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AFRO-PERUVIAN CREOLES: A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF AFRO- DESCENDED PERUVIANS IN AN ERA OF NATIONALISM AND SCIENTIFIC RACISM

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**AFRO-PERUVIAN CREOLES:
A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF AFRO-DESCENDED PERUVIANS IN AN
ERA OF NATIONALISM AND SCIENTIFIC RACISM**

BY

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B.A., Spanish, University of Richmond, 2005
M.A., Latin American Studies, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, 2011

DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes the history of Afro-descended Peruvians after the abolition of slavery in 1854 until the census of 1940, which asserted that Afro-Peruvians comprised less than two percent of the national population. It combines analyses of primary and secondary sources to examine Afro-Peruvian historical agency, demographic erasure and the politics of censuses, contested definitions of race and citizenship, self-representation in politics, culture, and the arts, as well as the labor history of Afro-Peruvians. The dissertation builds on the framing of Atlantic History to revise prior assumptions that Afro-Peruvians nearly disappeared from census records in the twentieth century because they had positive incentives to adopt whitening strategies in their quest for social mobility. To the contrary, I argue that such universalist frameworks have contributed to the supposed “disappearance” of Afro-Peruvians by demonstrating how the construction of “Peruvian dualism” ignored the possibility of distinct Afro-Peruvian identities within the broadly conceived “Creole” culture along the Pacific coast. I analyze census records in post-abolition Lima, popular and elite discourses of race and citizenship along the Pacific coast, and situate Afro-Peruvians in broader class-based labor and

political movements. . While keeping the inherent limitations of the documentary record in mind, this dissertation analyzes a variety of sources to examine Afro-Peruvian realities and their agency in confronting entrenched social practices based on race and a history of slavery to demand an equal place in the nation after abolition.

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Foreword: Organization and Archival Research

I. Afro-Peruvian Invisibility, Exclusion, and Activism

I first became interested in the topic of Afro-Peruvian history while researching and writing my M.A. Thesis in Latin American Studies at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. One chapter, “La madre coraje y sus enlaces: Remembering María Elena Moyano” analyzed the “autobiography” of an Afro-Peruvian woman and community activist who was assassinated by Shining Path rebels in 1992. Beyond the questions of representation, trauma, and memory I examined in the thesis, I became more focused on this history of Afro-Peruvian identity. Two years of reading about colonial and modern Peruvian history revealed that it was not a central question in the historiography. As a PhD student in History at the University of New Mexico, I delved further into the topic and came across several excellent studies of African slavery in Peru and its eventual abolition. These books, which I analyze in the introduction and first chapter of this dissertation, left me longing for more information regarding the demographic erasure of the Afro-Peruvian population following abolition, evident in the 1940 census (the last to include race labels). Did Afro-Peruvians mix increasingly with white Peruvians and adopt other “whitening” strategies to improve their social positions following abolition in 1855? If so, did this explain sufficiently the dramatic decline in Afro-descended Peruvians between late colonial Peru and the 1940 census, which identified less than two percent of the nation’s population as Afro-descended)? Did Afro-Peruvians maintain a collective identity based on connections to the African Diaspora, as in other Latin American countries?

More recent anthropological studies suggested that Afro-Peruvian communities maintained unique cultural practices, some of which influenced national culture and

Peruvian national identity. However, Afro-Peruvians continue to face racial discrimination and their historical contributions have largely been ignored. Their invisibility in the historical narrative seemed relevant to this persistent discrimination, leading me to seek answers to two central research questions: how were Afro-Peruvians erased from the national historical narrative? Secondly, how has the resulting invisibility shaped the questions historians have asked subsequently? The latter question drove me to seek answers regarding Afro-Peruvian social and political history between 1855 and 1940.

When I first arrived to Lima to conduct research in June, 2013, I contacted two Afro-Peruvian activist organizations that have mobilized a strong resistance to racism, connecting it to an enduring legacy of slavery. Although the *Lundú Centro de estudios y promoción afroperuanos* was overwhelmed by outsiders (like me) taking an interest in the topic, perhaps because the Peruvian government publicly apologized to its citizens of African origins for centuries of abuse, exclusion, and discrimination in 2009, the *Centro de Desarrollo Étnico (CEDET)* welcomed me. The director, Lilia Mayorga, has organized academic conferences on the topic of Afro-Peruvian history and culture, many of which have resulted in published books and volumes. I explained my interest in the topic and my desire to contribute to her organization's efforts through my academic pursuits, and Mayorga encouraged me to travel to archives beyond Lima: specifically to the northern coastal departments of Chiclayo, Lambayeque, and Piura. Afro-Peruvians were historically concentrated along the Pacific coast as slaves on haciendas (plantations), and some smaller communities there maintained clear Afro-Peruvian identities, she explained. Furthermore, my goal of restoring Afro-Peruvians to the nation's history

would contribute to activists' continuing struggle against racial exclusion by showing their centrality to nation-state formation and the construction of national identity.

II. Organization of Chapters

The dissertation is organized into three main sections: the first examines the invisibility of Afro-Peruvians in the national historiography until the 1970s, and their subsequent negation as part of the national identity. In this section, I use the framing of Atlantic world history to contextualize Afro-Peruvian history in the “black Pacific.” I analyze primary and secondary literature to demonstrate how the construction of Peruvian “dualism” over the course of ... [provide years] created a false dichotomy between coastal European “Creoles” and the indigenous populations of the Andean and Amazon interior. I then turn to the demographic “erasure” of Afro-Peruvians by analyzing Lima censuses at the level of communal homes (*callejones*) in the 1860s, in which census officials wielded great power in ascribing race labels to the citizens they surveyed. My analyses of the national censuses of 1903, 1908, and 1940 find that census officials effectively denied the existence of Afro-Peruvians over this period by altering race labels to limit the categories indicating African ancestry.

The second section examines elite constructions of Afro-Peruvian identity with the rise of nationalism by analyzing patriotic newspapers that emerged in 1860s Lima, as well as literature published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This section analyzes the construction of ethnoracial hierarchies that considered Afro-Peruvians as unfit for citizenship, demanding they sacrifice blood for the *patria* in order to gain honor. I also analyze Clemente Palma's bachelor's thesis, which applied a French model of racial pseudoscience to disparage blackness and

encourage European immigration to “whiten” the national population. This rare glimpse into the elite understandings of race and nation stands in contrast to Ricardo Palma’s (Clemente’s father) “foundational fictions.” However, Clemente Palma’s later writings demonstrate a shift in his thinking on race and nation, and Peruvian eugenicists adopted anti-racist rhetoric by the 1940s. This discursive shift suggests connections between literature and racial pseudoscience, but it also permitted elites to deny the existence of racism in Peru.

The third section analyzes Afro-Peruvian participation in broader social and class-based political movements, which has largely been overlooked in the historiography due to the absence of race in the language of the archival records. In contrast to these class-based movements in Lima and other coastal urban centers, the smaller communities of Zaña and Yapatera permit an analysis of Afro-Peruvian self-representation. The final chapters combine local oral and written histories with primary sources to trace Afro-Peruvian cultural forms that led to greater connections with the African Diaspora in the Americas.

III. A Note on Archival Sources

I faced several challenges while seeking out Afro-Peruvian history in the historical archives along Peru’s Pacific coast. Following the abolition of slavery in 1855, Afro-Peruvians appeared to have seen little incentive to claim blackness, preferring a broader rhetoric of class to demand changes based on collective interests. Similarly, government documents as well as hacienda records (both of which I researched at the Archivo General de la Nación, which now also houses the Archivo del Fuero Agrario) rarely addressed race explicitly. My experience confirms the claims of a similar recent

dissertation that asserts, “The post-abolition nineteenth-century archival sources on Afro-Peruvian political and cultural history are fragmentary and ethnographically thin.”¹ However, I have accessed a variety of censuses, civil and criminal records, notarial records, as well as baptismal records that included the perceived race of the Peruvians recorded. The baptismal records at the Cathedral of Chulucanas in Piura stopped recording the race of the children in the year 1897. Upon asking the chaplain in charge of the archive about this change, his response was simply, “that year we decided that all were children of God.”

I faced similar challenges in the archives of Trujillo, the capital of the important sugar-producing department of La Libertad. Since first researching the rise of Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre and the popularity of his APRA political platform there, I hypothesized that many Afro-Peruvians were likely drawn to his anti-racist and anti-aristocratic rhetoric. However, the documentation held at the regional archive of Trujillo ends when the national period begins. I also visited Haya de la Torre’s childhood home in Trujillo (now the Casa/Museo Haya de la Torre), but the directors there did not provide access to documents related to my queries. Other historians of APRA, such as Peter Klarén, informed me that most documentation on APRA (and more specifically the Partido Aprista Peruano, or PAP) is held in private archives. Queries to over fifty faculty and researchers at the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo about these privately held local archives failed to yield results. Thus far, I have only encountered photographic evidence of Afro-Peruvian participation in the PAP and in their 1932 Trujillo revolt.

¹Robert L. Sanchez, “Black Mosaic: The Assimilation and Marginalization of Afro-Peruvians in post-abolition Peru, 1854-1930” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008), 2.

Local leaders in the town of Zaña, such as the current mayor and well-known *decimista*, Hildebrando Biones, confirmed that many Afro-Peruvians in Zaña historically supported the PAP. Unfortunately, however, the director of the private archive on Zaña's political history, was traveling abroad during my second research trip there in 2015. I plan to expand on this dissertation's archival base by accessing local archives in Trujillo and Zaña in the near future.

Introduction: Slaves and Citizens: Afro-Peruvian Identity Formation in the Republic

I. Abolition and its Malcontents: The Sale of a Freed Slave in Piura, Peru

On October 10, 1855, a woman in the northern city of Piura was charged with knowingly selling a former slave, then her “servant,” under the pretext that she was the legal owner. Doña Adela Seminario had sold the former slave, Mariana Raygada y Seminario, to Don Ramon Dias on April 13 of that year, for one hundred and fifty pesos. Realizing that the woman he had purchased as a slave was, in fact, free due to prior manumission, Dias brought civil and criminal charges against the seller. The former owner denied any knowledge of Raygada’s freedom and was pressed for documentation of ownership. Tellingly, neither the prosecuting attorney nor the defense mentioned the national decree made by Provisional President Ramón Castilla twenty-one weeks prior to this transaction, which effectively abolished the institution of slavery in Peru. Indeed, the silences as much as the content of the legal battle between D. Adela and Dias reveal a great deal about a local reality in contrast to national legal and economic authority.¹ How could a former slave not be aware of her freed status?

This court case offers a window to understand the social conditions in Peru’s transition from slavery to a wage-labor economy that subverts the legend of “El Libertador” Ramón Castilla. The traditional consensus narrative of the end of slavery in Peru ideologically transforms the caudillo president and the nation by highlighting Castilla’s declaration on December 3, 1854:

¹Escribano Público Manuel Rebolledo, “Notarios: Protocolos del 1854-1855,” Leg. 239. Exp. 5189 (1855), folio 1, Archivo Regional de Piura (ARP).

Men and women until now held in Peru as slaves and freed blacks (*libertos*), whose condition arises from having been transported as such or from having been born of a slave womb, who by whatever means are subject to perpetual or temporary servitude, are all without distinction of age from today and always free.²

However, this case suggests that aristocratic attitudes toward Afro-descended Peruvians and even the status of slave itself did not quickly change with this decree. Mariana Raygada's lack of knowledge of her own freedom only begins to explain her continued subjection to slavery. Contextualized by using other civil and notarial records generated in post-abolition Piura and decades of Afro-Peruvian resistance to slavery, this case presents a microcosm of aristocratic resistance to abolition and the challenges of accessing Afro-Peruvian agency and civil life after 1855.

D. Ramón Dias contested the sale, not with reference to the abolition decree, but by reconstructing the chain of ownership that demonstrated that Raygada, in fact had been manumitted and her "sale" by D. Adela was invalidated. Mariana Raygada's illiteracy was crucial to her lack of knowledge of her freed status. D. Adela had sold her "servant" to Don Dias without giving him the official title of ownership. Shortly after the civil charges were raised against D. Adela, Piuran Justice of the Peace Francisco Meneses verbally demanded that she return the 150 pesos to Don Dias. Dias had received news of Raygada's "being free from the beginning" (*sic*), and D. Adela's inability to present documentation to prove otherwise was sufficient for the civil ruling.³ Still, the evidence was insufficient to charge D. Adela with fraud, as she claimed to be unaware of Raygada's freedom.

²Quoted in Peter Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru* (Delaware: SR Books, 1992), 195.

³ARP. Escribano Público Manuel Rebolledo, *Notarios: Protocolos del 1854-1855*, Folio 2. Accessed June 11, 2013.

Following a civil ruling that ordered D. Adela to compensate Don Dias for the fraudulent sale, Dias was still unsatisfied. He turned the focus of the case to the criminal act of “having maintained Mariana Raygada in slavery...inscribing her as a number amongst her goods, and selling her as such.” He went on to express that he was “indifferent whether the sale was made to Juan, Pedro, or Diego, as the crime consists in having maintained a free person as a slave and in having alienated and treated her as such for a fixed price.”⁴ Without explicitly mentioning the law of abolition, Dias seemed aware of it and couched his accusation in the language of freedom to gain further compensation.

As the case wended its way through the courts, two things became clear: Raygada was not directly involved in the legal proceedings and she seems to have been deceived with respect to any paperwork involving her participation. The easiest resolution to the case was reference to the abolition decree, yet nobody took this route. Dias likely recognized that the chain of custody was so weak that indemnification was unlikely.

Ramón Castilla’s December 3 decree declaring the end of slavery was implemented in several stages. As Peruvian anthropologist Humberto Rodríguez Pastor has documented, news of Castilla’s decree initially dispersed through unofficial printed flyers. Lima newspaper *El Comercio* first mentioned the decree on December 18, and finally published the official decree in more detailed form on January 23, 1855. As a law, it included specific instructions on how the abolition process would be carried out in slave-holding communities. The first step was the creation of “registration boards,” *juntas de inscripción*, consisting of the governor, a priest, and a neighbor as witness. The

⁴ *Ibid*, folio 13: “haberla hecho encribir en el número de los bienes, y vendiéndola como tal.”

purpose of these boards was to collect information on slaves and servants to submit to the national registry, making them officially free. However, Castilla supported the slave-holding aristocracy by guaranteeing indemnification for their losses and imposing severe punishments for any crimes committed by former slaves or servants. Most significantly, the law made a special provision for newly freed slaves and servants who still worked in domestic service, requiring them to remain in their current homes until they could find alternative employment.⁵ Given this provision, women such as Raygada could remain indefinitely in the same conditions, with meager pay and no freedom of movement.

Beyond the challenge of altered documentation, the silences from this case reveal the social expectations of the Piuran aristocracy at the time of abolition. At no point did the plaintiff, defendant, or any court authority call upon Mariana Raygada to testify, even though the case revolved around her legal status. Public notary Manuel Rebolledo recorded that Raygada was unaware of her own freedom, but this may have been an assumption. He did not mention Castilla's abolition decree upon the submission of the former slave's "registration document" as the first step in the abolition process. The decree clearly concerned D. Adela economically, and the beginning of abolition likely stirred Don Dias' frustration and his sense of urgency to receive reimbursement. Alternately, Dias may have sought indemnification from Castilla's government and realized he lacked the required documentation for full compensation, leading him to seek out D. Adela for the records. Dias may have also realized the chain of custody was tenuous, in which case his only hope for compensation was from the previous owner.

⁵Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, *Negritud: Afroperuanos: Resistencia y Existencia*. (Lima: Centro de Desarrollo Étnico, 2008), 49-51.

Throughout the court records, Raygada is referred to as *sierba*, *criada*, or *esclava* interchangeably, suggesting that her status did not change with her manumission or with slavery's abolition. The notarial records also label her a *samba*, and D. Adela only describes her as a "seamstress" (*costurera*) in the registration document to confirm her monetary value. This case underscores the slow process of gaining freedom and foreshadows the challenges that Afro-Peruvians would struggle to overcome throughout the nineteenth century.

II. Continuities: Language, Social Reality, and Slavery after Abolition

While the case could be made that the sale of a manumitted slave was grounded in ignorance of a new law and slow communications, it would be difficult to make that case thirty years later. As the above civil-criminal case demonstrates, documentation in the regional archives of northern Peru reveals that local practices of slave ownership did not immediately change following Castilla's decree of abolition. The historical record of Piura casts light on the lived experiences of Afro-Peruvians that have been overshadowed by the traditional narrative that posited that abolition meant the full assimilation of Afro-Peruvians as citizens in 1855, and their subsequent "disappearance."

The notarial records of post-abolition Piura reveal little change in the customary practices of hacendados and other slave owners between the 1850s and the 1880s. As compared to "freed blacks" in Lima who participated directly in the democratic process just after abolition, many Afro-Peruvians in Piura saw little changes to their daily lives. The word *liberto* had vastly different meanings between Lima and Piura. While wealthy

landholders expressed concern over the political participation of libertos in the National Assembly in 1856,⁶ hacendados in Piura continued to treat libertos as property.

For example, on March 7, 1884, Doña María de Nieves Armestar offered a liberto as partial payment to her daughter and son-in-law for their services during an emergency. Nieves Armestar dictated to the notary that her “donation” consisted of a home worth 450 pesos and a liberto named José María, “ten years of age, born in my home of a slave named Candelaria Seminario,” whom she valued at 100 pesos.⁷ The liberto José María, it appears, was born into slavery twenty years after Castilla had abolished slavery. The same notary recorded the sale of a liberto a few days later, on March 11, for 300 pesos, as well as the manumission of a “slave named Juana” on March 17, who purchased her freedom for 150 pesos.⁸

These records reveal the “incomplete liberty” of Peruvian abolition beyond Lima.⁹ They confirm the futility of the abolition decree without the presence or will of national or local authorities to enforce the law. While keeping the inherent limitations of the documentary record in mind, this dissertation analyzes a variety of sources to examine Afro-Peruvian realities and agency in confronting entrenched social practices based on race and a history of slavery to demand an equal place in the nation after

⁶Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la república de Perú* (1822-1933) Tomo IV (Lima: Editorial Universitaria S.A., 2005), 159.

⁷Escribano Público Manuel Rebolledo, “Notarios—Protocolos de 1854-1885,” 7 de marzo de 1884, ARP: “Donación remuneratoria de una casita y un liberto Doña María de la Nieves Armestar a Doña Ysabel de Valle su hija,” folio 129: “en remuneración de los servicios que me ha hecho en mis urgencias en todos los casos que se me han ofrecido, y por el mucho amor, y efecto que le profesó; de una casita situada en la Calle de la Yglesia de San Francisco de ocho y media varas de frontera, y treinta y media de fondo, linda por su frente calle en medio con las casas de Don Santiago... en la Cantidad de 450 pesos, en la misma que le hago esta donación, como también de un liberto nombrado José María, de edad de diez años, nacido en mi casa de una esclava nombrada Candelaria Seminario, por la cantidad de cientos pesos.”

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 17 de marzo de 1884, folios 142 y 148: “libertad a favor do una samba mi esclava nombrada Juana... 51 años de edad... la compré en 300 pesos.”

⁹Maribel Arrelucea, ed. *La Libertad Inconclusa: Entorno a la esclavitud, su abolición y los derechos civiles*, (Lima: CEDET, 2010).

abolition. As such, the dissertation contributes to a growing body of literature on Afro-Peruvian agency while also evaluating the aristocracy's maintenance of white supremacy between 1854 and 1940.

III. Central Questions and Theoretical Framework: Afro-Peruvian Patriotism, Identity, and Invisibility in the “Black Pacific”

The nineteenth century criminal and notarial records from Piura raise a series of questions that I will address in my dissertation. Triangulating a variety of sources permits me to evaluate Afro-Peruvian historical agency, demographic erasure and the politics of censuses, contested definitions of race and citizenship, self-representation in politics, culture, and the arts, as well as the labor history of Afro-Peruvians.

The continually developing historiography of the Atlantic World and the African Diaspora have been critical to my theoretical approach. This dissertation follows historian Paul Tiyambe Zeleza and others to transcend the limited understandings of the African Diaspora “beyond the Black Atlantic” by examining how Afro-Peruvians along the Pacific coast participated in the African Diaspora.¹⁰ Extending the geographic scope of the African Diaspora to include the “Black Pacific” builds on a good deal of recent work and permits a vision of Afro-Peruvians in a broader process of ethnogenesis.¹¹ Building on Gilroy's contributions, the Black Atlantic places the dialectical relationship between

¹⁰Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, “Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic,” *African Affairs* 104:414 (Jan. 2005), 35-68. I also take cues from Rachel Sarah O’Toole, Ben Vinson III, and Sherwin K. Bryant, eds. *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012).

¹¹See, for example, Heidi Carolyn Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2006); Robbie Shilliam, *The Black Pacific: Anti-Colonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections* (London : Bloomsbury Academic, 2015);

Afro-Peruvians and the slaveholding aristocracy at the center of “Pacific modernity”.¹²

As the fifth and sixth chapters demonstrate, this relationship took on broader class dynamics that gave rise to populist politics and even growing anti-imperialist sentiment by the 1910s.

Atlantic history has shed light on broad, macrohistorical processes that brought distant peoples into close contact through exploration and commercial and cultural exchange from the fifteenth century until about 1800, with particular attention to imperial rivalries, intellectual currents, and consequences of encounters in shaping the cultural demography of the Americas.¹³ Debates over uniformity versus local distinctiveness, as well as over appropriate analytical approaches to understanding these processes abound. However, fewer studies in the field of Atlantic history engage the tools of social history to understand how daily interactions in towns and cities influenced the formation of identities.¹⁴ As an analytic construct and a category of historical analysis, Atlantic history

¹²Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic : Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Harvard University Press, 1993). This dissertation expands on Gilroy’s analysis of a “counterculture of modernity” and the fictive nature of “national cultures.”

¹³Bernard Bailyn and, Patricia L. Denault, eds. *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830*. (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2011). These works, like this dissertation, expand on the theoretical and empirical contributions set forth in Paul Gilroy’s seminal work *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Harvard University Press, 1995).

¹⁴Some notable exceptions in Latin American history include R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Patricia Seed, “The Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City 1753,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 62:4 (Nov. 1982), 569-606; Matthew Restall, ed. *Beyond Black and Red: African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Herman Bennett, *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico* (Indiana University Press, 2009) and *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Indiana University Press, 2003); Sherwin Bryant, *Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage: Governing through Slavery in Colonial Quito* (UNC, 2014); Matt Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion in Cuba and the Struggle against Atlantic Slavery* (UNC Press, 2006); James Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (UNC Press, 2003); Kim Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador* (Rutgers University Press), 1998; George Reid Andrews, *Blackness in a White Nation: A History of Afro-Uruguay* (University of North Carolina Press,

transcends traditional approaches to the history of Latin America. Through a broad temporal and geographical frame, Atlantic history opens up possibilities for understanding the similar historical processes that led to national historiographies of Latin American republics. The lens of Atlantic history reveals more similarities in the constructions of supposedly distinct narratives of national histories, facilitating a comparative approach to the African Diaspora in Latin America.

Through the notion of ethnogenesis, Atlantic history has revealed early creations, destructions and re-creations of communities and identities preceding the nation-state paradigm.¹⁵ The concept asserts that collective identities in the Americas “are better understood as a process of ‘authentically remaking’ rather than ‘a wholly new genesis’”.¹⁶ This dissertation builds on this concept by examining distinct processes of Afro-Peruvian identity formation between Peruvian coastal communities. Furthermore, these collective identities changed during the period immediately following abolition, when Afro-Peruvian migration to Lima increased. Although there were distinct local interests and identity formations, Afro-Peruvians faced similar challenges in both Lima and the north coast. Their shared struggles and common antagonists facilitated a broad-based Afro-Peruvian social movement shortly after 1940.¹⁷

A. Chapters and Historiographical Argument

2010) and *Afro-Latin America: Black Lives, 1600-2000* (Harvard University Press, 2016); Patrick Manning, *The African Diaspora: A History through Culture* (Columbia University Press, 2010); Kevin A. Yelvington, ed. *Afro-Atlantic Dialogues: Anthropology in the Diaspora* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2006).

¹⁵Philip Morgan and Jack. P Greene, eds. *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

¹⁶J.D. Hill, “Long Term Patterns of Ethnogenesis in Indigenous Amazonia,” in *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture*, Jeb J. Card, ed., (Southern Illinois University Press, 2013), 165-204, 166.

¹⁷Heidi Carolyn Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2006).

My goal of recovering Afro-Peruvian agency after the abolition of slavery expands on the contributions of several historians while scrutinizing key assumptions in the historiography of post-abolition Peru. The most widely accepted works about African slavery in Peru posit that Afro-Peruvians had positive incentives to adopt whitening strategies in their quest for social mobility. For example, Frederick Bowser's classic 1974 book *The African Slave in Colonial Peru* argues that due to the "utter foreignness" of Africans in Peru, they often assimilated to Spanish culture more quickly than indigenous peoples.¹⁸ More recent historiography of colonial Brazil, Mexico and Peru suggest more complex processes of interethnic relations and identity formation, and this dissertation contributes to the growing body of knowledge on discourses of black-native relations into the national era.¹⁹

Bowser documents the occupational diversity of Afro-Peruvians and forms of resistance they utilized, he concludes that "free Afro-Peruvians who came to acquire modest fortunes were quick to see that racial solidarity was all very well, but that 'whitening' and passing,' culturally if not racially, was the key to socioeconomic advancement."²⁰ Additional documentary evidence supports Bowser's claim regarding assimilation in colonial Peru. His book is a landmark study in the social history of African slavery that expanded on James Lockhart's significant 1968 intervention on the topic.²¹ Bowser agrees that "free persons of color exhibited a high degree of solidarity" in early colonial Latin America, but "splintering was inevitable, in large part as a result of

¹⁸Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*, (Stanford University Press, 1974), 7.

¹⁹Matthew Restall, ed. *Beyond Black and Red: African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Rachel Sarah O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).

²⁰Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*, 321.

²¹James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Social History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968).

pressures from the larger Spanish society.”²² By focusing on a “society with slaves,” as opposed to “slave societies” he expanded comparative analysis of slavery throughout the Americas. This line of inquiry has contributed much to my analysis of Afro-Peruvian experiences between Lima and the north coast. The Peruvian coast shifted over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from plantation-based slave societies with majority Afro-descended populations to “societies with slaves” as plantation labor by Afro-Peruvians waned in the nineteenth century, Lima and the north coast therefore diverged from major sugar-producing colonies like Cuba and Brazil.²³

Historian Peter Blanchard reaffirms Bowser’s analysis of whitening in his 1992 book, *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru*. Census data from late colonial Peru indicates that African-descended people comprised nearly half of the coastal population. However, the percentage of Lima’s Afro-descended population steadily declined during the nineteenth century, and only two percent of the population identified as *negro/a* by 1940. Blanchard suggests that this demographic decline is due to “whitening,” through self-classification in pursuit of social advancement but does not provide empirical evidence to support this claim.²⁴ In contrast, my evaluation of census records, especially changes to the census process between 1855 and 1940, provides evidence that white elites also contributed to this process by introducing more generic

²²Frederick Bowser, “Colonial Spanish America,” in David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene, eds., *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), 53.

²³For more on this comparative approach, see David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene, eds., *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972); Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (University of Chicago Press, 1959); Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago University Press, 1967).

²⁴Peter Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1992), 221. According to Blanchard: “by 1876 blacks and Asians together comprised only 4 percent of the Peruvian population. In Lima, in 1857, around 11 percent of the population of 90,000 was black; the figure declined to just under 5 percent of a population in 1908, and to just under 5 percent of a population of 140,884 in 1908, and to 2 percent of 562,885 in 1940,” xvi.

racial categories that rendered the Afro-descended population invisible. While the demographic existence of Afro-Peruvians was masked, Afro-Peruvians nonetheless sought social mobility and preserved valued cultural traditions that contributed to a collective identity.

Peruvian historian Carlos Aguirre has since qualified Bowser's and Blanchard's conclusions by analyzing distinct Afro-Peruvian cultural forms like religious festivals and music that have become intertwined with the performance of a collective Peruvian identity. For Aguirre, the apparent demographic decline misses the point. Afro-Peruvians carved out spaces to express economic and cultural autonomy, and in the process they contributed to the formation of "Peruvian culture." Still, their contributions have generally been unappreciated by the "official culture and the dominant classes."²⁵ Aguirre's analysis does not explain the dramatic decrease in self-identified Afro-Peruvians in the national census, but it does grant his historical subjects more agency. Aguirre's work also points to a more general problem with Bowser and Blanchard's claims of "whitening," which denies Afro-Peruvian collective identity and agency, a criticism that is echoed in the historiography of the Atlantic world.

While Bowser's and Blanchard's assertions of "whitening" have not been challenged directly in other studies of slavery and abolition, the historiography of slavery in Peru has advanced over the last twenty years. Carlos Aguirre's 1993 book, *Agentes de su propia libertad*, as its title suggests, argues that Afro-Peruvians were agents of their own liberation. Aguirre analyzes criminal and civil records, census records, as well as a variety of colonial and republican newspapers, to display various forms of slave

²⁵Aguirre, Carlos, *Breve historia de la esclavitud en el Perú: Una herida que no deja de sangrar* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2005), 101.

resistance. The book effectively challenges prior explanations of abolition as resulting from the opportunistic philanthropy of “El Libertador” Ramón Castilla or as an inevitable consequence of the development of global capitalism. He thereby revises earlier analyses that rendered Afro-Peruvians passive actors in the abolition of slavery, just as “single-track” assimilation, creolization, and whitening limit agency and creativity in the process of identity formation.

I contribute to this historiographical debate in my first chapter by demonstrating how the construction of “Peruvian dualism,” based in the categories of European and indigenous, denied the possibility of distinct Afro-Peruvian identities within the broadly conceived “Creole” culture along the Pacific coast. This dichotomy served both elite conservative and liberal political interests centered in Lima: it bolstered resistance to the proposed Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation (for conservatives) and shrouded the “silent racism” (among liberals) that equated blackness with incivility and degradation.²⁶ Focusing on the “problem of the Indian,” therefore, precluded any concern for the challenges specific to Afro-Peruvians, as liberal politicians and intellectuals degraded blackness and celebrated *mestizaje*. In this chapter I apply insights from the study of *mestizaje* to Afro-Peruvians, building upon analytical approaches that grant a greater degree of historical agency to their subjects such as the work of anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena on the fluidity of the *mestizo* identity in twentieth century Peru.²⁷

The development of the historiography of Atlantic world also has useful applications for the process of creolization as it unfolded in late colonial and early

²⁶Marisol de la Cadena, “Silent Racism and Intellectual Superiority in Peru,” *Bull. Latin Am. Res.*, 17:2, 143-164 (1998).

²⁷Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

Republican Peru. In his linguistic and historical analysis of Atlantic creoles, historian Ira Berlin documents African resistance to both enslavement and cultural assimilation. His findings lead him to criticize assimilationist interpretations that assume “a single track with Africans inexorably becoming creoles.”²⁸ By analyzing how charter generations of African-Americans became creoles as a strategy of resistance, Berlin complicates earlier theories of creolization that assigned to Afrodescendants a more passive role. An analysis of the critical development of creolization theory and its relevance to scholars’ engagement of the term *Creole/criollo* is foundational to my first chapter.²⁹ Further contributing to the historical particularism of identity formation, this chapter builds on arguments for the “creolization of theory: As a concept creolization is simultaneously descriptive and analytical: it emerges from the experiential but provides a theoretical framework that does justice to the lived realities of subaltern projects, while explaining their experiences in terms of an epistemology that remains connected to those realities.”³⁰

The dissertation’s second chapter analyzes censuses of Lima’s *callejones* in the 1860s. These manuscript censuses reveal elite perceptions about Afro-Peruvian residential patterns and occupations. Because census officials ascribed a race label to the citizens they registered, these agents of the state were central to the presumed “disappearance” of Afro-Peruvians between 1855 and 1940. These officials continued to associate blackness with slave-labor occupations that merited little honor. I use these censuses to reconstruct Afro-Peruvian participation in Lima’s working-class

²⁸Ira Berlin, “From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 53, 2 (1996), 251-288, 253.

²⁹This chapter also expands on Mariselle Meléndez’s article, “Patria, Criollos and Blacks: Imagining the Nation in the *Mercurio Peruano*, 1791-1795,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 15:2 (Dec. 2006), 207-227.

³⁰Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, eds., *The Creolization of Theory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 2.

neighborhoods. Many Afro-Peruvians lived in callejones, shared living spaces with a common entryway and a central patio surrounded by small living quarters, which typically housed several families. The majority of Afro-Peruvians resided in Lima throughout the colonial period and through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Census records at the municipal level reveal an increase in Afro-Peruvian migration to the capital city during the ten-year period following the abolition of slavery.. The chapter also examines the process by which census-workers conducted their projects and the stated goals of quantifying racial categories in relation to their assumptions regarding race, literacy, and socio-economic status. Building on the work of anthropologists and historians of colonial Peru, this chapter also examines the relationship between race, literacy and occupational training..

The third chapter analyzes national censuses of 1903, 1908, and 1940, as well as the official literature that accompanied the censuses to promote the importance of their findings. Building on George Reid Andrews' analysis of Afro-Argentines in census records of Buenos Aires, I argue that census officials effectively denied the existence of Afro-Peruvians over this period by limiting the categories indicating African ancestry. My analysis of these records demonstrate that they document changes in census taking methodology more than reflecting a reality of demographic changes in Lima and in historically Afro-Peruvian communities along the Pacific coast. Rather, the interpretive analyses offer an "official narrative" of Afro-Peruvian demographic decline explained through racial and environmental determinism.

The fourth chapter takes a closer look at the relationship between elite perspectives on citizenship during the first decade after abolition and the reactionary legal

changes to the Constitution between 1856 and 1860. This chapter builds on Carlos Aguirre's work that has shown how Castilla's modernizing programs engendered a larger conservative backlash.³¹ This backlash pushed Castilla and his political allies to less progressive positions and limited their ability to resist sweeping changes to the legal codes they had established. By analyzing underutilized Lima newspapers during a period of heightened fears of European invasion, the chapter shows how public and elite discourses of nationalism and citizenship dovetailed in significant changes in the 1860 Constitution.

The fifth chapter traces the constructions of ethno-racial identities in the debates and projects of Peruvian nation building during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, building on a growing body of transnational literature.³² Anthropologist Humberto Rodríguez Pastor has analyzed words commonly used in Peruvian Spanish that derive from African languages, pointing out some elements of transculturation in Peru beyond gastronomy and music. Perhaps the most interesting part of his 2008 book is the section including *testimonios* of Afro-Peruvians that provide examples of how racial prejudice against darker-skinned people became internalized in families.³³ I historicize the family dynamics of white supremacy through an analysis of the writings and careers of upper-class Afro-Peruvians Ricardo Palma and his son Clemente. My analysis of their conflicting writings compares and contrasts with literature from the northern region of Piura, exposing differing regional and local conceptions of *peruanidad* as well as distinct

³¹Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds* (Duke University Press, 2005).

³²Edward Telles, *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Nancy Appelbaum, Anne Macpherson, and Alejandra Roseblatt, eds., *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

³³Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, *Negritud: Afroperuanos: Resistencia y Existencia*, (Lima: CEDET, 2008), 208.

interpretations of colonial history in the shaping of a national identity. Whereas Ricardo Palma's *tradiciones* provided fictional representations of blacks as a component to Peruvian national identity, his son Clemente's bachelor's thesis reveals an emerging vocabulary of more exclusionary ethnic and racial boundaries. These elite perspectives from Lima, however, are challenged by Piuran poet, novelist, and sociologist Enrique López Albújar, whose writings asserted the significance of Afro-Peruvians in the nation's history and identity. This literary and discourse analysis thus suggests the need to consider a variety of perspectives on *peruanidad* with a particular focus on the role of Afro-Peruvians in the national history. The narrative arc of this chapter suggests an intersection of popular literature and elite pseudoscience of race and nation, ascribing to Afro-Peruvians an ambiguous role in the republic at best.

The sixth and seventh chapters seek to understand Afro-Peruvian agency in political and labor activism between 1855 and 1932. These chapters seek to rectify studies of Afro-Peruvian history that focus solely on Lima and limit their analyses to the lives of prominent Afro-Peruvian athletes.³⁴ Following the abolition of slavery in 1855, I argue that Afro-Peruvians were at the center of the emergence of popular politics and labor activism through local-level organizing and as an electorate with common interests at the national level. Chapter six traces the origins of Afro-Peruvian labor activism and civic life to *cofradías*, guilds, and mutual aid societies in Lima. In the urban center, Afro-Peruvians were politically active yet racially invisible.

³⁴José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu, *Breve Historia de los Negros del Perú*, (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2000); Aldo Panfichi, "Africanía, barrios populares y cultura criolla a inicios del siglo XX," in *Lo Africano en la Cultura Criolla* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2000).

Afro-Peruvians in the rural north dominated the labor force, making them more visible as they fought for both economic and political rights. Although Afro-Peruvians along the north coast used a similar class-based rhetoric in civic life and labor activism, I demonstrate the distinct processes of Afro-Peruvian identity formation there in chapter seven. This final chapter triangulates census data, *hacienda* records, as well as local histories of Afro-Peruvian communities (Zaña and Yapatera) to reveal the overlooked political dimensions of northern Afro-Peruvian collective identities and memories in cultural productions. The persistent demands of labor rights, social equality, and class solidarity in opposition to the aristocracy culminated in Afro-Peruvian participation in the Partido Aprista Peruano (PAP) in the 1920s..

The history of non-attribution detailed in the fifth and sixth chapters permits a re-evaluation of national and local-level census records between 1903 and 1940 in the conclusion. The limited information on Afro-Peruvian history in the historical record demonstrates a common challenge for researching the black Pacific, and the work complicates earlier notions of “whitening” as well as national discourses of *mestizaje*.

