAREA Asociación de Publicaciones Educativas, 1984); Wilfredo Kapsoli, *Los movimientos campesinos en el Perú, 1879-1965*, 2nd ed., (Lima: Atusparia Ediciones, 1982). Revisionist studies that have highlighted the political goals of the uprisings are, de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, 86-130; Jaymie Heilman, *Before the Shining Path: Politics in Rural Ayacucho, 1895-1980*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 42-70; Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780-1930*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 337-353.

<sup>4</sup> See for example, Peter Wollen and Joe Kerr, eds., *Autopia: Cars and Culture*, (London: Reaktion, 2004), and Lewis H. Seigelbom, *Cars for Comrades: The Life of the Soviet Automobile*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

urbanization and aviation.<sup>5</sup> Yet, the automobile emerged as a particularly salient image in Leguía-era publications and discourse in favor of modernization. Recognizing this, Peruvian historians, for example Mario Meza Bazán, have begun to investigate the importance of the Leguía-era road policy and its connections to national modernization.<sup>6</sup> My investigation, based primarily on periodical literature that supported the road policies of Leguía, is admittedly limited to the limeño press and political class that backed the *Patria Nueva*. However, it is my hope that it contributes to an already-rich scholarly discussion on the policies of the era of Leguía, and what these debates can contribute to a larger understanding of concepts of modernity and progress.<sup>7</sup>

## **Reforming Roads**

Although road construction increased dramatically in the 1920s, the national state did promote the construction of highways during the Aristocratic Republic. In 1895, the government of Nicolás de Piérola created the Ministerio de Fomento that, along with encouraging national development, was tasked with the oversight of national infrastructure including roads. The new ministry began activity in 1896.<sup>8</sup> Road construction projects generally depended on the cooperation and participation of local entrepreneurs who would apply for concessions to either build or maintain roads in return for collecting taxes or tolls. A review of the 1897 Memoria of the Dirección de Obras Públicas e Irrigación of the Ministerio de Fomento revealed several

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<sup>5</sup> See Willie Hiatt, "Flying 'Cholo': Incas, Airplanes, and the Construction of Andean Modernity in 1920s Cuzco, Peru," *The Americas* 63, no. 3, (January, 2007), 327-358.

<sup>6</sup> Mario M. Meza Bazán, "Estado, modernización, en la Ley de Conscripción Vial en Perú," *Revista Andina*, no. 49, (2), 2009; Nelson Pereyra, "Los campesinos y la conscripción vial: aproximaciones al estudio de las relaciones Estado-indígenas y las relaciones de mercado en Ayacucho (1919-1930)," in Carlos Contreras and Manuel Glave, eds., *Estado y Mercado en la Historia del Perú*, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 2002), 334-349; Fiona Wilson, "Toward a Political Economy of Roads: Experiences from Peru," *Development and Change* 35, no. 3, (June, 2004), 525-546.

<sup>7</sup> "Modernity," its significance, and how to historically analyze it, remain topics of intense debate. See for example: "History and the Question of Modernity," *American Historical Review* 116, no. 3, (June, 2011): 631-751.

<sup>8</sup> *Historia del Ministerio de Fomento y Obras Públicas*, tomo I, (Lima: Ministerio de Fomento, 1935), 28-31.

projects for road construction and repair that operated as concessions to investors.<sup>9</sup> In one example, in return for 20 years of toll revenue, don Santiago Canny undertook construction of a new road between Sicuani and Cusco starting in 1896.<sup>10</sup> In other cases, road projects reflected the economic interests of rural elite and investors. For example, roads to Calca and La Convención were financed by a special tax on coca exports from the two regions.<sup>11</sup> Such financing models also could be subject to local pressures. A similar coca-tax model to finance roads to Apurímac failed to secure funds in the face of local opposition.<sup>12</sup> Such opposition was not limited to Peru's provincial areas. The ministry also reported that road construction in Lima's Magdalena zone met delays and opposition from landowners unwilling to cede territory for the project.<sup>13</sup> However, investors did not run entirely roughshod over the national state. For example, the Ministerio de Fomento cancelled a contract with don Pedro Batisolo to construct a highway from Oroya to Cerro de Pasco when, according to its Dirección de Obras Públicas, the project fell behind in delays.<sup>14</sup> In another instance, a toll collector Don Juan Busso received 3,915 soles per month for his maintenance of a highway to Chanchamayo. However, Busso's request to reduce taxes on aguardiente on the road was denied.<sup>15</sup>

During Aristocratic Republic, support appeared to build for the national state to take a more active role in road construction. As early as 1907, automobile excursions began to set out

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<sup>9</sup> Anexos a la memoria del señor ministro de fomento, 1897, memoria de la dirección de obras publicas e irrigación, Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1897), Anexo 14.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 17-18; 103-107.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 18-19.

<sup>12</sup> Anexos a la memoria del señor ministro de foment, 1897, memoria de la dirección de obras publicas e irrigación, Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1897), 19.

<sup>13</sup> Anexos a la memoria del señor ministro de foment, 1897, memoria de la dirección de obras publicas e irrigación, Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1897), 20.

<sup>14</sup> Anexos a la memoria del señor ministro de foment, 1897, memoria de la dirección de obras publicas e irrigación, Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1897), 18.

<sup>15</sup> Anexos a la memoria del señor ministro de foment, 1897, memoria de la dirección de obras publicas e irrigación, Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1897), 100-102.

from Lima.<sup>16</sup> In 1915, Peru's Sociedad de Ingenieros published an extensive proposal that called for the introduction of a national conscription program as part of highway construction.<sup>17</sup>

Although it did not enforce conscription, the second government of José Pardo introduced significant reforms to spur road construction in Peru. Law 2323 passed in 1916 included a classification of highway projects and the creation of a national Cuerpo de Ingenieros de Caminos to oversee road construction and repair. The law also stipulated that Peru's departments had to dedicate 20% of their annual revenue towards the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges.<sup>18</sup>

These efforts were dramatically expanded once Leguía came to power in 1919. Law 4113, enacted in 1920 decreed that every man in Peru between the age of 18 and 60 had to dedicate obligatory service towards road construction every year. Men between the ages of 18 and 21 as well as those between 50 and 60 had to dedicate six days of service. Those between 21 and 50 had to provide 12 days of service. One key provision in the law allowed men to avoid road work by instead providing a monetary sum equivalent to the required labor.<sup>19</sup> The Ministerio de Fomento directed the road construction as well as the labor requirements of the conscription law. This followed a larger pattern which saw the Ministerio de Fomento preside over many of the centralizing efforts and policies enacted by Leguía government. The Sección de Asuntos Indígenas, tasked with Leguía's early goal of integrating the development Indian communities directly into state policy was also placed under the control of the Ministerio de Fomento.<sup>20</sup> By 1925, the ministry operated out of a new, stately building in central Lima

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<sup>16</sup> "Historia del automovilismo en el Perú," CCC, no. 20 (Agosto de 1926), suplemento i.

