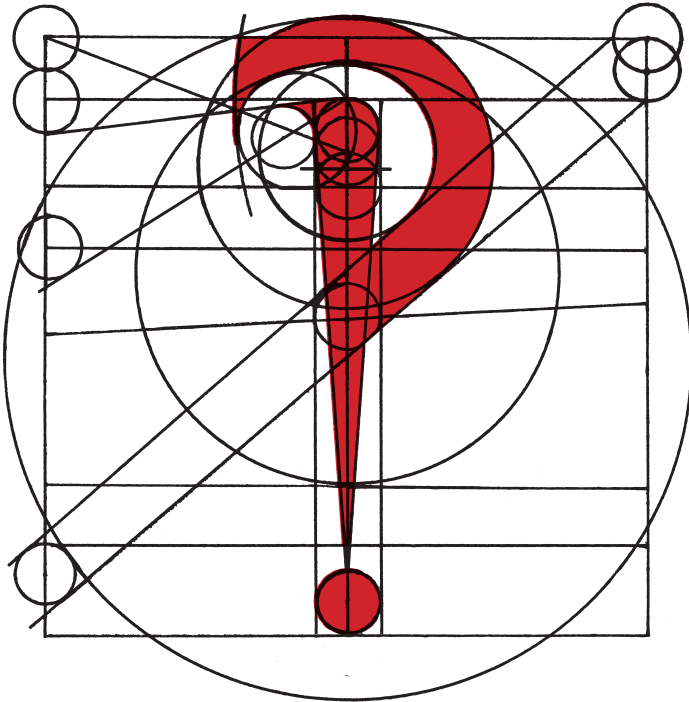


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the spine in proportion to the format of the book in a manner very similar to the ones discussed above from Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco. The results of this comparative exercise invite us to consider the possibility that Franciscans living in different monasteries, or even cities, across the colonial territory shared a similar set of techniques for bookbinding.

As can be seen, firebrands have been useful to determine the specific libraries and religious orders that these books belonged to. Further examinations of bindings spark questions like: Are there bookbinding features of the time which can be defined as “Franciscan”? Does each religious order’s book collection present particular bookbinding characteristics? Other than the Franciscans, which religious orders had bookbinding workshops or taught this craft in New Spain? These and many more questions can be asked and answered from deep and systematic studies with the firebrands as the starting point for recreating the libraries of each one of the orders.

MARTHA ROMERO is a full-time researcher at the Institute of Bibliographical Research, National University of Mexico. She teaches at the National School of Conservation in Mexico City and has lectured and published widely on bookbinding history and conservation strategies for consulting books as artifacts.

Biblioteca Particular Carlos E. Carrillo Velásquez

Jose Guerrero

THE SECOND INTER-AMERICAN INDIAN CONGRESS — whose delegations of researchers, government officials, and indigenous leaders addressed problems facing indigenous populations across the Americas — was slated to take place in Cuzco in 1944, but was delayed twice. First, by World War II. In the spring of 1948, the Peruvian government postponed the meeting from June 6 to October 10 due to mounting tensions between political factions, but violence and repression only increased: leaders of the leftist opposition party were arrested or exiled, and an October coup installed a military government. The delegations of the Second Congress finally met in Cuzco on June 24, 1949.

These events are reflected in the production of the printed conference program, a job given to the Central Penitentiary of Lima. When the meeting was rescheduled from June to October, the shop scrapped the June covers and issued new October covers. The canceled covers were saved, and their blank sides used to print a bookplate for Carlos E. Carrillo Velásquez: director of the print shop and bindery, general administrator of the penitentiary, and devoted book collector. Instead of a commonplace emblem or Latin motto, the bookplate contains a creed that praises the moral values of literacy. The bookplate’s two sides, considered together, express how Carrillo Velásquez’s budding career in carceral administration is bound to his bibliomania.

LOS LIBROS

“El saber como la riqueza es fecundo cuando está al servicio del hombre”.

“Las puertas de esta casa dan acceso a la cultura de todos los tiempos”.

De la Biblioteca Nacional del Perú.

“Los libros son una compañía dulce e irreprochable para los desdichados, decía Goldsmith, y si no alcanzan a procurarnos los placeres de la vida, por lo menos nos ayudan a sobrellevarla”.

“En el Vicario de Wakefield, agrega Petrarca: “Los libros encantan hasta la médula, nos hablan, nos aconsejan y están vinculados a nosotros por una especie de familiaridad viviente y armónica”.

Para mí, los libros buenos, ilustrativos y morales, son mi más grande distracción, por que han contribuido enormemente para encuadrar mis actividades y sentimientos dentro del marco del cumplimiento del deber, la moralidad y la protección al que la necesita sin esperanza de ninguna recompensa.

Lo que he sido, soy y seré lo debo a ellos y a los consejos de mis queridos padres.

Carlos E. Carrillo Velásquez.

Carrillo Velásquez began his career as a teacher in Peru's northern provinces. Though born in the capital city of Lima in 1890, he was considered an honorary resident of the Lambayeque region, having moved to Monsefú in 1912 to be schoolmaster of the town's only public school for boys. Returning to Lima in the 1920s, he transitioned into a career in penal administration, beginning with studies in Detention, Correctional, and Reformatory Institutions at the Escuela Penitenciaria de Vigilantes del Perú, followed by a stint at a reformatory school, and finally his appointment as general administrator of the Lima penitentiary in 1935.