Due to a relatively small proportion of African slaves, the popular belief in *mestizaje* as the basis of Peruvian national identity, and a dominant racial ideology that degraded blackness, Afro-descended Peruvians struggled for social equality based on class, rather than racial identity. For these reasons, Afro-Peruvians’ efforts to demand social and political change in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were absorbed in a broader discourse of the popular politics of *mestizos* in opposition to the white elite. Once it became clear that these expectations would not be met, Afro-Peruvian activists and cultural icons initiated a social and political movement for greater

recognition of their contributions to the nation and demand an equal place therein.³⁵ The dissertation historicizes this “rediscovery” by emphasizing Afro-Peruvian activism and resilience in the face of powerful ideologies that sought to deny their existence. As a whole, the dissertation explores the production of elite demographic, pseudoscientific, legal, and literary racial discourses, as well as Afro-Peruvian responses and resistance to those constructions.

³⁵Heidi Carolyn Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2006). Feldman focuses on siblings Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz, who began their work as pioneers of the rediscovery of African-Peruvian culture. Specifically, the sibling duo collected, wrote and published music, poetry, and dance based on the traditions of black Peruvians. Feldman provides an interesting analysis of what Victoria Santa Cruz calls “ancestral memory” that romanticized the Afro-Peruvian past as rooted in a combination of African and European traditions in urban centers. Meanwhile, her brother Nicomedes became the Peruvian voice of *negritud*, a transnational literary movement to promote the recognition of common African roots and racial equality. As mass migrations of indigenous and mestizo people arrived in Lima in the 1950s, “White Peruvians positioned Black traditions into their criollo culture.” Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz consequently sought to distinguish the African roots of criollo culture from the “nostalgia” among elites for the colonial past.

Chapter 1: Afro-Peruvian Creoles and the Deconstruction of National Dualism

In late colonial Peru, census data indicates that African-descended people then comprised nearly half of the coastal population.¹ According to historian Peter Blanchard, the percentage of Lima's Afro-descended population steadily declined during the nineteenth century, and less than one percent of the population identified as *negro/a* by 1940. Blanchard echoed historian Frederick Bowser's earlier assertion that this demographic decline is due to "whitening," the alteration of racial self-classification to improve opportunities for social advancement.² The roles of Afro-Peruvians in the nation's history went unrecognized until fairly recently in Peruvian historiography. This invisibility results from a false dichotomy that posited two uniform and oppositional populations in Peru: the *criollo* (or European-descended) culture of the Pacific coast and the indigenous population of the Andean and Amazon interior. The concept of Peruvian "dualism" falsely renders *criollo* identity homogeneous or monolithic in early historiography. To some degree, this dualism persists in rendering Afro-Peruvian identity invisible. The term *criollo* is most often associated with people of European descent in colonial Spanish America; however, Afro-Peruvians also appropriated the term in surprising ways.

This chapter combines discourse analysis with the tools of social history and the framing of Atlantic history to find out what "'creole' meant in the ordinary usage of various people at various times" in Peru and how these definitions limited the appearance

¹Carlos Aguirre, *Breve historia de la esclavitud en el Perú: Una herida que no deja de sangrar*. (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2005), 22.

²Peter Blanchard. *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1992), 221. According to Blanchard: "by 1876 blacks and Asians together comprised only 4 percent of the Peruvian population. In Lima, in 1857, around 11 percent of the population of 90,000 was black; the figure declined to just under 5 percent of a population in 1908, and to just under 5 percent of a population of 140,884 in 1908, and to 2 percent of 562,885 in 1940," p. xvi.

of a distinct Afro-Peruvian identity.³ The chapter investigates the process of identity formation through the changing category or “sign” of Creole along the northern Pacific coast of Peru, in the context of the term’s usage in the modern historiography of race and ethnicity in the viceroyalty and the nation. This line of inquiry, I argue, demonstrates the power of language to deny Afro-Peruvians an equal place in the republic while also simultaneously revealing the centrality of Afro-Peruvian culture to the nation’s identity. Furthermore, this analysis evaluates elite liberal constructions of Peruvian citizenship with an emphasis on race. The chapter thus seeks to contribute to a growing body of literature that assesses the paradox of nineteenth century liberalism, which “presumed an unmarked raceless, even genderless individual, yet nineteenth-century liberals on both sides of the Atlantic described the ideal qualities of citizens and nations in implicitly racialized and gendered terms.”⁴

Although the Peruvian coast may be geographically peripheral to the Atlantic basin, its development as a Viceroyalty of Spain underwent processes similar to those in the Caribbean and Atlantic coasts of the Americas. Beginning in the sixteenth century, Spaniards brought African slaves to Lima, the viceregal capital and later that of the independent republic. Africans and African communities stretched from the capital to hundreds of miles north along the Pacific coast to the cities of Trujillo and Piura (See Appendix A). Over the colonial period, Peru received fewer numbers of slaves from Africa than commercial centers in the Caribbean and Brazil; nonetheless, nearly half of

³James Lockhart, “The Social History of Latin America,” in *Of Things of the Indies*, (Stanford University Press, 1999), 48.

⁴Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Machperson, and Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, eds., *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 4.

the people in this region identified as African, African-descended, or black until the nineteenth century.⁵

Many historians have emphasized the fluidity of racial identity and racial categories in colonial Spanish America, and this scholarship has contributed to the assumption that Afro-Peruvians shed their blackness in order to improve their social position. Conceptualizations of racial and ethnic difference changed over time, with modern notions of race as biological difference hardening and being reinforced by racial “science” in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, analysis of the demographic decline of African-descended people has been neglected in comparison to scholarship about the racialization of Peru’s large indigenous population in the nineteenth century. This disparity is likely due to the fact that those who identified as “Indian” greatly outnumbered the category of black or Afro-Peruvian throughout colonial and republican Peruvian history. A great deal of scholarship has analyzed elite concerns over the integration of indigenous Peruvians into the early republic, yet few corresponding studies have examined elite concerns regarding Afro-Peruvians. Therefore, a notion of Creole/indigenous “dualism” has predominated in historical analyses of race and ethnicity in Peru, to the relative exclusion of scholarship on Afro-Peruvian identity and how it has changed over time. Blacks, however, also came to self-identity as “Creole” or *criollo*; an examination of the etymology of the term from the early Atlantic world through early republican Peru opens a possible distinct space for Afro-Peruvian identity formation.

I. Creole in Atlantic History: from Atlantic Africa to the Black Pacific

⁵Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1992), xvi.

The temporal framing of Atlantic history permits an analysis of changing discourses reflecting identity formations from the colonial period to the modern era. As an analytical construct and a category of historical analysis, Atlantic history transcends more traditional approaches to the history of Latin America. Through a broad temporal and geographical frame, Atlantic history opens up possibilities for understanding the processes that led to national histories of Latin American republics. When examined through the lens of Atlantic history, the differences between unique national histories appear more arbitrary despite any exceptionalist claims. Examinations of cultural, institutional, and ideological integration in the Atlantic world are particularly effective, but they also risk overlooking distinct local processes just as national histories have. Urban archives, whether based in viceregal capitals or smaller centers, reveal more specific identity constructions, allowing for comparisons between polities rather than nations, thereby contributing to Atlantic history's goal of destabilizing national histories.⁶

Atlantic history has revealed early creations, destructions and re-creations of communities and identities preceding the nation-state paradigm.⁷ Citing linguistic studies of Creole languages, Ira Berlin asserts that the term "'Creole' derives from the Portuguese '*crioulo*,' meaning a person of African descent born in the New World." Through an examination of secondary literature that analyzes primary sources on slave experiences, Berlin shows that by "linking themselves to the most important edifices of the nascent European-American societies, Atlantic creoles struggled to become part of a social order where exclusion or otherness—not subordination—posed the greatest

⁶Coclanis, Peter A. "Drang Nach Osten: Bernard Bailyn, the World-Island, and the Idea of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History* 13, 1 (2002), 169-182.

⁷Morgan, Philip and Jack. P. Greene, eds. *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*. (Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

dangers.” Notably, his use of the term “Atlantic creole” refers to those who participated in “a new culture that emerged along the Atlantic littoral—in Africa, Europe, or the Americas—beginning in the 16th century,” showing that the sign has many different signifiers even within Atlantic world historiography.⁸ Berlin is careful to show African resistance to both enslavement and assimilation in the Americas, and he criticizes “single track” assimilationist interpretations.⁹ By analyzing how charter generations of African-Americans became creoles as a strategy of resistance, Berlin complicates earlier theories of creolization that were more passive.

A. The Creolization Model: Sociocultural Encounters and Linguistic Analysis

The creolization model developed by Sidney Mintz and Richard Price in the 1970s attempted to explain identity formation among Africans and African-descended peoples in North America and the Caribbean as a diverse process. In tracing the “so-called creole cultures of the plantation colonies” to the earliest interactions between Europeans and Africans, and between Africans of distinct cultures, Mintz and Price rejected prior assumptions that Europeans dominated the various processes of creolization. In contrast, they argued that “the advantages of freedom, which the Europeans enjoyed, could not guarantee greater success in cultural transmission, even though freedom made maintaining some cultural forms much easier.”¹⁰ Moreover, their

⁸Ira Berlin, “From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 53, 2 (1996), 251-288.

⁹*Ibid*, 253.

¹⁰Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 2, 34. Originally published: *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past* (Philadelphia: institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976). As the authors point out, the book was written in the immediate aftermath of the Civil Rights struggle and the establishment of Afro-American and Black Studies programs in U.S. universities. Because this history was forged under

anthropological research legitimated the study of linguistic change as a model for understanding other aspects of the development of Afro-American cultures.¹¹ Africanists challenged this model by claiming that it overstated the cultural diversity of sub-Saharan Africa. Historians then began to reconsider identity formation in ways that were neither assimilationist nor based on creolization.¹² Mintz's and Price's creolization model, however, cautioned against any "simplistic," far-reaching conclusions regarding sociocultural contact and cultural exchange in the New World

In the field of sociolinguistics, John Holm surveyed the languages considered "pidgin" or "creole" that arose during European colonial expansion in the Atlantic world. Published in 1988, *Pidgins and Creoles* analyzes these restructured versions of English, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese languages to argue that the linguistic analyses could be applied to historical processes, such as the cultural and identity formations of Atlantic creoles. Holm's linguistic analysis asserts that these languages, previously perceived as "corruptions of 'higher,' usually European languages," were, in fact, "new languages." The scholarly neglect of pidgin and creole languages resulted from racial prejudice and contempt for the speakers of the languages.¹³ Holm traces the etymology of the term *creole* to the Latin verb "to create," which became Portuguese *criar*, meaning "to raise (e.g. a child)," whence the past participle *criado* '(a person) raised; a servant

"fundamentally racist and unequal social conditions," they point out, the work is "significant in its human and political implications" (xiii).

¹¹*Ibid.*, 48-49. Although this work was based on Price's research of the Saramaka Maroons of Suriname, it carried important implications for the study of other Afro-American cultures.

¹²Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and James Sidbury, "Mapping Ethnogenesis in the Early Modern Atlantic," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68:2 (Apr. 2011), 181-208.

¹³John Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles, Volume I: Theory and Structure*. (Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1.

born into one's household.”¹⁴ Holm's research thus shows the term's early connotations of servitude and epistemological hierarchy; however, his analysis of the development of such languages spurred its usage as a model to be applied to broad sociological processes.

While Holm's analysis of sociolinguistic development does have implications for other disciplines in terms of power relations in linguistic epistemological foundations, the creolization model developed by Mintz and Price was appropriated and applied as a universalist approach to describe many forms of cultural contact. The purpose of this chapter is to challenge such universalizing tendencies through linguistic and discourse analysis of the term *criollo* in late colonial and early republican Peru. As such, this work seeks to build on arguments for the “creolization of theory” by analyzing the lived experiences of Afro-Peruvians in conjunction with elite discourses of *criollo* national identity, and by assessing the universalizing tendencies of North American scholars with regard to the term Creole.¹⁵

Holm's research of the term *creole* traces its first usage in the Spanish to the year 1590, translated from the Portuguese *crioulo* to *criollo*. It appears that in Peru, the term held the original connotation of servitude but came to emphasize a servant or slave born in Peru. However, Holm's etymology suggests the misunderstanding of the Spanish use of the term from the English-speaking world originates in a 1604 translation. Printed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* that year, *creole*, from the Spanish *criollo*, was defined as “the Spaniards borne at the Indies.”¹⁶ Given this translational simplification, it was easy

¹⁴*Ibid*, 9.

¹⁵Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, eds. *The Creolization of Theory*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 2.

¹⁶Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles*, 15.

for English-speaking scholars to assume a common understanding of the term Creole to refer to Iberians born in the Americas.

Within Peru, the term creole has been applied to diverse racial and ethnic categories over time. A 1955 anthropological study by Ozzie Simmons argues that Peruvian mestizos, particularly along the northern coast, participated in constructing a “Creole outlook” that was understood as a strictly local development. This construction of a Peruvian Creole identity came to be a cultural concept rather than racial, and Simmons cites *custombrista* literature of mid-nineteenth-century republican writers to show the class connotations the term took on as it shifted away from an association with national identity, or *peruanidad*. In a brief etymology, Simmons states: “The term *criollo*, which originally referred to purity of strain, now has only cultural connotations, and refers to one variant of the mestizo, or cholo, culture.”¹⁷ Simmons’ article exhibits an early understanding of the multifarious signifiers for the sign Creole, and it suggests the increasing fluidity of *criollo* as a multi-ethnic national culture in the twentieth century. As this chapter will show, however, *criollo* culture became increasingly localized in Lima and distinct from the indigenous population.

In a classic work on slavery in colonial Peru, Frederick Bowser also provides an additional layer of understanding to the term *criollo*. His book published in 1974 used notarial records, parish records, and census data to document price trends and demographic data of African slaves brought to Peru. Bowser also documents the origins of the majority of slaves arriving to Peru, concluding that Peruvian *colonos* preferred

¹⁷Ozzie G Simmons, “The *Criollo* Outlook in the *Mestizo* Culture of Coastal Peru,” in *American Anthropologist*, 57 (1955), 107-117.

“true Guinean slaves”—those from Senegambia and Guinea-Bissau—even though they were believed to be more likely to rebel than slaves of other origins. Bowser seeks to present this history from the perspective of the slaves in Peru, and he argues that due to the “utter foreignness” of Africans in Peru, they “identified with everything Spanish more rapidly than did the Indian,” making them loyal servants.¹⁸ This assumption reflects the dominant narrative of African-native relations in colonial Latin American historiography of the 1970s. More recent studies suggest greater complexity among local understandings of racial and ethnic identity in colonial Brazil and Mexico, and this chapter provides further evidence that the same was true in Peru.¹⁹ Still, Bowser shows the variety of occupations Afro-Peruvians held in Lima and along the northern coast, as well as the manifold means of resistance to slavery they utilized.²⁰ Although his focus on institutions and economic interests of Afro-Peruvians does not address the various identities among them, he does show how Spaniards differentiated slave identities and origins. Through this analysis, he defines *criollo* as a “slave born under Spanish or Portuguese masters; often modified to indicate area or town of birth, e.g., Criollo de Lima.”²¹ Although Bowser’s analysis of “whitening” parallels the historiography of race in Brazil around the same time,²² his analysis did reveal the specificity of the term *criollo* in Peru.

¹⁸Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*. Stanford University Press, 1974, 7.

¹⁹Matthew Restall, ed., *Beyond Black and Red: African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 2005. More pertinent to this chapter is Rachel Sarah O’Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru*. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012). O’Toole shows the mutually beneficial relationships between Africans and indigenous people in northern Peru.

²⁰*Ibid*, 321.

²¹*Ibid*, 348.

²²For example, Carl Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971) (orig.); Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1974).

More recent historiography of the process of abolition in Peru has placed Afro-Peruvians at the center of the story, in contrast to Bowser's emphasis on assimilation and "whitening." Carlos Aguirre's 1993 book, *Agentes de su propia libertad* synthesizes historical studies of slavery in Peru and analyzes criminal and civil records, census records, as well as a variety of colonial and republican newspaper articles, to examine various forms of slave resistance. The book focuses on three central ways slaves in Peru contributed to the disintegration of the institution of slavery: the adjustments slaves were able to negotiate within the system, the methods of resistance they implemented to improve their position in relation to their owner, and the variety of strategies to gain freedom. Examples include negotiating for better conditions, purchasing freedom, *cimarronaje* (flight), and violent confrontation.²³ As a result, the book effectively revises prior explanations of abolition as resulting from the opportunistic philanthropy of "El Libertador" Ramón Castilla or as an inevitable consequence of the development of global capitalism. Such prior analyses have rendered Afro-Peruvians passive actors in the abolition of slavery, just as "single-track" assimilation, creolization and whitening limit the agency and creativity in the process of identity formation.

A more recent work on slavery in Peru has built on Aguirre's important interjection with a particular focus on the notion of race. In her 2012 book *Bound Lives*, Rachel Sarah O'Toole investigates how Africans, Indians, and Spaniards interacted in northern coastal Peru during the "long" seventeenth century to explore how they

²³Carlos Aguirre, *Agentes de su propia libertad: Los esclavos de Lima y la desintegración de la esclavitud, 1821-1854* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1995), 23: "Hemos considerado cuatro formas básicas de resistencia esclava en el periodo que estudiamos: el cimarronaje o fuga, el conflicto legal, las estrategias para acceder a la libertad, y las formas violentas de lucha (motines, revueltas y vendettas). Cada uno de estos mecanismos de confrontación contiene elementos que denotan la 'adaptación a' ciertas esquemas sociales, pero al mismo tiempo buscaban afirmar conquistas de los esclavos en detrimento del poder de sus amos."

understood *casta* labels in their everyday lives. Analyzing records of judicial cases mainly in the valley of Trujillo, O'Toole shows how "people of the African Diaspora were creating new meanings from the slave-trading terminologies" by using *casta* categories as points of leverage that were fluid and alterable.²⁴ The book also analyzes demographic data on the origins and price trends of slaves sold in northern Peru between 1640 and 1730 to argue that *casta* categories "did the work of race but did not articulate a fixed racial hierarchy that would emerge as modern race and racial categories."²⁵ Though not central to her argument, O'Toole defines *criollo/a* as a term "employed by northern Peruvian notaries to mean a man or woman of African descent born in the Americas;" and she defines "creole" as a term "employed by historians to mean a man or woman of Spanish descent born in the Americas."²⁶ O'Toole's examination of different understandings between colonial context and modern scholarship suggests that historians have oversimplified an understanding of a more complex sign. O'Toole is one of few scholars to examine the role race and *casta* played in the formation of collective Afro-Peruvian identities under slavery. As will be shown, most studies involving race and ethnicity in Peru have replicated the dualist national framework and have therefore overlooked this important aspect of the Creole identity.

B. Afro-Peruvian Creoles in the Transition from Colony to Republic

This chapter expands on a recent article that analyzes the changing socio-political connotations of the term *criollo* in Peru from the sixteenth century through the twentieth century. Historian Luis Gómez Acuña has identified four objects of study within the broad

²⁴O'Toole, *Bound Lives*, 55.

²⁵*Ibid*, 165.

²⁶*Ibid*, 224.

spectrum of phenomena that can qualify as “criollo”: *costumbrista* literature, forms of speech typical of Lima, cultural practices of Lima and the coast, and last as a synonym of “a national tradition that is reinvented many times over.”²⁷ He shows that the term acquired a negative connotation in the seventeenth century, as it was used in Spain to subordinate the social standing of European-descended people living in the New World by equating them with black and indigenous *criollos*. Spanish Americans detested being labeled as such, and responded with a discourse exalting *lo criollo* as representative of Hispanic culture dominant in the city of Lima. The English translation of the term thus may have been rooted in this elite emphasis on its Iberian connotations. Nonetheless, Afro-Peruvians identified more with *criollo* culture of the coast than with that of the indigenous, a consequence of the elite construction of “a *fractured* society, of a dual country.”²⁸ Gómez Acuña is careful to point out that even within this dichotomy that situated Afro-Peruvians apart from the indigenous population, elites denied their place in the “official country.”

Other recent studies on slavery in Peru examine Afro-Peruvians in the transition from colony to republic. Carlos Aguirre’s 2005 book examines the entire span of slavery in Peru, from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. It is mainly a work of grand synthesis, bringing together a variety of works on slavery but also analyzing decrees by the colonial authorities and the early republican government. Despite the book’s broad scope, Aguirre focuses on the differences between plantation and urban slavery to argue that Africans and their descendants in Peru contributed significantly to the “formation of the colonial creole world.”²⁷ Aguirre focuses on the human and social dimensions of

²⁷*Ibid.*, 148: “Es decir, producto de la guerra del Pacífico, todos estos autores eran firmes creyentes en la existencia de un sector del país que Basadre luego llamó el Perú profundo (el del explotado mayoritario poblador de los Andes) frente al llamado país oficial (el de las elites urbanas, costeñas), de una sociedad *fracturada*, de un país dual.”

²⁸Carlos Aguirre, *Breve historia de la esclavitud en el Perú: Una herida que no deja de sangrar* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2005), 9.

slavery instead of its economic aspects, with the purpose of illuminating the experiences of slaves and privileging their point of view. In the process, the book revises the writings of nineteenth century elites who considered black Peruvians inferior. By analyzing the religion and culture of black communities throughout the period of study, Aguirre shows how their religious ceremonies such as the procession of “El Cristo de los Milagros,” became popularly intertwined with a collective Peruvian identity. This ritual celebrates the miraculous survival of a painting called “Lord of Miracles” in the Nazarenas Sanctuary in Lima before most of the city was destroyed in a 17th century earthquake. The painter was an anonymous African slave; Afro-Peruvians have led in the creation and preservation of an annual procession in the painting’s honor every October. Non Afro-Peruvians come to embrace the celebration as an iconic Peruvian cultural manifestation. Aguirre and Gómez Acuña suggest that this demonstrates a collective identity in Lima that can be understood as *criollo* in the Afro-Peruvian sense, which complicates Simmons’ earlier analysis of *criollo* culture as a mixture of Spanish and indigenous elements. Clearly, Afro-Peruvians along the Pacific coast were labeled *criollo* in the colonial period. Furthermore, traces of their collective identity are visible in early republican *criollo* culture, although this identity has been understood as an exclusively European-derived elite construction.

Many twenty-first century studies of Afro-Peruvians are the result of activist organizations’ push to assert their role in the history of the republic. One such contribution is the product of an international seminar addressing the abolition of slavery and the process of manumission in Peru. *La Libertad Inconclusa* uses an interdisciplinary

approach to analyze the manifestations of the African diaspora in Latin America, and to depict Afro-Peruvians as active actors in broader social processes. A chapter by Carlos Aguirre argues that slaves in Peru attained abolition after years of resistance, although they and their descendants were “condemned to silence and invisibility.”²⁹ Maribel Arrelucea’s 2009 *Replanteando la esclavitud*, also published by Lima’s Centro de Desarrollo Étnico (CEDET), examines the daily lives of women and men as slaves in late colonial Lima. Through an analysis of colonial court records and ecclesiastical tribunal records, as well as civil cases and receipts of sales, Arrelucea reveals the hierarchical relationships based on ethnicity and gender that people internalized in their daily lives between 1760 and 1820. In the first part of the book, she argues that female slaves had distinct convictions and objectives when participating in acts of resistance against slavery as compared to men. The second part of the book examines how slavery functioned in Lima to inhibit large-scale slave rebellions there, concluding that these slaves lived under a regime that granted them “semi-freedom.”³⁰ This condition meant that daily strategies attenuated conflicts and permitted the negotiation of a degree of improvement in living conditions, similar to Aguirre’s conclusions. As such, this work moves away from the trope of women as victims in colonial Latin America, and Arrelucea cites Gauderman’s work on women in colonial Quito to support her conclusions. She triangulates her sources to follow the lives of several individuals, and compares these lived experiences to the opinions of intellectual elites in the newspaper *Mercurio Peruano*. This publication

²⁹Maribel Arrelucea Barrantes, ed. *La Libertad Inconclusa: Entorno a la esclavitud, su abolición y los derechos civiles*. (Lima: CEDET, 2010), 23.

³⁰Maribel Arrelucea Barrantes, *Replanteando la esclavitud: estudios de etnicidad y género en Lima Borbónica* (Lima: CEDET, 2009).

written by early national “patriot” elites is an important source revealing the bases of persistent elite aversion toward Afro-Peruvians.

Arrelucea also includes an analysis of the historiography on slavery in colonial Peru, which summarizes debates between intellectuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, some of whom argued that slavery was “soft” and closer to free labor than in other countries. Enrique López Albújar and José Varallanos, two influential intellectuals from northern Peru, were the first academics to challenge positivist racial interpretations of the social challenges of Afro-Peruvians in the 1920s and 1930s.³¹ Still, most intellectuals continued to deny the role of Afro-Peruvians in the nation’s history. Even when national historians turned their focus to colonial institutions, “the subject of ethnic minorities was not of interest; what was fundamental in that time was the Andean peasantry, which was Peru’s problem. This is how Mariátegui understood it, for whom slavery was an element of the past, secondary and negative.”³² The silence surrounding Afro-Peruvian history was broken with the rise of Dependency Theory in the 1960s, with its focus on exploitation through a Marxist framework, facilitating Bowser’s research in the early 1970s. Lockhart’s 1968 study, as well as Bowser’s 1974 book, were essential advances on the social history of Afro-Peruvians under slavery. Aside from these, however, few studies of Afro-Peruvians have been available to an English-speaking audience, including more recent works on race and ethnicity in Peru.

II. Creole Nationalism in the Construction of Dualism

³¹*Ibid*, 127-128.

³²*Ibid*, 128.

Beyond those works analyzing slavery in early republican Peru, Mariselle Meléndez' 2006 article stands out in its analysis of elite conceptions of race, Afro-Peruvians, and the rise of patriotic nationalism in the late eighteenth century. She analyzes the seldom-studied production of "Peruvian Creole intellectuals" in the aforementioned newspaper *Mercurio Peruano*, between 1791 and 1795. The founders of this newspaper were members of the Sociedad Académica de Amantes del País, a group of Lima-based intellectuals who sought to educate their patria and project an image of the nature of Peru and its inhabitants to foreigners. Envisioned as an archive of history and philosophy, the newspaper sought to correct erroneous views about Peru held by foreigners. Meléndez argues that this newspaper articulated the elite Creole vision of the Peruvian nation, which saw the black population of Lima as the greatest threat to its order and progress. Meléndez analyzes several articles from 1791 in which "blacks, mulattos and other castes of African descent were always blamed for Peru's social disorder and decay. Problems such as congenital malformations, deviant sexuality, lack of education and primitive behavior were identified by using examples from these sectors of the population."³³ The article also builds on Anthony Higgins' concept of "criollo archive" to analyze the first newspaper founded by Peruvians, which was central to the development of a national identity by early Creole elites. The *Mercurio's* articles and essays certainly laid an early foundation for an independent nation that saw Africans and their descendants as the central impediment to progress.

According to Meléndez, these *criollo* intellectuals based their patriotism on ideas emerging from the Enlightenment, including the term "*Nación*," which had until then

³³Mariselle Meléndez, "Patria, Criollos and Blacks: Imagining the Nation in the *Mercurio Peruano*, 1791-1795," *Colonial Latin American Review* 15:2 (Dec. 2006), 213.

referred to one's place of birth. In their enlightened view, homosexual black men and hypersexual black women were inverting gender norms in a form of "social evil" that prevented the nation from becoming civilized. These elite's connections to the intellectual developments extending throughout the Atlantic world are also evident in the very establishment of the Academy, as these types of learned societies were established in urban centers including Berlin, Madrid, Stockholm and Copenhagen in the eighteenth century.³⁴ The articles that Meléndez cites reveal another signifier for the term *criollo*: many of the newspaper's contributors referred to blacks born in Peru as *negros criollos* to differentiate them from *negros bozales*, who came from Africa.³⁵

For the *criollos educados* or Creole elite, differences between *negros* were not of importance to their nation-building project; they were concerned that social contact with blacks resulted in degeneration. One article even suggested that "a white woman who used black women as nannies was also contributing to her children's moral corruption."³⁶ In their racially deterministic framework for unifying a progressive nation, Creole intellectuals prescribed the containment of "decay and barbarism" they associated with expressions of African culture and identity. Although the anonymous contributors to the newspaper advocated education and knowledge of science and history to construct ideal citizens and express an image of the nation, they saw Afro-Peruvians as unfit for this project.³⁷ These early nationalist elites left a potent legacy in the historiography of Peru. As Arrelucea suggests, elite concerns for national progress soon completely ignored the Afro-Peruvian population, as the "Indian problem" became the focus.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 220.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 213.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 217.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 219.

Gómez Acuña also analyzes the *Mercurio Peruano*'s writings show that the term *criollo* took on positive, nationalist associations in the 1790s. It was initially constructed as a nationalist term defining patriots in opposition to Europeans, and Gómez Acuña identifies key periods of change when the term increasingly became defined as coastal European-descended Peruvian culture in opposition to the indigenous. Initially in the late colonial period, the “foreign” against which some intellectuals defined *patriotismo criollo* was European, despite some ambivalence regarding the indigenous population. As Meléndez argues, moreover, elites constructed Creole patriotism in opposition to Afro-Peruvians as well. As Afro-Peruvians played key, though far from homogenous, roles in the wars for independence,³⁸ they also provide unique perspectives on what Florencia Mallon has called “peasant nationalism.”³⁹

The Limeño elite's focus in the *Mercurio Peruano* would shift following independence in 1825, towards the large indigenous population that occupied most of the new national territory. As Cecilia Méndez G. has argued, caudillo leader Andrés de Santa Cruz's notion of a Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation inspired a crucial moment of Creole nationalism. Through an analysis of newspaper publications between 1836 and 1839, Méndez G. concludes “the anti-Santacrucista discourse originating in Lima, so well exemplified in Felipe Pardo's journalism and literary output, was essentially racist. It

³⁸See Peter Blanchard, *Under the Flags of Freedom: Slave Soldiers and the Wars of Independence in Spanish South America* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008). Blanchard provides a detailed account of Afro-Latin American participation in South American wars for independence in the 1810s and 1820s, when the “wars provided unforeseen opportunities” for slaves to gain freedom (2). In the case of Peru, royalists and slaveholders utilized fear of slave uprisings to mitigate black participation in independence efforts, although “most Peruvian blacks and mulattoes remained loyal to the king. They continued to serve in military units that had been established before the struggles began and staunchly defended Spanish rule both at home and in distant lands” (93). Yet by the 1820s, José de San Martín found slave recruits crucial to his revolutionary project in coastal Peru, many of whom left sugar plantations to fight for the patria and the promise of freedom (96).

³⁹Florencia Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860-1940* (Princeton University Press, 1983), 91: Mallon writes that peasant nationalism “was not a general or symbolic sense of nationhood, but a feeling founded very concretely on their love for the homeland—for the place where they were born.”

reflected creole stereotypes, prejudices and fears about the Indian, rather than a real threat of a Bolivian conquest of Peru.”⁴⁰ Méndez G.’s analysis of *caudillo* journalism to garner public support in shaping the nation reveals the competing discourses of creole nationalism. Elite *caudillos* in support of the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation considered the movement a “revolution” that would achieve the “new order” that had yet to result from independence. Notably, supporters of Santa Cruz and his proposed Confederation did not engage in Incaist rhetoric to legitimize their political aims, although Pardo and other anti-Santacruzistas consistently invoked the glorious Inca past “to spurn and segregate the Indian” of the present.⁴¹

The political and militarized debate between elites in Lima regarding Santa Cruz’s proposed Confederation shifted the dominant discourse on race to focus on the perceived problem of the Indian. This focus was codified and institutionalized by Peruvian *patriota* and “great schoolteacher” Sebastián Lorente, who sought to construct a history of the nation with a focus on the role of the indigenous population. Lorente traveled to Lima from his home in Spain in 1843 to begin collaborating on the nationalist project of constructing Peruvian national history with Ramón Castilla’s government, serving as an integral member of the commission to write the first Law of General Instruction.⁴² Lorente completely ignored the Afro-Peruvian population in his construction of a national history. Based on the idea of Universal History from the Enlightenment and German historical philosophers such as Hegel, Lorente divided

⁴⁰Cecilia Méndez G., “Incas Si, Indios No: Notes on Peruvian Creole Nationalism and Its Contemporary Crisis,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28 (1) (Feb. 1996), 209.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 212. See also Natalia Sobrevilla Perea, *The Caudillo of the Andes: Andrés de Santa Cruz* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁴²Alberto Rubio Fataccioli, *Sebastián Lorente y la educación en el Perú del siglo XIX*. (Lima: Editorial Allamanda, 1990), 72. According to Fataccioli, the commission began constructing the law in 1846, and it was completed and published on June 14, 1850.

history into four phases: ancient, middle, modern, and contemporary. In this schema, ancient history extended from the origin of humanity to the end of the Roman Empire, the middle period ended with the discovery of the Americas, and the modern period ended with the French Revolution. Lorente's period was considered an era of revolutions that toppled monarchies and brought free republics to Europe and the Americas.⁴³

Lorente had fought alongside Afro-Peruvian *montoneros* in support of Ramón Castilla's liberal revolution in 1854, and his writings in *La Voz del Pueblo* expressed his support for the revolution and the abolition of Indian tribute as well as the abolition of African slavery. In fact, while serving as Castilla's advisor during the "liberal revolution" in 1854, Lorente pushed Castilla to end these exploitative institutions. The December 5, 1854 emancipation decree certainly helped Castilla's forces defeat his rival Rufino Echenique on January 5, 1855, and Lorente was named Inspector of Public Instruction in April of that year.⁴⁴

Despite Lorente's push to end slavery in the name of individual freedom, the broader purpose of his publications was to educate the young nation of its progress towards civilization. Following his early role in support of Castilla, Lorente established the study of the humanities while serving as chair of the *Facultad de Letras* at Lima's prestigious University of San Marcos. Here he also founded the study of history in Peru, and his pedagogy inspired public education in national history. His influence survived through his successor at San Marcos, Carlos Wiesse, whose course *Historia crítica del*

⁴³Mark Thurner, *Sebastián Lorente: Escritos fundacionales de historia peruana*. (Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2005), 41-42.

⁴⁴Rubio Fataccioli, *Sebastián Lorente*, 73.

Perú, was widely distributed and became the official textbook on Peruvian history for use in public schools until at least 1930.⁴⁵

Building on his universal framing of human progress, Lorente focused on the two grand phases of the development of ancient civilization in Peru: from primitive patriarchal tribes to the centralized state of the Incas. In comparison to enlightened interpretations of this process in the Orient, however, Peru transitioned directly from the ancient period to the colonial period under the influence of modern Spain, thereby bypassing the middle period or stage of feudalism.⁴⁶ Recognizing that his education in the universal process of history did not perfectly fit the history of Peru, Lorente sought to reinterpret the nation's ancient history to fit the universal frame.

In his analysis of the *mestizo* national chronicler El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's writings, Lorente exhibited his concern over the origins of Peru's "national character," reflecting a Rankean empiricism in combination with emerging ideas of race. In the writings of eighteenth century chroniclers, the mythic Manco Capac is portrayed as the first Inca emperor who united disparate tribes into a sedentary, agricultural civilization. Eighteenth century European explorer-intellectuals such as Humboldt and Raynal had speculated that Manco Capac was of Asian or even European origin, even positing that he was "whiter" than his descendants in Peru.⁴⁷ Lorente dismissed such theories, however, grounding the great Inca past in the Andes to grant legitimacy and permanency to the Peruvian republic. Asserting that Manco Capac doubtlessly was born in Peru, Lorente

⁴⁵Turner, *Sebastián Lorente*, 27.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 43.

argued that “his work carries the stamp of the national race, and that of the country.”⁴⁸ By situating Inca history along the stages of progress toward civilization, Lorente integrated the indigenous “other” into his vision of a national identity and race.

However, Lorente and other nineteenth century *patriotas* did not build up Peru’s indigenous past to glorify their contemporary indigenous population. In his *Historia Antigua del Perú*, Lorente instructed: “In the greatness of our past we shall find presentiments of the future.” His analysis implied that the Conquest and colonization of the Incas explained the deplorable state of contemporary Indians, but their “civilized” past could be resurrected through education and acculturation.⁴⁹ Throughout Lorente’s writings, *patriota* appears to replace a tradition of Creole/*criollo* intellectual production on national identity under a different signifier. Given his role in Peru’s nationalist historiography, his choice of words might be expected. However, the choice also reflects the nature of his project: to integrate the indigenous “masses” into the national culture through education. As Thurner has argued, Lorente’s work corresponds to similar nationalist projects underway at the same time in Mexico and Cuba, and “the expansion of the name of ‘American’ to include non-Creoles... is most notable in nineteenth-century historical discourse.”⁵⁰ As a second-generation *patriota*, Lorente built on the historiography of early chroniclers, but his focus on the indigenous population exhibits a shift from the concerns of the early *criollo* nationalists in the 1790s.

⁴⁸Quoted in Thurner, 44: “Su obra lleva el sello de la raza nacional, y el del país.”

⁴⁹Quoted in Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero, eds., *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas*. (Duke University Press, 2003), 143.

⁵⁰Thurner and Guerrero, eds., *After Spanish Rule*, 144.

This shift resulted from a political proposition that would integrate a larger national territory occupied by indigenous people. Thurner has aptly summarized the challenge these Creole elites faced:

In Peru, the imagined “us” of national history was more ambivalent. The Creole “us” was haunted by a domestically distant and sometimes threatening indigenous “them,” a compatriot subaltern condemned by liberal history to inhabit the nation’s prehistorical golden age. But this dead golden age was the future promise of national history [that] would reemerge in the scientific (langu)age of race as the living legacy of indigenous despotism, the Creole burden of “our indigenous race.”⁵¹

However, analyzing the early patriotic discourses of elite Peruvians reveals a more complex Creole “us,” especially in its language of origin (i.e. *criollo/a*). The *Mercurio Peruano*’s advertisement section consistently included announcements of slave-sales, but these people-for-purchase were often labeled *criollo* or *negro*. Livestock could also be categorized as *criollo*, and their local origins appear to have increased their value.⁵² *El Comercio* displayed similar advertisements for the sale of slaves, but in the 1840s the newspaper began to use the term culturally to describe the “character” of Cuban music.⁵³ In the 1840s, *criollo* was increasingly used to describe a particular form of national character in Peru, while it could still also refer to blacks born in the nation to be sold as slaves. This was particularly demonstrated in poetry and literature published in the newspaper.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 165.