<sup>17</sup> Carlos Oyague y Calderón and Sociedad de Ingenieros, *La conscripción vial o servicio obligatorio de caminos*, (Lima: Imprenta del Centro Editorial, 1915).

<sup>18</sup> Ley 2323, 3 de noviembre de 1916.

<sup>19</sup> Ley 4113, 11 de mayo de 1920.

<sup>20</sup> *Historia del Ministerio de Fomento y Obras Públicas*, tomo I, (Lima: Ministerio de Fomento, 1935), 217-219.

overseeing a bureaucracy that not only included public works, but also the newly-created Division of Indigenous Affairs.<sup>21</sup> Acting through the Ministerio de Fomento, the Leguía government dramatically increased spending on highway construction. In 1920 and 1921, the annual government budget for road construction was 70,000 Peruvian Pounds, a roughly 25-fold increase over the budget of 2,799 pounds in 1916.<sup>22</sup> Of course, Leguía also had personal interests in road construction. Many road projects, especially in the Lima urban area, were awarded to the Foundation Company. The company not only named many iconic works after the President, most prominently being the Avenida Leguía, but also delivered rumored kickbacks to Leguía and his colleagues.<sup>23</sup>

Road construction in Peru also enjoyed the backing of other actors who had political and economic interests in expanding automobile travel and consumption. The United States government had a keen interest in expanding automobile sales in Peru, especially of models manufactured in Detroit and other US cities. A 1924 Commerce Department report on road construction in Peru stated that the project was, “an immediate concern to American exporters and manufacturers.” The report’s introduction summarized that, “increased facilities for transportation bring the people of more primitive areas into contact with the outside world, thereby raising their standards of living, with a consequent demand for high-grade American merchandise.”<sup>24</sup> The US Commerce department report on Peru also described the national automobile economy as, “well covered if not overworked,” by several dealers who enjoyed exclusive importers and sellers for US brands. The report described these firms as, “enterprising

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<sup>21</sup> “El nuevo edificio del Ministerio de Fomento,” *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* (hereafter, CCC), no. 11 (octubre de 1925), 2-4.

<sup>22</sup> William E. Dunn, *Road Construction in Peru, Supplement to Commerce Reports, Trade Information Bulletin no. 198*, (February 25, 1924), 11.

<sup>23</sup> “The Foundation Company ha construido la Avenida Leguía,” CCC, No. 2 (agosto-septiembre de 1924), 4.

<sup>24</sup> William E. Dunn, *Road Construction in Peru, Supplement to Commerce Reports, Trade Information Bulletin no. 198*, (February 25, 1924), II.

and active.”<sup>25</sup> One key “enterprising and active” institution that emerged with the auto vendors’ backing was the Touring y Automovíl Club del Perú (TACP), founded in May of 1924. Based in Lima’s Edificio Italia, the TACP enjoyed the support of many investors in the growing automobile trade. The organization’s motto, “Becoming familiar and making others familiar (Conocer y hacer conocer) with Peru is to contribute to its greatness,” promoted travel as a patriotic project. In its first year of existence, the club grew to have a membership of roughly 2,000 reported members.<sup>26</sup> The TACP even applied, and won, a government contract to construct a road between Lima and Chosica in 1925.<sup>27</sup> Another strong backer of the road program was the magazine, *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos*. Published by the also generally pro-Leguía *West Coast Leader*, the new magazine specifically highlighted many of the oncenio public works projects, especially road construction. The magazine also personally lauded Leguía, often placing the leader prominently in articles and on the cover of the publication.<sup>28</sup>

It is important not to overstate the extent of actual road construction. For example, as late as 1924, Peru only boasted four miles of paved concrete – the Avenida Leguía connecting Lima to Miraflores.<sup>29</sup> Also, despite increased budgets, road maintenance still depended on contracts with locals to provide maintenance and upkeep of many highways. A US Commerce Department report on Peru’s roads noted that the Huanta-La Mar Road depended on a tax on the transport of coca leaves while the Lomas-Puquio Road’s operation depended on a levy on “each head of cattle, sheep, and goats driven over the road.”<sup>30</sup> The national road network remained limited to

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<sup>25</sup> William E. Dunn, *Road Construction in Peru, Supplement to Commerce Reports, Trade Information Bulletin no. 198*, (February 25, 1924), 12.

<sup>26</sup> “Touring Club Peruano,” CCC, no. 5, (febrero de 1925), 21.

<sup>27</sup> “El camino de Lima a Chosica,” CCC no. 6, (marzo-abril de 1925), 43.

<sup>28</sup> See for example, cover of CCC, no. 7 (mayo-junio de 1925).

<sup>29</sup> William E. Dunn, *Road Construction in Peru, Supplement to Commerce Reports, Trade Information Bulletin no. 198*, (February 25, 1924), 4.

<sup>30</sup> William E. Dunn, *Road Construction in Peru, Supplement to Commerce Reports, Trade Information Bulletin no. 198*, (February 25, 1924), 10.

4,000 kilometers in 1924 of which 250 miles was considered as “fairly good for motor traffic,” by US observers.<sup>31</sup> Due to these limitations, in 1924 Peru reported a national total of 3,000 automobiles and 1,000 trucks.<sup>32</sup> When one expedition funded by Peruvian Autos Ltd. set out from Lima in November of 1924 to chart a future coastal road to Arequipa, the team needed 35 days to complete the journey.<sup>33</sup> A similar raid to the north, where road conditions were slightly better, needed 15 days to travel between Lima and Chiclayo.<sup>34</sup> The Peruvian press, although usually enthusiastic regarding the government’s road policy, also noted the project’s limitations. Following a tragic accident on the road between La Oroya and La Merced that killed nine, *El Comercio* publically questioned the activities of local junta de vigilancia tasked with highway maintenance in the region.<sup>35</sup>

Never the less, Leguía’s commitment to road construction did make an unprecedented investment. By the end of the decade of the 1920s, Peru had nearly 18,000 kilometers of new roads.<sup>36</sup> By 1926, the first omnibus and car manufacturing workshops opened in Lima raising the possibility of establishing a small, but profitable source of auto-driven economic development.<sup>37</sup>

### **Economic Justification**

Promoters often focused on the economic possibilities of key road links to Peru’s export economy along the coast and into the Andes. The proposed Carretera Central connecting Peru’s coast to the central Andes before descending into the Amazon towards Iquitos, emerged as a key

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<sup>31</sup> William E. Dunn, *Road Construction in Peru, Supplement to Commerce Reports, Trade Information Bulletin no. 198*, (February 25, 1924), 13.