The Lima penitentiary, known as “el panóptico,” opened in 1862. Inspired by United States penitentiaries, it included several workshops, as forced manual labor was believed to encourage obedience and rehabilitation. This belief persisted as the administration turned from military staffing models to specially trained professionals in the early twentieth century. A 1935 full-page ad, type-signed by Carrillo Velásquez, promotes the penitentiary's shops and services. The print shop and bindery boasted modern machines, Linotypes, and quick turnaround times. In addition to job printing, the penitentiary also bound books for the National Library of Peru and the “bibliotecas particulares” (private libraries) of discriminating collectors.

At a time when most large private libraries were assembled as working collections by scholars, Carrillo Velásquez stands out for amassing a notable library as a civil servant. His book bindings are formulaic in structure and appearance. Many are sewn along the spine edges rather than through the folds of gatherings — a technique known as overcasting, which was popular among libraries during the early twentieth century. Leather spines (often dyed red or brown), patterned paper or grained cloth sides, gilt spine lettering and ruling, and raised bands lend a subtle aesthetic flair. Up to three bookplates are found inside: one with his name, a second with his text titled *Los Libros*, and a third with his portrait. The quantity and quality of bindings and bookplates (there are several variants of the text and portrait bookplates) was afforded by the cheap labor available through the workshops Carrillo Velásquez managed.

Like both sides of the bookplate, Carrillo Velásquez's work as a prison administrator is inseparable from his self-representation as a book collector. The bookplate can be seen as both a metaphor for, and extension of how, the imprisoned were disciplined, and their bodies controlled. The text of *Los Libros* clearly addresses the inmates who printed it. The penultimate paragraph reads, “Books that are moral and enlightening have been my greatest distraction, for they have served enormously to frame my actions and feelings within a sense of compliance with duty, morality, and guardianship of those in need without desire for any recompense” (my translation). The desire to regulate behavior through literacy internalizes the Lima penitentiary's panoptical architecture. It is possible that Carrillo Velásquez might have even lent some of his books

to prisoners. Doing so would reform them internally and thus realize what Carrillo Velásquez saw as a primary function of the printed word. As Carrillo Velásquez used mental and physical labors to instill the moral values that would prepare inmates for reentry into society, the inmates themselves produced the bindings and bookplates that gave the collector his identity.

The penitentiary's job printing and binding for government agencies and individual collectors put a broad range of materials into prisoners' hands, at least temporarily. Two volumes merit brief discussion here. The first is *Runa Yupay*, a little-known novella by José María Arguedas, a writer, anthropologist, and leading indigenista intellectual. Arguedas was recruited by the Peruvian government to write a story that would promote the 1940 national census — the first since 1876 — to indigenous communities, which the government was keen to measure. The novella's title is Quechua for "counting people," linking the modern census to pre-colonial heritage. In it, a teacher in an idyllic mountain town relates to other inhabitants the importance of being counted to aid in national progress, pride, and modernization. The paternalism of the teacher and the state in Arguedas's story mirrors that of Carrillo Velásquez and the penitentiary as expressed in *Los Libros*. Three editions of 40,000 copies each were distributed for free in the rural Peruvian highlands. The Carrillo Velásquez copy is one of the few of any of the editions of this to survive, owing to its status as more of a propagandistic ephemeron than literary high spot. The book's production history, and its acquisition by a prison administrator, illustrates how indigenous representations were co-opted by the state.

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Carrillo Velásquez collected books, but he also participated in social clubs, honor societies, and labor organizations. Though firmly middle class, he may have been sympathetic with radical responses to social inequities facing indigenous people. He is said to have attended the Comité Pro-Derecho Indígena del Tahuantinsuyo's [Pro-Indigenous Rights Committee of Tahuantinsuyo] 1924 congress. Founded in 1919, the Tahuantinsuyo Committee organized urban and rural middle and working classes into a national movement for improved material conditions and political representation of indigenous people. The authoritarian regime of Augusto B. Leguía at first supported the Committee's work, but the latter's willingness to challenge unjust laws, abusive landlords, and corrupt officials using violent means led to several rounds of peasant uprisings and military repression. The Tahuantinsuyo Committee was outlawed in 1927. Carrillo Velásquez's copy of *La independencia del Perú y la colonia japonesa*, published in 1926, is stamped in several places with the Tahuantinsuyo Committee's seal and probably came from their Lima office. The book commemorates a monument to Manco Capac, a thirteenth-century ruler linked to the founding of Cuzco and the Incan civilization, commissioned by the Sociedad Central Japonesa (an organization serving Peru's Japanese immigrants) for Peru's centennial. Befitting of the nationalistic text, the front matter includes a portrait of President Leguía, and in this copy his head is crowned with the Tahuantinsuyo Committee's seal. The stamp communicates provenance, but, in this position, also mocks Leguía's abortive attempt to legitimize his authority by incorporating a radical element of the indigenista movement. Was this also defacement? With this volume, did Carrillo Velásquez claim solidarity with or victory over the Tahuantinsuyo Committee? How did indigenous and political prisoners in the workshop view this text as they sewed the bookblock to its new, leather-backed boards?

Carrillo Velásquez's library was probably dispersed in the 1960s or 1970s. Some books went into Latin American studies collections within United States libraries, like that at the Pennsylvania State University, where I first encountered them. Others remain in Peru and, as the historian Carlos Aguirre shared with me, can still be found in Lima's used bookstores. The books chart entanglements between book collecting and prison labor. The bindery and presses at the Lima penitentiary — used as instruments of moral rectification — provided Carrillo Velásquez with all the dressings of a respectable collector. The exterior uniformity of bindings was matched by the interior discipline of literacy. Through these books we see how the social and political movements that gripped Peru in the first half of the twentieth century made themselves perceptible to both staff and prisoners of the Lima penitentiary.

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