⁵² *El Mercurio Peruano*, *El Amante de la salud del público*, March 4, 1829: “En los de diciembre hasta mayo inclusive, en que se mata ganado criollo, cuyo valor es más caro.”

⁵³ Jorge Sand, “Las mujeres de la Habana,” *El Comercio*, April 12, 1844. *El Comercio* included advertisements for the sale of “*un negro criollo de 50 años*,” on March 17, 18, 20, and 21, 1843.

The connotations of *criollo* appeared increasingly complex and multifaceted in the 1840s, as popularly accessible poems and short stories in *El Comercio* suggest. A poem titled “El Pastel” (The Cake) by “Lanarril,” for instance, that appeared in the October 20 issue of the newspaper, uses food as a metaphor for honorable love. The poet describes the “diligence” of a “*criollo* servant” who “cares for his sapling until marrying him/it.”⁵⁴ This poem addresses an abstract educated “damsel” whose quotidian worries deter her from marrying a “frank, simple man.”⁵⁵ The damsel’s “dissertations/On forms of government” will not help her find love, so the poet instructs her to “lament her fortune” as a well-educated woman, or “see the immediate guardian/... and inscribe yourself below him/Your life will be peaceful;/You will have frugal foods/That for monastic months/The cake is proscribed.”⁵⁶ As such, the poem subtly contrasts the virtuous diligence of the servant to the fastidiousness of the Peruvian woman, criticizing her high intellect and instructing her to accept her prescribed gender role. The poem implies that the elite woman’s education led her astray from the virtuous, simple life embodied in the *criollo* servant’s delightful obsession in making a good cake. Lanarril thus suggested that individual virtue should supersede concerns over race and class and reified gendered barriers to intellectual and civic life. In contrast to the concerns expressed in the *Mercurio Peruano* in the 1790s, by the 1840s gender roles appeared to be constructed more explicitly than those of race. Elite concerns had largely shifted from

⁵⁴“Lanarril,” “El Pastel,” *El Comercio*, October 20, 1840: “no haras bien la diligencia/Como la hace un mozo criollo,/Que patulla su pimpollo/Hasta casarse con él.”

⁵⁵*Ibid*: “O vé al guardian inmediato/Que es el hombre franco, sencillo/Alli te abrirán cerquillo/Y adscríbete bajo del:/ tu vida será tranquila.” I have translated “*mezcla de sangre*,” which is emphasized in the original text, to “racial mixture.”

⁵⁶*Ibid*: “Tu vida será tranquila,/Tendrás comidas frugales;/Que de meses monacales/Está proscripto el pastel.”

the “sexual deviance” of the Afro-descended population to a focus on the indigenous population, but racialized language of social hierarchies remained.

As Deborah Poole’s research on nineteenth century Peru has shown, photographic images helped to define Andean racial and national “types.” With the rise of photography, Peruvian intellectuals sought to construct an image of their national character to be consumed by interested Europeans who categorized Peruvians according to emergent notions of race. Poole examines how Peruvian intellectuals responded to the European-produced images of Andean society in divergent ways: Limeños argued that the European images were too reductionist and Cusqueño elites aimed to assimilate and even Europeanize the image of indigenous Peruvians. Poole’s analysis of European curiosity in the early republic of Peru shows how artists constructed “the Peruvian female types: the European *criolla tapada*, the *mulata* or black woman, and the native or Indian woman.”⁵⁷ In this context, the covered *criolla* referred to white women whose shawls provided an “escape from surveillance by families and husbands.” Although the shawls fell out of fashion after independence, Poole argues that the images of these veiled white women “came to symbolize both the availability of Peru as a postcolonial market and its timeless nature as another world where customs never changed.” Léonce Angrand, a French diplomat who painted watercolors of the covered *criollas*, thus understood the term to mean a white, yet exoticized other.⁵⁸ Poole also points out a linguistic shift in census records in her period of study, as *criollo* appears to be synonymous with “white” by the 1790s. Nineteenth century census records, however, seem to have replaced *criollo*

⁵⁷Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 87.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 86.

with “white” as a racial category. The most common racial categories in the 1860 census of Lima were *blanco/a*, *negro/a*, *yndio/a*, and *mestizo/a* (white, black, Indian, and mixed).⁵⁹

An anonymous short story published in *El Comercio* in September, 1843 reveals further ambiguity in popular perception of *criollo* identity. The story follows the travels and debates among Peruvian elite men, who discuss their mercantile and diplomatic connections to France, England, Germany, and the United States. The men express their concern over a *cuarterona*, or *mestiza* woman, who fled to Paris while traveling with a merchant company. The term *cuarterona* is more specific than *mestiza*, as it signified a person who was one-fourth (*cuarta*) African.⁶⁰ Expressing their disgust of this “evil creature” who disguised herself as a man to escape her protectors, the Monsignor replies that this “seductress” and “evil soul” will be returning to Peru for his use in “certain projects.” Fearful of her sexuality, one man exclaims, “Witch! Witch! It would be necessary to have the soulless eye of a *criollo* to discover a *racial mixture* in the imperceptible brown matrix that lightly colors the crown of that *cuarterona*’s pink nails.”⁶¹ Their concern over the seductive capacity of the woman is surprising given that she had disguised herself as a man, and the character’s description of a perceptively “soulless” *criollo* suggests the author understood the term to refer to a similarly mixed-race person of Lima. The story emphasizes a mid-nineteenth century elite concern about racial mixture as well as the continued association of blackness with wickedness and

⁵⁹Biblioteca y Archivo Municipal de Lima, *Censo de la Municipalidad de Lima de 1860*.

⁶⁰Oswaldo Holguín Callo, “Ricardo Palma y la cultura negra,” *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*, accessed via <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com>.

⁶¹*El Comercio*, September 5, 1843: “Hechicera!...muy hechicera!...Seria menester tener el ojo impio de un criollo para descubrir *mezcla de sangre* en el imperceptible matiz pardo que colora lijeramente la corona de la uñas rosadas de esa cuarterona; nuestras frescas bellezas del Norte no tienen tinte mas transparente, cutis mas blanco ni pelo de castaño mas dorado.”

sexual promiscuity. They seem equally disturbed by the presumption that she could easily “pass” for white. In this context, *criollo* still signified an Afro-descended person born in Peru. Clearly the discursive shift from a concern over Afro-Peruvian immorality to a focus on the retrograde indigenous population was incomplete.

Popular literary renderings of blackness in Peru both extolled male *criollo* diligence and cultural forms and also denigrated amoral, evil sexual behavior by women. Such ambiguity and gendered language continued throughout nineteenth century Peruvian literature. Ricardo Palma (1833-1919) personifies and exemplifies the role of race in the construction of national identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The son of a *cuarterona* and a Spaniard born in Peru, Palma identified strongly with his father and struggled to overcome the negative connotations of his African ancestry. As an aspiring writer in 1850s Lima, Palma was publically humiliated for his blackness. Similar to anti-Santacrucista discourses that vilified the caudillo for his indigenous ancestry, the allies of Palma’s political adversary Manuel Pardo attacked Palma’s racial ancestry in *El Comercio*.⁶²

Ricardo Palma’s response to the attacks exhibits his association with *costrumbrista* literature and a Lima-based *criollo* identity that included some non-European elements. As a literary form meant to express the traditions and everyday customs of Spanish citizens, Peruvian *costumbristas* adopted the genre in ways that divided them into opposing camps. The first may be considered colonialist and Hispanophile, and was represented in the writings of Felipe Pardo y Aliaga. The second camp was described as liberal, nationalist and *criollo*, represented by Manuel Ascencio

⁶²Holguín Callo, “Ricardo Palma y la cultura negra.”

Segura, of whom Palma was one of many “disciples.” The latter camp was not exclusively European but understood *criollo* to mean a unique racial composite in Lima. Because Palma’s writings were published toward the end of the first phase of *costumbrista* literature and his focus was on the colonial period rather than the nineteenth century, he has been considered a “retrospective *costumbrista*.”⁶³

In reinterpreting Peru’s history, Palma consistently satirized the privileged classes of the viceroyalty, and these public criticisms sometimes carried over to his contemporary aristocracy. The characters of Palma’s best-known collection, *Tradiciones peruanas*, strive to represent “the most genuine Peruvian character, *lo criollo*.”⁶⁴ In contrast to Lorente and the anti-Santacruzista discourse, Palma focused on the culture of Lima, which allowed him to integrate Afro-Peruvian cultural contributions to an understanding of *criollo*, or national, culture. Although Palma integrated Afro-Peruvians in his literary production of *criollo* culture, he consistently operated within the dominant framework of racial hierarchy. Much of his writing participates in the stereotype of the “humble negro,” revealing an ambivalent acceptance of the dominant discourse while subtly attempting to alter it.⁶⁵ Moreover, the *tradiciones peruanas* exhibit a continuation of earlier tropes of national dualism, and his implicit self-identification as a *criollo educado* demonstrates the power of racial ideology to render such Afro-descended Peruvians invisible.

The first short-story of the volume, titled *La Fiesta de Simón Garabatillo*, was published in 1871. The story satirizes the department of religious figures in educating the

⁶³Mary Nemptzow, “Acotaciones al costumbrismo peruano,” *Revista Iberoamericana* (1949), 45-62, 54.

⁶⁴Palma, Ricardo, *Tradiciones peruanas*. (Lima: Editorial Rumi, 2007).

⁶⁵Holguín Callo, “Ricardo Palma y la cultura negra.”

indigenous population. Set in the fictitious town of “Villa Lampa” just after independence in 1826, the allegorical tale conveys the paternalist disciplinary methods of educators of the new republic. The educator named “Faustino,” who was certainly “not a man of letters,” viciously whips his young indigenous students to teach them to celebrate the “feast day” of “San Simón” Bolívar. The following day, Faustino explains his reasoning for the whippings, followed by the statement: “and now, let’s study the lesson and viva la patria!”⁶⁶ Although many of Palma’s fictional historical narratives criticized the colonial aristocracy, this allegorical tale criticizes the forceful approach of republican elites to educate and integrate the indigenous population. Palma’s depiction of a schoolteacher who whips each student twelve times to help them happily celebrate the memory of Peruvian independence is an indictment of heavy-handed indoctrination that conflated ideas of citizenship with religious authority and ritual, rather than enlightened ideals of progress and reason.

Ricardo Palma’s stories set in colonial Peru consistently integrate Afro-Peruvian characters in subtle ways. *El Nazareno*, set in 1760’s Lima, for instance, describes the Nazareno Brotherhood’s preparations for the procession of “El Señor de los Milagros.” The story explains how the “mysterious being” protected his devotees through miraculous appearances, specifically protecting a character called “Piel de Lobo” (Wolf Skin) from the Holy Inquisition.⁶⁷ Palma integrates this brotherhood into his vision of *criollo* culture with this reference to “lobo”, which was a *casta* category under Spanish rule. Moreover, this allegory is particularly transparent, as the Nazareno Brotherhood or

⁶⁶Palma, *tradiciones peruanas*, 7-9: “Así, mientras ustedes vivan, tendrán grabado en la memoria el recuerdo del día de San Simón. Ahora, a estudiar su lección y ¡viva la patria!” (p. 9).

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 40-56.

cofradía was a well-known Afro-Peruvian religious organization. As Carlos Aguirre has suggested, this Afro-Peruvian cultural form which depicts Jesus Christ with darker skin became popularly accepted as an aspect of *criollo* culture in Lima. Ricardo Palma's literature appears to have facilitated this integration.

Although Palma integrated Afro-Peruvian cultural forms into his vision of *criollo* culture, his personal correspondences demonstrate disdain for Peru's indigenous peoples. During the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) in which Peru was defeated by the invading Chilean army, Palma's letters to Peruvian military commander and de facto head of government Nicolás Piérola reveal his personal thoughts on race and nation. According to him, the military's inability to resist the Chileans was due to the fact that "the Indian does not have the patriotic sentiment; he is the innate enemy of the white man and the man of the coast... On the other hand, historical antecedents tell us with upmost eloquence that the Indian is organically cowardly... Even though it pains us to declare it, we must agree that Araucana race was more virile, as it resisted the conquest with tenacity."⁶⁸

Although Palma does not specifically mention the role of Afro-Peruvians in the war, he does lament the lack of patriotism in Lima as well, writing: "More applicable to Lima than to Geneva is that Italian proverb: '*men without faith, women without shame.*'"⁶⁹ Palma could not fully embrace his own African ancestry due to his position as a Lima elite and also reiterated the gendered biases of his elite contemporaries, but he

⁶⁸Ricardo Palma, *Cartas Inéditas de Don Ricardo Palma* (Lima: Carlos Milla Batres, ed. February 8, 1881), 13-14: "El indio no tiene el sentimiento de la patria; es enemigo nato del blanco y del hombre de la costa y, Señor por Señor, tanto le da ser chileno como turco... Por otra parte, los antecedentes históricos nos dicen con sobrado elocuencia que el indio es orgánicamente cobarde... Aunque nos duela declararlo hay que convener en que la raza araucana fué más viril, pues resistió con tenacidad a la conquista."

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, April 5, 1881, 25: "Mejor que a Génova es aplicable a Lima aquel proverbio italiano: --**Hombres sin fé, mujeres sin vergüenza.**" (emphasis in original text)

acknowledged Afro-Peruvian culture to a greater extent than most *criollo* intellectuals. In this sense, he might be considered a cultural “go-between” communicating cultural forms between African and Iberian *criollos* in Peru.⁷⁰ In the process, Palma situated Afro-Peruvians as “men of the coast” and as part of *criollo* culture, while reinforcing the exclusionary gendered dynamics of national identity. Ricardo Palma’s literary and political career with a focus on race and nation and its influence on his son, Clemente’s writings, will be analyzed more fully in chapter four.

Among the multiple signifiers of *criollo* in colonial and early republican Peru, the term came to include Afro-Peruvian culture situated along the Pacific coast. Thurner’s analysis of Creole republican writings mirrors the rhetorical contrast between civilized Creoles along the coast and degenerate indigenous masses in the Andean highlands. Following the Confederation’s demise in 1839, Méndez G. argues that the competing ideologies ultimately converged. This convergence is evident in Lorente’s writings, which replaced *criollo* nationalists with *patriotas* and gained official status as true history under “liberal” *caudillo* Ramón Castilla. Palma’s writings, however, exhibit a resurgence of *criollo* nationalism as a cultural form distant from that of the indigenous and shared only among men of the Peruvian coast.

For both Méndez G. and Thurner, “creole” was a nineteenth century identity centered in Lima. The role of creole nationalism in the consolidation of a national history excluded possibilities for other expressions of national identity in the nineteenth century. Both of these historians have overcome the nationalist historiography that rendered the

⁷⁰Stephen Greenblatt, “The Go-Between,” in *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 119-151.

indigenous masses as helpless descendants of a once great empire. Méndez G. analyzes competing discourses over the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation, and Thurner has accessed indigenous resistance in regional archives of the highlands in the language surrounding the Atusparia rebellion of 1885. Revealing how indigenous Peruvians exercised political agency in the nineteenth century by demanding rights they were once guaranteed in the colonial system, Thurner is able to “render imaginable and historical what was one anathema and anachronic in the Creole political imaginary and its nationalist historiography.”⁷¹ However, Méndez demonstrates variety within the sign “creole,” while Thurner presents the Limeño elite as rather uniform.

Luis Gómez Acuña has traced the changing connotations of the term *criollo* through the twentieth century, highlighting key political moments that further cemented Peruvian dualism. The emergence of *Indigenismo* in the 1920s, and the concurrent migration of rural indigenous populations to Lima led the city’s elites to construct criollo culture in opposition to that of the indigenous. He also points to “capitalist modernization” under President Augusto Leguía’s *Oncenio* (1919-1930), which led to a more ambiguous, even “double usage” of the term:

The capitalist modernization of the 1920s, similar to that which occurred in Lima in the mid-nineteenth century, confined all of that which today we would call the civilizing process, to the domain of the antiquated, the popular and the *criollo*...this double usage of the term—to disqualify that which was perceived as an antiquated or *plebian* cultural practice, on one hand, and to allude, positively but nostalgically, to the theatrical *costumbrista* stylizations, on the other—constitutes the two-faced nature of representing, from an elitist or intellectual position, that which has come to be called in the twentieth century, the popular (see Bourdieu).⁷²

⁷¹Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 12.

⁷²Gómez Acuña, “Lo *criollo* en Perú republicano,” 139: La modernización capitalista de los años veinte, similar a lo que ocurrió en Lima a mediados del siglo XIX, confinaba todo lo que no era parte de lo que hoy llamaríamos proceso civilizatorio al ámbito de lo antiguo, lo popular y lo *criollo*...Este doble uso del término—para descalificar lo que era percibido como una práctica cultural antigua y *plebeya*, por un lado, y

Indigenistas assumed indigenous culture would assimilate to the dominant Hispanic culture in Lima and that Afro-Peruvians would disappear as *mestizaje* proceeded. Indeed, *Indigenismo* posited that Andean culture was the nation's "most authentic cultural tradition."⁷³ As *criollismo* increasingly came to mean Limeño nationalism, elites sought to assimilate the indigenous population within the city through education, emphasizing the Hispanic elements of the culture while ignoring the Afro-Peruvian contributions as insignificant—this process reified the notion of "dualism" and effectively denied Afro-Peruvians a place in the criollo culture they had been a part of since the colonial era.

III. Conclusions: Afro-Peruvian Creoles in the National Dichotomy

By tracing the unstable meanings of the term Creole/*criollo* across time, this chapter demonstrates that *criollo* increasingly signified a central aspect of Peruvian national identity. The elite Creole construction of a national racial dichotomy (European-indigenous) was the product of a reactionary rhetoric to the proposed Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation in the late 1830s and reified by *indigenistas* of the 1920s contributing to the negation of Afro-Peruvian culture as part of the national *criollo* imaginary. The dichotomy was codified by Sebastián Lorente, and Lima elites iterated the parameters of the *criollo* culture by ascribing distinct roles for elite and plebian women in the 1840s. These concerns over Afro-Peruvian women in particular can be traced to proto-nationalist

para aludir positiva pero nostálgicamente a las estilizaciones teatrales costumbristas, por el otro— constituye las dos caras de una misma manera de representar, desde una posición elitista o intelectual, lo que se ha dado en llamar, en el siglo XX, lo popular (ver Bourdieu).

⁷³*Ibid.*, 148.

sentiments in late colonial Lima, demonstrating a hardening of racial and gender ideologies with the rise of nationalism.

The linguistic origins of the term *criollo* in the Atlantic world and the black Pacific carried clear connotations of African slavery. However, its fluid meanings in Peru complicate universalist frameworks of identity formation in ways that shed light on the racial and gender dynamics of writing a national identity. Patriot elites in Lima came to embrace the sign *criollo* as an essentialized white identity inherent to their nation-building project. They sought the support of “the masses” to legitimize their enlightened place at the head of the nation state while denying full citizenship to women, indigenous and Afro-Peruvians. Unlike the translational reduction of the term from the Spanish to the English in the 1604 dictionary, in Peru *criollo* was a contested sign. Afro-Peruvians contributed to the *criollo* culture of the coast but went unrecognized. They later would have to separate their culture and identity in order to demand recognition and social equality.

The conclusions reached by historians such as Bowser, Blanchard, Aguirre, and O’Toole suggest, at a minimum, that *criollo* as a sign has had many changing signifiers. However, its apparent fluidity did not render it meaningless, as Gómez Acuña argues. As a source of legitimacy, identification as *criollo* came to signify Peruvian authenticity and could thus be socially empowering for Afro-Peruvians who did not fit elite visions of national identity, albeit with contradictory results. The persistent European-indigenous dualism of Peru’s national historiography presents challenges to researchers seeking to understand Afro-Peruvian social history. By assessing a variety of sources from local archives, however, I hope to uncover the lived realities of Afro-Peruvians who were

excluded from elite visions of national identity. In my next chapter, I turn to census records of Lima neighborhoods in the 1860s with this goal in mind.

Chapter 2: *Callejones* of Lima: Race and Class in Post-Abolition Peru

In 1856, Austrian world-traveler and writer Ida Pfeiffer wrote:

The inhabitants of Lima, like those of Acapulco, Callao, and, I believe, all the Spanish American states, are of such mixed Indian, European, and African blood, and proceed from such an inter-ramification of races, as can be found in no other corner of the world. Among the higher classes of Creoles and Old Spaniards there are some very beautiful girls and women, and the Lima ladies have the reputation of knowing how to increase their attractions by their rich and tasteful toilet... I never in my life saw women of the lower classes so richly and extravagantly dressed as here. You meet milk and fruit women riding their asses to market, and with their goods before them, in silk dresses, Chinese shawls, silk stockings, and embroidered shoes, all of staring colors, but most of the finery more or less ragged, and hanging half off. I do not think it all became their yellow or dark-brown faces; and they often reminded me of Sancho Panza's remark concerning his lady, who, as queen of the 'undiscovered islands,' he says, will look like 'a pig with a gold necklace.'

Pfeiffer continued: "All whose complexions approach at all to white call themselves 'Old Spaniards'—a race to with which they are eager to claim kindred. Creoles are those who have been born here, but of genuine European parents."¹

Such negative European descriptions of Lima's racial mixtures troubled its white elites,² and Pfeiffer's commentary about the term Creole suggests that lighter-skinned racially-mixed Peruvians were eager to claim a category that connoted whiteness. Her perspective may have been influenced by North American understandings and reflects the common tropes of Latin America among such nineteenth-century English travelogues.³

¹Ida Pfeiffer, *A lady's second journey round the world from London to the Cape of Good Hope, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Celebes, Ceram, the Moluccas, etc., California, Panama, Peru, Ecuador, and the United States*. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1856), 349-350.

²See, for example, Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton University Press, 1997), 149-150. Poole analyzes the writings of elite journalist Manuel Anastasio Fuentes, known as "El Murciélago." As the head of Peru's Department of Statistics in the 1870s, Fuentes "was concerned on some level to correct European misperceptions of his own country... He needed to prove that Peruvians, despite their different origins and language, spoke the same language of beauty, taste, and distinction as the cultivated French or British citizen."

³See, for example, Mary Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile during the Year 1822* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003); John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* (London: printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1812).

The city's "Old Spaniards" and "white" Creoles sought to counter such racial aspersions of Lima's population by regulating traditional practices associated with its African and indigenous ancestry, and by highlighting its European customs and roots. This project of improving Peru's public image to the "modern world" imposed Eurocentric understandings of race, which are particularly visible in censuses of the mid-nineteenth century. Just six years after the abolition of slavery, Lima's census officials surveyed the city's inhabitants. As historians Vincent Peloso and José Ragas suggest, this census sought to understand Lima's racial demography as the population grew and some former slaves migrated to the capital while others remained servants in the homes of former masters.⁴ In the process the census officials wielded significant power in categorizing people and would begin the steady course of erasing African ancestry.

The abolition of slavery in Peru was a slow process that began with the independence struggle in the 1820s and culminated with President Ramón Castilla's abolition decree in December of 1854. Castilla's defeat of rival *caudillo* Juan Echenique was largely due to the military support of indigenous and Afro-Peruvians fighting for their own freedom, and his reforms included the abolition of indigenous "tribute" and the end of ethnic-fiscal categories of *indígenas* and *castas*.⁵ Castilla's proposed replacement for the indigenous tribute, a universal poll-tax, however, was not implemented until the dictator Manuel Ignacio Prado established it in 1866. Although the end of tribute meant that indigenous Peruvians had less economic incentive to claim a black or *mestizo*

⁴Vincent Peloso and José Ragas, "Estadística y población en el Perú postcolonial: el desconocido censo de Lima de 1860," *Histórica* XXV.2 (2001), 275-293, 287: "Simultáneamente, y en base a una primera revisión del censo, podemos arriesgar la hipótesis que los otrora esclavos--declarada la abolición de la esclavitud en 1854--engrosaron el ya abultado número de sirvientes que permanecieron bajo la dependencia de sus antiguos amos, compitiendo con los recién llegados de provincia por un puesto de trabajo."

⁵Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 44.

identity, the abolition of ethnic-fiscal categories did not mean that the state was no longer concerned about the racial demography of its citizens. Just as historian Mark Thurner has revealed the contradictions in Castilla's treatment of Peru's indigenous population, this chapter aims to show the liberal state's conflicted relationship with Afro-Peruvians.

During this institutional, fiscal and legal shift for these marginalized groups, census records of Lima neighborhoods in the mid-nineteenth century show continued concern over the racial demography of the emerging "liberal" state. Although the *casta* categories that "did the work of race" in the seventeenth century no longer applied, the nineteenth century witnessed the rise of fixed racial categories based on the "standardization of physical characteristics, the imposition of uniform expectations of behavior, and the obsessive definitions of phenotype."⁶

This chapter examines census records of Lima *callejones* in 1860 and 1866 to reconstruct patterns of racial mixing among Afro-Peruvians and other populations, keeping in mind that these documents reveal as much about the officials who recorded them as the subjects under observation. *Callejones* were shared living spaces with a common entryway and a central patio surrounded by small living quarters, which typically housed several families. These simple communal homes were constructed with adobe and thatched roofs. Scholars have asserted that 70% of the entire Afro-Peruvian population resided in Lima by the twentieth century, and many were *callejoneros*, residents of these abodes.⁷ These windows to plebian lives in mid-nineteenth century

⁶Rachel Sarah O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru*, (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 164-165.

⁷Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, *Negritud: Afroperuanos Existencia y Resistencia*, (Lima: Centro de Desarrollo Étnico, 2008), 31. Rodríguez Pastor has analyzed similar records to show that in 1857, 11.3 percent of Lima's population identified as *negro* or "black." By 1876, the year of Peru's first "modern" national census, this number dropped to 9.4 percent of the city's population.

Lima show increasing racial mixing between indigenous and African-descended Peruvians that complicate previous understandings of *mestizaje*. *Mestizaje* could lead to upward or downward mobility for indigenous peoples depending on whether they mixed with whites or blacks, and the censuses suggest a higher degree of mixing between indigenous and Afro-Peruvians than previously assumed. This process produced specific elite expectations of behavior in terms of education, social mobility, and work among those categorized as *zambo/a* (the offspring of indigenous and African parentage). While indigenous and Afro-descended Peruvians dominated numerically, white elites distanced themselves from the racialized majority. These censuses provide a perspective on *mestizaje* that challenges previous arguments that have assumed “whitening” to be the common process by which Afro-Peruvians shed a collective identity for social and economic improvement.

Historian Iñigo García-Bryce has shown that 43% of Lima’s artisans identified as Afro-descended (*negro*, *zambo*, or *pardo*) in the city’s 1866 census. However, the Afro-Peruvian population in Lima as a whole was much lower, approximately ten percent.⁸ García-Bryce’s analysis of local census records thus reveals an important aspect of Afro-Peruvian social history, as they were disproportionately represented among the city’s artisans. Historian Jesús Cosamalón Aguilar’s analysis of the 1860 census similarly focuses on Lima’s artisans, and his comparison to late colonial records shows that the state reduced the variety of categories connoting African ancestry (i.e. *mulato/a* and

⁸Iñigo L. García-Bryce, *Crafting the Republic: Lima’s Artisans and Nation Building in Peru, 1821-1879*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 9.

pardo/a) to *negro/a* or *zambo/a*. These new categories were applied to 90 percent of the Afro-Peruvian population by the 1860s.⁹

Historical studies of African slavery in Peru have accessed limited accounts of slave origins through the records of slavers and local notarial records, but archives offer even less evidence of Afro-Peruvian origins in the late eighteenth century.¹⁰ Historian Pílar Pérez Cantó has analyzed the 1790 census of Lima to shed crucial insight on the logic of colonial censuses. As whites began to fear that *mestizaje* might threaten their social dominance by the mid eighteenth century, they increasingly sought to clarify the ethnoracial origins of the viceregal capitals. As a primary example, the Lima census of 1790 included five distinct categories indicating African ancestry: *mulatos*, *cuarterones*, *quinterones*, *negros*, and *zambos*. Whereas the category *mestizo* appeared only “sporadically” in the census of 1700, mixing had increased at such a rate that whites felt the need to “reinforce social distinctions based on skin pigmentation.”¹¹

Pérez Cantó takes into consideration the subjective nature of the censuses, as the ascribed categories depended on both the social position of the person surveyed and the

⁹Jesús A. Cosamalón Aguilar, “Mestizaje e interrelación social en el tránsito de la sociedad de las castas a la república liberal. Lima, 1790-1860,” in *El Nudo del imperio: Independencia y democracia en el Perú*, eds. Carmen McEvoy, Mauricio Novoa, Elías Palti, (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2012), 343-367, 353.

¹⁰James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 173. Lockhart finds that notarial registers of Lima and Arequipa documented 80 percent of the slave population as African born between 1548 and 1560, the rest originating from Spain or Portugal. Other works to use such a source base include: Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972); Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1560* (Stanford University Press, 1974); Rachel Sarah O’Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru*, (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).

¹¹Pilar Pérez Cantó, “La Población de Lima en el siglo XVIII,” Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, *Boletín americanista* (1982), 383-407, 389-390: “La palabra mestizo no aparece en el censo de 1700 más que de forma esporádica y siempre asimilada en el recuento numérico a indio... Este afán de precisar el origen de cada individuo se agudizó a mediados del siglo XVIII. Lo que en principio no había suscitado resistencia, el mestizaje, ahora alcanza tal grado que el estrato blanco dominante, se siente en peligro y refuerza las diferencias sociales basándose en la pigmentación de la piel. El criollo exagera su orgullo de blanco frente al peninsular que pone en duda su pureza de sangre.”

perspective of the census official. Although the boundaries between categories connoting African ancestry were unclear, Pérez Cantó's comparative analysis of the Lima censuses of 1700 and 1790 is revealing: the population categorized as Spanish (i.e. "white") decreased from 56.5% to 38.1% over this period. No intermediary categories connoting African ancestry other than *mulatos* appeared before the 1790 census, and the most common new category was *zambos*, who were deemed to comprise 6.8% of the city's population that year (the percentage of *mulatos* had risen from 3.37% in 1700 to 12.1% in 1790).¹²

What remains less clear in analyses of national censuses, however, is the process by which census officials determined and documented racial categories in post-abolition Lima. The enumerated percentage of Afro-Peruvian residents in Lima was much lower than it was during the late colonial period.¹³

Censuses recorded for the city of Lima in 1860 and 1866 reveal the typical living conditions of the city's working class, as well as relationships among literacy, occupation and social mobility. They also show correspondences among racial categories, occupation, literacy rates and regional for Afro-Peruvian men and women living in Lima during the decade after abolition. This chapter aims to provide further insight on how domestic labor and "servitude" brought together, in Aguirre's words "the triple oppression of class, race, and gender."¹⁴

¹²*Ibid.*, 390.

¹³Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, *Negritud: Afroperuanos Resistencia y Existencia*, (Lima: Centro de Desarrollo Étnico, 2008), 31, 40.

¹⁴Carlos Aguirre, "Silencio y Ecos: La Historia y el legado de la abolición de la esclavitud en Haití y el Perú," in *La Libertad Inconclusa: Entorno a la esclavitud, su abolición y los derechos civiles* ed. Maribel Arrelucea, (Lima: Centro de Desarrollo Étnico, 2010), 23-44, 39.

Perhaps just as importantly, these records reveal more about state officials' conceptions of race and citizenship, details that complicate prior understandings of Ramón Castilla's "government of liberty." According to Peloso and Ragas, Castilla's desire to quantify the nation's demography followed a "boom" in international conferences on statistics in Europe.¹⁵ Cosamalón Aguilar has analyzed the 1860 census of Lima in the context of changing legal codes from the late colonial period to the early decades of the republic, when laws based on corporate identities and rights were supplanted by individual rights as citizens. Although liberalism theoretically promised social mobility regardless of one's race, racial categories associated with skin color were documented with greater frequency in nineteenth-century Lima.¹⁶

The 1860 and 1866 censuses of Lima fall in what Paul Gootenberg has called "a century of demographic no-man's land," when the Peruvian governments did not have the capacity to carry out accurate national surveys. As Gootenberg explains, "The best scholars can attempt at this point is to untangle the confusions of existing census documents and bring new evidence to bear on their strengths and weaknesses."¹⁷ Keeping the limitations of these documents in mind, this chapter argues that even limited documentation at the local level of *callejones* offers a window to understand the daily lives of Afro-Peruvian Limeños shortly after the abolition of slavery. Analyzing the process by which census officials conducted their surveys also sheds light on the inherent race contradictions of the post-abolition modernizing national governments.

¹⁵Vincent Peloso and José Ragas, "Estadística y población en el Perú postcolonial: el desconocido censo de Lima de 1860," *Histórica* XXV.2 (2001), 275-293, 281.

¹⁶Jesús A. Cosamalón Aguilar, "Mestizaje e interrelación social en el tránsito de la sociedad de las castas a la república liberal. Lima, 1790-1860," in *El Nudo del imperio: Independencia y democracia en el Perú* eds. Carmen McEvoy, Mauricio Novoa, Elías Palti, (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2012), 343-367.

¹⁷Paul Gootenberg, "Population and Ethnicity in Early Republican Peru: Some Revisions," *Latin American Research Review* 26:3 (1991), 109-157, 109.

Both García-Bryce and Rodríguez Pastor have used the 1866 census records to provide valuable insights on Afro-Peruvian social history, but they overlook the General Census of Lima taken just six years after Castilla's abolition decree in 1860. Despite the inherent value of such a source for historians, its rare use by historians has earned it the title "the unknown census."¹⁸ The arbitrary and incomplete nature of the census records frustrates any attempt to narrate a clear social history of Afro-Peruvians, as much of the available data varies according to the census official conducting the survey. The 1860 census includes a section to indicate a citizen's race, but not the type of residence. Many of these sections were left blank or are illegible. In contrast, the 1866 census records by *callejón* do not include a section for race, but in many cases the census officials wrote in a person's race under the "literacy" section. Despite these inconsistencies, the records permit a snapshot of the perceived racial composition of specific Lima neighborhoods during the first decade after abolition. As the census form did not prompt the officials to ask a person's racial self-identification, it is safe to assume that they made the ultimate decision regarding an individual's "race." The decision to write in a person's race in the box intended to designate literacy suggests that the officials understood a close relationship between race and literacy, which they seemed to perceive as equally relevant to an individual's social status. The census officials also recorded occupation, which related to social status. The documents thus provide evidence that the "social dimensions of race" governed racial identities in post-abolition Peru, albeit in less deterministic fashion than in eighteenth century Mexico City.¹⁹ The Peruvian state saw racial

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹Patricia Seed, "The Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City 1753," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 62:4 (Nov. 1982), 569-606; R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 1994.

categories, occupations and literacy rates as important to its modernizing projects, and an incipient racial hierarchy emerges from these records. The hierarchy also hinted at regional differences and distinct social expectations.²⁰

Historian Christine Hunefeldt has argued that “Status, color, and occupation went together in nineteenth-century Lima.”²¹ This chapter provides further evidence of how notions of racial identities changed from the colonial period to the mid-nineteenth century in Peru. It examines a limited source-base of census records at the level of shared living spaces along a few streets, dealing with less than 200 Afro-Peruvians for each census. Thus the patterns and changes over time that I draw are suggestive rather than conclusive, but they also build on the conclusions of other scholars of nineteenth century Lima. Though limited numerically, the language used to categorize these *callejoneros* reveals power structures and exposes more continuity than change immediately following abolition. Many Afro-Peruvians had fought to gain their freedom and a degree of economic independence before the abolition of slavery. In post-abolition Lima, many of the city’s blacks remained in positions of servitude that demonstrated little difference from their job situation prior to abolition.

I. The General Census of 1860

The most complete record of the 1860 census of Lima is that of *Calle de la Palma*, a street just south of the city-center. Of the 141 people residing on this street in 1860, 110 were identified as white. Of these, the vast majority were vendors, property-owners, storeowners, or students, recorded as *comerciantes*, *propietarios* or *estudiantes*

²⁰Rachel Sarah O’Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru*, (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).

²¹Christine Hunefeldt, *Liberalism in the Bedroom: Quarreling Spouses in Nineteenth Century Lima*, (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 51.

(See Appendix B). On this street, only twenty-eight people were categorized as Afro-descended. In sharp contrast to the whites, among those identified as Afro-descended (i.e. *negro/a* or *zambo/a*), nearly all were servants (*serbientes*). All of the sixteen people categorized as black (*negro/a*) on this street held the occupation of “servant.” One black woman on de la Palma Street, Maria Sentino, was recorded as a cook and servant and she was also the only black resident who could read and write. However, above her name appears the label “servant,” suggesting that she served as a cook in an elite home. Children categorized as *zambo/a* were recorded among the servant population, including Manuela Cordera, age nine, and Bernardo Lara, age eleven. Six-year-old Margarita García was also categorized as a black servant.²² García was born into slavery the very year the institution was abolished, and her prospect for social mobility appears to have remained the same five years afterwards.

Similarly, of the people categorized as Indian in the 1860 census of this street, as all but two were recorded as servants. Five of these illiterate servants deemed *Yndio* were under thirteen years of age in 1860. The lone *Yndio* who could read and write was also the only non-servant: thirty-nine year-old Fernando Navarrete had migrated to Lima from the northern city of Trujillo to work as a shoemaker, and being literate likely helped him maintain his occupation.²³

The census records show slight differences in social expectations and norms among black and indigenous Peruvians in Lima, but they also show the proximity and integration of these groups as a racialized plebian lower class. The census officials recorded much more racial mixing between black and indigenous Peruvians than between

²²*Censo General de Lima 1860: Libro 1, Cuartel Primero*, Folios 91-97. Archivo Histórico Municipal de Lima (AHML).