<sup>32</sup> William E. Dunn, *Road Construction in Peru, Supplement to Commerce Reports, Trade Information Bulletin no. 198*, (February 25, 1924), 12.

<sup>33</sup> “De Lima a Arequipa en camión Graham 1196 kilómetros sin camino,” CCC, no. 6, (marzo-abril de 1925), 33. (7390).

<sup>34</sup> “El raid de Lima a Piura en automóvil,” CCC, no. 6 (marzo-abril de 1925), 35. (7392).

<sup>35</sup> “La carretera de la Oroya a la Merced,” *El Comercio de Lima* (hereafter, ECL), 4 de octubre de 1925, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Edgardo Portero, *Estado actual de la construcción de carreteras en el Perú*, (Lima: Ministerio de Fomento, Dirección de Vías de Comunicación, 1930), 44.

<sup>37</sup> “La carrocería de A. Aida y Cia,” CCC, no. 24 (diciembre de 1926), 23.

state investment. Justifying construction of the “Vía Central” in 1925, *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* detailed the road’s location, “from the agricultural regions of the coast...it passes to the mineral regions of the sierra to then descend from the crest of the mountains to the Amazon Valley, not before passing through the valley of Chanchamayo, rich in lumber, fruit, coffee and where the rain is plentiful.”<sup>38</sup> Often maps depicting proposed routes for new roads highlighted not only topographical features, but drawings of products, laborers, or ships waiting at port to emphasize the economic potential of highways.<sup>39</sup> However, promoters also noted that roads did not solely benefit Peru’s export sectors, but the general laboring public. Another article on the progress of the Carretera Central noted how the project, “goes lending great services to commerce, and above all, awakening an optimistic reaction in the inhabitants of Peru who already understand that through the enlisted work of her children, the country has begun to profit.”<sup>40</sup>

In 1925, *El Comercio* detailed how the arrival of roads in Huánuco resolved its underdevelopment due to a lack of transportation links. According to the article, “new horizons have extended before its gaze, waking [the region] to the restless dynamic of industrialization, mobilization of its products, and commercial interchange.” The article also highlighted another common factor road promoters highlighted: the promise of security. Huánuco’s economic development was also afflicted by high rates of banditry that discouraged honest hacendados as well as small farmers. “A highway will surround with security those who want to live by the strength of their arms, the sweat of their brow, from the product of their own labors,” noted *El*

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<sup>38</sup> “La gran Vía Central del Perú,” CCC, no. 8, (julio de 1925), 22.

<sup>39</sup> See for example the prominent depiction of ships at the port of Callao depicted on the route map of: “La carretera Lima-Chosica,” CCC, no. 19 (julio de 1926), 23.

<sup>40</sup> “El progreso vial en la república,” CCC, no. 8, (julio de 1925), 31.

*Comercio*.<sup>41</sup> Travel reports submitted by early auto enthusiasts from their “raids” around Peru gave readers information on distance and topography, but often inserted the economic needs of roads they observed during the course of their journeys. Recounting passing the agricultural establishments in the Canta Valley on their raid to Piura, the authors reminded readers that, “it appears obvious to insist on the advantages that would be brought to the residents of Lima if a road for autos could arrive to Canta and even Yaso, which are only 68 kilometers from the capital.”<sup>42</sup>

Advertisements for automobile sales, trucks in particular, lent further credit to the notion between roads and economic progress. Advertisements strived to emphasize the characteristics of automobiles that made them uniquely useful for Peru’s topography and economy. Such advertisements often emphasized how autos could climb steep gradients common in the Andes, or featured trucks carrying Peruvian exports, like cotton.<sup>43</sup> A Graham Rowe & Co. advertisement featured one of their products, a Republic-brand Truck alongside signs marking the consistent increase in Peruvian exports from 1923 to 1924. The advertisement featured a bold “Prosperity” written above the truck and informed readers, “Republic trucks lucratively carry the commerce of Peru.”<sup>44</sup>

## **Modernity**

One appeal of the automobile, especially in the eyes of the elite, was the vehicle’s representation of wealth. Car advertisements clearly marketed the vehicles as status symbols. Many advertisements mentioned few, if any, technical details about the car and instead featured

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<sup>41</sup> “La vialidad en Huánuco,” ECL, 10 de mayo de 1925, 4.

<sup>42</sup> “El raid de Lima a Piura en automóvil,” CCC, no. 6, (marzo-abril de 1925), 35.

<sup>43</sup> See, William, Wilson & Co., “Camión cargando algodón peruano,” CCC, no. 8, (Julio de 1925), suplemento III.

<sup>44</sup> “Prosperidad,” ECL, 10 de marzo de 1925, np.

brands in elite settings like horseraces, polo matches, and large homes.<sup>45</sup> Nearly all advertisements featured images of cars driving by young men and women dressed in contemporary fashion of the 1920s.<sup>46</sup> One advertisement published by A. C. Schumway & Co. marketed Lincoln cars in overt reference to their representation of elite status. The ad featured a photo of a Lincoln with a uniformed chauffeur and bellboy ready at attendance with three words printed below: “Beauty, Aristocracy, Mechanical Perfection.”<sup>47</sup>

For many observers, embracing automobile culture in Peru represented the country’s membership in a modernizing world. Such sentiments were echoed in car advertisements also. One Ford advertisement printed by A. C. Shumway & Co. from 1925 promoted the auto – in English – as the “universal car” and featured it atop a globe with the cities of Lima and Detroit demarcated. Surrounding the globe were faces representing major regions of the world. Included in the collection was a prominently-featured head donned with a Peruvian chullo.<sup>48</sup> Other advertisements promoted cars in Peru using a different perspective highlighting autos’ natural fit with Peru. Graham, Rowe & Co. auto dealers produced an ad for Hudson cars featuring a model with Arequipa’s iconic El Misti in the background. The ad’s text read: “Tourists in Hudson automobiles know the most picturesque landscapes in Peru.” This was followed by another line of text proclaiming that, “the Hudson automobile is the herald of prosperity and progress of the country.” If cars represented modernity, the ad suggested that their arrival in Peru illustrated the country’s entry into a modern age. Non-Peruvians – especially those with interests in marketing cars – also encouraged road construction as a sign of international modernity. In 1925, one representative of Ford Motors applauded measures taken by the Leguía government by noting:

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<sup>45</sup> See, Peruvian Autos Ltd., “Muchos años de satisfacción,” CCC, no. 5 (febrero de 1925)

<sup>46</sup> “Automovíl especial de turismo, Dodge Brothers,” in ECL, 15 de marzo de 1925, 5.

<sup>47</sup> A. C. Schumway & Co., “Lincoln,” CCC, no. 6, (marzo-abril de 1925), 1.

<sup>48</sup> “Ford – The Universal Car,” ECL, 10 de mayo de 1925, i.

“Peru is another republic where the government recognizes the value and importance of the automobile and what it signifies for modern life.”<sup>49</sup>

It appeared that modern roads and the presence of automobile traffic had, by the 1920s, become markers of modern cities. Thus, it was important that Lima also be a metropolis inviting to automobiles. News regarding road construction and improvement in Lima often reminded readers of similar measures being taken in other countries. One article appearing in *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* in September of 1924 describing measures to regulate traffic in Lima reminded readers that such rules were, “based on existing regulations in Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and important North American and European capitals.”<sup>50</sup> The Foundation Company often published large advertisements in *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* featuring photos and maps of its projects in Lima underscoring its role in transforming the city into a modern capital.<sup>51</sup> Not only did the introduction of automobile culture seemingly elevate Lima into a club of modern cities, the ability of roads to allow limeños to engage in the relatively-new act of “auto-touring” also served as a sign of modernity. One travel article in *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* published in November of 1925 promoted car-owners to take advantage of newly-constructed roads as a form of Sunday recreation. “The existence of good roads in the countryside is going to considerably increase the enjoyment and distraction from everyday life on the part of limeños,” predicted the article promoting travel on a road to Canta.<sup>52</sup>

Although based in Lima, the TACP and other backers of the roads program stressed its national scope. In one 1925 declaration published by the TACP, the organization announced the establishment of a branch in Cusco. The TACP proudly proclaimed that, “it is not a centralist

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<sup>49</sup> “Opiniones sobre el automovilismo en Uruguay, Brasil, Perú, Bolivia, y Chile,” CCC, (octubre de 1925), 35.

<sup>50</sup> “Reglamento del tráfico público,” CCC, no. 2, (agosto y septiembre de 1924).

<sup>51</sup> See for example, “La pavimentación de Lima y alrededores ejecutada por The Foundation Company,” CCC, no.

<sup>52</sup> “La construcción de caminos en el Perú,” CCC, no. 12, (noviembre de 1925), 25.

organization. Highways serve to radiate culture and friendship, not to centralize the benefits.”<sup>53</sup> Regional elites certainly felt they had a participatory role in advancing automobile culture. One article on road construction in the Junín region, showed one photo from Tarma showing residents, dressed in hats, suits, and formal wear riding in two cars on the zone’s main street.<sup>54</sup> Road supporters emphasized the growing consensus that, far from centralizing power, highways were a key tool in the forging of Peruvian nationalism. One editorial from *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* argued that, “Peru should be as crossed by good roads as the human body is with nerves and veins.”<sup>55</sup> An article in *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* published in February of 1926 repeated the mantra of the ability of roads to unite Peru economically, and implicitly, politically to its previously-diverse regions. Documenting road construction in the northern Andes uniting the departments of Cajamarca and Amazonas with other areas of Peru the magazine noted the importance of roads in, “the cited departments that, until now, have been inaccessible, and only at the end of this project will be able to consider themselves incorporated into national life.”<sup>56</sup> Roads literally promised to bring isolated regions into a sense of Peruvian national politics. “Roads would bring civilizations to these isolated regions like a holy insignia,” boasted Roberto Boza, the head of Peru’s first automobile exhibition, at the close of the event in August of 1926.<sup>57</sup>

However, no activity brought more public attention than the club’s organized “raids” that featured races and automobile-centered events and caravans. In its first year, the TACP organized several national “raids” including one from Lima to Piura in 1925 to showcase new

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<sup>53</sup> “Touring Club Peruano,” CCC, no. 5, (febrero de 1925), 21.

<sup>54</sup> “Paseos dominicales en auto en la Villa Acobamba (Tarma),” CCC, no. 5, (febrero de 1925), 35.

<sup>55</sup> “El valor de un buen y un mal camino,” CCC, no. 6, (marzo-abril de 1925), 38.

<sup>56</sup> “Una carretera de gran importancia a través de los Andes,” CCC, no. 15, (febrero de 1926), 22.

<sup>57</sup> “Acerca la ley de conscipción vial,” CCC, no. 20, (Agosto de 1926), suplemento v.

automobiles as well as promote their use in travel and recreation.<sup>58</sup> Even local raids that took place in the environs of Lima regularly attracted the public's imagination. The dry, hilly landscape provided optimal conditions for new car owners and enthusiasts to demonstrate the automobile's ability to cross difficult terrain and gradients. One raid that took place in 1925 near Pachacamac was described by reporters from *El Comercio* with great interest. Driver Jorge Velez, "accomplished true aerobatics plowing through dunes, climbing up and descending from their tops."<sup>59</sup> In October of that same year, the TACP organized the "Gran Premio" Race that sponsored a more extensive "raid" that looped up the southern coast of Peru from Ica terminating in Chorillos south of Lima. Participating racers included Velez and another prominent auto racer, José Bolívar, but also Elmer Faucett (who would continue in a notable career as an aviator and entrepreneur). Not only did the race garner publicity in the national press, it also provided marketing opportunities for car sellers who could promote the winning car models and tires to the public.<sup>60</sup> The following year, Leguía personally inaugurated and attended the TACP's Pachacamac Raid in front of at least 10,000 estimated spectators in November of 1926.<sup>61</sup>

Pioneering motor men who undertook raids through Peru often were lauded as national heroes upon their return to Lima. Honors also took place upon a raid's arrival to a provincial town. When Velez and Bolivar undertook an automobile raid to Lucanas in Ayacucho in 1926, the two drivers enjoyed numerous fetes along their journey. Arriving in Puquio, the two men were invited to a civic parade and received a gold medal from the town's Sociedad Democrática de Señoritas. Upon the return leg, the citizens of Nazca offered a "spontaneous and enthusiastic manifestation," that also included an official banquet. The "raiders" themselves often described

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<sup>58</sup> "Touring Club Peruano," ECL, 20 de mayo de 1925, 10.