²³*Ibid.*, Folio 94.

other groups, as whites sought to maintain racial “purity” and the social distinction it entailed.²⁴ The racial category that census takers most commonly ascribed in the decade following abolition in Lima was that of *zambo/a*, “a man or woman or presumed indigenous and African descent.”²⁵

While these records show that Afro-Peruvians held a wide variety of occupations, they also suggest social barriers based on race. Further south of the city center, the *Calle de San Ysidro* was predominantly non-white. According to the census, forty-five residents of *Calle de San Ysidro* were white, fifty-two were black, thirty-four were Indian, four were *mestizo/a* (which O’Toole has defined as “a man or woman of Spanish and indigenous descent, or an acculturated indigenous man or woman”)²⁶, eleven were *zambo*, and four were *pardo* (Portuguese for “brown,” used in both Brazil and Peru to refer to Afro-descendants) (See Appendix C). The most common occupations among those categorized as black, were *cargador* (carrier/porter) and *aguador* (water-carrier). Just as they had under slavery, *aguadores* used mules to carry barrels of water to individual homes. Although Castilla’s modernizing project included building iron pipes to distribute water throughout the city, the continued existence of black *aguadores* in the 1860s shows that abolition did not bring immediate change to the daily working lives of such former slaves.²⁷ Three of the blacks living on San Ysidro Street were *cargadores*, two were *aguadores*, and two were *jornaleros*.²⁸ Before abolition, *jornaleros* were slaves who worked in a separate location from their owner’s and would pay the owner what they

²⁴For more on racial purity and strategic marriage alliances to achieve “casta dominance” in nineteenth-century Peru, see David Nugent, *Modernity at the Edges of Empire: State, Individual, and Nation in the Northern Peruvian Andes, 1885-1935* (Stanford University Press, 1997).

²⁵As defined in O’Toole, *Bound Lives*, 225.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷Hunefeldt, *Liberalism in the Bedroom*, 51.

²⁸*Censo General de Lima 1860: Libro 3, Cuartel Tercero. Distrito Quinto: Calle de San Ysidro*, Folios 119-132. AHML.

earned for a day's work. Following national independence and the banning of the Atlantic slave trade, coastal *hacendados* used their slaves as *jornaleros* to ease their economic troubles; however, many Afro-Peruvians took advantage of this economic crisis to earn enough money to purchase their freedom. Others simply escaped and turned to banditry, or *bandolerismo*, to survive.²⁹

Combining the groups indicating African ancestry, including *zambos* and *pardos*, the Afro-descended population of this street rises to sixty-seven, the number of Afro-Peruvian carriers/porters rises to five. Of the 272 people counted on *Calle de la Palma* and *Calle de San Ysidro*, all of the water carriers and porters were Afro-descended. Day laborers or *jornaleros* were almost exclusively Afro-Peruvians as well: there were three *jornaleros chinos* and two *jornaleros negros*, but *chino* could signify either Chinese or the offspring of black and Indian parentage.³⁰ The forced immigration of Chinese laborers began in 1849 as the abolition of slavery appeared more certain, and they were mainly utilized as laborers on northern coastal plantations to replace black slave labor.³¹ A *chino* in a *callejón* of Lima at this time, therefore, was most likely indicative of mixed African ancestry.

Despite the preponderance of black *jornaleros*, *cargadores* and *aguadores*, Afro-Peruvians demonstrated adaptability and resourcefulness in gaining employment in the five years following abolition. In the predominantly white neighborhood of *Calle de la Palma*, most Afro-Peruvians worked as household servants. However, in the predominantly black neighborhood of *Calle de San Ysidro*, Afro-Peruvians worked as

²⁹Carlos Aguirre, "Silencio y Ecos," 35. I address how *bandoleros* in the northern region of Piura became the protagonists of national folklore in chapter 4.

³⁰Jesús Cosamalón also categorizes *chinos* as Afro-Peruvians.

³¹Rodríguez Pastor, *Negritud*, 198.

laundresses, carpenters, street vendors, shoemakers, basket-weavers, carpenters, and small farmers (*chacareros*). Indians residing on *Calle de San Ysidro* also achieved more occupational diversity than they did in the predominantly white neighborhood of Lima. Although Fernando Navarrete was the only Indian on *Calle de la Palma* who was not a servant, Indians living on *Calle de San Ysidro* held jobs as laundresses and street vendors.³²

Racial and class dynamics intersected with literacy. The vast majority of white adult Limeños, both men and women, could read and write. Afro-Peruvians and Indians who had learned to read were more likely to attain occupations that granted them more autonomy and income than day laborers or servants. Fifty-eight year-old Manuela Jesus, a black woman from the bucolic town of Huaraz, could not read or write.³³ Combined with limited work experience, illiteracy likely limited her options as a wage laborer. In contrast, thirty-four year-old Bartolomé Flores worked as a shoemaker on the same street. A black native of Lima, Flores could read but not write, and this ability likely helped him in his trade.³⁴ The only black Limeño to hold a job as an “employee” (*empleado*) on this street, an occupation common among white Limeños, was also able to read.³⁵

II. The General Census of 1866

The municipal government of Lima conducted another census in 1866, and in the intervening years the *Calle San Ysidro* was renamed *Mainas*. This more detailed census identified each *callejón* and in some cases the attached stores. On *Mainas* Street, a Señor Rivera owned the largest *callejón*, which held one hundred rooms. Unfortunately, the

³²*Censo General de Lima 1860*, Folios 119-132, AHML.

³³*Ibid.*, Folio 127.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Folio 126.

³⁵*Ibid.*, Folio 126.

census does not include information on all of the *callejón*'s residents, but the available data is illustrative nonetheless. The census form itself changed from that of 1860, as race was no longer included as a column. However, the census officials frequently but not universally decided to write in the race of the residents in the literacy column. They categorized enough residents by racial category to permit some correlations among race, migration and occupation. *Mainas* Street remained a predominantly Afro-Peruvian neighborhood. The limited data indicates that the *callejones* of *Mainas* Street housed thirty-six black residents, sixty-six *zambos*, forty-two Indians, twelve *mestizos*, two *chinos*, and four white residents.³⁶ Combining the *zambo* and *negro* categories, the number of Afro-Peruvians rises to 102, a clear majority of those recorded in these communal living spaces (See Appendix D). On the same street, the *Callejón del Monasterio del Prado* also housed mainly Afro-Peruvians. Here just one woman was categorized as white, three residents as *zambo*, and eight as black.³⁷ Also on *Mainas* Street, the *Callejón del Señor Dinegro* housed twelve Indians, seven *zambos* and two *mestizos*.³⁸

Because census officials used the literacy column to indicate race, or in many cases left it incomplete, it is more difficult to reach conclusions relating to occupation and literacy in the 1866 census. However, these records do reveal tendencies relating to gender, race, migration and occupation. Black and *zamba* women were employed most frequently as cooks and laundresses, while men worked in a wider variety of occupations. Afro-Peruvians with common occupations and origins tend to appear together in the records, showing a relationship between racial identity, proximity, family and job

³⁶*Censo General de Lima 1866: Cuartel Tercero*, Folios 26-33, AHML.

³⁷*Ibid.*, Folio 30, AHML.

³⁸*Ibid.*, Folio 31, AHML.

training. Five *zambas* under the age of 8 were listed as laundresses, suggesting an assumption that daughters would pursue the same work as their mothers. Census officials recorded one *zamba* as able to read: twenty-seven-year-old Lima native Francisca Villegas worked as a seamstress.³⁹ Three young *zambas* under age 7 were recorded as learning to read and/or in school.⁴⁰ Francisca's example again suggests that literacy helped Afro-Peruvian women move beyond less skilled domestic work..

III. Race and Migration in 1860 and 1866 Census Records

According to the General Census of Lima for 1860, the vast majority of Afro-Peruvians residing on San Ysidro were Lima natives. These Afro-Peruvians were the beneficiaries of the efforts of generations of black slaves and freed blacks who fought to dismantle the institution of slavery.⁴¹ Thanks to their efforts, many Afro-Peruvians in Lima had already established themselves as free laborers in a variety of occupations. Nonetheless, just six years following the abolition of slavery, many of Lima's blacks worked in occupations and conditions similar to those under slavery.

The 1860 census suggests that Afro-Peruvian migrants to Lima were more likely to be categorized as *zambo/a* than Afro-Peruvian natives of Lima, who were classified as black. Thirty-eight-year-old *zamba* Paula Minas, for example, was from the southern region of Ica. Although her occupation was left blank on the census, the official recorded that she was able to read and write. Similarly, forty-eight-year-old *zambo* José Muños migrated to Lima from Trujillo with his wife, 40 year-old Barbara Torres, also categorized as *zamba*. Their six children, ages twenty-five, eighteen, twenty-two,

³⁹*Ibid.*, Folio 30, AHML.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, Folios 33, 30, 28, AHML. In the box used to indicate if the person could read, census officials wrote in either "Aprendiendo" or "A," presumably for "Aprendiendo."

⁴¹Both Carlos Aguirre (2010, 1993) and Rodríguez Pastor (2008) emphasize this point.

thirteen, nine, and seven, were all natives of Trujillo, meaning they had arrived to Lima no earlier than 1853. The six children carried the same racial category as both of their parents.⁴² Unfortunately, census officials did not record the occupation of any members of this family, but we do know that none of them could read or write. Similarly, a thirty-year-old *zambo* mason (*albañil*) from Ecuador named Francisco Javier had three young children: Ana (11), Estevan (8) and Faustina (4), who were also categorized as *zambos*. Although Francisco was literate, his children could not yet read or write and their occupations were left blank. Although Francisco was a native of Ecuador, his children were all born in Lima.⁴³ The Javier family presents a curious case because the children were not “learning” in school, nor were their occupations pre-determined, unlike other cases examined. This case is another example of the process of *mestizaje* along the northern coast of Peru, but the relationship between racial identity and occupation is less clear.

The record of the Javier family also suggests that migrants were more likely to be classified as *zambo* or *pardo*, while Afro-descended Lima natives were more likely seen as black. A family categorized as *pardo* provides further evidence of this tendency: Ramón Cáceres was a 45-year-old *cargador* from Trujillo. His wife, twenty-year-old Andrea Ramires, a Lima native, was assigned the same racial category. Both could read but not write. Their three children, ages seven, six, and one were not recorded as attending school or learning to read. Like the Javier family, these children were not given a pre-determined occupation but they were grouped into the same racial category as their parents.

⁴²*Censo General de Lima 1860: Libro 3, Cuartel Tercero. Distrito Quinto: Calle de San Ysidro, Folio 130, AHML.*

⁴³*Ibid.*, Folio 123, AHML.

The 1860 census reveals that the majority of Afro-Peruvian *callejones* born in Lima were identified as black (*negro/a*).⁴⁴ Only four of the thirty-one blacks living on San Ysidro Street in 1860 had migrated from other parts of the country. Among the forty who identified as some variant of an Afro-descended identity on San Ysidro (i.e. *zambo/a* or *pardo/a*), twenty-six were Lima natives.⁴⁵ But when combined with the racial identities of migrant families such as the Muños, Javier, and Cáceres, the census reveals that most Afro-Peruvians who were Lima natives were identified as black. Moreover, the most variations of Afro-Peruvian identities were evident among those who migrated to Lima's *callejones*.

The snapshot view of the predominantly Afro-Peruvian neighborhood, however, does not suggest a sudden surge in Afro-Peruvian migration to the capital city following the abolition of slavery. Among the thirty-four people identified as Indian on the same street, twenty-three had migrated there. This suggests that indigenous Peruvians were migrating to Lima around the time of abolition in equal or greater numbers than Afro-Peruvians. Sixty-eight percent of the Indians residing on San Ysidro were migrants, while only thirty-four percent of the Afro-Peruvians on the same street had migrated there. Though incomplete statistically, the *callejones* of San Ysidro suggest that Afro-Peruvian migration to poor neighborhoods in Lima was meager compared to that of indigenous migration to the capital city six years following the abolition of slavery.

The 1866 Census records for the same street reveal the transient nature of its *callejones* and permit a better understanding of Afro-Peruvian lives during the first decade after abolition. Among the nineteen residents of *Callejón de los Dolores* and

⁴⁴31 of the 52 people identified as black on Calle San Ysidro were Lima natives.

⁴⁵*Censo General de Lima 1860: Libro 3, Cuartel Tercero. Distrito Quinto: Calle de San Ysidro*, Folios 119-132, AHML.

Callejón del Monasterio del Prado identified as black, only two were not natives of Lima: Ysabel Lecca was a 21-year-old laundress from Trujillo and José Boza was a small farmer (*chacarero*) from Chancay, a district just north of Lima. Among the twenty-two residents identified as *zambo/a* in these two *callejones*, however, ten were migrants to Lima. The majority of these migrants came from the northern coast, from the cities of Trujillo (2), Chiclayo (1), Piura (1), Supe (1) and Lambayeque (3). Thus, the 1866 census of Lima provides further suggestive evidence of perceived regional differences between racial identities of Afro-Peruvians, as census takers seemed more likely to ascribe indigeneity to people of rural origins. While most Afro-Peruvian natives of Lima were identified simply as black on San Ysidro street, most Afro-Peruvian migrants to this street were identified as *zambo/a*.⁴⁶

Other common occupations showed clear lineages from slavery, as many *negros* were small farmers (*chacareros*), *cargadores*, masons, *aguadores* or servants. Four black children, three girls and a boy under the age of 12 were listed as “*peones*”: their father, José Boza, was a small farmer.⁴⁹ The most common occupation among black Limeñas was that of laundress (4). Men who identified as *zambo* exhibited a wider variety of specialized occupations. These included carpenters (3), bakers (2), a tailor, a shoemaker, a launderer, a small farmer (*ortelano*), a cart driver (*carretero*), a shrimp vendor (*camaronero*), a *mayordomo* (which could mean either a butler/house servant or a foreman in charge of laborers), and a fireworks manufacturer (*cohetero*). However, *zambos* also performed lower status occupations in common with slaves, including a

⁴⁶*Censo General de Lima 1866: Cuartel Tercero*, Folios 26-33, AHML.

cargador, a servant, a carpenter, a mason and a *labrador* (“a farmer or low-status owner of an estate”).⁴⁷ The majority of women and girls identified as *zamba* were documented as seamstresses, even twenty-one-month-old Manuela Ortiz. Overall, *zambos* tended towards higher status and more skilled occupations in the census. This suggests that census officials were more likely to categorize Afro-descendants with higher-status occupations as *zambos* rather than *negros*. An eleven-year-old *zambo* named Adon Castellanos, for example, was a student in secondary school.⁴⁸

Although women identified as *zamba* on this street also tended to follow in their mothers’ line of work, some also exhibited potential social mobility. Although two young *zamba* girls were recorded as laundresses at just five and six years of age, others were attending school. Six-and-a-half-year-old Lima native Luisa Cristin and five-year-old Lima native Juana Velarde were recorded as *zambas* who were “in school” and “learning” to read.⁴⁹ Although there were also five and six year-old *zamba* girls who were expected to carry on their mother’s work as laundresses, no schoolgirls were identified as black. Once again, this suggests slightly different social expectations associated with distinct Afro-Peruvian racial categories.

Zambos in this part of Lima exhibited more occupational variation and possible social mobility than black Limeños, but Indians living in the same *callejones* held a wider variety of occupations than most Afro-Peruvians. Similar to black Limeñas, the most common occupations among Indian women on Mainas street were those of cooks and laundresses. Two Indian women were recorded as “*peones*,” two as fruit vendors

⁴⁷Rachel Sarah O’Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru*, (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 224.

⁴⁸*Censo General de Lima 1866: Cuartel Tercero*, Folios 26-33, AHML.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, Folios 29 and 28, AHML.

(*fruteras*), two as market vendors (*placeras*), one as a seamstress, and one as a chicha vendor (*chichera*).⁵⁰ Indian men's occupations varied more than those of their black counterparts, but they also overlapped a great deal. Two Indian men in the *Callejón de los Dolores* and *Callejón del Monasterio Prado* worked as cigar-makers (*cigarreros*), another was an ironworker, another a bread baker, another a mason, and another worked as a tailor. Only one of the Indians on this street was able to read, a forty-four-year-old *chichera* from Ayacucho.⁵¹ Similar to the *zamba* girls mentioned above, just one Indian child was attending school, a five-year-old Lima native. Thus the censuses reveal slight differences between *zambos* and *negros*, and more similarities between Indians and *zambos*. This suggests that in 1860s Lima, Indians enjoyed greater social mobility, a benefit that may have appealed to many black Limeños whose occupations continued to resemble the work they performed under slavery.⁵²

Among the thirty-one people categorized as Indian in the following *Callejón del Señor Dinegro* in 1866, seventeen were migrants, six originating from the Andean city of Ayacucho. Unlike the Afro-Peruvian migrants to Lima, almost all of the Indian migrants to Mainas Street originated in the Andean interior, from towns such as Yauyos (2), Huancayo (2), Cerro del Pasco, Jauja (5), the nearby town of Tupicocha (3), and two from Bolivia.⁵³

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, Folios 26-30, AHML.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, Folio 29, AHML.

⁵²Jesús Cosamalón's analysis of the 1860 census develops this idea further, arguing that blackness was equated with slavery: "'negro' casi era sinónimo de esclavo." "Mestizaje e interrelación social en el tránsito de la sociedad de las castas a la república liberal. Lima, 1790-1860," 355.

⁵³*Ibid.*, Folios 31-33, AHML.

Among the sixty-four Afro-Peruvian residents of this *callejón* (including *negros*, *zambos* and *mulatos*), twenty-eight were migrants. Thus, whereas fifty-five percent of Indian residents were migrants, only thirty-one percent of Afro-Peruvian residents were migrants. The differences in regional origins persisted in 1866, as almost all of the Afro-Peruvian migrants to this *callejón* were from coastal regions, the majority from the northern region of Piura (9). Others originated in the northern coastal regions of Trujillo (5) and Lambayeque (2) and from the southern coastal districts of Cañete (4), Chilca (1), and Pisco (4). Similar to the other *callejones* of this street, most of the Afro-Peruvians identified as black were Lima natives (ten of the seventeen). Although many of those identified as *zambo/a* migrated from the northern coast (sixteen), more were Lima natives by 1866 (twenty-two). As coastal Peru is the most fertile region of the country for plantation agriculture, one might assume that many of these Afro-Peruvians migrated to Lima immediately following the abolition of slavery and their freedom from plantation labor in sugar cane or cotton fields. Instead, however, the census shows that most of these migrants had arrived to Lima well before the oppressive institution was abolished. In fact, only a few Afro-Peruvian migrants to Mainas street might have come directly from rural plantations: a laundress, a *cocinera* and a seamstress from Trujillo left for Lima the year of abolition. All of these women were categorized as *zambas*, as was Simona Reynoso, a twenty-four-year-old seamstress who migrated from Arequipa in 1855.⁵⁴

This particular street and its *callejones* are unique in the census records for 1866 because officials recorded the race of at least ninety percent of the residents (seventeen of the people whose race was not recorded were not in residence at the time of the census, and nine others are simply illegible). Just as in 1860, this street housed more Afro-

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, Folios 31-33, AHML.

Peruvian and indigenous Limeños than others that also include information about race. For example, the succeeding street recorded in 1866, *Calle Urubamba*, housed eighty-six whites and just six Afro-Peruvians, all of whom were identified as black. Two of these women were cooks, one was a seamstress, and one man was recorded as a shoemaker.⁵⁵ Surprisingly few *callejones* remained in the same home for this six-year period. The few residents whom census officials recorded in both documents were all categorized as black: Juan Barreto, a *cargador*, José Antonio Boza, a *chacarero*, and Maria Piamonte, a laundress who continued to live with José Antonio Boza.⁵⁶

IV. Conclusions

The paucity of *callejones* who stayed in the same living space suggests these communal homes were transient locations, and some residents likely improved their social status and moved to locations that reflected such change. The three residents who remained in the same *callejón* between 1860 and 1866, however, exemplify the limited mobility of those categorized as black. They also exhibit the continued correspondence between blackness and occupations under slavery. Literacy, occupation, and race were closely intertwined in constructions of racial identities in Lima's *callejones* in the first decade after the abolition of slavery. As census officials equated social status to race, they categorized most residents of lower class *callejones* as black, Indian, or *zambo/a*. In contrast to the burgeoning category of *zambo/a* in Lima's 1866 census record, only one person was identified as *mulato* (a person of presumably African and Spanish descent). Considering the methodology of the census-takers, which associated race with literacy

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, Folios 31-32, AHML.

⁵⁶Censo General de Lima 1860: Libro 3, Cuartel Tercero. Distrito Quinto: Calle de San Ysidro, Folios 119-132, and *Censo General de Lima 1866: Cuartel Tercero*, Folios 26-33, AHML.

and social status, this scarcity of white admixture may reflect their reluctance to admit the possibility of Spanish and African racial mixing. As many Afro-Peruvians and *zambos* residing in Lima in the 1860s had migrated from the northern coast, and many indigenous and black Peruvians converged in the same neighborhoods of Lima, racial mixing likely continued in the capital city in a similar fashion. These indigenous and Afro-Peruvians worked and lived in the same space, jointly considered “plebian.” Although both blacks and Indians could be *peones* and *servientes*, these censuses suggest that Indians and *zambos* enjoyed slightly greater social mobility and economic autonomy while blacks struggled against the legacies of slavery. Historian José Ramón Jouve Martín’s analysis of colonial court records showed that Afro-Peruvian women were more adept at using judicial language in seventeenth-century Lima than their male counterparts; however, the 1860s censuses show that Afro-Peruvian women in Lima’s *callejones* were no more likely to be literate than Afro-Peruvian men. Black women, in particular, were more likely to work as servants or in domestic labor and black girls were not enumerated as school children.

The Lima censuses reveal clear expectations based on race, but many of these social mores had their roots in the colonial period. As O’Toole has argued, indigenous laborers along Peru’s northern coast “claimed a level of autonomy that slaves could not claim within a colonial legal context, but enslaved people nonetheless used extralegal spheres to gain a measure of justice.” Although slaves also succeeded in negotiating and claiming *casta* categories prior to abolition, census officials reduced these categories by imposing race labels that precluded any historical claims of customary practices.⁵⁷

Indigenous Peruvians in Lima continued to hold a higher degree of autonomy than did

⁵⁷Rachel Sarah O’Toole, *Bound Lives*, (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 163.

blacks in the 1860s, while slavery, illegality and immorality were continually associated with blackness.⁵⁸

Following his decree abolishing slavery in Peru, President Castilla granted universal suffrage to Peruvian citizens, only excluding from the political process those who fought with Echenique's military.⁵⁹ The right to vote was limited to men, but it did not exclude Peruvians based on literacy, income, or profession. The ability of citizens to read and write was nonetheless a concern of the "government of liberty," as the census records show. Liberal reformers like Castilla paradoxically granted legal equality to people they considered racially inferior while simultaneously "naturalizing" racial and social hierarchies through phenotypic differences.⁶⁰ The following chapter takes a closer look at the methods, logic, and objectives of subsequent national censuses centered in Lima in the twentieth century, which effectively rendered the Afro-Peruvian population invisible.

⁵⁸ Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 33.

⁵⁹ Jorge Basadre, *Perú Independiente* (Lima: El Comercio, 2010), 151.

⁶⁰ Jesús A. Cosamalón Aguilar, "Mestizaje e interrelación social en el tránsito de la sociedad de las castas a la república liberal. Lima, 1790-1860," 351.

Chapter 3: Afro-Peruvian Invisibility in the Historical Record: Twentieth Century Censuses, *Mestizaje* and Demographic Decline

The official census records of post-abolition Peru conclude that the Afro-Peruvian population declined dramatically in the early twentieth century, constituting less than one percent of the national population by 1940.¹ Expanding on the approach used in the previous chapter, the following pages analyze the census survey forms, the demographic findings, as well as the official analyses that accompanied records of censuses in 1903, 1908, and 1940. This chapter uses historian George Reid Andrews' work on the supposed disappearance of the Afro-Argentine population in the nineteenth century as a model by placing the Peruvian case in comparative perspective and by questioning the reliability of census data for the Afro-Peruvian population.² As the previous chapter suggests, census officials' decisions regarding how to categorize race were subjective. The twentieth century census records provide a broad overview of demographic trends but do not include data recorded at the level of neighborhoods or homes. Nevertheless, the censuses and their accompanying analyses utilized in this chapter suggest how national modernizing projects influenced census officials' decisions regarding how to categorize a person's race. As historian Eduardo Zimmerman has argued, "the idea of race provided a common language and a 'scientific' foundation" for social reformers of this period

¹Heidi Carolyn Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), 3: "From 1593 on, Blacks made up half the population of Lima, and they outnumbered Whites nationwide by 1650. However, in the 1940 census (the last to include racial data), Blacks apparently had declined to an estimated 0.47 percent of the country's population...By the twentieth century, many Black Peruvians demonstrated little sense of belonging to an African diaspora."

²George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1980). Andrews summarizes previous explanations of the demographic decline of Afro-Argentines, which rest on little documentary evidence. He also points out that "North and South American censuses have demonstrated a consistent tendency to underenumerate black people" for a variety of reasons, including black fear of census takers and the difficulty census officials faced in accessing marginal "black neighborhoods" (79).

throughout Latin America.³ Thus elite concerns over national demography, and how it might appear to nations they considered modern, influenced the census surveys themselves. These factors contributed to an official narrative asserting the assimilation and disappearance of the Afro-Peruvian population. Legal resolutions and explanations of census procedures provide further clues to understand the diminishing numbers of Afro-Peruvians in national censuses. The surveys of Lima in 1903 and 1908, carried out under José Pardo's presidency, identified the officials and their roles in the national project. The state-appointed officials supplemented the colonial-era provincial local strongmen and priests but did not replace them, and they worked as a council to render a more accurate and inexpensive census. Like the censuses of 1860s Lima, the early twentieth century surveys were also a crucial first step in modernization projects by quantifying the nation's inhabitants and identifying the public services they required.

Historians of racial classification in U.S. censuses have argued that these national surveys help "to construct its social and political order. Censuses provide the concepts, taxonomy, and substantive information by which a nation understands its component parts as well as the contours of the whole. A census both creates the image *and* provides the mirror of that image for a nation's self-reflection." Censuses do not single-handedly create racial hierarchies of a nation; however, they provide "the taxonomy and language of race; generating the informational content for that taxonomy: facilitating the development of public policies; and generating numbers upon which claims to political representation are made."⁴ This chapter shows that the declining categories indicating

³Eduardo A. Zimmerman, "Racial Ideas and Social Reform: Argentina, 1890-1916" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 72:1 (Feb. 1992), 23-46, 23.

⁴Hochschild JL, Powell BM, "Racial Reorganization and the United States Census 1850-1930: Mulattoes, Half-Breeds, Mixed Parentage, Hindoos, and the Mexican Race." *Studies in American Political*

African ancestry in Peru's twentieth century censuses contributed to their perceived disappearance, precluding Afro-Peruvian claims of racism and exclusion from discourses of national identity.

Furthermore, the process of racial reorganizing in early twentieth-century Peruvian censuses bears similarities to the concurrent process in the United States between 1850 and 1940. Peruvian census officials, like those of the U.S. Census Office, applied European-derived discourses of race and nationality to categorize the citizens they surveyed. Similar to the findings of scholars Hochschild and Powell, this chapter argues that Peruvian census officials were influenced by a mixture of “political, scientific, and ideological” motivations when constructing ethnoracial taxonomies in early twentieth century censuses.⁵ These scholars argue that such factors led the U.S. Census Office to identify, elaborate, and eventually drop mixtures between blacks and others. Just as in Peru, categories indicating African ancestry disappeared completely in 1940.

The 1903 and 1908 censuses of Peru also sought to project an image of Lima as modern and civilized. A 1903 law explained that local industry, public services, and visiting tourists would all benefit from “a guide of Lima similar to those that with so much variety and great usefulness are published in the great cities of the world.”⁶ Although this document rationalized the census process for the entirety of Peru, it

Development. 2008; 22(1), 59-96, accessed via <https://scholar.harvard.edu/jlhochschild/publications/racial-reorganization-and-united-states-census-1850-1930-mulattoes-half-br>.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶Rómulo Eyzaguirre, Jefe de la Sección de Demografía, *Decretos y Resoluciones Relativos al Censo de la Provincia de Lima 1908, Tomo I* (4 de enero de 1908), Decretado y levantado durante la administración del Excmo. señor don José Pardo (Lima: Imprenta de “La Opinión Nacional” Calle Correo 194, 1915), 12-13, Biblioteca Municipal de Lima: “El comercio, las industrias, el servicio general, las instituciones policiales, las oficinas de recaudación, los intereses de todo orden se verían ampliamente servidos con la formación de un Guía de Lima a semejanza de las que con tantísima variedad y con utilidad grande se publican en las grandes ciudades del mundo.”

demonstrates that Lima was the focal point of modernization programs that sought to project an image of a nation that Europeans would respect.

The census resolutions of 1908 divided Peru's departments into zones based on prior numbers and enlisted a *jefe* (boss), a *receptor* or *inspector*, as well as several *empadronadores* (enumerators) to count and categorize the population of each zone. After census officials completed a provisional census and collected local registries of homes and their inhabitants, the enumerators went door-to-door to categorize and record the residents. They reported their findings at the end of each day to the *receptor* or *inspector*, who then checked the new data against the provisional findings and made the necessary adjustments.⁷

The *cédulas* (forms) that the enumerators completed for each household required them to ask each inhabitant his or her religion, age, place of birth, level of education, and race. This appears to be an important difference from the nineteenth century censuses, in which the enumerators had greater autonomy in racial categorizing.⁸ However, the official questionnaire limited the categories connoting African ancestry to one among five classifications, thereby contributing to the process of erasing the existence of blacks in Peru. The official analysis that accompanied the 1908 census first points out that Lima's history produced a *mestizaje especial* (special racial mixing) that created the *criollo blanco* (white Creole). Although this language supports the conclusion that elites (such as Clemente Palma, whose writing I analyze in the fifth chapter) denied the existence of Afro-Peruvians as part of the Creole identity and culture, the author also summarized the history of black slavery along the Pacific coast, stating that the census of

⁷*Ibid.*, 19-27.

⁸The census of 1908 asked residents to identify as "B. por Blanco, I. por Indio, M. por Mestizo, N. por Negro y A por Amarillo."

1614 counted “10,386 blacks out of a total of 26,441 souls.” The number of blacks in coastal Peru continued to grow until the colony stopped importing African slaves in 1793.⁹ The analysis also pointed out that the number of blacks continued to diminish over the national period due to racial mixing, citing colonial descriptions of their “inferior” cultural practices but offering no alternative perspective. Thus the census analysts equated blackness with cultural inferiority and assumed that Afro-Peruvians accepted and internalized this ethnoracial hierarchy to suggest they took part in their own disappearance.

In contrast, the 1908 census’ analysis admitted that it could not prevent Limeños of the “Indian race” from claiming to be white in the census. The officials noted: “many *indios*, above all, those who enjoy certain economic advantage and some social elevation, have written themselves, in fact, as whites...”¹⁰ The census officials saw this as a problem due to the perceived inferiority of the “indigenous race,” which they understood as a stable, inherited condition that one could not “shed” through economic ascendance. However, such “passing” was more difficult for Afro-Peruvians. As Robert Sanchez in his study “Black Mosaic” has written, “their inability to lay claim to whiteness is limited more by skin color and phenotypical features than cultural factors.”¹¹

The author of a study of 1903 census data of Lima, whose work is cited in the official analysis, provides evidence to support this claim. Dr. Leon Garcia points out that Afro-Peruvians had more difficulty if they tried to “pass” as white, stating that unlike

⁹*Ibid.*, 90-91: “Cuando se hizo el censo de 1614, había en Lima, 10,386 negros sobre un total de 26,441 almas.”

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 93: “Se dirá que es necesario hacer una rectificación a las cifras registradas en el Censo; muchos indios, sobre todo, los que gozan de cierta holgura pecuniaria y alguna elevación social, se han inscrito, de hecho, como blancos sin que le haya sido posible evitarlo a esta oficina.”

¹¹ Robert L. Sanchez, “Black Mosaic: The Assimilation and Marginalization of Afro-Peruvians in Post-Abolition Peru, 1854-1930 PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008), 77.

indigenous Peruvians, “Blacks and yellows do not present any confusion; but one should not consider the possibility that a certain number of Chinese have escaped the census inscriptions by their resistance to enumeration.”¹²

Taking cues from nations they considered models of civility and progress, officials placed special emphasis on women’s fertility, which they saw as essential to population growth and national sustainability. Such demographic study had first developed in Europe, the officials pointed out, to understand the “vital political and economic nature” of the nation, which was “intimately connected to the future of a people.” This knowledge, they continued, had been useful in the cities of Berlin, Oldenburg, Copenhagen, Budapest, and other European centers during the second half of the nineteenth century, legitimizing its study in Peru.¹³ The authors prejudicially asserted that “black women—those who reproduce the most outside of marriage—are the most fertile, followed by white and *mestiza* women.”¹⁴ This section of the census, subtitled “Fertility of the Woman in Lima,” is prefaced by the organizer of the 1904 census of Buenos Aires, suggesting that Limeño elites might have viewed their southern neighbor as a model for such a modernizing survey. The Argentine census had prompted women to answer how many of their children had died, and the Peruvian census followed suit with the same question to document child mortality rates in Lima. In fact, Peruvian census

¹²Enrique Leon Garcia, “Las razas en Lima: Estudio Demográfico,” Tesis para el doctorado, Facultad de Medicina, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1909. 15: “Los negros y los amarillos no ocasionan ninguna confusión; pero se debe tener presente la posibilidad de que cierto número de chinos haya escapado á las inscripciones censales por la resistencia que hicieron el empadronamiento.”

¹³*Ibid.*, 124-125: “Bajo ciertos puntos de vista, esta investigación afecta problemas de índole vital, económica y política, estrechamente vinculados con el presente de la sociedad. Bajo otros aspectos, ella afecta intereses de un orden elevadísimo, íntimamente relacionado con el porvenir de un pueblo.”

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 127: “Sin atender, pues, al estado civil, las negras—las que procrean más fuera del matrimonio—son las más fecundas, sucediéndoles las blancas y las mestizas...”

officials used the same questionnaire published from the 1904 census of Buenos Aires to assess the fertility rates of Lima women, as well as child mortality rates.¹⁵

The analysis that accompanied the 1908 census took cues from model nations, but the author did not see the high fertility rate of unmarried Afro-Peruvian women as a problem. Rather, black women in Lima were contributing the national average of five children each, a “strong performance that allows us to maintain our population and still grow productively (*sic*) despite our intense depopulation due to death, principally the deaths of children.”¹⁶ Much like Andrews’ findings on fertility rates of Afro-Argentine women in nineteenth century Buenos Aires, such high rates of fertility contradict the final numbers asserting a diminishing Afro-descended population.¹⁷

In contrast, the low fertility rates among indigenous women in Lima and along the coast perplexed the census official, who noted that the “reproductive aptitude” of indigenous women in the Peruvian interior “could not be missed.”¹⁸ Typical of the elite intellectual emphasis on “social *mestizaje*,” this concern may have reinforced the

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 125: “En el actual censo, hemos hecho una investigación bien detallada acerca el argumento que estamos estudiando; nuestro cuestionario, en este punto, tomado del ultimo de *Buenos Aires*, tomaba una especificación más, pues preguntaba por el número de hijos muertos y por el de sobrevivientes, lo que nos ha permitido hacer una estadística interesante sobre la sobrevivencia de los niños en Lima... Las 27, 714 mujeres—de las cuales solo son casadas 17,647—tuvieron 128,767 hijos, esto es, un promedio de 5 hijos cada una, magnifico rendimiento, que nos permite mantener nuestra población y aun crecer vegetativamente a pesar de la intensa despoblación nuestra por muerte, por muerte de niños principalmente.”

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 125: “Las 27, 714 mujeres—de las cuales solo son casadas 17,647—tuvieron 128,767 hijos, esto es, un promedio de 5 hijos cada una, magnifico rendimiento, que nos permite mantener nuestra población y aun crecer vegetativamente a pesar de la intensa despoblación nuestra por muerte, por muerte de niños principalmente.”

¹⁷George Reid Andrews, *The Afro Argentines of Buenos Aires*, 73: Andrews points out that this “Black fertility was slightly higher than white, but not enough to overcome the differential between the two races’ infant mortality.” This does not seem to be the case for Peru, according to the census’ accompanying analysis.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 127: “pero puede suceder también que nuestra india de la costa, la india de Lima, no tenga las aptitudes progenésicas, que nadie puede dejar de reconocer a la de la sierra.”

“progressive” position of *indigenistas* that “the regeneration of the ‘Indian race’ should take place in its ‘natural habitat.’”¹⁹

The reportedly high fertility rate of Afro-Peruvian women contradicts the findings of the census itself with regards to race, as the 1903 and 1908 censuses display a sudden decrease in the number of Afro-Peruvians in Lima: whereas blacks constituted 9.4% of the city’s population in the 1876 census, officials only recorded 5.6% of the Lima’s population as black in 1903, marking the most significant decline during the national period.²⁰ As long as Afro-Peruvian women were bearing *mestizo* children, elites seemed to perceive their high fertility rates as a virtue.

In some ways, the census’ accompanying analysis reified earlier notions of race as related to socioeconomic class, rendering little difference between indigenous and black populations whom they viewed as common plebeians oppressed by a white aristocracy. Reflecting on findings of the 1903 census of Lima neighborhoods, the officials noted that in this study:

The race of the inhabitants ostensibly influences the conditions of their dwelling; the daily observations and proximity of rooms and inhabitants, shows us that the worse the race, the worse the room: the Chinese stay in worse conditions than Indians and blacks; and these, worse than the *mestizos*, the whites enjoy the most *comfort* and living space. In view of this observation, which is only contradicted in few exceptions, we have compared the distribution of homes by district according to the good or bad quality and the population divided by race in two groups with the categories *blancos* and *castas*, the latter group assigned to all subjects who do not pertain to the first race.²¹

¹⁹de la Cadena, “Silent Racism and Intellectual Superiority in Peru,” 151.

²⁰Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, *Negritud: Afroperuanos: resistencia y existencia* (Lima: CEDET 2008), 40. Rodríguez Pastor provides a graph demonstrating census findings that show this decline was only surpassed by that which occurred between the censuses of 1614 and 1790, when the percentage of blacks decreased from 39.3% to 17.1% of the city’s population.

²¹*Ibid.*, 175: “En esto: la raza de los habitantes influye ostensiblemente en las condiciones del alojamiento; la observación diaria y cercana de habitaciones y habitantes, nos enseña que a peor raza, peor habitación: los chinos se alojan peor que los indios y lo negros; y estos, peor que los mestizos, los blancos se cuidan más del *comfort* y buena distribución de su hogar. En vista de esta observación, que no parece contradicha sino por excepciones hemos comparado la distribución por distritos de los alojamientos según su buena o mala calidad y la población por razas divididas en dos grupos con los rubros de ‘blancos’ y ‘castas’ englobando en este último grupo a todos los sujetos, que no pertenecen a la primera raza.”

The language of the analysis reinforced racial determinism. While the analysis lumps all non-whites together as a marginalized group, it also reveals the lived reality of the dominant discourse of *mestizaje*: those perceived as *mestizos* enjoyed better living spaces than did the indigenous, Chinese, and blacks. Thus Afro-descended Limeños may have seen material benefits in publically identifying as *mestizo/a* rather than *negro/a*, and the elimination of intermediate categories connoting African ancestry (i.e. *zambo* and *pardo*) facilitated the erasure of African ancestry among such ethnoracial mixtures. Alternatively, census officials may have been more likely to categorize a subject as *mestizo/a* if that person had risen in socio-economic standing despite their insistence on race as biological difference. Lima censuses of the 1860s suggested a diminishing number of whites in Peru after abolition, showing that Afro-Peruvians were not simply “whitening.” Instead of denying any association with African ancestry in order to “approximate white norms,” many Afro-descended Peruvians reported mixed ancestry.

Educated elites seemed aware that the broad category of *mestizo* enveloped those of African descent who had mixed with indigenous and white Peruvians. In his analysis of the 1908 census, Leon Garcia wrote that the majority of those classified as *mestizos* were known, “among us, as ‘*zambos*’ and ‘*mulatos*.’” He explains that he reduced these categories under the blanket *mestizo* so as to “not increase divisions,” but does not elaborate on his reasoning.²² Leon Garcia and his contemporaries may have seen it as more practical to condense such categories connoting African ancestry, as well as

²² Leon Garcia, “Las razas de Lima,” 15: “Se ha englobado con el apelativo de ‘mestizos’ á todos los individuos que no pertenecen á ninguna de las razas puras. A la mayoría de sus representantes se les conoce, entre nosotros, con la denominación de «zambos» y «mulatos» ; pero he agregado á estos en la clasificación—para no aumentar las divisiones.”

possibly mitigating social tensions. Dr. Leon Garcia also pointed out a continuity regarding migration patterns and racial categorizing in line with censuses of the 1860s. More indigenous Peruvians continued to migrate to Lima from rural areas, while those categorized as black were more likely to be Lima natives.²³

A similar process of racial categorizing appears in the baptismal records in the district of Chulucanas, in the northern department of Piura. This region has a historic concentration of Afro-descended people, many of whom worked as slaves on plantations. Baptismal records from the late nineteenth-century show a growing *mestizo* population while the number of children categorized as white declined. Between 1854 and 1900, priests recorded the “*condición social*” (a euphemism for race) of hundreds of children. Although the records are incomplete and inconsistent regarding children’s “social condition,” they reveal a trend similar to that of the national censuses in Lima over the same period: categories indicating African ancestry declined, minimizing the presence of Afro-Peruvians there. In 1854, the first 150 children recorded were all categorized as *casta*, indicating African ancestry with use of a term dominant in the colonial period. In contrast, only five children were categorized as *blanco/a* (white), and thirty-seven were categorized as *indio/a* (indigenous).²⁴ The generalized category of *casta* appears to have absorbed more specific categories indicating African ancestry, however, such as *negro/a* and *zambo/a*.

²³ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

²⁴ *Registro de bautizos de 1854*, Catedral de Chulucanas, Parroquia de Frías, Legajo 12-B, folios 1-30, registros 1-150.

Between 1885 and 1889, priests categorized just six children as *casta*, fifty as white, 75 as *mestizo/a*, and 79 as *indio/a*.²⁵ The decline in *castas* and increase in whites, *mestizos* and indigenous suggests that Afro-Peruvians were mixing with other groups and/or that more white Peruvians had settled in the region in the decades following the abolition of slavery.

Nonetheless, in 1889 priests recorded fewer white baptisms as the category of *mestizo* waxed. These registers show 49 children categorized as white, 154 as *mestizo/a*, and 109 as *indio/a*.²⁶ In this case, priests perceived a surge in the white population, followed by increased mixing between Afro-Peruvian, indigenous, and white residents of the parish.²⁷ The demographic changes over this four-year period suggest that fewer people were perceived as white, providing further evidence that Afro-Peruvians were not claiming whiteness, but many identified as *mestizos* which effectively distanced them from African ancestry. The lack of categories indicating mixed African ancestry, much like the Lima-centered censuses of the early twentieth century, appears to have minimized the perception of Afro-descended people in Chulucanas. Furthermore, by 1897, priests abruptly stopped recording the “social condition” of the children they baptized. The decision carried unforeseen consequences, especially that of contributing to the perceived disappearance of the Afro-Peruvian population.²⁸

²⁵*Registro de bautizos de 1885-1889*, Catedral de Chulucanas, Parroquia de Frías, Legajo 12-B, folios 1-52, registros 1-209.

²⁶*Ibid.*, folios 222-300, registros 901-1,116.

²⁷According to the brother who administers the cathedral’s archive, the priests ascribed the race label to the child being baptized without input from the parents.

²⁸*Registro de bautizos de 1897*, Catedral de Chulucanas, Parroquia de Frías, Legajo 12-B, folios 1-34, registros 1-108. When I asked the brother helping me access these records why priests had stopped recording the “social condition” of children that year, he simply replied, “that year we decided all were children of God.”

An analysis of the early twentieth-century censuses of Lima also lamented the common usage of the singular category of *casta* by parish priests in the capital, arguing that their meaning was unclear:

It is not possible to know the distribution of races understood by the generic term “castas” employed in this statistic because the data comes from parish registers, whose priests, devotees of the aristocratic spirit of the era, always confused all people of color, as equally inferior, under the vague rubric of castas.²⁹

Dr. Leon Garcia’s perspective on race influenced the official analyses of early twentieth-century Lima, and his analysis of nineteenth-century parish registers suggests that some Lima elites already saw racism as an element of the nation’s traditional past. He distanced himself and his twentieth-century contemporaries from overt racism in the midst of the Aristocratic Republic while simultaneously accusing priests of racist “aristocratic” attitudes. Over the course of the twentieth century such distancing from overt racism contributed to the diminution of discourses of racial difference.

Historian Steve Stein provides context for the logic behind censuses in this period, marking the period between 1900 and 1930 as one of “dramatic transformation,” as public services continually expanded and the “popular masses” doubled in size. Whereas the census data is vague in terms of socio-economic indicators and neighborhoods, Stein finds that residents of *callejones* increased over this period, a detail beyond the scope of the city’s published censuses.³⁰ Instead, Stein analyzes newspapers, records from labor unions, and sports and social clubs to reconstruct the existence of a collective Afro-Peruvian identity during the first three decades of the twentieth century.

²⁹Enrique Leon Garcia, “Las razas en Lima: Estudio Demográfico,” Tesis para el doctorado, Facultad de Medicina, (Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1909), 39: “No es posible conocer el reparto de las razas comprendidas en el término genérico «castas» empleado en esta estadística porque sus datos proceden de los libros de las parroquias, cuyos curas, devotos del espíritu aristocrático de la época confundieron siempre á todos los pigmentados, como igualmente inferiores, bajo el vago rubro de castas.”

³⁰Steve Stein, *Lima obrera 1900-1930, Tomo I* (Lima: Ediciones El Virrey, 1986), 15-16.

Although the procession of the Señor de los Milagros (Lord of Miracles) in Lima became increasingly racially heterogeneous between 1900 and 1925, Stein argues that the “cult” maintained a “high concentration of Afro-Peruvians.”³¹ As the procession became more popular and racially diverse, white Limeños began minimizing the role of Afro-Peruvians in the founding of the cult. According to a newspaper interview of an older Afro-Peruvian member of the *cofradía*, as more whites joined the ranks of the lay brotherhood in the early twentieth century, they began to claim that the artist “who painted the Señor de los Milagros was white, a member of the white society.”³² This case suggests white Limeños began to see benefits to claiming such popular cultural forms as their own and denying the historic roles of Afro-Peruvians in such *criollo* traditions. Such claims seemed to go hand-in-hand with the growing popularity of the tradition, as President Augusto B. Leguía even participated in the procession in October, 1922. This was part of his strategy of gaining popular support among the “masses” while maintaining elite control of the working class in the Aristocratic Republic.

In contrast to elite attempts to appropriate the popular religious cult, *fútbol* became an outlet for Afro-Peruvian collective identity, in particular through the club Alianza de Lima. Established in 1900 as “Sport Alianza,” the club played against other working-class teams that differed greatly from the elite, formal, and “exclusive” *fútbol* clubs that practiced and competed in cricket clubs only accessible to members of the city’s oligarchy. Historian José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu has pointed out that that

³¹*Ibid.*, 221: “Aunque estas fotografías reflejan cierta heterogenización racial del culto, vale reflexionar sobre la alta concentración de afro-peruanos que todavía se mantenía en esos años.”

³²*Ibid.*, 225: Stein cites an article from the October 16, 1925 issue of *El Mundial*, in which Enrique Acosta Salas explained: “después ya entraron una sociedad de gente blanca e hicieron una sociedad para ser hermanos del Señor de los Milagros y decían que había pintado al Señor de los Milagros era un blanco, una de sociedad, blanco” (52).

contemporaries referred to Club Alianza as the “team of blacks,” with strong support in the “black neighborhood of Lima,” la Victoria.³³ Unlike other “popular” *fútbol* clubs of Lima at the time, Stein argues, Alianza de Lima fomented a strong racial connection between its members and its supporters by the 1920s. The majority of the players identified as black and held “traditionally Afro-Peruvian occupations,” which their meager club earnings supplemented.³⁴

Unlike the popularity of El Señor de los Milagros, Alianza Lima elicited racist anxieties among the city’s white population by the late 1920s. When the club sought entry to the South American *Fútbol* championship in 1929, a Peruvian commentator lamented, “How can we send a team of blacks to a championship! –they exclaim. They’ll say we are a country of that race!”³⁵ Thus, although Afro-Peruvians were creating and maintaining avenues for collective identity, white elites continually distanced the nation’s public image from any associations with blackness.

Marisol de la Cadena’s analysis of the changing vocabulary of race and class in early twentieth century Peru provides evidence that *indigenista* intellectuals of the 1930s contributed to Afro-Peruvian invisibility. As this literary movement coincided with the “international discredit of racial thought, ‘class’ gradually absorbed everybody’s race, and became the sole element in leftist rhetoric... Workers of coastal haciendas were identified as ‘*asalariados rurales*,’ while ‘proletarian’ referred to urban factory workers. These two categories were used instead of the labels *mestizos*, *cholos* or *zambos*, to name

³³José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu, *Breve Historia de los Negros del Perú*, (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2000), 14.

³⁴Steve Stein, *Lima obrera*, 238.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 234: “¡Cómo vamos a mandar un equipo de negros a un Campeonato! –exclaman. ¡Dirán que somos un país de esa raza!” For more on race, class, and national identity in Latin American *fútbol*, see Ilan Stavans, ed., *Fútbol* (ABC-CLIO, 2011). For more on futbol in twentieth-century Peru, see Carlos Aguirre, *Ese gol existe: una Mirada al Perú a través del futbol* (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008).

the *gente del pueblo*—those excluded from the *gente decente*... Replacing race labels with class rhetoric, leftist parties assumed the leadership of a nationwide social movement to organize rural unions.”³⁶ Like the official narrative provided by census officials, this class rhetoric rendered Afro-Peruvian participation in such movements invisible (I analyze such movements in more detail in chapter 6).

In the modernizing era, political elites promoted an image of the nation as civilized, white, and sanitized of its African ancestry. This is evinced in the mechanics of the 1940 census, when officials completed the “whitening” of their population. The officials combined the race labels of *mestizo* and *blanco*, resulting in the lowest ever recorded number of *negros* in Peru’s history (see Appendix E). The singular category of *mestiza/blanca* became the default race label in the 1940 census, as officials were instructed: “people who do not have a definitive race... will be recorded as *mestizos*.”³⁷

The decision to combine the categories of *mestiza* and *blanca* may suggest a growing openness to *mestizos* as a socially mobile group, but it contributed to an emerging elite racial ideology—absorbing Afro-descended Peruvians into a broader category of whiteness, as de la Cadena explains, “provided academics with a comfortable self-acquittal of racist guilt, without eradicating racism.”³⁸

An official recognition of *mestizos* as whites thus served to support an ideology of a “raceless” nation while erasing Peru’s African ancestry. This is evident in the census

³⁶Marisol de la Cadena, “Silent Racism and Intellectual Superiority in Peru,” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 17:2, 1998, (143-164), 156. *Asalariados Rurales* translates to “rural wage-earners.”

³⁷“Notas Explicativas al Censo de 1940,” *Censo Nacional de Población- 1940, Volumen V: Departamento de Lima*. Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio, Dirección Nacional de Estadística. Biblioteca del Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, 41: “la labor del empadronador se limitó a clasificar a la población en los grupos comprendidos en la pregunta siguiente: ‘Es blanco, indio, negro, amarillo, o mestizo?’ cuyas instrucciones aclaratorias decían: ‘Las personas que no tengan una raza definida como blanca, india, negra o amarilla, serán anotados como mestizos.’”

³⁸Marisol de la Cadena, “Silent Racism and Intellectual Superiority in Peru,” 160.

records for the Pacific coastal regions with well-documented histories of Afro-Peruvian presence, such as Zaña, Piura, Trujillo, Chiclayo, and Lima, where officials recorded 0.02 percent of the local populations as “black” in 1940. However, the officials documented at least 77 percent of the citizens as *mestizos o blancos*.³⁹ This manipulation of the census records rendered a distorted view of the Peruvian population with significant repercussions for Afro-Peruvians. As Andrews has argued regarding the Argentine case, “Demographic distortions in turn form part of a larger phenomenon, that being the obscuring, be it intentional or unintentional, of the role of the Afro-Argentines in their nation’s history.” In broader terms, such a manipulation of the historical record “has formed an enormous obstacle to our efforts to understand present-day patterns of race relations in Latin America, how they vary within the region, and how they compare to those found in other multiracial societies.”⁴⁰

The analyses that accompany the census data offer an “official” (that is, state-sanctioned) explanation of the history of Afro-Peruvians, which completely denies them historical agency. The official analysis of 1940 surmised that “the political hatred between two military *caudillos* [Echenique and Castilla] was the authentic liberator of the blacks. The unconscious, as such, was the protagonist of this memorable episode in the history of our *patria*.”⁴¹ This narrative denied the efforts of generations of Afro-

³⁹*Censo Nacional de Población- 1940, Volúmenes V y III: Departamentos de Lima, Lambayeque, Libertad, y Ancash*. (Lima: Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio, 1940). Dirección Nacional de Estadística, Biblioteca del Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, 141, 14, 34, 39.

⁴⁰Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 7.

⁴¹*Censo Nacional de Población- 1940, Primer Volumen* (Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio, 1940), Director: Alberto Arca Parró, Dirección Nacional de Estadística, Biblioteca del Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, 1944, 28-29: “El **inconciente** es a veces protagonista de la historia y lo fue en el Perú en el proceso de la liberación de los esclavos... Victorioso en la batalla de La Palma, el Mariscal, al asumir el mando, cumplió su ofrecimiento y quedó abolida desde entonces, la esclavitud en el Perú. El odio político entre dos caudillos militares fue, pues, el auténtico libertador de los negros. El inconciente protagonizó así este episodio memorable de nuestra historia patria.” (emphasis in original text)

Peruvians to dismantle slavery prior to the revolution of 1854, which combines with demographic distortions to create persistent obstacles for historians interested in documenting Afro-Peruvian history before and after the abolition of slavery.

The census officials of early twentieth century Lima modeled their survey on that of Buenos Aires with the hopes of engineering a comparable modern city as a public image of Peruvian national identity. They went so far as to use the same questionnaires as their Argentine counterparts and frequently cited censuses of major cities throughout Europe and as far north as Norway. Their desire to create an image of a modern nation led to contradictory findings: Afro-Peruvian women were birthing healthy children at a sustainable rate, yet the early twentieth century censuses reported the smallest ever Afro-Peruvian percentage of the national population. The final lines of analysis of the 1940 census attempted to explain this sudden decline despite their insistence on Afro-Peruvian women's fecundity:

The demographic and census data affirm a decline in the black race. A race is maintained through genetic aggregation or through immigration. Legions of blacks no longer come to Peru, as in the era of slavery. Free immigration also fails to add [to the black population] because our country does not offer any special perspective for men of color that might explain such migratory movements. The productive growth of blacks in Peru is null. Statistical studies by Dr. Leon Garcia, in Lima, proved that over a six-year period only 249 blacks were born, despite the census findings that demonstrate that black women were the most [reproductively] prolific in our capital. The convergence of two negative factors—lack of genetic aggregation and the absence of immigration—explain why the demographic volume of the black race is diminishing from one century to the next.⁴²

⁴²*Censo Nacional de Población- 1940*, Volúmenes V y III: Departamentos de Lima, Lambayeque, Libertad, y Ancash. (Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio, 1940). Dirección Nacional de Estadística, Biblioteca del Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, 29-30: "Las cifras demográficas y censales acusan el declive de la raza negra. Una raza se mantiene por agregación genética o por inmigración. Ya no vienen al

The analysts grounded their explanation of the declining black population in Eurocentric environmental and racially deterministic language. Afro-Peruvians did not inhabit the Andean interior, according to this analysis, because the climate did not suit their race. The hot sun of the Peruvian coast that “burns the skin,” however, was similar to the environment of the “black continent.” The 1940 census offered the forgone conclusion that Afro-Peruvians would be absorbed into the broader national identity by conflating *mestizos* with *blancos* (whites). The official analysis and explanation of the disappearance of “blacks” in the census did not consider the children of Afro-Peruvian women as Afro-descended, effectively denying the existence of African ancestry as part of the Peruvian nation.

Dr. Leon Garcia’s study of the early twentieth century censuses of Lima concludes that racial mixing in the capital city was producing a “progressive amalgamation of all of the bloods.” This was a “simply natural process,” he argued, “concordant with what has occurred” in other parts of Latin America, such as the Antilles, Brazil, and Mexico. In all of these cases, the “force of the victors over the vanquished” influenced the majority of the new nation’s citizens to identify as “white in origin” despite their “mixed blood.” The mixing of new racial elements, he suggests, come together in “sensible ways” under the “strong bond of nationality.”⁴³ Despite the

Perú, como en las épocas de la esclavitud, legiones de negros. La inmigración libre tampoco se produce porque nuestro país no brinda ninguna perspectiva especial a los hombres de color como para explicar esos movimientos migratorios. El crecimiento vegetativo de los negros en Perú es nulo. Estudios estadísticos del Dr. León García, en Lima, comprobaron que durante seis años solo nacieron 249 negros, a pesar de las investigaciones censales de la época acreditaron que las negras eran las mujeres más prolíficas de nuestra capital... La convergencia de dos factores negativos—falta de agregación genética y ausencia de inmigración—explica porqué el volumen demográfica de la raza negra va disminuyendo en siglo a siglo.”

⁴³Leon Garcia, “Las razas de Lima,” 42-43: “Por lo demás, cualquiera encontrará lo que acontece sencillamente natural y concordante con lo ocurrido, en este punto de vista, en otras partes. Ha pasado aquí lo mismo que en Méjico, en las Aritillas, en el Brasil’, ‘los millares de esclavos negros importados á las

aforementioned obstacles to Afro-Peruvians who may have desired to claim whiteness, the census itself changed to accommodate this concern: by including Afro-Peruvians of mixed racial ancestry in the same category as whites, Lima elites rendered such ethnoracial difference as irrelevant to a common national identity.

The racial reorganization of Peruvian censuses in the twentieth century reveals some similarities to the reduction in racial categories in contemporaneous U.S. censuses, as well as to the flawed processes of census taking in nineteenth-century Buenos Aires. The Peruvian censuses eliminated categories indicating African ancestry between 1930 and 1940 just as the U.S. Census Office did. The same questions that George Reid Andrews has raised regarding the under-estimation of Afro-Argentines in Buenos Aires can be applied to Lima, where census officials categorized children of Afro-Peruvian women as *mestizos* to offer positive evidence of population growth but also denied blackness.

The politics of censuses are historically contingent, and this chapter suggests that Peruvian census officials reflected elite concerns that disparaged blackness and constructed an image of Lima as modern and white. This case presents a similar, yet inverse process to the construction of racial identities in censuses of São Paulo, Brazil. Through her analysis of the myth of the “vanishing Indian” in Sao Paolo, Muriel Nazzari has argued that “censuses are not neutral documents that report only ‘facts’ but are

plantaciones del Brasil—escribe Estotirnelles de Constant — constituyeron familias, que se han modificado sensiblemente por efecto de los frecuentes cruces. Puede afirmarse que la nación brasileña, en conjunto, es de sangre mezclada, a la mayor parte de los ciudadanos dicen ser blancos de origen.’ La historia nos enseña que siempre se contundieron las razas más distantes, ya interviniese en su contacto la fuerza del vencedor sobre el vencido, ya las aproximasen las migraciones creadas por los intereses económicos y las crecientes facilidades para la comunicación entre los hombres ¿con cuanta mayor razón no habrían de mezclarse elementos vinculados, de antemano, por el fuerte lazo de la nacionalidad?

themselves instruments of state and elite control that reflect the social construction of race.”⁴⁴

The reorganization of racial taxonomy in twentieth century Peruvian censuses presents the inverse process to that of Brazil in the eighteenth century, however. Where Nazzari documents declining categories indicating indigenous identities and ancestry, this chapter suggests similar reasons for declining categories indicating African ancestry in Peru. In early eighteenth-century São Paulo, historians estimate that Indians were 80 percent of the population. By the early nineteenth century, however, the censuses of São Paulo used only the categories “white, black, and *pardo*, a synonym of mulatto,”⁷⁴ which denied the existence of an indigenous population (or even indigenous ancestry) in the city. The racial reorganization of São Paulo censuses was opposite to that of Peru and Mexico. As Nazzari points out “In Sao Paulo by 1800 the Portuguese-Indian-African triangle had collapsed into a Portuguese-African continuum.”⁴⁵ Nazzari cites R. Douglas Cope’s related work on colonial Mexico City, where the Spanish-African-Indian triangle had collapsed into a Spanish-Indian continuum by 1800. Lima’s Afro-Peruvian population thus underwent categorical changes in the twentieth-century censuses similar to those of Mexico City’s African descended population and similar to São Paulo’s indigenous population in the eighteenth century.

George Reid Andrews’s analysis of census records of Buenos Aires demonstrates that 30 percent of the city’s population was identified as black in 1778, yet the census of 1887 enumerated less than two percent of the city’s population as Afro-Argentine.⁴⁶ The demographic distortions of Lima’s censuses regarding the Afro-Peruvian population

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 498.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 509.

⁴⁶George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 4.

between the late colonial period and the early twentieth century are even more dramatic, as Afro-Peruvians declined from half of the city's population to below one percent by 1940. Andrews cites "the frequency with which Afro-Argentines appear in random newspaper and magazine photographs" as alternative evidence to counter the official narrative of disappearance offered by the census data.⁴⁷ Steve Stein's use of photographs, print and popular culture offers similar "alternative evidence" to the official narrative offered in the analyses that accompanied the censuses of 1903, 1908, and 1940. Just as Afro-Peruvians created and maintained associations based on a collective ethnoracial identity, Lima elites resisted Afro-Peruvian visibility in the public image of Lima they sought to project internationally. This carried significant consequences for Afro-Peruvian subsequent claims to social equality and their place in the nation's identity.

The declining use of racial markers among intellectuals, state officials, and clerics in the early twentieth century contributed to the historic invisibility and even the erasure of Afro-Peruvians in the nation. If census officials in Lima understood censuses as tools to push progressive agendas and create the appearance of a modern nation, the denial of African ancestry also meant the denial of social services for, and discrimination particular to, Afro-Peruvians. Just as importantly, this erasure and invisibility denied Afro-Peruvians their rightful place in the official narrative of the nation's history and identity. The following two chapters examine the ongoing construction of *peruanidad* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which contributed to the invisibility of Afro-Peruvians, before examining what this official narrative has obscured regarding Afro-Peruvian historical agency.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 77.

Chapter 4: *La Patria Peruana*: Race, Honor, and Citizenship in Post-abolition Discourse and Law

Ramón Castilla is remembered as the “Great Liberator” of Peru whose domestic policies mark the true beginning of the republican era. Historians have noted that Castilla’s centralizing government during his second term as president (1855-1862) succeeded due to the nation’s economic boom in guano exportation, funding advances such as gas lighting in Lima, a reorganized postal system, and modernization of the military and navy. Most importantly for non-elites, his liberal revolution of 1854 abolished slavery and indigenous tribute. His 1856 Constitution granted universal male suffrage, broke away from colonial models of education and established the freedom of the press.¹ These praiseworthy accomplishments dominate national historical memory and less attention is given to his “openly conservative positions”² during his second government. As historian Carlos Aguirre has shown, Castilla’s modernizing programs engendered a larger conservative backlash. This backlash pushed Castilla and his political allies to less progressive positions and limited their ability to resist sweeping changes to the legal codes they had established. These changes are evident in the public and elite discourse on nationalism and citizenship, which corresponded with significant changes in the 1860 Constitution.

In the 1860s, Peruvian nationalists grappled with notions of racial difference in response to European economic and military intervention in the region. Historian Paul Gootenberg has analyzed the paradox of Peru’s nineteenth-century commercial elite, whose reliance on foreign goods and credit fomented antipathy to foreign interests and

¹“Ramón Castilla: Trece obras importantes a 147 años de su muerte,” *Peru21.pe*.

²Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds* (Duke University Press, 2005), 25.

“came to form the wellspring of nationalist ideas among the Peruvian elite.”³ Although this emergent national identity developed in opposition to perceived European and Anglo races, Peruvian intellectual elites struggled to incorporate their newly integrated “masses” into an inclusive vision of national democracy. This chapter analyzes the paradox of Peruvian nationalism in the 1860s, building on historian Carlos Aguirre’s assertion that “Peruvian society was dramatically shaped by exclusionary practices along social, cultural, gender, and racial lines.”⁴ The narrative process revealed how elites shaped gendered and racialized understandings of the nation, particularly in relation to notions of honor, patriotism, and pan-Americanism.⁵

This chapter builds on work that has expanded the pioneering approach of Benedict Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities*.⁶ Historians of Latin America have criticized Anderson’s suggestion that print culture defined “national space” just prior to independence by invoking evidence that such contested spaces were debated later in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, as John Charles Chasteen has argued, analyses of newspapers from later in the century allow historians to see how elites sought to unify their majority non-white populations to their political causes through the “nativist formula.” The idea of “America for Americans”—addressed this difficulty by rhetorically asserting affinities among the vast native-born majority in contradistinction to a vulnerable, neatly defined enemy. Focus on a common enemy had tremendous political utility in the creation of broad political alliances because, unlike problematical aspirations

³Paul Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano: Commercial Policy and the State in Postindependence Peru* (Princeton University Press, 1989), 21.

⁴Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds* (Duke University Press, 2005), 3.

⁵A similar argument is made in Nancy Appelbaum, Anne MacPherson, and Karin A. Roseblatt, eds., *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

⁶Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 1983).

of national solidarity, anti-Spanish and anti-Portuguese sentiments were something (Latin) Americans of all social classes did indeed share. Thus, the nativism of the military struggles against Spain and Portugal was largely an ‘Americanism’ that differentiated little among American nations.”⁷ This chapter provides evidence that Peruvian elites began to see Latin America as a regional identity in the 1860s in opposition to North America based on cultural and racial affinities. Building on Florencia Mallon’s contributions to analyzing nationalism as the product of an “open-ended process of articulation,” this chapter focuses on Afro-Peruvians’ place in the contested construction of Peruvian nationalism.⁸ Although Afro-Peruvians were included in nationalist discourses intended to unite Latin America against European intervention, they were simultaneously cast as the “other,” requiring their sacrifice to prove their place in the nation.

Discourses on race and national identity converged with the rhetoric of patriotism in the decades following the abolition of slavery. However, frequent calls for non-whites to pursue military service took place within an ideological complex of race, class and honor that belied the inclusive language of democratic participation and social equality. The legal restrictions to full citizenship that emerged in 1860s Lima were consistent with

⁷John Charles Chasteen and Sara Castro-Klarén, eds., *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), xv.

⁸Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (University of California Press, 1995), 90: Mallon defines “the idea of discourse as the product of an open-ended process of cultural, politica, and ideological interaction. Particular ideas, concepts, or perceptions can become articulated with each other, as elements, either by emphasizing lines of similarity or by using difference to construct boundaries of antagonism. Whether two elements are joined in a discursive field by an emphasis on their similarities or divided by a discursive frontier that focuses on their differences, the identity of the elements is changed through the practice of articulation.”

contradictory elite discourses and reveal “a constant relation of reciprocal determination between nationalism and racism.”⁹

I. Liberal Patriotism in 1860s Lima: An Exclusionary Citizenship

A. Citizenship Laws in the Constitutions of 1856 and 1860

Following Castilla’s 1854 liberal revolution, his 1856 Constitution represented the platform of his “Government of Liberty.” Conservative politician and priest Bartolomé Herrera Vélez became Castilla’s main political adversary during his second presidency, as Herrera promoted an “ultra-reactionary project” in response to the liberal revolution. Herrera pushed to reverse many of the liberal laws of the 1856 Constitution, but only succeeded in “making a few touches to the text.” Historian Jorge Basadre has concluded that debates raged over the fourth article of the Constitution, which Herrera won in establishing “the prohibition of any religious practice other than Catholicism.”¹⁰ If the state’s authority over religious practice became the center of congressional debates in the 1850s, the changes to citizenship laws in the 1860 Constitution reveal just how far Castilla and his allies had retreated. The “masses” were considered not yet worthy of enlightened citizenship, thereby exposing universal male suffrage as a temporary measure used to gain popular support.

A Congressional Law passed in 1860 that would be incorporated in the new Constitution limited suffrage to citizens who were “married or at least twenty-one years old, who know how to read and write, or who are the masters of a trade, or who own real estate, or who pay a contribution to the public Treasury.” The second article of the law

⁹Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (New York: Verso, 1991), 214.

¹⁰Jorge Basadre, *Perú Independiente* (Lima: El Comercio, 2010), 165-166. Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Sala de Investigaciones.

specifically forbade suffrage for “*mendigos* (beggars) and domestic servants.”¹¹ This law did not forbid all Afro-Peruvians from the right to vote, but it limited suffrage along class lines, denying full citizenship to the poorest Peruvians and those working in occupations that carried over from slavery. The law thus reveals a social hierarchy of race, occupation, gender, and ultimately honor, and this chapter shows how the law reflects intellectual political discourses expressed in 1860s Peruvian newspapers such as *La América*. The third article of the law granted suffrage to military authorities and officers. Despite these significant restrictions, the Constitution of 1860 upheld the illegality of military recruitment and impressment, a law enforced by European and Brazilian monarchies. Patriotic newspapers of the 1860s represented Peruvian military practices as superior.¹²

The ideological objectives of these 1860s Peruvian newspapers also mirror the “Society of the Founders of the Independence of Peru,” a republican society established in Lima in 1861. The society’s constitution began with statements explaining who could and could not become members, first inviting the “sons and relatives of the founders,” and then “citizens, notable for their talent and republican virtues, or for their positive service that in some form has contributed to the *patria* and the cause of liberty.” They further specified that this would include “the partners who...will decide for the suffrage

¹¹*Ley Orgánica de Elecciones dada por el Congreso de 1860*. (Lima: Imprenta del Gobierno por Eusebio Aranda, 1861). Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Sala de investigaciones: “Ejercen el derecho de sufragio: los ciudadanos casados, o mayores de veintiun años, que sepan leer y escribir, o sean jefes de talleres, o tengan alguna propiedad raiz, o paguen al Tesoro público una contribución: cuyos nombres se hallen escritos en el Registro cívico...Art. 3o: “Los jefes y oficiales del Ejército, o de la Armada, que no ejercen ninguna clase de mando, pueden sufragar en las parroquias donde se hallen residiendo.”

¹²*Constitución Política del Perú*, 10 de noviembre de 1860. Título XVI, Artículo 123: “El reclutamiento es un crimen que da acción a todos para ante los jueces y el Congreso, contra el que lo ordenare.” Accessed via <http://www4.congreso.gob.pe/historico/quipu/constitu/1860.htm>.

for the two thirds of the present members.”¹³ Beyond those directly related to the revolutionary leaders whose membership and citizenship would be immediate, the Society reserved the right to judge the honor of those interested in joining. The Society thus claimed the authority to decide who would attain full Peruvian citizenship based on the history they constructed of the nation’s independence struggle.

This group of national elites asserted their influence on the lawmakers in Congress and reinforced class and racial disparities. The Society’s constitution, unsurprisingly, barred from membership anyone who had fought against the cause of independence or combated the “republican principles sanctioned by the national institutions.” However, it went on to equate Spanish loyalism to lesser offenses, precluding the “honor of admission” from “those who have dishonorable flaws or judicially proven crimes,” “those sentenced by the courts to a defamatory penalty,” and “those who carry an independent position, or who lack an honorable means of subsistence.”¹⁴ As this chapter will demonstrate, the language of honor and citizenship ran parallel in post-abolition newspapers, elite society, and law.

Elites connected their concerns over honor and citizenship to social class, which they implicitly tied to race. The Constitution stated that its principle objective was to “Inspire the sons of the founders and the rest of the associates, just as the rising

¹³*La Sociedad de Fundadores de la Independencia del Perú se da la Siguiete Constitución*, (Lima: Impreso por Francisco Solis, 1861). Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Sala de Investigaciones: “La Sociedad adopta como suyos a los hijos y deudos de los fundadores, y los admite en su seno, según el Reglamento interior, desde el instante que se soliciten su inscripción. Admite también a los ciudadanos notables por su talento y virtudes republicanas, por su probado amor por las instituciones nacionales, o por los servicios positivos que de cualquiera modo hayan hecho a la patria y a la causa de la libertad. La admisión de los socios a que se refiere el artículo anterior se decidirá por el sufragio de los dos tercios de los miembros presentes; y el número que puede admitir la Sociedad no excederá, en ningún caso, de la tercera parte de la cifra total de los miembros que la componen.”

¹⁴*Ibid.*: “No pueden pertenecer a la Sociedad: Los que tengan tachas deshonorosas o delitos judicialmente probados. Los sentenciados por los tribunales a pena infamante. Los que carezcan de una posición independiente, o de medios honrosos de subsistencia.”

generation, love for the *patria* and her institutions; respect for the law and its defenders; the cult of democracy; the sincere and constant desire to introduce it to the public; enlightening the popular masses.”¹⁵ The elites planned to enlighten the masses through public instruction at its “core.” In contrast to the schools that would educate the children of the wealthy, the free school would focus on “technical, moral, and social teachings, to the benefit of the working classes.”¹⁶ Elites would reap the benefits of the codes of honor and morality they constructed.

The discursive parallels between elite patriotic societies, newspapers, and the 1860 Constitution suggest closer ties between Lima elites and government policy than previously assumed. They also compared their national development to the struggles experienced by other emerging Latin American states. Napoleon III attempted to create a French client state in Mexico shortly followed the young nation’s civil war, but he was driven out in 1867. Spain’s attempts to claim the Chincha Islands similarly followed Peru’s civil war between rival caudillos. The European powers likely saw political disunity as an opportunity to take back what was once theirs, but they could not foresee the contradictory process that fostered unity within and between Latin American republics. Intellectual and political elites of Peru and Mexico, unlike the Dominican Republic and Brazil, used European interventions as an opportunity to foster nationalist patriotism while codifying ideologies of honor and citizenship.

¹⁵*Ibid.* Título III: “La Sociedad tiene por fin: Inspirar a los hijos de los fundadores y a los demas asociados, asi como a la generacion que se levanta, el amor a la patria y a sus instituciones; el respeto a la ley y a sus defensores; el culto de la democracia; el sincero y constante deseo de introducirla gradualmente en la vida pública, ilustrando a las masa populares...”

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Título XVI: “De La Comision De Instruccion: Tiene por Atribuciones: Plantear con los individuos de su seno, una escuela de enseñanza técnica, moral y social, en beneficio de las clases obreras...”

Peruvian elites emerging national patriotism invoked slavery as a rhetorical device to defend their autonomy. This discursive strategy became feasible in the post-abolition years. Nationalist elites in the Americas tended to see the indigenous masses as the core of their national identities, whose deplorable condition would be improved by their civic engagement in the democratic republics and through the education systems. In this schema, “degeneration” best described the downfall of the once great indigenous civilizations. Degeneration took on a distinct meaning among Brazilian racial theorists, who were concerned that African racial mixture caused social regression.¹⁷ Similarly, Peruvian elites who called for equality and freedom lamented that “Black citizens...are capable of discrediting every democratic institution [and] degrading it to the point that Whites renounce to their rights as citizens.”¹⁸ While distancing the republic from slavery and calling for Afro-Peruvian political and military support, the Peruvian state nonetheless limited their citizenship rights, wrote them out of the nation’s history, and demanded their continual military sacrifice as proof of their patriotism and place in the nation. In response to intellectual discourses that denied them a political voice and called for their military service, Afro-Peruvians fought for patriotic causes to improve their social conditions, gaining an honorable status but perhaps shedding any association with blackness in the process. In other cases, they fought alongside caudillos like Ramón Castilla and Nicolás de Piérola to demand improvements.