<sup>59</sup> "De automovilismo," ECL, 19 de mayo de 1925, 8.

<sup>60</sup> See, "De Turismo," ECL, 24 de octubre de 1925; "De Turismo," ECL, 25 de octubre de 1925, 6; "Hudson Super Six" advert, ECL, 26 de octubre de 1925, 3; "De Turismo," ECL, 26 de octubre de 1925, 6.

<sup>61</sup> "El 'Premio Touring Club Peruano, Año 1926'," CCC, no. 23, (noviembre de 1926), 21-24.

their journeys as part of a larger history of civic duty. In the interview the drivers noted their goal: “To unite the coast with the sierra by means of automobile. More than that: to demonstrate the ease in which to accomplish it.”<sup>62</sup>

Perhaps inspired by the growing genre of travel associated with auto “raids” through Peru, in 1927 the head of the Ministerio de Fomento, Ernesto Sousa, undertook an extensive tour through southern Peru to inspect recently-constructed roads as well as other works completed under the auspices of the Leguía state. Setting out from Arequipa in a Ford automobile named “El Precursor,” the minister and his committee toured the southern Peruvian highlands including the regions of Puno, Cusco, and Ayacucho, before returning to Lima. Lima’s *La Prensa* applauded not only the trip of Sousa, but the significance of the journey for Peru as a nation. “Señor Sousa and his committee have been pleasantly surprised with the ease and advantages of [the road project],” noted the paper. Even more importantly, however, “the indescribable enthusiasm on part of the inhabitants of these isolated regions to cooperate in the road work that promises to take them out of the isolation and backwardness in which they currently find themselves.” According to *La Prensa*, the promise of modernity brought by the touring automobile was key in motivating rural Peruvian communities to participate in a national roads project. “The presence of an automobile for the first time, the most advanced symbol of progress in those highlands and isolated punas, produced, as one supposes, happiness, comforting and lifting the spirit of the aboriginals who inhabit that zone,” concluded *La Prensa*.<sup>63</sup> Minister Sousa had planned a second leg for “El Precursor” into the central Andes of Peru from Lima. Unfortunately, the minister died during this journey just outside of Smelter on November 25,

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<sup>62</sup> “De turismo” ECL, 8 de agosto de 1925, 3.

<sup>63</sup> “El viaje del señor ministro de Fomento de la frontera de Bolivia a Lima en automóvil,” *La Prensa*, 21 de junio de 1927, 3.

1927. Sousa's last words, true to form, were recorded as: "Adelante. Siempre Adelante!"<sup>64</sup> An editorial in *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* lamented the death of an "apostle of national roadways."<sup>65</sup>

If Peru's road construction represented a path of progress for some, others also saw highways and automobile travel as representing the uncertainties or threats of modernization. Automobile accidents in Lima claimed prominent news attention (often accompanied by grisly photographs) in *El Comercio*.<sup>66</sup> Following a three-vehicle accident on Avenida Leguía in March of 1925 that left multiple people injured, *El Comercio* warned the incident was an example of the dangers of, "the deficient organization of traffic" that would only worsen with urban growth along the thoroughfare.<sup>67</sup> After another fatal accident in 1925, *El Comercio* lamented how, "in the agitation of urban life, automobilism is an element of progress that can easily become an agent of tragedy."<sup>68</sup> One cartoon comically represented worries regarding the potential change that automobile culture brought to Peru by representing gentleman stopping to pick up a lucky horseshoe in the street, only to be hit by a speeding new car. The cartoon's caption read: "Nothing like horseshoes for bad luck!"<sup>69</sup> Apparently conditions for foot traffic in Lima grew so bad, that the normally pro-auto *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* published a satirical "Prayer of the Pedestrian" in 1926. In a comical modification of the Lord's Prayer, the oration concluded by noting: "And if a some driver does hit us and breaks our legs, do not forgive that bum's sins because they do know perfectly what they do! Amen!"<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Carlos Villena Q., *Los recorridos del Ministro Sr. Sousa a través del Perú*, (Lima: 1927) 399.

<sup>65</sup> "El sensible fallecimiento del ministro de fomento y diputado por Huailas Señor Don Ernesto Sousa," CCC, no. 35, (noviembre de 1927), 30.

<sup>66</sup> "El accidente automovilismo de ayer," ECL, 2 de marzo de 1925, 3.

<sup>67</sup> "El trágico accidente en la Avenida Leguía," ECL, 9 de noviembre de 1925, 5.

<sup>68</sup> "Los accidentes del tráfico," ECL, 10 de mayo de 1925, 5.

<sup>69</sup> Livino, ECL, 19 de noviembre de 1925, 8.

<sup>70</sup> "Oración de los peatones," CCC, no 18, (junio de 1926), 17.

More worrisome for the leaders of Lima and Peru, the introduction of automobiles could often modify or worsen longstanding conflicts over labor and urban order. In 1925, when city officials demanded that omnibuses alter their routes through the center of Lima, the drivers staged a protest by blocking the streets and bringing urban traffic to a halt.<sup>71</sup> The walkout was the culmination of a series of disputes between the municipality, drivers, and bus companies over new traffic regulations and accusations of overly-aggressive ticketing and inspections.<sup>72</sup> The strike halted omnibus service in Lima for four days until the municipality, bus owners, and drivers agreed to negotiations.<sup>73</sup>

## **Gender**

Automobile culture, and the modernity it represented, also raised question regarding changing perspectives on gender in Peru. In 1925, Lima's *El Comercio* re-published an essay by North American sports writer, Harold F. Blanchard, who argued in favor of women learning how to drive. More interesting is the editorial introduction *El Comercio* provided to the essay placing the debate in the Peruvian context. "Although the psychology of our women of the Latin race, impressionable and nervous, can lend proof toward the 'antifeminists' to oppose their learning how to drive," the editorial comment concluded that, "with time everything changes...the *compañera* should enjoy the prerogatives and similar rights of the *compañero* in all that signifies well-being and justice."<sup>74</sup> It appeared that other media outlets shared the opinion of *El Comercio*. One month before *El Comercio* shared its opinion on women drivers, *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* began printing a regular section in its editions with the title, "Feminine Automobility in Lima"

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<sup>71</sup> "Interrupción en el servicio interurbano de omnibus," ECL, 15 de octubre de 1925, 3.