B. Elite Discourses of Afro-Peruvian Citizenship: the “Zamacueca Política” of 1859

¹⁷Dain Borges, “‘Puffy, Ugly Slothful, and Inert’: Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880-1940,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 25: 2 (May 1993), 23-46.

¹⁸Quoted in Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds*, 25.

The *Zamacueca Política* was an ephemeral biweekly publication that was in print from January until July of 1859. Aside from its initial issue, little of the newspaper survives. The opening issue or “Prospecto” satirized the Afro-Peruvian population and blamed Castilla for Lima's moral degradation. The newspaper cast Afro-Peruvians as “the other” and criticized their patriotism as overly exuberant and immoral, associating their citizenship with the Afro-Peruvian dance form called Zamacueca. First published on January 3, the short-lived newspaper’s opening lines read:

The world is a great fandango, and he who doesn’t dance is dumb. This vulgar saying encapsulates much philosophy, like almost all Spanish proverbs, and applied to our politics, is a hard-hitting truth. Effectively, in this country, it is not the fandango but the zamacueca. The dumb one who doesn’t dance it will necessarily die sadly, so that his cadaver will be buried unshrouded and on charity.

Look, as the country is purely zamacueca, it is not something we need to force ourselves to try, as it is visible to all. Who does not dance the zamacueca in Lima? The freed blacks whom slavery had reduced to the state of ignorance, by the fault of the police have become a plague of uneducated vagrants, they do nothing other than dance day and night in the *callejones* of Montserrat, Cocharcas, Barbones, etc., at the expense of the poor storeowners who are looted at night.¹⁹

These opening lines exemplify white racist attitudes toward the Afro-Peruvian population, highlighting their perceived lack of civility and morality, thereby constructing an image of black Peruvians as unfit to participate in politics. The opening issue of *Zamacueca Política* went on to directly criticize Ramón Castilla and his government, asking: “And what is a Congress that always lives on a diet because it does not work

¹⁹Quoted in Eduar Antonio Rodríguez Flores, “El ritmo del retraso. La construcción del afrodescendiente como mecanismo deslegitimador de la política en *Zamacueca Política* (1859),” (Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Aplicadas, Juegos Florales, 2015), 2: “El mundo es un gran fandango, y el que no baila es un tonto. Este dicho vulgar encierra mucha filosofía, como casi todos los proverbios españoles, y aplicado á nuestra política, es una verdad de á puño Efectivamente, en este país, no de fandango sino de zamacueca, el tonto que no zamacuequea, necesariamente muere triste, para que su cadáver sea enterrado sin mortaja y de limosna

Ora pues, que el país es de pura zamacueca, es cosa que no tenemos necesidad de esforzarnos en probar, puesto que está á la vista de todos. ¿Quién no baila en Lima zamacueca? Los libertos que el estado de bestias á que los tenía reducidos la esclavitud, han pasado por falta de policía á ser una plaga de vagos y mal entretenidos, no hacen más que bailar día y noche en los callejones de Monserrat, Cocharcas, Barbones & c, á costa de los pobres pulperos que son saqueados en al noche (sic).

well...and always works poorly?-Zamacueca. And the government of General Castilla that asks for money to order the production of laws, and afterwards asks for more money to destroy those same laws by gunshots?-Zamacueca. And the so-called popular elections, when in reality they are military elections?-Zamacueca.”²⁰ The authors thus equated what they considered uncivilized Afro-Peruvian cultural manifestations with Castilla’s ineffective government, emphasizing that the government was incapable of establishing order and progress in Lima due to its association with blackness.

II. *La América* and *El Peruano*: A Post-Abolition Push for Pan-American Solidarity

Newspapers that sought the military support of Afro-Peruvians utilized a more ambiguous racial rhetoric. Lima elites established newspapers that expressed a more inclusive national identity seeking the political support of the nation’s newest citizens following Castilla’s liberal revolution. Patriotic newspapers were not a new phenomenon in 1860s Peru. The proto-nationalist newspaper *Mercurio Peruano* first constructed an exclusionary vision of the nation in the late eighteenth century, and Simón Bolívar founded the patriotic *Diario Oficial el Peruano* shortly after independence. These newspapers revised historical narratives and constructed new visions of national and regional identity in ways that reflect the nation’s more exclusionary citizenship policies during the decade following abolition in Peru.

La América was the first of a new generation of newspapers in which elites envisioned a more expansive national and regional identity, although it likely took cues

²⁰*Ibid.*, 4: “¿Y qué es un Congreso que vive siempre á dieta porque no obra bien, y por más que vive á dieta obra siempre mal?-Zamacueca. ¿Y el Gobierno del Jeneral Castilla que pide plata para mandar confeccionar leyes, y despues pide mas plata para destruir esas mismas leyes á balazos?-Zamacueca. ¿Y las elecciones llamadas populares, cuando en realidad son elecciones militares?-Zamacueca (sic).”

from the longstanding official daily *El Peruano*. This short-lived newspaper was published almost every week for an eight-month period in 1862, during a period of heightened fears of European imperialism. The papers' stories mainly covered diplomatic relations between Peru and Mexico, while also keeping a close eye on European actions toward Latin America. This included concern over a Spanish naval fleet headed for Buenos Aires as well as Spanish press' reaction to a speech by Prince Napoleon defending the virtues of democracy. The irony of such rhetoric was not missed on the Lima elites, who associated Europe with colonialism and the Latin American republics with freedom and democracy. Appearing in Lima on April 5, 1862, the newspaper's first line read: "the independence of America is currently threatened by those who seek their power and force through the enslavement of her peoples."²¹ Beyond the contradictory language of liberty and equality that buttressed the frequent calls for military sacrifice in *La América*, the newspaper sidestepped the constitutional limits of post-abolition political participation. While the directive *junta* of the Central Liberal Society acknowledged the distinct entities of "peoples" (*pueblos*) of Latin America, the central argument of their inaugural article sought to bind Peruvian interests with those of Mexico, condemning the "unjustifiable invasion" of the "sister nation" by France. The article went on to call for the peoples of Latin America to defend their liberty and sovereignty from the triumvirate of European power: France, England, and Spain. This political cause was the express reason for this newspaper's establishment, as its immediate objectives were:

to put to action all of the defensive elements, to combine the forces that we can make available, to bring into contact all of those whose cause is democracy—and to defend beginning today American interests, highly shared—we have begun by founding this

²¹*La América*, April 5, 1862. Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Hemeroteca: "La independencia de América se halla amenazada por los que buscan su poder y su fuerza en la esclavitud de los pueblos."

newspaper—exempt from any internal political intervention—in this we do not propose any other end than that of serving the interests of America and the cause of liberty.²²

The call to arms saw inclusion as the best policy, and the article even pointed to the common “love of *la patria*” between liberals and conservatives in the Americas as a unifying force. Nevertheless, the language that these intellectuals chose appears designed to associate slavery with colonial rule and freedom and abolition with the nation, similar to concurrent discourses in Brazil.²³

The newspaper recognized Brazil’s exceptionalism, crediting Dom Pedro II for his moderation, while still seeing Republicanism as the superior form of government. On June 4 1862, an article by Francisco de P.G. Vigil offered a “comparative look” at the Brazilian Empire of Prince Pedro II. The issue began with words of praise for this “honored man,” who “works arduously to stay informed of the latest publications in Europe, always maintaining his intelligence at the level of all scientific discoveries.”²⁴ His success as emperor, however, was due to his work educating the people of Brazil: “So it was not the emperor who saved Brazil; it was the [Brazilian] man.”²⁵ The article cautioned that the peaceful transfer of power between the Brazilian monarchs was not common, and “the pages of history show us a long list of monarchs whose grandiosity

²²*Ibid.*: “Para poder pues poner en acción todos los elementos defensivos, para combinar las fuerzas de que podamos disponer, para ponernos en contacto con todos los que pertenecen a la causa de la democracia—y para defender desde hoy los intereses americanos, altamente comprometidos—hemos principiado (*sic*) por fundar este periódico—exento de toda intervención en la política interna—En él no nos proponemos otro fin que servir a los intereses de América y a la causa de la libertad.”

²³See, for example, Roger Alan Kittleson, *The Practice of Politics in Postcolonial Brazil: Porto Alegre, 1845-1895* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006); Stanley Blake, *The Vigorous Core of Our Nationality: Race and Regional Identity in Northeastern Brazil* (University of Pittsburgh, 2011). A similar theme appeared in Brazilian newspapers in the decades following its independence, as analyzed in Jeffrey Mosher, “Political Mobilization, Party Ideology, and Lusophobia in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: Pernambuco, 1822-1850” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80.4 (2000) 881-912.

²⁴Francisco de P.G. Vigil, “Ojeada Comparativa al Imperio de Brasil,” *La America*, June 4, 1862: “...que se dedica arduamente a estar enterado de cuantas publicaciones se hacen en Europa, manteniendo siempre su inteligencia al nivel de todos los descubrimientos científicos.”

²⁵*Ibid.*: “No fue pues el emperador quien salvo a Brasil; ha sido el hombre.”

and opulence did not consist in the wellbeing of the governed, but in that of the kings and their aristocrats.”²⁶ For this reason, the Brazilian monarch could not offer everything he should to the social life of his subjects/citizens beyond science. Brazilians particularly lacked individual rights and “ample liberty.” Therefore, Vigil argued, “our humble court presents better guarantees to the citizen-man of the republic than the monarchy.”²⁷

Other Lima newspapers were also forging pan-American connections by comparing Latin American relationships with former colonial powers in the 1860s. While *La América* focused on Mexico’s tribulations, *El Peruano*, the official daily newspaper of Peru, monitored the young republics of the Caribbean. On August 24, 1861, *El Peruano* reported that the “democratic institutions and continental security” had suffered an attack at the Republic of Santo Domingo.²⁸ The article went on to assert that the Spanish Monarchy’s attempt to reincorporate this republic obligated the Peruvian government to join with the rest of the American republics to defend against this “common danger.” The Peruvian newspaper criticized Dominican President General Santa Ana’s treasonous act of accepting a contract that benefitted him at the expense of his people’s liberty and autonomy. The Captain General of Cuba, it stated, responded to news of this contract with a show of force, remitting a naval battalion to the shores of Hispaniola. As Spain sought to declare Santo Domingo part of its monarchy without any political representation, the article argued, “Spain is devoted to its retrograde system of

²⁶*Ibid.*: “Las paginas de aquella nos muestran una prolongada lista de monarcas, cuya grandeza y opulencia no consistian en el bienestar de los gobernados, sino en el de los reyes y sus aristócratas.”

²⁷*Ibid.*: “Pero la vida social necesita mas elementos para contentarse; y la ciencia, inapreciable en todos sus respectos, no satisface, no llena a todo el hombre: porque, a mas de la ciencia, tiene corazon, tiene derechos, y necesita libertad, amplia libertad. Ahora bien: para adquirir esos elementos, presenta en nuestro humilde juicio, mejores garantias al hombre ciudadano la republica que la monarquía.”

²⁸*El Peruano*, August 24, 1861, “Circular a los Gobiernos de América”: “El ataque que acaban de sufrir las instituciones democráticas y la seguridad continental en la Republica de Santo Domingo...”

colonization, letting it be known that it has not abolished slavery in principle, but as a circumstantial measure that can be reestablished.”²⁹

Like many articles in *La América*, the article from *El Peruano* used the rhetoric of slavery to criticize European imperialism. This rhetoric, however, coexisted uneasily with contradictory language about the indigenous and Afro-Peruvians. The European powers were exploiting the divisions between liberal and conservative *americanos*, the article argued, and these “true oppressors” and “speculators of human flesh...try to change our sovereignty, our liberty, our riches by the luck of the slave.” By invoking slavery rhetorically to condemn imperialism, intellectuals elided their own positions on abolition and racism.

In the opening lines of *La América*, the authors declared the newspapers’ columns open to any who supported their cause, “whatever their political color.” They went on to contrast the problems of the French monarchy to the benefits of American democracy:

the powers aligned against Mexico recognize as possible and still attainable their *intervention* in Mexico’s internal affairs, to make them change their form of Government and substitute the just and rational system of democracy for the Monarchy, with all of its inconveniences, its injustices, its inequalities, and its character essentially contrary to the dignity of man, to his rights and guarantees.³⁰

The dichotomy between European monarchism and Latin American democratic republicanism continued with a critique of the latter’s depiction in European newspapers, which presented “exaggerated and false descriptions of our situation: they suppose that

²⁹*Ibid.*: “Así la España se presenta apegada a su retrógrado Sistema de colonización, dejando notar de paso, que no ha abolido la esclavitud en principio, sino como medida de circunstancias, que éstas pueden restablecer...”

³⁰*La América*, April 5, 1862: “las potencias coaligadas contra Méjico reconocen como posible y aun realizable su *intervención* en los negocios interiores de Méjico, para hacerle cambiar su forma de Gobierno y sustituir (*sic*) al justo y racional sistema democrático la Monarquía con todos sus inconvenientes, sus injusticias, sus desigualdades y su carácter esencialmente contrario a la dignidad del hombre, a sus derechos y garantías.”

we find ourselves in a situation of constant anarchy: they paint us as little more than savages.”³¹ This statement encapsulates a common predicament among patriotic elites in Peru. Even as they saw Europe as a model of civilization toward which they aspired, the elite intellectuals struggled to “civilize” their masses who they too considered inferior. Their goals of “enlightening” the racialized underclass to make them honorable citizens while simultaneously asserting a hard-earned sovereignty from Europe exposed the rhetorical tensions of Peruvian nationalism.

Despite the inclusive tone of pan-American democracy these intellectuals sought to convey, their assumptions regarding race excluded those deemed inferior or “regressive.” Toward the article’s end, the authors proclaim their racial proximity to the Europeans, stating “the race of our parents (read fathers) has still not degenerated; the remains of the heroes of Junín and Ayacucho, and the recent memory of their acts, will temper the spirit of the current generation, which certainly does not need foreign examples to achieve great, noble, and elevated actions.”³² Drawing from the emergent language of racial degeneration to proclaim their civilized and “elevated” status, the authors reveal their own concerns for the very nation and region they love. Their praises for the revolutionary heroes who fought for Peruvian independence implicitly dismissed the many indigenous and Afro-descended patriots who also took up arms against the Spanish, thereby writing them out of the national history and identity.

The opening article of *La América* was signed by Francisco Javier Mariátegui (President), José Casimiro Ulloa (Secretary), and José Celedonio Urrea (Secretary), and it

³¹*Ibid.*: “Se hace en ellas descripciones exageradas y falsas de nuestra situación: se supone que nos hallamos en una anarquía constante: se nos pinta como poco menos que como salvajes...”

³²*Ibid.*: “La raza de nuestros padres no ha degenerado todavía; aún viven los restos de los héroes de Junín y Ayacucho, y la memoria reciente de sus hazañas, templará los animos de la presente generación.”

set the tone for the remainder of the short-lived newspaper. These elite intellectuals had graduated from the prestigious University of San Marcos and held influential government positions. Francisco Javier Mariátegui was the ancestor of Peru's most famous leftist intellectual, José Carlos Mariátegui. The authors also argued that freedom was part of their natural environment, lamenting the colonial "brutalization of the indigenous races that [for] three centuries has not been able to bring true civilization."³³ Latin American republics, the article concluded, would never treat their native peoples with such brutality.

An article by one of *El Peruano's* correspondents in Madrid sheds further light on convoluted elite perspectives on race and national interests in 1860s Peru. On December 1, 1861 Señor Don Hector Varela described the Mexican situation in contrast to a Spanish "expedition" to Africa. This expedition had the support of the Spanish populace and was much discussed in the newspapers, unlike the current indifference and hopelessness surrounding the expedition to Mexico. "The African War," Hector Varela wrote, "which the people applauded, was a necessary war, a civilizing war, a just war."³⁴ Varela's comparison was wildly anachronistic, citing the fifteenth-century logic of the *Reconquista* but ignoring the similar rationale for the Conquest of the Americas. Varela's historical analysis also reveals assumptions relating to race common among Peruvian elites in 1860s Lima, who saw indigenous Peruvians as victims of colonial brutality but Afro-Peruvians as descendants of a barbarous continent. Thus, decades before the early twentieth century pseudoscientific race theory and Vasconcelos' notion of the "cosmic

³³*Ibid.*: "el embrutecimiento de las razas indígenas que tres siglos no han podido atraer a la civilización verdadera."

³⁴*Ibid.*: "La guerra de África, que el pueblo aplaudió, fue una Guerra necesaria, una Guerra civilizadora, una guerra justa."

race,” Peruvian intellectuals envisioned a racial hierarchy that held whites at the top, indigenous a level below, and Africans at the bottom.³⁵ Varela’s analysis also reflects Iberian debates of the mid sixteenth-century that argued for papal authorization of the slave trade and maintained that indigenous people of the New World were rational and therefore able to accept Catholicism. Although these nineteenth century intellectuals perceived neither group as “civilized,” they sympathized and identified more with the indigenous populations of the Americas based on pre-Enlightenment debates.

Despite such contradictions, the authors continually addressed and instructed the historically oppressed peoples of the Americas. Their enlightened worldview, they assumed, would guide indigenous men to a more civilized and politically active status:

To you all, men of the people, we write these pages—to you all it is dedicated, hard-working agronomists, honored artisans, all members of the society that lived with the work of your hands and ate bread dampened with the sweat of your brows.

In all the nations you comprise the immense majority, and yet you are deprecated and scorned, enslaved and oppressed...And what cause? Your ignorance and nothing other than your ignorance... You [must] stop deprecating yourselves, scorning, enslaving, and oppressing yourselves; because you do not know what you are because your lack of knowledge has degenerated the noble race from which you all descend.³⁶

As the indigenous populations comprised the “immense majority” of the Peruvian population, these lines appear to be directed to them. The lines therefore reflect the common narrative of indigenous degeneration from a once civilized status, resulting from the Conquest, in contrast to Africans, who would be raised out of savagery by Europeans.

³⁵Carlos Aguirre provides further evidence of this hierarchy in relation to criminology in 1860s Lima in *The Criminals of Lima and their Worlds*.

³⁶*La América, April 5, 1862*: “Para vosotros, hombres del pueblo, escribimos estas paginas—a vosotros esta dedicado, laboriosos agricultores, honrosos artesanos, miembros todos de la sociedad que vivia con el trabajo de vuestros manos y comeis el pan humedecido del sudor de vuestras frentes.

En todas las naciones componeis vosotros la inmensa mayoría y sois sin embargo despreciados y escarnecidos y estais sin embargo esclavizados y oprimidos. ¿Cual la causa? Vuestra ignorancia y no otra mas que vuestra ignorancia... Vosotros mismos os dejais despreciar, escarnecer, esclavizar y oprimir; porque no sabeis lo que sois y porque vuestra falta de conocimiento ha degenerado la noble raza de que todos descendeis.”

The paper blamed exogenous forces for indigenous inferiority and expressed belief that they could be enlightened, civilized, and educated into equality. These intellectuals blamed the colonial powers for the ignorance of the masses, but assumed their liberal political philosophy could restore the equality that God granted all men. The authors did not directly connect their perception of the conquest of Africa as a “just war” to the Atlantic slave trade or the role of slavery in Peru’s national history. Furthermore, they argued that although individuals were born with equal political rights, some were born with more abilities than others. Such differences in aptitudes, they resolved, could be overcome by hard work. These contradictions were better clothed in their rhetoric of freedom and equality, and by displacing Peru’s recent past to a focus on other nations: although a divine birthright, the experience of equality had been and continued to be “diverse:” “From the beginning until today the world is divided into servants and lords. There are countries that call themselves free yet they conserve slavery as an institution. What an error!”³⁷ Instead, they argued, Latin American republics should be ruled by “the majority.” “Public opinion,” however, “is not comprised of everyone’s opinion, but only of those who are capable of having one. In order to have an opinion, one needs sufficient intelligence, some knowledge, and freedom. With the exception of the demented and idiots, all have sufficient intelligence. Not all have the necessary knowledge, but all can and should acquire it through instruction.”³⁸ This was the only article that linked education to citizenship.

³⁷*La América*, April 9, 1862: “Desde el principio hasta hoy el mundo esta dividido en siervos y señores. Hay paises que se llaman libres y conservan la esclavitud como una institucion. ¡Que horror!”

³⁸*Ibid.*: “Mas la opinion publica no se compone de la opinion de todos, sino unicamente de los que sean capace de tener una. Para tener una opinion se necesita, inteligencia suficiente, algunos conocimientos, y libertad. A escepcion de los amentes e idiotas, todos tienen inteligencia suficiente. No todos tienen los conocimientos necesarios; pero todos pueden y deben adquirirlos por medio de la instruccion.”

Rather than focus on education as a path to social equality, however, the authors of *La América* advocated for military service as a path to honorable citizenship. They laid out a system of voluntary recruitment that disproportionately affected the poor and people of color while moving towards creating a National Guard for the privileged that would enable elites to be credited with patriotism with little risk of having to make the sacrifice of blood. The issue published on April 16, 1862 ended with a direct call for youth military action: “Young Americans!” the article began, “Alert! Be prepared, danger nears.” The article described European naval battalions en route to America to “monarchize” her, admitting that they were a daunting force but insisting that their weaponry could be defeated by sheer numbers.³⁹ The concerns over Spanish attempts to reclaim possessions of her former colonies were not ungrounded, as evinced by a later war that Chile and Peru fought together against Spain’s seizure of the guano-rich Chincha Islands from 1864 to 1866. This experience contributed to a nascent “Latin American” identity, building on the solidarity expressed during the Franco-Austrian occupation of Mexico.

However, the call to arms suggests an ulterior motive to the newspapers’ florid language of democracy, equality, and brotherhood. This nascent identity cited racial animosity in the United States to demonstrate Latin American exceptionality in race mixing and exalted Latin American progress toward popular sovereignty. This concluding address directly followed a poem that neatly illustrates the paradox of the newspaper itself. Dated September 16, 1861, the poem was signed by M. M. de S. in Santiago. The initials do not match any of the newspaper’s directors or correspondents,

³⁹*La America*, April 16, 1862: “¡Jovenes Americanos! ¡Alerta! Estad atentos, que el peligro se aproxima...Esas naves cargadas de soldados y de elementos de guerra...queiren monarquizarla.”

so his identity is a mystery. Titled “To Washington,” the poem begins with short phrases praising this “Genius of liberty” who “received the power from God himself to create Eden on earth.” Moving to the U.S. civil war, the poem continues: “And what do I see? Your shadow concerned,/Upon news of the fratricidal war,/Throws a look upon *la patria*,/And with a powerful and passionate voice:/Union (he says), men are brothers,/Here in heaven there are Africans too.”⁴⁰ The Chilean poet’s imagined posthumous words of George Washington effectively revised United States history in the same manner that the newspaper’s writers re-imagined Peru’s national history. Both whitewashed the national histories of slavery and patriot leaders’ implicit relationship with the institution. This poem followed a similar ode to Simón Bolívar, which did not mention the role of Afro-descendants in the independence struggles.

The post-abolition newspaper’s rhetoric continually distanced patriot leaders from slavery, but the poem to Washington also reveals a Peruvian perspective on race relations in the U.S. during the civil war. Just as the European interventions in the region had contributed to a common political affinity, Latin America also identified itself in opposition to the “Anglo-Saxon race” of the United States. These “damn heretics, *of such a strange race*, act less arrogant in these circumstances, less demanding of us, and more humane and considerate than those of *our race*, who come asking us for reparations for grievances and payment for debts, fixing their bayonets and pointing their fanatical cannons at us.”⁴¹ The authors thus equated the racial differences between the U.S. and

⁴⁰*Ibid.*: “A Washington: ¡Jenio de libertad! En paz y guerra/Tipo de mas sublime patriotismo/Que el poder recibiste de Dios mismo/De crear un Eden sobre la tierra/...Mas ¡Que veo! Tu sombra conturbada/Al rumor de la guerra fatricida/Lanza sobre la patria una mirada/Y con voz poderosa y conmovida:/¡Unión (dice) los hombres son hermanos,/También acá en el cielo hay africanos.”

⁴¹*La America*, April 23, 1862: “Pero estos malditos herejes, *de tan extraña raza*, se muestran en estas circunstancias ménos arrogantes, ménos exigentes con nosotros, y mas humanos y considerados que los de

Latin America with the differing responses to European intervention, and further likened European and white North American identities and politics. Racial difference also explained the violent and impassioned responses among their own countrymen, revealing a tension of pride and fear. This framework facilitated a policy of unifying the masses of the Americas to a common cause: the defense of *la patria*. The perceived racial differences further solidified a month later, when the authors called for a “Union of the American Republics” that did not include the United States.⁴²

Just a few weeks following this racial analysis, however, members of the newspaper’s elite liberal *junta* attended a “patriotic banquet” in Milan, the purpose of which “free men of all countries will know how to appreciate.” The banquet was held at the beginning of April in honor of revolutionary General Giuseppe Garibaldi, and included speeches by representatives of France, Hungary, and Venice, where Garibaldi had just accomplished a major military victory over the Papal army to advance his national unification project. The representatives lauded Garibaldi’s achievements and the “civilizing” project of bringing the people together in a republic, based on science and reason. They showed clear support for Garibaldi’s ultimate goal of “liberating” Rome, and the Peruvian delegates connected this struggle to President Lincoln’s war with the Confederacy.⁴³ The mid-nineteenth century elite discourses on Peruvian national identity made clear connections to nation-making projects throughout the Americas and in Europe.

nuestra raza, quienes vienen a pedirnos satisfacción de agragios y pago de deudas calando sus bayonetas y apuntándonos con sus cañones rayados: la cuña para que sea buena ha de ser del mismo palo.”

⁴²*La America*, May 17, 1862: “La Unión de las Repúblicas Americanas.”

⁴³*La America*, May 10, 1862. The closing lines of the article state: “Por Presidente Lincoln. ¡Por los Estados Unidos de America! ¡Por su pacificación con el triunfo de libertad!”

These intellectuals admired the French Revolution and Enlightenment, continually using its rhetoric as a foundation for their vision for the Peruvian nation. This rhetoric, however, consistently coincided with calls for patriotic military participation. One article criticized the practice of forced military “recruitment” (impressment) for “dispensing of men just as of things,” which they saw as a “barbaric” practice that “directly attacks their sacred right of individuality (*sic*), in which the right of *honor* is found.”⁴⁴ The authors went on to lament the class differences of becoming an honorable citizen while it also constructed this social reality. The poor, unlike noble families, “do not have titles in order to be respected,” unlike the wealthy whose title of Don “makes them sacred to the recruiters.”⁴⁵ Once again directly addressing the “honored artisan,” the authors criticized the fact that the lower classes of all nations made up the majority of their military conscripts. This status quo disrupted families and made the lives of struggling mothers and hungry children even more difficult, they argued. Nevertheless, the practice of paying soldiers for their patriotic service was also a mistake. Instead, they proposed the solution of “national guards.” This system of voluntary military service would generate more patriotism, and “upon seeing the actions of the more enlightened, [men] will successively experience their own development and in the end we will obtain true citizens and not automatons.”⁴⁶ Ironically, of course, all of the newspaper’s

⁴⁴*La América*, May 31, 1862: “el de *reclutamiento*, que consiste en tomar y amontonar hombres por la fuerza y depositarlos en un calabozo hasta que son distribuidos en los distintos cuerpos del ejército ya formado...se dispone de los hombres como de cosas, y es mas barbaro...una accion por la que directamente atenta contra su sagrado derecho de personalidad, en el que se encuentra el derecho al *honor* que es el más venerado y que todo hombre por humilde que se le considere trata de conservarlo incólume.”

⁴⁵*Ibid.* “¿porque razón se toma solamente a la gente de poncho o blusa y no a los que se titulan *decentes*? ¿Por qué? porque los primeros no tienen título para ser respetados: al paso que los segundos poseen al señor D. Dinero que los hace sagrados para los reclutadores.”

⁴⁶*Ibid.*: “Pero si en vez de adoptar estas medidas de caocion se pone en ejercicio la ley sobre *guardias nacionales*...Examinemos--...Que el patriotismo en germen en muchos al principio, al ver las acciones de

contributors held the title of “Don,” so none of them would find it necessary to serve in the National Guard to gain honorable status. Voluntary service, then, would be dominated by elite men, who had the time and resources to gain even more honor. Despite acknowledging the difficulties and consequences of working class men leaving their struggling families to fend for themselves to serve in the military, the authors suggested the sacrifice would bring their families greater honor and improve their social status.

The implicit racial and social hierarchy undermined the rhetoric of equality and patriotism in the newspaper even as the authors distinguished their national identity from that of the United States. Because this was particularly evident in the discussion of military service and conscription, this model of progress and citizenship had striking similarities to the construction of civil society in postcolonial Brazil. Although these intellectuals sought to differentiate their “national guard” policies with those of recruitment and impressment in Brazil, in both nations army service “offered narrow avenues of social mobility or at least temporary shelter.”⁴⁷

The patriot intellectuals explicitly contrasted their National Guard policy of military encouragement to the recruitment and impressment policies of the Brazilian monarchy, but the language of military service as an honorable sacrifice ran parallel in the neighboring nations. Some issues of *La América* resemble Brazilian recruitment strategies of the 1860s that sought to “win over” the working classes to “the nationalist cause.”⁴⁸ The June 4 issue of the Peruvian newspaper encouraged military participation as part of one’s civic duty, stipulating, “As all men form part of the political association,

los más ilustrados, experimentarán sucesivamente su desarrollo y al fin obtendremos verdaderos ciudadanos y no autómatas.”

⁴⁷Peter Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864-1945* (Duke University Press, 2001), 5.

⁴⁸Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood*, 13.

they are civilly and morally obligated to the defense of their *patria*.” Although this service would not be forced, “all should work in harmony so that they contribute what is due: from this comes the contribution called ‘of blood’ and has no other end.”⁴⁹ The post-abolition newspaper thus equated political participation with military service and utilized existing class hierarchies to qualify the Afro-Peruvian sense of belonging. Their role in national independence and culture written out, the oppressed would have to continually prove their loyalty to the *patria* by sacrificing their blood.

The patriot intellectuals who authored *La América* also sought to justify the conservative victory in establishing Catholicism as the national religion in the 1860 Constitution. Mixing Christian doctrine with language of the Enlightenment, the newspaper described the resurrection of Christ as a triumph of the downtrodden over their oppressors. “The consequence of this triumph of liberty and equality, was the triumph of Christian brotherhood that destroyed the castes once and for all,” argued Emilio Castelar.⁵⁰ Castelar’s revisionist theology ignored the contradictions of the Church in the Americas, preferring to point out that Christ was born in a stable and not on a throne. Castelar emphasized that Christ sought out the humble and the slaves, not the powerful, and was the son of an artisan. Although the journalist did not acknowledge the role of Christianity in the Atlantic slave trade or in the Conquest of the Americas, his analysis of religious doctrine argued that the post-abolition republic would reflect more accurately Christ’s teachings: “we swear to work ceaselessly for liberty, for equality, for

⁴⁹*La América*, June 4, 1862: “Formando todos los hombres parte de la asociación política, están obligados civil y moralmente a la defensa de su patria: y todos en armonía deben trabajar porque se la tribute el debido respeto: de aqui proviene la contribución llamada ‘de sangre’ y que no tiene otro objeto que el enunciado.”

⁵⁰Emilio Castelar, *La America*, June 7, 1862: “La consecuencia de este triunfo de la libertad y de la igualdad, fue el triunfo de la fraternidad cristiana que destruyó para siempre las castas.”

the brotherhood of man, and being democratic, we will be more Christian...”⁵¹ Castelar’s analysis inherently denied that the primary debate surrounding the 1860 Constitution was a struggle between liberal and conservative principles, effectively justifying Bartolomé Herrera’s ideological victory two years earlier.

III. Conclusions: Elite Discourse, Exclusionary Citizenship, and Afro-Peruvian Military Participation

While religious freedom may have been the focus of debates leading up to the 1860 Constitution, the exclusion of other religions was less consequential to non-elites than other revisions to the Liberal Constitution of 1856. The intellectuals who shaped dominant ideologies of patriotism, honor, and liberalism stoked nationalist and pan-American sentiments to defeat the most urgent threat of their time: European invasion. These liberal nationalists addressed their readers directly, and the consistent connections to slavery and liberation might have resonated with Afro-Peruvian men. However, the rhetoric never specifically addressed former slaves of Peru, instead appealing to a generalized fear of recolonization that may even subject them to a similarly subservient position. Fearful of European imperial drives, then, Lima elites in the 1860s could now point to the abolition of slavery as an advancement of *la patria* while clumsily equating slavery with monarchism. They also excluded women from their “brotherhood of man.”

A military song followed Castelar’s theological piece on June 7, titled “Colombia’s Hymn.” The song was unsurprisingly an ode to Simón Bolívar, and it pledged the patriotic sacrifice of blood to protect the freedom for which he fought. The

⁵¹*Ibid.*: “juremos trabajar sin descanso por la libertad, por la igualdad, por la fraternidad de los hombres, y siendo demócratas, seremos más cristianos que aquellos que en pleno siglo XIX, después que nos hemos levantado el polvo donde nos tenia sumido la tiranía, quieren aun atizar las hogueras que debieran haber apagado para siempre la sangre de los mártires y las divinas lágrimas de Cristo.”

song's third stanza highlighted the assumed connections between liberty, military bravery, and masculinity that undergirded the newspaper's political philosophy: "Liberty is the life of the soul;/Servitude makes the male vile;/Defending a tyrant is opprobrious;/Perishing for the *patria* is honor."⁵² Although the song does not address race or national identity directly, it suggests that plebians could gain honor by shedding blood for the *patria*. Slavery, it suggested, potentially emasculated and feminized common men. They could recover their masculinity through military sacrifice.

Consistent with these oblique appeals to non-Europeans for their military and political support, the men of *La América* slowly developed a general foreign policy agenda based on their analyses of Latin American independence and the region's troubles with European intervention. The contributors described the Latin American wars for independence as a singular struggle, noting the intracontinental support among revolutionary leaders against Spanish rule. Once again, Brazil was an outlier in this schema, but the authors hoped that the "arbitrary and scandalous intervention of Napoleon III" in Mexico would trigger an enthusiasm for patriotism and the republican form of government there as well. Their optimism led them to further develop the earlier notion of the Union of the American Republics. The "spirit" of all of the Hispanic American republics, the authors concluded, would naturally result in an "extended union—The American Federation."⁵³

This early call for a politically unified Latin America, however, was only briefly discussed. Instead, the newspaper's final issues focused on nationalism. The final pages

⁵²*La America*, June 7, 1862: "Libertad es la vida del alma;/Servidumbre hace vil al varón;/Defender a un tirano (*sic*) es oprobio;/Perecer por la patria es honor."

⁵³*Ibid.*: "Un sentimiento en todas ellas, un espíritu, un propósito, un ardiente afecto, que al fin ha de dar por resultado la union estrecha—La FEDERACION AMERICANA."

of the newspaper in December 1862 turned the focus to national industry and revealed concerns over the political participation of the same citizens who were encouraged to serve in the National Guard. Authors discussed the need for a national bank and the standardization of currency, while pointing out Chile's success in monopolizing the tobacco industry through state-supported free trade. The author, M. Palma pointed to the singular importance of agricultural production, concentrated on the fertile land along the coast, but he cautioned that the application of the military to agricultural work would present "grave inconveniences." Returning to the notion of honor, Palma asserted that the "soldier would see his career denigrated, the government dangerously scattering her troops to different places exposing them to the seductions of men who live in political revolt, and the lover of liberal principles would see this as an attack on public liberties."⁵⁴ Such Lima elites thus recognized that subjecting soldiers to agricultural work would smack of slavery, which would contradict any association with honor and incite rebellion.

As Afro-Peruvians had taken up arms against the Spanish in the wars of independence and fought for the abolition of slavery in the liberal revolution of 1854, elites likely saw them as useful combatants to defend *la patria* from potential European invasion. As I show in chapter six, Afro-Peruvian men fought to defend their nation during the war with Spain in 1864-1866 and many died fighting during the War of the Pacific from 1879-1883. Yet the promise of gaining honor in the process was largely

⁵⁴M. Palma, "Ensayo sobre los Principios de Economía Política en sus Relaciones con las Riquezas del Peru," *La América*, December 20, 1862: "Es verdad que la aplicacion del ejercito a la agricultura de la costa ofreceria graves inconvenientes. El militar y creeria degradada su carrera, el gobierno riesgoso desparramar sus tropas por diferentes puntos esponiendolas a las seducciones de los hombres que viven de las revueltas políticas, y el amante a los principios liberales conceptuaria un ataque a las libertades públicas."

disingenuous, as Afro-Peruvians continued to push back against the legacies of slavery and dominant discourses that denied them their rightful place in the republic.

The nearly weekly issues of *La América* concluded in December of 1862, part of a flurry of publications that Basadre has contextualized as “the antimonarchic agitation.”⁵⁵ The final issues of *La América* began to address the central concern for post-abolition Peruvian society of economic and industrial growth without slave labor. They framed the principles of global trade and economic development as a national challenge, which could only be overcome by increased production. M. Palma reiterated that “there cannot be income without production, and the only way to increase the treasury is by trying to develop the country’s industry.”⁵⁶ Palma identified the central problem; the solution, however, would emerge later.

National elites eventually saw Chinese laborers as the best solution to the labor shortage along the coast, but the authors of *La América* avoided discussion of such solutions in favor of a paternalistic discourse of romantic patriotism. The December 13 issue concluded with a poem by Ricardo Russell titled “Song of the *Patria*.” Similar to prior odes to liberty and patriotism, the poem repeated previous calls to arms to defend “Divine Liberty.” Although Russell identified Peruvians as “sons of the Andes,” he also

⁵⁵Jorge Basadre, *La iniciación de la República: Tomo primero*, (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la UNMSM, 2002), 100-101. Basadre includes the newspapers *La Democracia*, *El Pedestal de la Libertad*, *La República*, and *El Perú* as publications with similar objectives from this era. The 1860s saw an increase in associations aimed at maintaining “public agitation,” such as “la Sociedad Unión Americana, la Sociedad Liberal Central, la Sociedad Defensores de la Independencia, la Sociedad Fundadores de la Independencia.”

⁵⁶*Ibid.*: “terminaremos este escrito diciendo lo que varias veces hemos repetido: que no puede haber renta sin que exista producción, y que el modo único de aumentar los ingresos del erario es tratando de desarrollar la industria en el país.”

carried on the theme of nationalism as antithetical to slavery. One stanza states “You would know again, fighting bravely,/To die free to no longer live a slave.”⁵⁷

⁵⁷Ricardo Rosell, “Canto a la Patria,” *La América*, December 13, 1862: “Nadie, jamas, que en la ocasión suprema/ Sabrias otra vez, peleando bravo,/Libre morir mas no vivir esclavo.”

Chapter 5: *Peruanidad* and Blackness in National and Local Perspectives: Popular Literature and Racial Science

This chapter analyzes a variety of discourses on race that contributed to the construction of a Peruvian national identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many studies have examined the emerging notion of *peruanidad* in this period; however, few have questioned the roles assigned to Afro-Peruvians in this process.¹ Indigenous populations of Peru have dominated elite and popular narratives constructing the nation's identity, with Afro-Peruvian history and culture positioned in a more ambiguous place in the construction of *peruanidad*.² This chapter builds on sociologist Edward Telles' assertion that "the 'imagined construction' of ethnic and racial differences in Peru has its roots in the different debates and projects of nation building during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. These discourses produced a social structure of ethnic and racial boundaries and an 'ethnoracial grammar' used by social actors to describe and interpret their differences and inequalities."³ I contrast pseudohistorical and pseudoscientific writings of Limeño elites with literature from the northern region of Piura, to expose differing regional and local conceptions of *peruanidad* as well as distinct interpretations of colonial history in the shaping of nation.

Limeño Ricardo Palma and Piuran Enrique López Albújar made visible the Afro-Peruvian presence in their "foundational fictions" in disparate ways, yet these

¹Luis F. Paredes, "Perú Negro: Choreographing and performing Afro-Peruvian identity, 1969 to the Present" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Albany, 2015).

²I use the term "ethnoracial" to connote the confluence of perceived differences in the social constructions of both race and ethnicity based on the work of sociologist Edward Telles. See, for example, *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014). My use of this term is a conscious decision to push back against historiographical tendencies to discuss Afro-Latino populations in terms of "race" and indigenous populations in terms of "ethnicity."

³Edward Telles, *Pigmentocracies* (UNC Press, 2014), 130.

interventions in the national imaginary have largely been overlooked due to the dominance of *indigenismo*.⁴ The literary and discourse analysis thus suggests the need to consider how distinct local political concerns shaped a variety of perspectives on *peruanidad* with a particular focus on the role of Afro-Peruvians in national literature. This chapter shows that popular understandings of Afro-Peruvian culture and history influenced elite perceptions of race between the 1860s and the 1930s and compares the discursive parallels between popular literature and elite constructions of ethnoracial boundaries to similar processes in other Latin American countries.

The writings of Lima intellectual Ricardo Palma (1833-1919) are a well-known source of national identity for Peruvians. His celebrated *tradiciones* were short stories blending fictional satire with history, celebrating the mixed heritage that came to comprise Peruvian culture. He is remembered as an “integrationist” for his criticisms of institutional mistreatment of lower classes and his celebration of Afro-Peruvian and indigenous cultural contributions. The morals or lessons of his *tradiciones* often criticized the colonial legacy of white superiority; suggesting Palma’s inner conflict as a Limeño elite with African ancestry. This internal tension, I argue, influenced his foundational fictions in contradictory ways: both his political career as a social elite and his writing reflected a simultaneous recognition of and distancing from an Afro-Peruvian identity. Ricardo Palma’s son, Clemente, went one step further by spurning any association with blackness, using his elite education to apply nineteenth century pseudoscientific theories of race to explain Peruvian backwardness. This perspective stood in contrast to Piuran

⁴Doris Summer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991). When Summer briefly mentions such fictions in Peru, she cites Clorinda Matto de Turner’s 1889 *Aves sin nido*, an important work of “racial disencounters...between Indians and whites,” 21.

author and sociologist Enrique López Albújar, whose literature and poetry celebrated Afro-Peruvian culture while locating ethnoracial inequality in the legacies of slavery. Despite Clemente's Eurocentric and pessimistic vision of Peru's destiny while he was a student, his later writings show a closer association with both his father's and Albújar's integrationist perspective. The discursive shifts evident in Clemente Palma's writings also bear similarities to Peru's leading eugenicist of the 1930s, Roberto MacLean Estrenós.

I. Ricardo and Clemente Palma: Internalizing Blackness

A. Ricardo Palma

Ricardo Palma's early career demonstrates his contempt for Peru's "Great Liberator" responsible for the abolition of slavery. Palma's perspective on Ramón Castilla heavily influenced his literary and political career. Born in the young Peruvian republic in 1833, Palma witnessed the rise of Castilla to the presidency in 1845 and his authoritarian hold over the office until 1863. Although the "Government of Liberty" abolished slavery and brought needed stability to the country after years of upheaval and *caudillo* rivalries, Palma saw Castilla as a dictator. This is evident in his early political activism as well as his initial support for a more inclusive political left in the 1870s.⁵ While his writing was groundbreaking in its representation and inclusion of the Afro-Peruvian population and history, his representations were not always celebratory nor even sympathetic. Thus his legacy as a representative of Afro-Peruvian culture and identity is mixed.

⁵Merlin D. Compton, *Ricardo Palma* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982).

Ricardo Palma's political activism began with his involvement in the failed storming of Castilla's home in 1860, for which he was exiled to Chile. When Palma returned in 1863, Castilla's democratically elected successor (of the opposition party), President José Gálvez, named Palma consul to Pará, Brazil. After traveling in Brazil, Europe, and the United States, Palma returned to Peru and supported José Balta's successful revolution against President Mariano Prado in 1867. This earned him the position of Balta's private secretary, and shortly thereafter, he was appointed senator of the district of Loreto (the largest Peruvian department, located in the far northern region).⁶ His position as senator of such a remote yet large district exemplifies the Lima-centered politics of this era, as Palma was not from Loreto nor did the district's constituents elect him.

Palma published his first collection of *tradiciones* in 1872, the same year that he would retire from politics. This year saw the election of Manuel Pardo, which was contested by four colonels (the Gutiérrez brothers) who supported Balta. However, Balta refused to bar Pardo from the presidency, so the brothers imprisoned the former president on July 22. News of the coup reached the Lima public through other military officials who had opposed the instigators. The Gutiérrez brothers quickly found themselves besieged in the government palace, as Lima "masses" took to the streets and revolted against the military intervention in the city center. To intimidate the masses and quell the uprising, one of the colonels executed Balta in his cell, and General Tomás Gutiérrez declared himself "supreme chief," president of the republic. The assassination only fanned the flames of revolt, as mobs pursued three of the brothers to their deaths by

⁶*Ibid.*

burning just four days later (one brother, Marcelino, fled and found shelter at a friend's house nearby).⁷

Until the 1970s, the historiographical treatment of the popular uprising that ended the lives of the Gutiérrez brothers either exalted the righteous political retribution of the urban masses, lamented the brutality of the violence, or attempted to explain the uprising as the manifestation of a psychosis of mass hysteria. Historian Margarita Giesecke revised these one-dimensional analyses in her close study of the event in her 1978 book, *Masas urbanas y rebelión en la historia. Lima: golpe de estado, 1872*. Giesecke's important intervention restores the political and social dimensions necessary to understand the rational interests of the Lima "masses" who decided to retaliate against the military coup. Rather than an outbreak of violence between the power-hungry military and a raucous mob, Giesecke examines a variety of local documents to understand the occupations and income levels of the Limeños who decided to storm the national palace and execute the Gutiérrez brothers.

The mob's outrage and extreme violence shocked many onlookers, especially the Lima elite. Newspaper accounts provided gruesome details of how the brothers' bodies were mutilated (including the removal of one brother's heart). The angry mob later captured and killed Marcelino Gutiérrez as well, and in the process they demolished the homes of the colonels. The horrific scenes of mutilated corpses in the Plaza de Armas, according to Giesecke, caused the historical narrative to focus on the mob mentality of these actors rather than consider the socio-economic motivations underlying their public display of contempt for a conservative military coup. The Gutiérrez brothers had executed José Balta to prevent the rise of Manuel Pardo to the presidency, both of whom

⁷*Ibid*, 19.

can be considered part of Peru's "new liberal" movement. These politicians were the first to break from elite-centered politics by rejecting the close relationship between the military and government and praising the daily efforts of the working classes of Lima. Pardo embodied the progressive politics of the "new liberals" who reinterpreted literature from the French Enlightenment to draw the support of working class Limeños: these laborers could use their material skills to break from the chains of slavery, and the labor "union was [now] to the artisan what the club had been to the intellectual."⁸ Rather than having to pursue honor through military service, the new liberals supported the efforts of Afro-Peruvian Limeños in their demands for better working and living conditions.

Giesecke identifies several intellectuals who exalted the virtuous labor of the working classes and even cited Rousseau in support of their demands for equal civil rights and political representation. Thus, her work provides further context for understanding why the negation of voting rights (by means of a coup) would elicit such a violent response. Her analysis of the coup also addresses the understudied political interests of working class Lima residents, many of whom were Afro-Peruvian.⁹

Even more poignantly, this context further elucidates Ricardo Palma's own political perspective and decision to separate himself from the new liberal movement. Palma's distancing from the popular politics of Lima may reflect his personal anxieties regarding African ancestry, as his partial African ancestry could have barred him from academic circles. However, his writings tended to include the influence of Afro-

⁸Margarita Giesecke, *Masas urbanas y rebelión en la historia. Lima: golpe de estado, 1872* (Lima: Centro de divulgación de historia popular, CDHP), 1978), 54-55: "Cuando en este caso se habla del 'esclavo,' se refiere a la clase que realiza el trabajo físico, pues la esclavitud como sistema ya había sido abolido. En el texto de Seane percibimos claramente la virtud del trabajador manual a la par de la del trabajador intelectual. Otros autores, tales como Capelo, consideraron en sus obras que el gremio era al artesano lo que el club al intelectual."

⁹Census data of Lima in 1866 suggest more Afro-Peruvians resided in neighborhoods close to the national palace, in the center city; see chapter 2.

Peruvians on national and local politics. Palma's *tradiciones* integrated Afro-Peruvian culture as a major part of national identity. Even though "blackness was a synonym of plebian, uncultured, barbarism, degradation, etc.,"¹⁰ Palma's *tradiciones* frequently included Afro-descended people set in the colonial era, and not always simply as slaves.

A recurring historical figure in the *tradiciones* is a *mulato* Dominican friar born in sixteenth century Lima, Fray Martin de Porres, who was beatified in 1837. A *tradición* titled "Los Ratonés de Fray Martín" ("Brother Martin's Mice") was included in Palma's first collection published in 1872. Here Palma factually presents the friar as the son of the Spaniard Juan de Porres and an unnamed Panamanian slave. Palma blends comedy smoothly with the historical narrative, explaining "and, opting for the career of a saint, which in those times was a career like any other, he visited the Convent of Santo Domingo, where he died on November 3, 1639 in an odor of saintliness." Identifying the saint as an emblem of *peruanidad*, Palma praises "our countryman Martin de Porres, [who] in life and after death, performed miracles above all. He made miracles with such facility as others made verses."¹¹ This *tradición* ends with the completion of a rather minor miracle, that of establishing a harmonious relationship between three antagonistic animals in the convent: a dog, a cat, and a mouse. The *tradición* explains that Spaniards unwittingly brought mice to Peru in a cargo of codfish, and they were beginning to

¹⁰Oswaldo Holguín Callo, "Ricardo Palma y la cultura negra" *Fundación Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú: "en ese tiempo, para muchas personas lo negro era sinónimo de la plebe, incultura, barbarie, degradación, etc., que los Palma—padre e hijo—deseaban ascender socialmente, que en Lima era habitual escuchar por las calles y plazas todo tipo de censuras en contra de lo africano, que casi siempre pertenecer a los negro estigmatizaba a las personas y las privaba del acceso a círculos de la cultura académica, etc."

¹¹Ricardo Palma, "Los Ratonés de Fray Martín," in *Tradiciones Peruanas* (Lima: Colección Educativa Niñez que Lee, 2007), 91: "y optando por la carrera de santo, que en esos tiempos era una profesión como otra cualquiera, visitó a los veintún años de edad el hábito de lego o donado en el convent de Santo Domingo, donde murió el 3 de noviembre de 1639 en olor de santidad. Nuestro paisano Martín de Porres, en vida y después de muerto, hizo Milagros por mayor. Hacia Milagros con la facilidad con que otros hacen versos."

overrun the monastery. The three natural enemies now ate together in harmony because the Peruvian saint had shown them that “God provides for all three.”¹² Read as an allegory for the construction of the nation, the Afro-Peruvian saint brought harmony to early republican Peru by means of the Catholic Church. This foundational fiction depicts the Church as integrating three distinct ethnoracial identities in Peru: the Spaniard, the indigenous, and the African.

In contrast to this harmonious depiction of the Peruvian saint and the Church, other *tradiciones* criticize the Church’s authority while praising Martin de Porres. Palma asserted that the saint’s ability to perform miracles in “El Virrey de los Milagros” (“The Viceroy of Miracles”), would compare favorably to any European saint. Yet the Dominican order at one point forbade the lay brother from performing the acts. In another *tradicón* narrating his life, Martin de Porres was passing a scaffolding when a worker fell from it. Halfway to the ground and his sure death, Porres miraculously stopped the man mid-fall. While the man awaited his fate, Porres ran to the prior of the Dominican order to ask permission to complete the miracle. The prior begrudgingly allowed Porres to complete the miracle. The *tradicón* thus comments on the pettiness of Church authority while reinforcing Porres’ hallowed place in the Peruvian imaginary.¹³

B. Clemente Palma

Clemente Palma was born on December 3, 1872, in the year of the coup. Scholars have noted that Clemente was of a lighter complexion than his father, and he witnessed numerous incidents of prejudice against his father for his African ancestry. As a young professional, Ricardo Palma had weathered several public criticisms of his blackness

¹²*Ibid*, 95: “Vayan, hijos, denle siempre un lugarcito al convidado, que Dios da para los tres.”

¹³Merlin Compton, *Ricardo Palma*, 85.

intended to deprecate him among his high-society peers. Yet he did not completely deny his ancestry, and later responded, famously, that in Peru: “*el que no tiene de inga tiene de mendinga*” (he who does not have some Inka, has some African, *sic*).¹⁴

Venezuelan author Rufino Blanco Fombona’s attack of Ricardo Palma’s character was the most infamous. Palma served as the director of the national library from 1881 until 1912 and helped rebuild the building and its collection following its destruction during the War of the Pacific. Another “man of letters,” Manuel González Prada, who had been critical of Palma’s tenure, took over the role as the library’s director and discovered some of his predecessor’s notes written in the margins of a book by Blanco Fombona. The notes allegedly criticized the Venezuelan author’s libelous writings published against another Venezuelan poet named Andrés Mata. Blanco Fombona learned of the critique and subsequently disparaged Palma’s race and parentage in the prologue of González Prada’s *Páginas Libres* (Free Pages). Specifically, the Venezuelan author declared that Palma’s father was a “lascivious Negro soldier who had accompanied Bolívar to Peru and raped a poor, humble woman from Lima. From that crime of passion was born Ricardo Palma.”¹⁵ By 1912, however, Palma had achieved such esteem in Peruvian elite society that Lima newspapers printed opinions in defense of the writer and people gathered *en masse* to publically defend and praise the author.¹⁶

¹⁴Oswaldo Holguín Callo, “Ricardo Palma y la cultura negra”: “Palma no solo no interrumpió su exitosa carrera pública sino que, al no negar tal origen, lo asumió con entereza y, andando lo años, pudo decir que en el Perú *el que no tiene de inga tiene de mendinga*.”

¹⁵Merlin Compton, *Ricardo Palma*, 24.

¹⁶*Ibid*, 24: These displays, Compton explains, included a meeting in May to honor Palma, at which “one distinguishes speaker after another rose to pay homage to the former director of the library, and wave after wave of applause from the packed house met their remarks.”

Today, Ricardo Palma is remembered officially as “the most important Afro-Peruvian writer in history who made visible the black presence in Peruvian society.”¹⁷

Whereas Ricardo Palma navigated the sensitive terrain of racial identity without completely denying his own blackness or disparaging Peru’s African ancestry, his son Clemente responded differently to the attacks against the family’s lineage. Clemente Palma was raised in Miraflores, an upper-class neighborhood in the outskirts of Lima. Like his father, Clemente Palma attended the prestigious Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, where he earned his bachelor’s and doctoral degrees in literature. There Clemente read European pseudoscientific racial theories and integrated those ideologies into his theses. Evidence of Clemente’s disdain for the Afro-Peruvian population is hidden in plain sight in the Casa-Museo Ricardo Palma on General Suárez Street on a small bookshelf behind Ricardo Palma’s desk. Adjacent to the father’s famous spectacles, private letters, and famous works that remain on public display at the home, are Clemente’s bachelor’s and doctoral theses that reveal his ambivalence regarding Peru’s history of *mestizaje*.

Clemente Palma’s theses reveal a more sinister perspective on the racial composition of Peru, in contrast to his father’s “foundational fictions.” They demonstrate the influence of European pseudoscientific racial theories on elite concepts of national identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In particular, Clemente Palma’s first thesis constructed the common characteristics of the “Creole race,” or *raza criolla*, which celebrated certain outcomes of racial mixing while lamenting others. His ambivalence toward a racialized national identity, while disputed by some elite

¹⁷José Campos and José Respaldiza, eds. *Letras Afroperuanas: Creación e identidad* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2010), 350: “Palma es el escritor afroperuano de mayor importancia en la historia e hizo visible la presencia negra en la sociedad peruana.”

contemporaries, exemplified the contradictory process of nation-making in Peru. Regardless of its limited reception and popularity among Clemente Palma's contemporaries, the thesis permits another understanding of the fluid signifier "criollo" in the first fifty years that incorporated Afro-Peruvians as part of the nation.

The bachelor's thesis, *El Porvenir de las razas en el Perú* (*The Future of the Peruvian Races*), reveals the discordant intellectual currents regarding race and nation in late nineteenth century Peru. As his father's troubled career demonstrated, the integrationist perspective was not the dominant discourse among Lima elites of this era. Indeed, Clemente Palma's professors, Javier Prado y Ugarteche and Pablo Patrón, approved his adoption of European civilizations as a model.¹⁸ His 1897 thesis includes a section about theories of racial mixing among the principal races that have constituted the Peruvian population: specifically, the Indian, the Spanish, the Black, the Chinese, and the Mixed (*Mestizo*) races. Another section focuses on the "Indian race," which "forms the ethnic base of the Peruvian ethnicity." For Clemente Palma, race explained society's successes and failures. Racial difference was the basis of all social distinctions, and distinct processes of "degeneration" could be traced through the historical experiences of separate "races." However, he assumes the process of Spanish degeneration deserves more historical analysis than the innately negative characteristics of the Black, Chinese, and Indian races. Perhaps most interesting is Clemente Palma's analysis of the national history of "mixed races" (*razas mestizas*). Palma initially classifies *mestizos* as the

¹⁸As in Brazil at the same time, positivism was at its peak among Peruvian intellectuals in the late nineteenth century. Clemente Palma's positivist contemporaries in Lima included Jorge Polar, Alejandro Maguñá, Joaquín Capelo, and Carlos Lissón. Clemente's thesis diverged from these positivists, however, in its outright racial determinism. See Rubén Quiroz Ávila, *La Razón Racial: Clemente Palma y el racismo a fines del siglo XIX*, (Lima: Universidad Científica del Sur, 2010), 23, 30. Quiroz Avila provides more details on Clemente's relationship with Javier Prado, however, who held similarly negative views of blacks in Peru.

offspring of Indian and Spanish parents, which he attributes to the scarcity of Spanish women in colonial Peru. Later, however, he analyzes the addition of Blacks to racial mixing in Peru, whose mixture with Spanish created a sub-category of *mulato*—he further divides *mulatos* into various subfields, or “classes.”

Following these quasi-historical analyses, Palma arrives at his pseudoscientific construction of the “Creole race,” defined as the mixture of all the aforementioned ethnicities. The *raza criolla*, for Palma, is the “psychic tonality” of the subsequent mixture of all ethnicities in Peru that form its national identity, explaining its positive and negative characteristics. “The march of civilization,” Palma asserted, “will exterminate the Indian race,” and “the black race will disappear, as a pure entity, by absorption.” After asserting that the “Chinese race” would meet a similar fate, Palma concludes that “the only race with a future is the Creole, which is the mixed races unified by common interaction.”¹⁹

Throughout the thesis, Palma uses the terms “ethnicity” and “race” interchangeably, but Palma’s definition of race is a departure from previous nineteenth-century understandings that allowed for some fluidity based on socio-economic status. For Clemente Palma, race was determined by ancestry, and thus one’s ethnorracial identity was fixed. Citing Le Bon’s theories that “man is always the representative of his race” and that race forms the “soul” of a nation’s identity, Palma concludes, “Race should be considered a permanent being. This being is comprised not only of the living

¹⁹*El Porvenir de las razas en el Perú*, Tesis para optar el grado de bachiller en la Facultad de Letras, Leído por Clemente Palma. Facultad de Letras (Lima: Imp. Torres Aguirre, Unión 150, 1897). Casa Museo Ricardo Palma, accessed May 18, 2015, p. viii: “La raza india pura es inepta para la civilización.—Está condenada a cruzarse o a desaparecer.—El empuje de la civilización la exterminará. El Sistema yankee es inadoptable.—La raza negra desaparecerá, como entidad pura, por absorción...—La única raza de porvenir es la criolla, o sea las razas mixtas unificadas por la acción del medio.—La falta de carácter imposibilita a esta raza para constituir una nacionalidad avanzada.”

individuals that form it in a given moment, but also of the long series of dead who were their ancestors. Thus it is necessary to understand the prolonged past and future of a race to understand its “true significance.”²⁰ For Clemente Palma, race was not an indicator of social status but the core of any nation’s identity that was pre-determined by ancestry and the single factor that would determine the nation’s fate.

Clemente Palma’s observations combined discourses of the “glorious indigenous past,” with theories of racial degeneration generated by Peruvians and Europeans, like Gustave Le Bon and Javier Prado.²¹ He argued that “physically, the Indian is weak: he appears to carry on his shoulders the weight of a past ill-fated ideal and that the memory of a glorious past has paralyzed his physical development.”²² In addition, the history of the “black race” made it “inferior” and “incapable of assimilating to the civilized life.” Palma feared the “atavisms of the savage life” that African slavery had introduced to the Peruvian race.²³ Tracing African genetic inferiority to the “ferocious jungle” climate of the continent, Palma concludes, “the black race is inferior because it does not meet the

²⁰*Ibid.*, 4: “El hombre es siempre el representante de su raza. El conjunto de ideas y de sentimientos que traen los individuos del mismo país al nacer, forman el alma de la raza’...La raza debe ser considerada como un ser permanente. Este ser está compuesto no solo de los individuos vivos que lo forman en un momento dado, sino también de la lara serie de muertos que fueron sus antepasados. Para comprender la verdadera significación de la raza, es menester prolongarla al pasado y al porvenir.”

²¹Quiroz Ávila, *La Razón Racial*, 30: Prado escribió: “el esclavo [negro] es...en el organismo social un cáncer que va corrompiendo los sentimientos y los ideales nacionales. De esta suerte ha desaparecido el esclavo del Perú, sin dejar los campos cultivados; y después de haberse vengado de la raza blanca; mezclando su sangre con la de esta, y rebajando en ese contubernio el criterio moral e intelectual.”

²²Clemente Palma, *El Porvenir de las razas en el Perú*, 8: “Físicamente, el indio es débil: parece que carga sobre sus hombros el peso de un ideal malogrado y que el recuerdo de un pasado esplendor hubiese paralizado su desarrollo físico...”

²³*Ibid.*, 7: “la raza negra, raza inferior, importada para los trabajos de la costa desde las selvas feraces del Africa, incapaz de asimilarse a la vida civilizada, trayendo tan cercanos los atavismos de la tribu y la vida salvaje.”

intellectual and character conditions that sociology assigns to perfectible races predisposed to a prosperous nation.”²⁴

Palma’s negative assessment of the races of Peru meant that the nation (as a collective race-based identity) was destined to fail. The mixture of African blood in the making of Peru’s *raza criolla* was thus prone to degeneration, but Clemente Palma also offered a solution. After pointing out that Argentina is comprised of “superior bloods,” due to the “beneficent waves” of Italians to their country, as well as Chilean racial superiority due to English immigration and lack of African admixture, Palma offers his “humble concept.” His proposed solution is to cross the *raza criolla* of Peru with “another race that will give it what it lacks: character.” Reflecting the ideas of other Peruvian social Darwinists, Palma asserted that the positive characteristics that the *raza criolla* lacked could be improved by introducing “the German race.”²⁵ Palma assumed that German immigration would bring “solidity to the mental life of our race” and “more respect for the law and duty.”²⁶

Clemente Palma’s racially deterministic interpretation of Peruvian national identity ran counter to his father’s inclusive vision of the nation’s ethnracial and cultural heritage. Furthermore, Clemente’s elite discourse on Peruvian inferiority placed it below Chile to help explain why the neighboring nation had humiliated Peru in the War of the Pacific just eighteen years earlier. As his father had gained popular recognition for his

²⁴*Ibid.*, 23: “En resumen, la raza negra es una raza inferior porque no tiene las condiciones de intelectualidad y carácter que la sociología asigna a las razas perfectibles y predisuestas para constituir una nacionalidad prospera.”

²⁵Robert L. Sanchez, “Black Mosaic: The Assimilation and Marginalization of Afro-Peruvians in Post-Abolition Peru, 1854-1930 PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008), 57. Sanchez categorizes J. Francisco Varela, Hildebrando Fuentes, and Clemente Palma as proponents of social Darwinism who advocated for European immigration, especially that of English and German people.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 38: “En mi humilde concepto, señores, creo que el puede dárselo la raza alemana. El alemán... dará solidez a la vida mental de nuestra raza.”

valor in defending Lima during the Chilean invasion and for helping rebuild Lima afterwards, Clemente Palma's analysis could in no way be considered "popular." Rather, his bachelor's thesis reflected the concerns of white elites seeking to distance themselves from the "atavisms" that explained their failures as a nation.

II. Enrique López Albújar: Romanticism and Realism in Northern Peru

In contrast to Clemente Palma's elitist and racially deterministic narrative of Peru's past, present, and future, his contemporaries of northern Peru constructed a divergent vision of the nation's identity. Writer Enrique López Albújar was born in the northern region of Piura just two weeks before Clemente Palma was born in Lima. Although Albújar did not study literature, he earned his law degree from Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos before serving as a judge in various parts of the country. He is mainly remembered as one of the founders of *indigenismo*, as he first gained fame for publishing *Cuentos Andinos* while working in Huánuco in 1920. This collection of stories is based on his observations of the indigenous population of this zone.²⁷ Given the nature of his profession, it is not surprising that many of his stories examined conflict, criminality and violence as cultural phenomena.

Violence is a central theme of his later and perhaps best-known work, for which the setting was his home region of Piura. Albújar published the novel *Matalaché* in 1928, which tells the tragic story of a love affair between a black slave and the daughter of a soap factory/*hacienda* owner north of the city in early nineteenth century Piura. When the slave-owner learns that his daughter is pregnant with his slave's baby, he orders two

²⁷José Campos and José Respaldiza, eds. *Letras Afroperuanas: Creación e identidad*, 348.

other slaves to throw the transgressor, José Manuel “Matalaché,” to his death into a vat of boiling soap.

The love story between María Luz and José Manuel is written in melodramatic style, as María Luz develops “a horrible obsession that devours her soul.”²⁸ After falling in love in their first encounter, they meet again in a romantic scene in which they confess their love for each other in the anonymity of darkness. The novel’s romanticism resembles the plots of several Latin American abolitionist novels written a century earlier, but the differences outweigh the superficial resemblances.

The novel’s setting in 1816 predates the first abolitionist novel of the Americas, Cuban author Anselmo Suárez Romero’s *Francisco, el ingenio o las delicias del campo*, first published in 1838. The Cuban abolitionist novel tells the story of Francisco, a coachman (*calesero*) slave, who falls in love with a *mulata* domestic slave named Dorotea. The son of the *hacendado*, Ricardo, also falls in love with Dorotea, and forces her to sleep with him in order to save Francisco from a prolonged death by torture. At the novel’s end, Dorotea tells Francisco she is pregnant with Ricardo’s child, and that she must leave in order to save Francisco. Francisco then commits suicide by hanging. The novel has been criticized for its unrealistically romantic depiction of slavery in the Caribbean, in a manner intended merely to humanize blacks for an audience of slaveholding elite Spanish creoles.²⁹ The positioning of the slave protagonists is atypical of Cuban slavery, implicitly relegating field slaves to a position less deserving of abolition and citizenship. Nonetheless, the tropes of the “dandified *calesero* (coachman), and the tragic/erotic *mulata*” are persistent in the Cuban national imaginary, which film

²⁸ Enrique López Albújar, *Matalaché* (Lima: Edilipe Joel EIRL, 2007), 5: “Esto se va tornando en una horrible obsesión que le devora el alma de la Dulce María Luz.”

²⁹ *El Otro Francisco*. Dir. Sergio Giral, Cuba: ICAIC, 1975.

scholar Alison Fraunhar argues “have tremendous power in articulating and maintaining the colonial order through an intricate system of social and economic valuation.”³⁰

The first Latin American woman to publish an abolitionist novel also maintained these tropes, although with reversed roles to emphasize the point of her criticism. Cuban author Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda published the novel *Sab* in Spain in 1841, which tells the story of a *mulato* slave named Sab who falls in love with Carlota, the white daughter of his master. Perhaps to emphasize the parallels between the condition of white women and enslaved men, Avellaneda’s plot tells the story of Carlota’s marriage to a man from another white elite family. Enrique Otway’s love for Carlota is similar to Ricardo’s lust for Dorotea in *Francisco*, portrayed as profane and bleak in contrast to the perfect and “virtuous” love Sab develops for Carlota. At the very hour that Carlota and Enrique marry, Sab dies of heartbreak. Sab does not represent the typical Cuban slave, as he is both *mulato* and a slave overseer who eventually wins his freedom through a lottery but remains a slave to be close to Carlota. The plight of plantation slaves is hardly discussed in the novel, yet “his face presented a singular composite in which the crossing of two distinct races converged, and in which amalgamated, to put it as such, the features of the African caste with those of the European, without being a perfect *mulato*.”³¹ Avellaneda thus implies that his whiteness is his virtue. When Carlota reads Sab’s letter to Teresa, another slave and Carlota’s closest companion, at the end of the novel, she learns of Sab’s heartbreaking love for her. Although Carlota is disappointed by her

³⁰Alison Fraunhar, “*Mulata Cubana*: The Problematics of National Allegory,” in Lisa Shaw and Stephanie Dennison, eds. *Latin American Cinema: Essays on Modernity, Gender and National Identity* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2005), 160-178.

³¹Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, *Sab*. (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2003), 104: “Su rostro presentaba un compuesto singular en que se descubría el cruzamiento de dos razas divesas, y en que se amalgaban, por decirlo así, los rasgos de la casta Africana con los de la europea, sin ser no obstante un mulato perfecto.”

loveless marriage with Enrique, she does not completely regret her neglect of Sab. Instead, she simply seems to recognize his humanity for the first time, and the narrator wonders if she will ever forget him.

Both of these Cuban abolitionist novels evade the daily brutalities of plantation slavery, instead conveying romantic plots with the limited objective of humanizing slaves whose owners considered them subhuman. The tropes of the tragic/erotic mulata/o and the “dandified” slave served to promote a problematic discourse of Cuban national identity while favoring abolition, so the similarities of these plots and the narrative of *Matalaché* suggest a similarly problematic vision of blackness in the construction of a Peruvian national identity. In contrast to the romantic depictions of slavery and the supposed moral superiority of *mulatos* as opposed to blacks, however, Albújar’s 1928 novel lays bare the violence of race-based slavery.

Matalaché is set in late colonial Peru, not unlike the context of the Cuban abolitionist novels. Unlike *Sab*, Albújar’s novel tells the story of forbidden love between a slave and his owner’s daughter. The virtue of Avellaneda’s Sab lies in his persistent yet unrequited love for Carlota. And whereas Suárez Romero’s Francisco suffers from the erotic desire of an hacendado’s son for a mulata, *Matalaché* as a slave faces the more realistic punishment for damaging an elite family’s honor. María Luz, the hacendado’s daughter and *Matalaché*’s secret lover, attempts an abortion upon learning that she is pregnant with the slave’s child in hopes that her family will not find out. When this fails, she drinks poisonous herbs to commit suicide before the novel ends with the brutal murder of José Manuel *Matalaché*. Even though the male protagonist is also a “black mulato” slave overseer, like Sab and similar to Francisco’s privileged position as a

calesero, Matalaché's death is not caused by heartbreak but by being thrown into a vat of boiling soap by the slaves whose labor he had enforced throughout the novel. The novel thus seems to criticize the relationships of power that slave-owners enforced under slavery, which diminished black solidarity. It also represents the conflicted position of women like María Luz, whose love for a slave clashed with her desire to maintain her family's honor. *Matalaché*'s more realistic depiction of slavery notwithstanding, the love between the slave and his owner's daughter can be read as symbolic of the future of Peru—an ethnoracial mixing that white elites aimed to prevent through violence.

Albújar's decision to represent his protagonist as a black mulato slave overseer rather than a field slave, as well as the romanticism of the novel, resembles the problematic decisions of nineteenth century Cuban abolitionists to convey the "delights" of slavery rather than emphasize the harsh conditions to which slaves were subjected. Even with its violent final scene, the reader may wonder why the author saw the need to write about Peruvian slavery so long after abolition. The Piuran author's other works on the cultures of northern Peru provide further perspective on his vision of *peruanidad* and the challenge of overcoming ethnoracial differences.

Although he is remembered as an influential *indigenista*, Albújar's many publications set in his home region of Piura romanticize the history and cultural contributions of Afro-Peruvians. Eight years after publishing *Matalaché*, Albújar published a novel on Afro-Peruvian outlaws who gained notoriety for their extralegal exploits in the lawless regions of the north. His 1936 *Los Caballeros del Delito* combines sociological analysis with criminology in its study of *bandolerismo* (banditry) in Piura and Tumbes (the two northern most coastal regions of Peru formerly unified as Piura).

The collection of semi-mythical stories of famous *bandoleros* (bandits) combines racially and environmentally deterministic analyses with “criminal sociology,” and was written in direct response to a criminal sociological study conducted by a Dr. José Varallanos shortly before Albújar began writing the 400-page work in 1932. In response to the negative interpretations of Varallanos, Albújar began writing the many “impassioned stories” of bandits he had learned from his family as a young child, specifically the stories his father shared with him of the “intelligent and gentlemanly bandolero called Sambambé.” This famous bandolero also shared oral histories of “the fearsome Carmen Domador” and the “celebrity bandolera” Rosa Palma.³² Despite the positivism and determinism of Albújar’s analysis of his region, this tome helps clarify the author’s vision of race, regional and national identity with particular emphasis on the influence of the region’s African ancestry.

As a lawyer and judge, the Piuran author’s focus on the topic of banditry and crime seems natural. His passion for local cultural iconography and desire to understand the social phenomenon of banditry pushed him to seek a sociological explanation, but he did not apply negative interpretations of racial determinism that one might expect from the dominant pseudoscientific theories of his era. Such theories influenced elites like Clemente Palma in Lima as well as the work of Brazilian author Euclides da Cunha (and his analysis of banditry) in their turn-of-the-century works.

³²Genaro Masa, “Motivaciones de ‘Los caballeros del delito’” in Enrique López Albújar, *Los caballeros del delito* (Piura: Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado, CIPCA, 1993), 7-17: “La mencionada encuesta tuvo la virtud de movilizar un interés desbordante en nuestro Patriarca de Letras Nacionales. Después de todo, cuántas historias apasionantes de bandoleros habían acaparado gran parte de las tertulias familiares y amicales desde su niñez. Su padre había conocido al inteligente y caballeroso Sambambé, él mismo había vivido un encuentro imprevisto con el temible Carmen Domador; y conjuntamente con su padre fue testigo de la decadencia de la Rosa Palma, la célebre bandolera.”

Los caballeros del delito is a clear departure from the elite discourses of racial degeneration espoused by Clemente Palma and his professors at the end of the nineteenth century, but the tome's ambiguities bear clear similarities to Euclides da Cunha's Brazilian epic *Os Sertões* (1902). Albújar defined his regional literature as "matalachista," the differing plots unified by the common theme of *mestizaje* that represented "the position of the Peruvian hybrid with predominance of the black race." He defined *matalachismo* as "an assault of *mulatismo* of those times against the decadent and despotic *godismo*" (an allusion to elite political machinations in Venezuela).³³ Similar to the abolitionist novels of nineteenth century Cuba, the Piuran author posits that racial mixing between all ethnic groups and social classes would promote "the most ample democracy."³⁴ Much like da Cunha, Albújar dedicates the first thirty-six pages of his book to a description of the environmental, geographic, historical, and socio-economic characteristics of his northern region, the harshness of which has delayed the spiritual "evolution" of its people. The "sensuality" that this land has produced among its people, Albújar explained, "the slave maintains even in the misery in which he lives." Positing a continuation of the "misery" of an archetypal slave condition through the contemporary lives of Afro-Peruvians, he characterizes their condition as "exalted at times, always indolent, unconcerned with communal interests or regional progress, or even with those that relate to their own class interests. Above all the *zambo*—this product

³³*Ibid.*, 8: "Dentro de los ríos de sangre que confluyen en el crisol del mestizaje en nuestra patria, el matalachismo representó la posición del híbrido peruano con predominancia de la raza negra. Como el mismo autor lo definió, el matalachismo 'Es, en en fondo, una embestida del mulatismo de aquellos tiempos contra el godismo decadente y despótico.'" *Godismo* was a form of political and social conservatism defended by Venezuelan elites in the early nineteenth century.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 8: "Así mismo, propugna, en consonancia con la igualdad civil para todos los grupos sociales, la más amplia democracia en lo que se refiere a la union sexual entre todos los troncos étnicos, sin prejuicios de ninguna clase."

of coastal *mulatismo*—who, at the same time is more spiritually agile, more intuitive, is also more prone to a licentious life.”³⁵

The author repeats and reinforces long-held Peruvian stereotypes of Afro-Peruvian sexuality and immorality, yet his analysis of *bandolerismo* also rejects the so-called “thermal curve of banditry” theory widely held among his criminologist contemporaries. This theory held that regions with warmer temperatures yielded higher rates of delinquent conduct (particularly violent attacks), and regions with lower temperatures yielded more petty crimes, such as theft. Albújar’s comparative analysis of crime trends in various regions of the country contradicts the climatically deterministic theory. Even while rejecting climate, the author adds that the causes that determine delinquent conduct must include “the biopsychic, physio-psychic, geographic, economic, social, cultural, moral, etc.”³⁶ The Piuran author’s social criminologist analysis thus diverged from Clemente Palma’s singular reliance on French racial theory, but did not completely reject historic assumptions of racial difference as a determining factor in Peruvian society.