<sup>72</sup> "La paralización de servicio de ómnibus," ECL, 16 de octubre de 1925, 4.

<sup>73</sup> "La interrupción del servicio de ómnibus interurbanos," ECL, 19 de octubre de 1925, 1.

<sup>74</sup> "La mujer debe guiar sin temor su automóvil," ECL, 9 de noviembre de 1925, 5.

that featured women posing in driver seats of cars.<sup>75</sup> Advertisements for auto sales in Peru often prominently featured women. One promotion for the Cleveland-Six automobile featured a young, elegantly-dressed woman driving two colleagues.<sup>76</sup> A. C. Shumway & Co. produced an ad directed at mothers promoting Ford cars as the safest way to transport their children to school.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to addressing to women as domestic and family-oriented consumers, auto advertisements also promoted cars as emblematic of the modern, independent woman. An ad for Peruvian Autos Ltd. published just before Independence Day in July of 1925 narrated the imagined adventures of a “Parisian *dama*” arriving to visit Peru. One of her first tasks was to acquire an auto to travel independently to know the country.<sup>78</sup> Other advertisements promoted automobiles as a source of female liberation from domesticity. Peruvian Autos published an ad featuring a woman surrounded by pots, pans, and a broom dreaming of escaping in a new Dodge Brothers car.<sup>79</sup> The text of an ad produced by Graham Rowe & Co. in May of 1925 provided the reader the thoughts of a pictured sedate woman who lamented: “I feel imprisoned between the four walls of my home...Bored of the domestic chores, and fed up with thinking about dinner.” Fortunately for her, a solution had arrived, “Here comes a Hudson! What marvel! Days of Autumn...panoramic hills...extensive prairies... Liberty... Hours of rest...Recreation...The light of the moon...and the open road.”<sup>80</sup>

Meanwhile, automobiles, and especially their mechanical faults, were often associated with the failures of men. One cartoon featured a despondent man in formal wear sitting alongside

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<sup>75</sup> “El automovilismo en Lima,” CCC, no. 11, (octubre de 1925), 38-39.

<sup>76</sup> “Cleveland-Six,” ECL, 19 de mayo de 1925, 8.

<sup>77</sup> “Ford, el automóvil universal,” ECL, 23 de abril de 1925, 3.

<sup>78</sup> “Una dama parisien quiere pasar con nosotros el Aniversario Patrio,” ECL, 23 de julio de 1925, 18-19

<sup>79</sup> “Auto-sedan de Dodge Brothers,” ECL, 28 de abril de 1925, 7.

<sup>80</sup> “Graham Rowe & Co.” ECL, 10 de mayo de 1925, np.

a broken-down car lamenting: “I was going to a wedding...if this takes any longer I’m not going to arrive to anything except a divorce!”<sup>81</sup> Another cartoon featured a plump man sitting on the road alongside his wrecked car dazedly exclaiming: “ – I promised to write *mi mujer* a post card from all the places I stopped!”<sup>82</sup> *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* argued in its March, 1926 edition that female drivers were actually preferable than their male counterparts. “We are very complacent to see the large number of women drivers in Lima,” commented the magazine while noting that, “it is rare that they are the cause of accidents.”<sup>83</sup> Of course, some examples did emerge that continued to convey traditional images of femininity related to automobile culture. One cartoon published in *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* in July of 1926 with the title, “the worry after the accident” showed a car crashed into a tree accompanied by two different reactions. The male figure was pictured pondering the damaged car while his female companion sat adjacent adjusting her lipstick and makeup.<sup>84</sup>

### **Autos, opposition, and indigeneity**

A key undercurrent through all of the debates on automobiles and road construction in Peru remained the looming question of opposition on the part of the gamonales and indigenous communities to the Road Conscription Law. Technically, the Road Conscription Law was supposed to be applied universally. However, a provision was inserted into the legislation that allowed anyone who could contribute a monetary equivalent to a day’s labor to make a payment to the state in lieu of labor. This provision essentially meant that any Peruvian man of middle-class to elite status avoided labor conscription to work on roads. Furthermore, the provision also threatened to raise the opposition of many hacendados who would have to dedicate over a

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<sup>81</sup> ECL, 10 de mayo de 1925, 5.

<sup>82</sup> ECL, 13 de marzo de 1925, 5.

<sup>83</sup> CCC, no. 16, (marzo de 1926), 33.

<sup>84</sup> CCC, no. 19, (julio de 1926), np.

week's worth of labor of their peones to road construction when mandated by the state. In fact, many historians have accurately noted how Leguía sought to consolidate power under a central state at the expense of the gamonal and oligarchical leaders of the Aristocratic Republic.

Perhaps taking this potential conflict into account, pro-conscription magazines and media published reports of road construction that emphasized cooperation between the oncenio state and hacendados. For example, a report on road construction between Huaral and Acos, emphasized how the new paths would connect haciendas to markets more efficiently. The report detailed how the road project depended on the labor of, "more than 300 men supplied every week by a different hacienda."<sup>85</sup> Reports of road construction also downplayed conflicts between the rural communities required to supply labor. One news report from 1925 detailing road construction in Huánuco reported that the Junta de Vigilancia de Caminos, "has labored modestly and silently," and, "has succeeding in eliminating abuses."<sup>86</sup> For these publications, labor conscription was an opportunity for cooperation between the national state, rural elites, and communities.

Despite these efforts opposition to the law continued. The need for pro-Leguía and pro-conscription publications to continually call for public support of conscription suggests that opposition from both rural elites and communities rang strong. The pro-construction magazine, *Ciudad y Campo y Camino* lauded the road conscription law, often printing a small box of text amongst its news articles reading: "The road conscription law is one of the most wise that has been given for the material development of the country. It is valuable to make the most of it in the proper form."<sup>87</sup> However, in the need to issue constant calls for support issued by *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos*, one can detect that not all Peruvian's backed the policy of conscripted labor.

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<sup>85</sup> "La provincia de Chancay y sus caminos," ECL, 10 de mayo de 1925, 10.

<sup>86</sup> "La vialidad en Huánuco," ECL, 10 de mayo de 1925, 9.

<sup>87</sup> See text box in, CCC, no. 3, (septiembre y octubre de 1924), 12.

The magazine itself, in an article backing the policy, admitted the “There are pleasing results of this law in various points of the country. Already completed roads and others under construction are an eloquent and flattering testimony [to the law]. However, the result is quite little compared to what should have already been accomplished if all the authorities of the country, prefects, sub-prefects, commissioners, and mayors strictly kept to the tenor ordered by the Law of Road Conscription.”<sup>88</sup> For backers, any faults in road conscription did not reflect poorly on the law, but only on dishonest or underperforming government agents.

However, road conscription backers also had to face criticism not only from gamonales, but larger concerns regarding the labor burden the policy placed on Peru’s indigenous population. *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* addressed the controversy directly in a November, 1925 issue. “Arguments have been presented in a hardly honorable form to demonstrate that [the law] is a form of temporary slavery and unjust exploitation of the Indians” noted the magazine. “In reality,” countered *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos*, “it is a form of slavery more similar to military service...and it does not only affect the peon, excepting the residents of Lima and Arequipa, all have the obligation to serve.” The article went on to give historical precedents of the law, one of which referenced the Inca. “The Incas, as everyone knows, are an example of what we now consider and advanced form of communism” argued the magazine while noting: “The visible results are the system of irrigation that still exists in parts, and the spider web of roads that extended from the coast to the altiplano and to the Amazon.” However, even the backers of the project had to admit that conscription, “still is a very defective human process susceptible to abuses. In the hands of unscrupulous officials it can be the cause of damages.” The solution, was

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<sup>88</sup> “La ley de conscripción vial,” CCC, no. 6, (marzo-abril de 1925), 36.

not to abolish the conscription, but to dedicate more funds to the ministry to oversee the project and punish abusive local officials.<sup>89</sup>

Proponents of the Road Conscription Law often justified its work requirements by highlighting the immediate benefits infrastructure improvements brought to rural communities. Reporting on progress on road construction in Canta, *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* described the support of locals for the project as “worthy of applause and imitation,” but noted that such activity was reasonable considering the fact that, “soon [the area] will have good network of roads that will be the base of rapid development.”<sup>90</sup>

In Lima’s press any abuses were downplayed in favor of highlighting the obligatory highway work as an effective method of transforming Peru’s rural residents into modern citizens. Reporting on progress on a road project in Chancay and Cajatambo Provinces, *El Comercio* applauded how 800 men from the town of Oyón “arrived resolved to work...they had the satisfaction and pride to hand over 2 kilometers of good road, having worked far from their homes and outside their jurisdiction, thus giving a good name to their town.” The following week, a similar showing of civic pride was reported on the highway project when, “seven *pueblos* from Checra District (Chancay Province) arrived with 500 men and three *pueblos* from Pachangra District (Cajatambo Province) with 90 men; each *pueblo* carrying the *bicolor* in front and every man with enthusiasm in his chest.”<sup>91</sup>

For promoters, road construction not only provided an opportunity for the civic integration of Peru’s rural areas into the nation, but an opportunity for coastal elites to better understand the political and economic possibilities of the Andean population of Peru. Recounting an auto journey into the central Andes, National Deputy representing Tarma José G. Otero

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<sup>89</sup> CCC, no. 12, (noviembre de 1925), 31.

<sup>90</sup> “El camino a los Valles de Chosica y Santa Eulalia,” CCC, no. 30, (noviembre de 1925), 30.

<sup>91</sup> “La vialidad en las provincias de Chancay y Cajatambo,” ECL, 24 de septiembre de 1925, 3.

published an essay in *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* that detailed his interaction with indigenous communities in the central sierra. The writer concluded: “To the superficial observer, the Indian is not worth the effort to be remediated into civilization.” Yet, Otero argued, “How far is this from the palpitating reality!” that he witnessed in Indian communities and markets recently connected to roads.<sup>92</sup>

In 1925, the TACP and the Graham, Rowe & Co. auto dealership sponsored a raid with the goal of illustrating the positive effects of the Road Conscript Law on indigenous communities. Two of Peru’s most prominent auto drivers, Jorge Velez and José Bolívar, set out to cross the Andes and arrive at a newly-constructed road leading to the town of Puquio in the Ayachucho region. In anticipation of the raid, a massive road construction campaign was organized. *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* reported on the feat noting that, although the law required only six days of labor per year, “within three days 1,500 serranos worked on the road with enthusiasm, voluntarily offering their work for three weeks and leaving completed 158 kilometers of finished road between Puquio and Nazca.” The magazine provided details on the “Herculean effort” placed into completing the road. Working at altitudes of 14,000 feet above sea-level, the work teams consumed, “150 head of cattle...and cigars, aguardiente, and coca.”<sup>93</sup> When, on July 30, 1925 the Hudson automobile driven by Velez and Bolívar arrived on the newly-constructed road, the raid was a moment of civic pride. The account printed in *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* detailed the reception of the two drivers in Puquio:

Then, only then when the voluntary road conscripts saw that the Hudson had arrived safe and sound and had been stored – not in a garage (something unknown to Puquio) – they put down their picks and shovels and began to celebrate the event as it deserved. Much after the automobile has stopped being something of a novelty for the inhabitants of Puquio, the residents will remember the day they finished the road and the spree to which they celebrated the happy occasion, toasting the honors with food, pisco, and rum

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<sup>92</sup> “Impresiones del viaje,” CCC, no. 7 (mayo-junio de 1925), 18.

<sup>93</sup> “Un camino, un auto, y una fiesta,” CCC, (agosto de 1925), 38.

distributed in such a deserved fiesta. It was a night that will be remembered for generations.<sup>94</sup>

According to the magazine, the road project and its civic implications were truly historical events. The completion of the Puquio raid inspired similar raids by competing auto companies and dealers. In October of 1925, a Fiat importer organized a similar trip to Puquio to market the car brand in Peru. *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* proudly reported that the resulting trips demonstrated that, “the authorities of and notable people of Nazca, Lucanas, and Puquio are currently giving all their attention to following the Law of Road Conscription.”<sup>95</sup>

Defending the conscript labor required during road construction, *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* pointed to photographs of workers as evidence of the inherent benevolence of the program. “All photography of conscripts working on some road that we know of shows that these men are happy and enthusiastic with their work,” noted the magazine in 1925.<sup>96</sup> In fact, *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos*, *El Comercio*, and other publications that supported the road program often prominently featured images of conscript laborers alongside articles documenting the progress of roads.<sup>97</sup> Yet, these photographs, while picturing laborers, remain silent regarding what they thought about their – often involuntary – role in forging a modern Peruvian nation.

### **Continued paternalism**

Although the laborers featured in Peru’s newspapers and magazines remained silent, this did not stop road promoters from conveying their own opinions about the rural regions and inhabitants highways promised to aid. In fact, the underlying paternalism that undercut many descriptions of road construction in Peru often revealed yawning sentiments of paternalism and difference between the elites who backed roads, and the poor who constructed the projects.

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<sup>94</sup> “Un camino, un auto, y una fiesta,” CCC, (agosto de 1925), 38.

<sup>95</sup> “Raid record Lima-Puquio-Lima efectuado por un Fiat,” CCC, no. 11, (octubre de 1925), suplemento viii.

<sup>96</sup> “Construcción cooperativa de caminos,” CCC, no. 12, (noviembre de 1925), 33. (7460).

<sup>97</sup> See for example, “Aspecto del pasado labor...” CCC, no. 13, (diciembre de 1925), 45.

Often, supporters of the oncenio project, while lauding road construction for rural uplift, inadvertently (and consciously) used their observations to highlight the stark differences between the modern and anti-modern Peru. This pattern reflects debates regarding industrialization, labor, and social welfare in Peru that also took place during and after Leguía's government.<sup>98</sup>

The narratives of many raids and travels along newly-constructed roads, while emphasizing their activities in unifying Peru, also could underscore larger cleavages of race, class, and paternalism. After their celebrated 1925 raid into Puquio described in glowing terms by *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* drivers Velez and Bolivar revealed inherent paternalist views regarding the place of Peru's indigenous population confronted by an assumed foreign modernity. "The auto; following the road crossed by the earnest and enthusiastic *indígenas* provoked numerous *llamitas* brought by the interest of the people or the sound of the motor. The surrounded the car cautiously, looking at us with distrust. Perhaps they 'thought' (sic) that very soon autos and trucks would liberate them from the pitiful work for them: carrying loads."<sup>99</sup> In another instance, the interviewees described the reaction provoked when they honked the horn provoking confusion over whether the residents had to work in helping move the car. "Poor *indígenas!*...What a lesson in self-sacrifice we learned from those Indians."<sup>100</sup>

The cover of the December, 1925 edition of *Ciudad y Campo y Camino* featured a prominent image of an Indian "cargador" looming behind a modern truck carrying good on a highway. However, rather than connect the historical precedent of Indian labor with modernization, the subheading to the image emphasized an inherent difference between the two figures. "Primitive and current methods of transport in Peru," stated *Ciudad y Campo y*

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<sup>98</sup> Paulo Drinot, *The Allure of Labor: Workers, Race, and the Making of the Peruvian State*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

<sup>99</sup> "De turismo" ECL, 8 de agosto de 1925, 3.

<sup>100</sup> "De turismo" ECL, 8 de agosto de 1925, 3.

*Caminos*.<sup>101</sup> The cover of the February, 1927 edition of the Lima travel magazine *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* best depicted the imagined contrast between Peru's automobile-oriented modernization with the perceived backwardness of the nation's Indian communities. The illustration showed a well-to-do family's auto having to navigate between Indian peasants, llamas, and rural geography.<sup>102</sup> Even when reports emerged of new travel reaching Cusco, Lima's press portrayed modernization as opposed to the traditional character of the Andean city. Documenting infrastructure improvements taking place in July of 1927, *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* reminded readers that, "Cuzco is a city that slowly advances with the progress of time."<sup>103</sup>

Failures or problems in road construction were quickly blamed on rural inexperience. In one report reprinted in the *Boletín de la Sociedad de Ingenieros del Perú* from 1929, one engineer named Carlos Otoneda criticized the quality of highway labor and supervision outside of Lima. He claimed that the current organization of road construction that usually had provincial or regional engineering teams work under the direction of the central office of Lima had supposedly failed to maintain quality. According to Otoneda, "one sees in many places, works directed by people with much good will, but lacking technical knowledge for selecting road surface materials, maintaining acceptable gradients, etc."<sup>104</sup>

After the fall of Leguía in 1930 road conscription was abolished in Peru. In general, observers continued to back road construction in Peru and often claimed that policies had improved. Yet, the abusive policies of road conscription were not the principal argument aired by road promoters. Instead, most claimed, that without the political meddling of the oncenio,

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<sup>101</sup> CCC, no. 13, (diciembre de 1925), np.

<sup>102</sup> BNP, *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos*, (CCC), No. 26, (February 1927), cover.

<sup>103</sup> BNP, CCC, No. 31, July 1927, 19.

<sup>104</sup> Carlos Otoneda, "Un plan para la construcción de autovías en el Perú," in *Boletín de la Sociedad de Ingenieros del Perú*, XXXI, no. 1, (1929), 58. (7035).

engineers were able to design better road projects. One engineering report on progress of construction on Peru's Carretera Central emphasized that the project originated during the government of Sánchez Cerro and proceeded with efficiency because, "it was organized with a responsible leadership and administration...without delays caused by excessive and disconcerting interference by bureaucrats and political debts."<sup>105</sup> In the final year of the Benavides government, the essay claimed that highway construction no longer depended on politics/ Gone were days when, "our engineers are not subject to influences or political pressure as in other eras, but that now roads are constructed because they are necessary."<sup>106</sup> By the 1930s, technical merit, not political influence was claimed to drive road policy. Yet, the silence of indigenous and rural voices continued as roads advanced through Peru in the post-Leguía era.

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<sup>105</sup> Germán E. Pflücker, "Algunos apuntes sobre la Carretera Central," in *Informaciones y memorias de la Sociedad de Ingenieros del Perú*, XXXVI, no. 5-6 (mayo-junio de 1935), 188.

<sup>106</sup> Armando Bueno Ortiz, "Algunos consideraciones sobre caminos," in *Informaciones y memorias de la Sociedad de Ingenieros del Perú*, XXXIX, no. 8, (agosto 1938), 274.