A volume published in 1990 criticized both Varallanos’ and Albújar’s positivist analyses of Afro-Peruvian banditry. Carlos Aguirre and Charles Walker argue that *bandolerismo*, and popular perceptions of such activity in Peru reveal social and political relationships. Aguirre argues that although *cimarronaje* (the act of fleeing from slavery) was intimately connected to *bandolerismo*, the latter “lacked ‘legitimacy’ before the

³⁵Enrique López Albújar, *Los caballeros del delito* (Piura: CIPCA, 1993), 37: “Es esta sensualidad la que le mantiene esclavo aun de la miseria en que vive, exaltado a ratos, indolente siempre, de espaldas a los intereses comunales, al progreso regional y hasta a lo que se relaciona on sus mismos intereses de clase. Sobre todo el zambo—este producto del mulatismo costeño—quien, por lo mismo que es espiritualmente más ágil, mas intuitivo, es también más propenso a la vida licenciosa.”

³⁶*Ibid.*, 16: “dentro de las causas que determinan la conducta delincencial hay que tener en cuenta las de carácter biopsíquico, fisiopsíquico, geográfico, económico, cultural, moral, etc.”

popular classes and was more a symptom of social unrest than an action sustained in the support of popular groups against social enemies.”³⁷ Furthermore, Charles Walker traces the growing social and political consciousness of coastal bandits in the first decades of the republic. He points to resistance to slavery as a cause of such criminality and provides evidence that Afro-Peruvian *bandoleros* formed alliances with liberal political movements against conservative regimes.³⁸

Albújar’s poems, in contrast to his criminological study, celebrated Piuran culture rather than analyzing and explaining it. Ten years after Albújar first published *Matalaché* in a series of chapters released in a weekly newspaper, he published a collection of poems titled *de la tierra brava; poemas afroyungas*. The collection of poems share common themes of banditry and Afro-Peruvian culture, though the title reflects a cultural appropriation typical of *indigenismo*, as *afroyungas* is an Afro-Bolivian community with its own unique “Afro-Hispanic language.”³⁹

The “brave land” to which the collection’s title refers is clearly that of Piura-Tumbes, and Albújar includes a poem about the death of a notorious bandido. The first line of each stanza of the poem “La muerte del bandido” exclaims, “They’ve killed Alama! They’ve killed Alama!” Thousands of voices from the countryside to the cities celebrate the death of the man who was “a servant of the turbulent and bloody life.”

³⁷Carlos Aguirre y Charles Walker, *Bandoleros, abigeos y montoneros: criminalidad y violencia en el Perú, siglos XVIII-XX* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1990), 21: “Aunque íntimamente ligados, la interpretación que Aguirre hace permite advertir una diferencia notable en la naturaleza de dichas acciones: mientras el cimarronaje portaba de elementos que apuntaban a una ‘contraideología’ de los esclavos y gozaba de un consenso aprobatorio entre ellos, el bandolerismo carecía de ‘legitimidad’ delante de las clases populares y ejercía sus acciones de forma indiscriminada, por lo cual se manifiesta mas como un síntoma de malestar social que como una acción sustentada en el apoyo de los grupos populares contra sus enemigos sociales.”

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹John M. Limpki, “Afro-Yungueño Speech: The long-lost ‘black’ Spanish,” *Spanish in Context* 4:1 (2007), 1-43.

Everyday citizens, even priests, celebrate the death of the man who could “break through a police blockade” with “one accurate bullet, one bullet, just one” in the first four stanzas of the poem.⁴⁰ The stanzas of the second half of the poem, however, paint a more ambivalent and humanizing portrait of the formidable bandido named Alama. For instance, “all of the beloved women who had kissed his lips” seem to react in a more somber tone. The fourth-to-last stanza tells the reader of the murderous slave-owner whom Alama had pursued, suggesting that his banditry began as an act of vengeance and continued as he fled from slavery. Still the most powerful lines appear in the final two stanzas, which tell of Alama’s mother and son hearing the news of his death:

Only in one homestead and in a dark room,/a soul always ignited by one fixed thought,/upon learning the news, a creature cries/and, transfixed, murmurs:/They killed my son! They killed my son!/And upon hearing the wail, tragic before the grandmother,/after giving a kiss, with earnestness, to his grandmother,/a young man, who has brandished his carbine and spur,/solemnly swears:--I will avenge you, father!/I will avenge you, father!⁴¹

The poem’s final lines suggest a continual cycle of *bandolerismo*, which began as a slave’s act of self-defense and escape. His son will avenge his father’s death violently, leading him to a similar life of crime and violence. The poem does not explicitly celebrate the lives of such bandoleros, but it clearly displays a contrast between the many voices celebrating the death of a feared bandolero and his family’s reaction. This juxtaposition humanizes the infamous bandolero and implicitly locates the roots of such

⁴⁰ Enrique López Albújar, *De la tierra brava: poemas afroyngas* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1938), 45. Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Sala de Investigaciones: “¡Ya mataron a Alama! ¡Ya mataron a Alama!/ por ciudades y campos van gritando mil voces,/...el mozo de la vida turbulenta y sangrienta,/el de la vida corta y de larga fama;/el que en la boca oscura de su oscura pistola/para romper un cerco policial le bastaba/una bala certera, una bala, sola una.”

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 47-48: “Sólo en un caserío y en una estancia oscura,/prendida siempre el alma de un pensamiento fijo,/al saber la noticia, llora un criatura,/y, transida, murmura:--¡Ya mataron a mi hijo! ¡Ya mataron a mi hijo!/Y al oír el lamento, trágico ante la abuela,/después de darle un beso, con unción, a su madre,/un mozo, que ha empuñado carabina y espuela,/jura solemnemente:--¡Yo te vengaré, padre!/¡Yo te vengaré, padre!”

violence in slavery rather than race per se, thereby providing a counter-narrative to the dominant discourse of blacks as criminals.

III. “Popular” Literature, Politics, and Pseudoscience: Albújar and the Palmas

Enrique López Albújar’s writings reflected the popular culture of northern Peru to a greater degree than Ricardo Palma’s *tradiciones* reflected popular culture in Lima. Despite Ricardo Palma’s apparent political support among the Lima “masses,” his literary audience was limited to the educated elite minority.⁴² This ambivalent position prompted him to romanticize the city’s colonial past in troubling ways, perhaps to assert his coveted and precarious elite social position. Such tension is clear in an oft-overlooked *tradición* titled *Los aguadores de Lima*. This story celebrated the demise of the Afro-Peruvian guild, the members of which he described as “drunk,” “quarrelsome,” and “blindly obedient.”⁴³ Although his writings were pioneering in their inclusion of Afro-Peruvians in the cultural fabric of Lima, they were not always celebratory or complimentary.

Both of these authors can be considered *costumbristas*, a form of literature that described and romanticized cultural aspects unique to Peru while providing social commentary through the narratives. Ricardo Palma’s criticisms of colonial Peru and the aristocratic society that sought to maintain the same social hierarchies in early republican Peru were subtle yet clear. Albújar criticized the harshness of slavery and its legacies, but his vision of *matalechismo* suggested that racial mixing would foster cultural cohesion and regional, if not national unity.

⁴²For more on nineteenth-century literacy in Lima, see Elisabeth L. Austin, *Exemplary Ambivalence in Late Nineteenth-Century Spanish America: Narrating Creole Subjectivity* (Bucknell University Press, 2012).

⁴³Oswaldo Holguín Callo, “Ricardo Palma y la cultura negra.”

Although the Piuran author's writings focused on racial and cultural amalgamation in his home region, he did not ignore the politics and elite discourses emanating from Lima. One of his *poemas afroyungas*, in fact, is dedicated to José Gálvez, the former president who had appointed Ricardo Palma to the position of consul to Pará, Brazil. Gálvez had previously supported Castilla's liberal revolution in 1854-5, pressuring the caudillo to abolish slavery and indigenous tribute and counseling the drafting of the liberal constitution of 1856. Gálvez was known for his "highly romanticized vision of Lima's past traditions,"⁴⁴ so it is no surprise that Albújar dedicated a poem to him that similarly romanticizes northern Peru's past. The brief poem, titled "Los Pitingos," rejoices that the "black pitingos" are coming, "swiftly, vociferously." These "rough horsemen" bring "marble, silver and iron."⁴⁵ Unlike his poem about the death of a bandolero, this poem only presents a positive view of such Afro-Peruvian "rough-riders," who will be arriving soon with their precious loot. The poem diverges from the *mulatismo* of Albújar's other works in its representation of blackness, and the dedication to a prominent abolitionist politician suggests that such literature was explicitly political in its representations.

The *costumbrista* literature of Ricardo Palma and Albújar clearly differs from Clemente Palma's theses in terms of representation, genre, and politics. However, the popular representations of blackness in Peruvian culture appear to have influenced Clemente Palma's writing as his career progressed. His successful literary career was based on a unique genre of science fiction short stories that generally avoided topics of race or ethnicity. At the age of sixty-six, Clemente Palma wrote the prologue to Albújar's

⁴⁴Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and their Worlds: The Prison Experience, 1850-1935*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 120-121.

⁴⁵Albújar, *De la tierra brava: poemas afroyungas*, 49.

collection of *poemas afroyungas*. Naturally, the prologue praised the Piuran author's writing, but he also pointed to their common literary style as both belonged to the generation that came of age at the end of the nineteenth century. In Clemente Palma's prologue, he identifies as a writer with the same modernist objectives as Albújar. Palma asserts, "We resolved, as boys of that era with literary affinities, to also represent a reaction against the moth-eaten demands of classical art and against the old melodramatic refrains of romanticism."⁴⁶ In this 1938 prologue, Clemente Palma's negative assessment of race and nation in his bachelor's thesis seems a relic of his youthful student days. Rather than lamenting the racial degeneration he theorized in 1897, Palma was now celebrating the *mulatismo* of his Piuran contemporary. He seems to have recognized that such racial determinism better reflected the "moth-ridden" views of the old aristocracy than the modernizing generation of 1900. In the prologue to Albújar's collection of poetry, Clemente Palma describes the novel *Matalaché* as "a stupendous and valiant study of the aristocracy's racial prejudices and of the infiltration of black elements (*sic*) in colonial sociability and converting a large part of the select matrices emblazoned in the democratic crucibles of the predominant *mestizaje* in our republican society."⁴⁷ Clemente Palma's perspective on blackness and racial mixing in Peru had changed significantly, at least publically.

Clemente Palma's change in perspective also reflects a shift in the dominant discourse in race and nation in Peru. Albújar's connections to Lima elites developed from

⁴⁶Clemente Palma, Prologue to Enrique López Albújar, *De la tierra brava: poemas afroyungas*, xii: "y resolvimos los muchachos de entonces, con aficiones literarias, representar también una reacción contra los apolilladas preceptivas del arte clásico, y contra las cantaletas lloronas y melosas del romanticismo."

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, xiv: "Y siguió *Matalaché*, novela trágica, de ambiente colonial, estupendo y valiente estudio sobre los prejuicios raciales de la aristocracia de la infiltración que el elemento negro fue haciendo en la sociabilidad colonial convirtiendo muy buena parte de la selectas matrices blasonadas en crisoles democráticos del mestizaje predominante en nuestra sociedad republicana."

his education at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos as well the positive reception of his writings. Clemente Palma points out that Albújar's two most popular novels, *Los caballeros del delito* and *Nuevos cuentos andinos* are "perched at the Supreme Court, that is to say, at the most elevated position of our literature."⁴⁸ The popularity of Albújar's writings on Afro-Peruvian history and culture from a regional to a national level corresponds with a shift in the elite discourse of racial mixing. His poem, "La muerte del bandido" is dedicated to Roberto Mac Lean Estrenós, considered one of the highest authorities on eugenics in 1930s Peru.

The dedication of a poem meant to humanize and explain the roots of Afro-Peruvian bandolerismo in black slavery allows the reader to analyze the poem in a political context. Roberto MacLean Estrenós, like Albújar, had earned his law degree at the UNMSM in Lima. Unlike the Piuran author and the Palmas, however, MacLean Estrenós independently studied the writings of *negritude* in the French Caribbean and its proponents in the United States. A member of the Lima elite, Estrenós was married to María Ugarteche y Bebín, of the prominent family that included Mariano Ignacio Prado and Manuel Prado y Ugarteche, one of Clemente Palma's thesis advisors.⁴⁹ Both Enrique López Albújar and Roberto MacLean Estrenós were degreed lawyers and self-trained sociologists and were equally concerned with Peru's history of racism. Albújar likely saw MacLean Estrenós as an important voice in vindicating the Afro-Peruvian historical experience and culture, providing a more global and scientific perspective on the Piuran writer's work that deserved recognition in the form of a dedication.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, xv: "Pero el ascenso de López Albújar en la republica de las letras fue mas alto, pues con sus nuevos libros *Nuevos Cuentos Andinos* y *Los Caballeros del delito* se encaramó a la Corte Suprema, es decir, a la posición más elevada de nuestra literatura."

⁴⁹Ronald Hilton, *Who's Who in Latin America: Part IV, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru*. (Stanford University Press, 1947), 181.

MacLean Estrenós published a comprehensive sociological study of human evolution in his 1936 book *Del salvajismo a la nación (From Savagery to Nation)*. The book discusses Charles Darwin's and Jean-Baptiste Lamarck's theories of evolution and natural selection, pointing out that they agreed that all humanity shares a common genetic ancestry. The arc of human evolution outlined by MacLean Estrenós emphasizes similar processes of group migrations and identity formations based on shared political and/or religious interests. These processes, he points out, occurred in central Greece just as they did in central Mexico, suggesting a cultural relativism in which civilizations are influenced by their long-term environments. While admitting that over time these distinct locations and endogamy produced some genetic differences, MacLean Estrenós insists on using the term "ethnicity" rather than "race" to describe the different civilizations that would lead to distinct national identities.⁵⁰ The teleological analysis of human evolution leading to nation-state identities resembles Clemente Palma's equation of race and nation, but MacLean Estrenós' implicit cultural relativism is much more similar to his contemporary at Columbia University in New York, Franz Boas.⁵¹

MacLean Estrenós went on to serve as the sole Peruvian representative at the First Inter-American Demographic Conference in Mexico City in 1943, where he debated the "racist question" with delegates from twenty countries of the Americas (including the United States). The resolution that the delegates unanimously agreed upon is surprising

⁵⁰Roberto Mac Lean Estrenós, *Del Salvajismo a la Nacion: Genesis y Telesis social*. (Lima: Casa Editora Sanmartí y Cía, S.A. 1936).

⁵¹For more on Franz Boas, cultural relativism, and "racial vindication," see Lee. D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

and anomalous in the context of the widespread authority of racial degeneration in eugenics theory in the 1930s.⁵²

The “Eugenics Commission” agreed upon the following set of objectives for the “improvement of the living conditions of people called Afro-Americans, blacks or people of color:”

1. Discrimination based on race or color be eliminated in all human relations in general and especially in those situations that refer to conditions of work, of living space, of health, and of the distribution of public services.
2. The exercise of political rights ensured not only by the law but also by the principles and practices that are essential to the demographic spirit of America.
3. The stimulation of scientific study of black populations, of their conditions, their potentials, their cultures in general, and *their contributions to national and continental heritage. And that said studies and reports be published in school textbooks or in any other appropriate form* and be diffused with the objective of producing a better compensation between the races.
4. The effective cooperation between all of the so-called racial groups without distinction with the goal of improving the living conditions for the whole society.⁵³

MacLean Estrenós’ earlier research on human evolution and ethnicity laid the foundation for his anti-racist agenda. His 1943 book in which he recalled his participation in the

⁵²See Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 177-181. Although Mac Lean Estrenós claimed this was the first such conference, there was a Pan American conference on eugenics and homiculture held in Havana in December of 1927. The Peruvian delegate, Dr. Carlos Enrique Paz Soldán was “by far the strongest opponent to the code’s racist tone and policies,” despite his later view that the Japanese “race” should be excluded from Peru in the 1930s.

⁵³Roberto Mac Lean Estrenós, *Negros en el Nuevo mundo*. (Lima: Editorial PTCM, 1948), 108-109: “La Comisión de Eugenesia aprobó, por una reconfortante unanimidad de votos, incluyendo en ella el de la delegación estadounidense, la siguiente Resolución: ...para impulsar lo más rápidamente posible por procesos educativos evolutivos que conduzcan al mejoramiento de las condiciones de vida de las poblaciones llamadas afro-americanas, negros o gente de color, con el fin de que: 1. La discriminación por motivo de raza o color sea eliminada en todas las relaciones humanas en general y especialmente en aquellas situaciones que se refieren a las condiciones de trabajo, de la habitación, de la salud, y de la distribución de los servicios públicos; 2. El ejercicio de los derechos políticos resulte asegurado no solamente por la ley sino también por los preceptos y prácticas que son esenciales al espíritu demográfico de América; 3. Se estimule el estudio científico de la poblaciones negras, de sus condiciones, sus potencialidades, sus culturas en general, y sus contribuciones a la herencia nacional y continental. Y que los resultados de dichas investigaciones o estudios sean publicados en textos escolares o en cualquiera otra forma apropiada y se les dé difusión general con el objeto de que se produzca una mejor compensación entre las razas; y 4. La cooperación efectiva entre todos los llamados grupos raciales sin distinción sea estimulada con el propósito de mejorar las condiciones de vida para la sociedad entera.” Emphasis added.

Inter-American Demographics Conference included a chapter that analyzed the “Great black educators”: Booker T. Washington, Otis Samuel O’Neal, and Mary Macleod Bethune. The Lima lawyer-sociologist understood the struggle of African-Americans fighting for racial vindication and civil rights in the U.S. as a model for elites to embrace in Latin America. Thus he saw racism and racial exclusion as the true “black problem,” unlike the racially deterministic explanation of Clemente Palma’s thesis.

IV. Conclusion: A Shifting Discourse of Race, Nation, and Culture

The roles and culture of Afro-Peruvians in the nation’s colonial past were first highlighted in the *costumbrista* paintings of Pancho Fierro (1807-1879), who celebrated and romanticized the nation’s history of slavery. The literary and pseudoscientific narrative over the period examined in this chapter (1860s-1940s) suggests a correspondence between popular representations in literature and a “softening” of racial theory in the discourse of eugenics. It also provides further evidence of the “elasticity” of this pseudoscience, as in Brazil the “science of eugenics provided a bridge between racial ideology and popular culture.”⁵⁴ Ricardo Palma’s integration of Afro-Peruvian culture and history in his vision of *peruanidad* insisted that Peruvians recognize their mixed ethnoracial ancestry. This perspective became popular through his writing despite his apparent internal tension and distancing from blackness, inciting Lima’s masses to come together in defense of their beloved author of Peruvian national identity. Although he turned away from politics after the 1872 revolt, the Afro-descended Lima author maintained his popularity among the lower classes.

⁵⁴Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917-1945*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 51.

The ideas that Clemente Palma expressed with such fervor in his thesis, in contrast, were not “popular,” and by their very nature precluded the acceptance and the support of working class Peruvians. However, his theses earned him bachelors and doctoral degrees from the UNMSM. Moreover, Clemente Palma’s advisor, Dr. Javier Prado y Ugarteche was an influential politician and later served as the rector/chancellor of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos from 1915-1921, and his decision to approve these theses shows that these ideas also were consistent with his thinking on race and national identity.

Clemente Palma was named Peruvian consul to Spain in 1902, serving in Barcelona until 1904, when he returned to Lima to continue his writing and political career. In contrast, Ricardo Palma traveled to Madrid in 1899 to petition the Real Academia Española to accept a list of *americanismos* and *peruanismos*—words that had become part of the standard Spanish vocabulary in the Americas, and many of which reflect Afro-Peruvian inflections—into the official Spanish language.⁵⁵ The Royal Academy rejected Ricardo Palma’s appeal, but Clemente launched a successful literary career during his time in Europe. Clemente Palma’s apparent change in perspective did not lead him to fully embrace his father’s celebratory integrationist approach. Rather, his literary career elided questions of race and nation.

In spite of Roberto MacLean Estrenós’ efforts to foster a Pan-American program to promote racial equality in 1943, the “progressive” sociologist denied that Afro-Peruvians faced racial discrimination in his own country. Blacks in Peru, according to this chair of the sociology department at UNMSM, did not face racial discrimination or lynching. According to MacLean Estrenós, “in Peru the sense of equality and human

⁵⁵Ricardo Sumalavia, *Ricardo Palma: Narrativa Completa* (Lima: PUCP, 2006), 30.

dignity is not limited to men of white skin. We are all equal before the Peruvian law, with the same rights and the same work, in the political, economic, and social realms.”⁵⁶ His reasoning reveals the power of discourses of *mestizaje* in creating a mythos of Peruvian ethnoracial exceptionalism, which acknowledged national diversity and racial mixing but denied the existence of racism.

The racial ideology of Peruvian white elites, as well as the collective resistance of Afro-Peruvians to racial exclusion and social inequality, thus demonstrate more similarities than differences in the histories of race in the Americas. After all, the so-called “Tannenbaum thesis” of 1946 contrasted Brazil’s “racial democracy,” a supposedly egalitarian and “raceless” society that celebrated its mixed heritage, to the institutional racism and racial inequality in the United States.⁵⁷ This chapter thus contributes to a growing body of literature that reveals more similarities than differences in racial exclusion across the Americas. Afro-Peruvians faced persistent negative stereotypes that sought to exclude them from the elite vision of the nation, excluding them from full political participation that they had earned through generations of collective action--against slavery, and for the ideals of an independent, democratic nation. Clemente Palma’s internalization of this racial hierarchy led him to deny his own blackness and lament his nation’s racial identity, and his later writings praising Albújar’s work embody the elite contradictory visions of race and nation.

⁵⁶Roberto MacLean Estrenós, *Negros en el Nuevo mundo* (Lima: Editorial PTCM, 1948), 154: “En el Peru el sentido de igualdad y de dignidad humana no está limitado solo a los hombres de piel blanca. Todos son iguales ante la ley peruana, con los mismos derechos y los mismos deberes, tango en lo político como en los económico y en lo social.”

⁵⁷Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Classic Comparative Study of Race Relations in the Americas* (Beacon Press, 1992). Originally published in 1946.

On the other hand, Enrique López Albújar became a member of the Limeño elite through his education, writing, and by marrying into an elite family. His experiences in the Peruvian hinterlands and his childhood in Piura provided him a unique perspective on *peruanidad*, to which he contributed by providing a more realistic account of racial oppression and a unique sociological analysis of the enduring legacies of slavery. For all of its realism, Albújar's vision of *mulatismo* reflects some of the same problematic solutions envisioned by nineteenth century Cuban abolitionists. Albújar, like Suárez Romero and Avellaneda, chose to present two virtuous protagonists as *mulatos*, thereby implying that diluting blackness through racial mixing would resolve ethnoracial antagonism. At the same time, Albújar's vision of *peruanidad* was optimistic in showing that moral character transcends race.

Yet Albújar's analysis of the brutality of slavery and its legacies emphasized the root causes of ethnoracial inequality. This was a clear departure from Clemente Palma's racially deterministic assessment, and Roberto MacLean Estrenós echoed this development in his analysis of the "black problem." Of course, the "elite discourse" on race and nation was not monolithic, as evinced in the influential Marxist intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui.⁵⁸ Such contradictions ultimately reveal that racial determinism remained a part of the ideology of *mestizaje as peruanidad*. Although racist attitudes and prejudice against Afro-Peruvians certainly remained in twentieth century Peru, the elite discourse on race and nation came to reflect the popular representations of racial mixing as unification and a recognition of the cultural contributions of black Peruvians. Put

⁵⁸José Carlos Mariátegui, transl. Marjory Urquidi, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971). In this 1928 publication, Mariátegui applied a Marxist analysis to explain the "problem of the Indian," generally disparaged blacks, and suggested that encouraging immigration from Europe was part of the solution to the nation's racial composition.

simply, this chapter suggests that the recognition of cultural contributions in popular literature matters. If the pseudoscience of race and ethnicity in early twentieth-century Latin America was influenced by assumptions and expectations, popular literature likely influenced the shift in elite discourse between the 1860s and 1940s.

Chapter 6: A Hidden History of Patriotism, Activism, and Identity: Afro-Peruvian Labor and Politics, 1855-1930

I. Introduction: Afro-Peruvian Invisibility, Patriotism, and “Political Interests”

A series of regional and national strikes erupted in the Peruvian capital and at several sugar plantations along the northern coast between 1912 and 1930. Working-class Peruvians banded together for better working and living conditions with varying degrees of success, and political parties supported them in hopes of gaining their electoral support. Shared class antagonism of the aristocratic-political alliance, I argue, facilitated the emergence of a broader ethno-racial Afro-Peruvian identity in the 1950s. Local concerns tended to supersede national party lines and the aristocratic-political alliance responded to uprisings with violence. Historian Jorge Basadre has labeled the period of Peruvian history from 1895-1919 as the “Aristocratic Republic,” during which coastal economic elites essentially governed.¹ The undemocratic nature of this governing period resulted from the increased political influence of social alliances between aristocratic Lima families, agricultural commercial interests, and the Civilista political party. Historian Robert Sanchez has added that “one of the social objectives of the modernization project of the Aristocratic Republic was to assert its authority and order on the popular classes,” effectively associating blackness with immorality and repressing the ability of Afro-Peruvians to form positive images of blackness.² As historian Vincent Peloso has explained, most of these aristocrats, “like the Aspíllaga, Boza, Cillóniz and López de Romaña families, were export landowners whose properties lined the river

¹Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la república, Tomo IX: Quinto Periodo, 1899-1918* (Lima: la Empresa Editora El Comercio S. A., 2005).

²Robert L. Sanchez, “Black Mosaic: The Assimilation and Marginalization of Afro-Peruvians in Post-Abolition Peru, 1854-1930 (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008), 80.

valleys of the coastal departments from Piura in the north to Moquegua in the south.”³

These cotton planters and sugar growers profited from the labor of working class Peruvians on their fields while relying on the flexibility of the Civilista Party to “absorb” rival parties that might present a challenge, effectively precluding the rise of popular political movements until the 1920s.⁴ However, this chapter argues that the Aristocratic Republic also engendered widespread working class disillusionment and a degree of class solidarity. Many of the laborers involved in labor activism and demanding increased democratic representation, I argue, were Afro-Peruvian.

Afro-Peruvians played key roles in organizing for improved labor conditions, forming “mutual aid societies” following the abolition of slavery, agitating for changes as laborers on sugar plantations (*haciendas*), and becoming involved in popular political movements that promoted greater social and economic equality. As mentioned in chapter three, Afro-Peruvian men were also essential militants in support of Colonel José Balta’s 1868 revolution in Chiclayo, as defenders of the *patria* in the War of the Pacific, and in support of Nicolás de Piérola’s 1894 uprising against the dominant Civilista party. As laborers on or near sugar haciendas and in Lima, Afro-Peruvians resisted oligarchic control of national politics by supporting the Partido Demócrata in the late nineteenth century and by supporting the nation’s first “populist president” Guillermo Billinghurst in his 1912 election. This political involvement has been interpreted as primarily class-based, thereby erasing the participation of Afro-Peruvians in the historiography of political activism during the nation’s modernizing period.

³Vincent C. Peloso, “Cotton Planters, the State, and Rural Labor Policy: Ideological Origins of the Peruvian República Aristocrática, 1895-1908,” *The Americas* 40:2 (Oct. 1983), 209-228, 211.

⁴*Ibid.*, 227.

Scholarly analyses of Peruvian society and politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have used sources that emphasize class-based political discourses. These came from elite planters and laborers alike. This reading of the documentary record has yielded a historiography almost completely void of Afro-Peruvian political agency. Newspapers, private letters between plantation owners, and political propaganda that circulated among sugar cane laborers rarely mentioned race distinctions, instead invoking class to foment solidarity. Coastal planters and aristocratic Limeños sought to maintain social control while laborers pursued working-class solidarity for more democratic representation of their interests. Elites tended not to make racial or ethnic distinctions when discussing the Peruvian “masses,” thereby concealing those markers as relevant.

This chapter examines the Afro-Peruvian transition from slavery to freedom through an analysis of labor relations and political rights. Following the abolition of slavery in 1854, Afro-Peruvians were important actors in emergent labor activism and popular politics through local-level organizing and as an electorate with common interests at the national level. Landholding elites allied with the Civilista party sought to deny full citizenship to former slaves and Afro-descended Peruvians generally, which inadvertently contributed to a broad-based social movement to demand labor rights and political equality. This cooperation contributed to the erasure of Afro-Peruvian political agency in the historical record. Instead it highlighted significant victories for all Peruvian laborers, such as the eight-hour workday. Building on the recent work of Peruvian activist-scholars and triangulating secondary and primary sources on Afro-Peruvian activism, this chapter shows how Afro-descended Peruvians demanded full representation

in the republic: they took direct action to end slavery, to defend *la patria* in a war with Spain and in the War of the Pacific, and in demanding direct suffrage through the Partido Demócrata.

Peruvian lawyer and sociologist Roberto MacLean Estrenós, whose work is analyzed in the previous chapter, published a comparative study of black social movements in the Americas in 1948. He concluded, “in the distinct Latin American countries, the political attitude of blacks appears to follow the same tone and the same inspiration.” In both Brazil and Argentina, the author argued, blacks rallied against the aristocracies because they represented the interests of former slaveholders. The “analogous situation” to these in Peru could be found in the supporters of Nicolás de Piérola. According to MacLean Estrenós, “More than to Castilla who had freed them, blacks paid fervent devotion to Piérola. They were always pierolistas, both in the flattering days of power and in the long years of adversity and demise.” MacLean y Estrenós convincingly argued that Afro-Peruvians allied with the populist caudillo because he symbolized the “most energetic reaction...against the Civilista oligarchy, against the children and grandchildren of those who had been slave owners and oppressors of slaves.”⁵ The sociologist thus rooted Afro-Peruvian political interests in the common struggle against slavery, and his analysis of their support for Piérola can also be traced to the War of the Pacific (1879-1883).

⁵Roberto MacLean y Estrenós, *Negros en el nuevo mundo*. (Lima: Editorial PTCM, 1948), 96: “En los distintos países latinoamericanos la actitud política de los negros parece seguir la misma tónica y la misma inspiración...Los enemigos de Rosas habían sido precisamente los dueños de esclavos. Situación análoga se presenta en el Perú con Nicolás de Piérola. Más que a Castilla [quien] los había libertado, los negros rindieron fervorosa devoción a Piérola. Fueron siempre pierolistas, como en los días halagüeños del poder y en los años largos del crepúsculo y de la adversidad. Y fueron pierolistas los negros porque el solo nombre del caudillo simbolizaba la más enérgica reacción contra el feudalismo criollo, contra la oligarquía civilista, contra los hijos y nietos de los que habían sido amos y opresores de los esclavos.”

Civil-military relations played an important role in the national politics of Peru's "oligarchic republic" (1850-1950)⁶ and more precisely during the "aristocratic republic" (1895-1919). Economic elites maintained a close relationship with the Civilista party throughout this period, and they turned to the military to intervene in politics when a president acted against their wishes. This dynamic led to frequent disillusionment among working class Peruvians who supported civilian politicians, and the period displayed similar class-based struggles in both Lima and the northern coast.

Nicolás de Piérola's tense relationship with the Civilista party demonstrates his contradictory desire for political power and social control while also seeking popular support of working class indigenous and Afro-Peruvians. Nicolás Piérola's father (of the same name) had served as the Minister of Finance under conservative President Echenique, also a civilian caudillo leader who had resisted Ramón Castilla's 1853-4 liberal revolution that abolished slavery. Piérola senior, nonetheless, had derided slavery in 1845 as "the mortal cancer of society."⁷ Of course, Afro-Peruvians were the main supporters of Castilla's revolution, fighting for the promise of freedom and citizenship.

Although such statements ring hollow in historical perspective, Piérola's father fostered his son's popularity among political elites as well as working class Afro-Peruvians. His inherited class position facilitated his political ascendance, as former president Echenique recommended him to President José Balta for the position of Minister of Finance in 1869.

Piérola's caudillo-style populism began between 1874 and 1877 when he supported several attempts to oust Civilista President Manuel Pardo, and he later served

⁶Juan Luis Orrego, *La República Oligárquica (1850-1950)*. (Numisma.org, 2009). Orrego frames this 100-year period as the Oligarchic Republic due to "the relative institutional calm" of the period

⁷Quoted in Peter Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru*. (SR Books, 1992), 154.

as Colonel José Balta's personal secretary during the latter's revolutionary movement to oust Mariano Ignacio Prado from the presidency in 1867-1868. When Manuel Pardo won the presidency in 1872, Piérola had the foresight to reject the Gutiérrez brothers' proposal to join their disastrous coup. The caudillo politician saw a better opportunity to influence national politics when he and Balta led the popular revolution in the northern city of Chiclayo while General Pedro Diez Canseco led the revolution's counterpart in the southern city of Arequipa.⁸

II. Afro-Peruvian Mutual Support and its Contradictions in Lima: Cofradías, Guilds, and Mutual Aid Societies

A. The Afro-Peruvian Origins of Labor Organizations

Historian José Ramón Jouve Martín has analyzed the writings of several prominent black surgeons in eighteenth century Lima, a profession declared exclusively white by a 1752 Royal Decree. However, Afro-Peruvians represented an "important part" of Lima's surgeons despite formal legal prohibitions. Jouve Martín argues that the racial demographics of viceregal and republican Lima, the shortage of qualified doctors and surgeons, and the informal tolerance of Spanish authorities of blacks in higher education all contributed to the large presence of Afro-Peruvians in the medical profession.⁹ Even though these professionals challenged racial exclusion and prejudice directly during their careers, Jouve Martín concludes from the writings of several retired black surgeons: "their texts were virtually indistinguishable from those of their white peers and did not

⁸Alberto Ulloa, *Don Nicolás de Piérola: Una época de la historia del Perú*. (Lima: Imprenta Santa María, 1950).

⁹José Ramón Jouve Martín, *The Black Doctors of Colonial Lima: Science, Race, and Writing in Colonial and Early Republican Peru*. (Montreal: MQUP, 2014), 15-16. For example, José Manuel Dávalos was a *mulato* who circumvented such restrictive legislation by studying in France. He returned to Lima to as a leading surgeon and was considered for the position of chair of Método de Medicina at San Marcos University in 1798.

constitute an attempt to articulate a discourse on race or develop a form of self-conscious ‘black writing.’”⁹ The lack of a “self-conscious ‘black writing’” suggests that these doctors recognized the pitfalls of developing an identity-politics, which would have compromised individual social mobility, similar to Clemente Palma’s internal conflict analyzed in the previous chapter. Moreover, Jouve Martín affirms that “Lima’s black community was far from a unified entity,” divided along legal, ethnic, racial, professional, and gender lines.¹⁰ The distinct interests and desire for social mobility among members of guilds and mutual aid societies appears to have prevented the formation of an identity politics in post-abolition nineteenth-century Lima as well.

Although the collective interests of some Afro-Peruvians in the post-abolition period were represented by *cofradías* (religious brotherhoods), these organizations served multiple purposes. As historian Iñigo García-Bryce has argued, lay brotherhoods offered security to their members in colonial Lima by assisting members in times of need and assuring that each would receive a dignified burial. Thus, “For Indians, blacks, and castas, brotherhood membership reinforced the position in the upper echelons of the popular classes and separated them from the plebe.”¹¹ However, Afro-Peruvians also organized *cofradías* around the idea of *nación*, an identity that corresponded to the African port from which their ancestors departed.¹² The brotherhoods would continue to organize around specific African *casta* or *nación* identities until the later years of the

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 15. Jouve Martín points out that these “‘fracture lines’ allowed for a wide variety of identities within the black community. . . This multiplicity of identity positions prevented Lima’s black community as a whole from becoming a unified political entity while allowing for the creation of smaller interest groups.”

¹¹Iñigo L. García-Bryce, *Crafting the Republic: Lima’s Artisans and Nation Building in Peru, 1821-1879*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 31.

¹²Adam Warren, *Medicine and Politics in Colonial Peru*. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 170. These *naciones* included Minas, Cabundan, Cangaes, Congos, and Musanga. Historian Rachel Sarah O’Toole calls these *casta* identities in her 2012 book *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in colonial Peru*.

nineteenth century, though they remained ostensibly apolitical organizations. *Cofradías* preserved Afro-Peruvian cultural traditions and laid the foundation for Afro-Peruvian labor organization through networks of mutual support.

Workers' guilds served a similar function of promoting corporate interests by regulating economic activity and limiting the practice of the trades to their members. The implicit class interests these guilds promoted in the public sphere, such as protective tariffs for handmade goods, were initially limited to each trade. Nonetheless, guild membership created a social hierarchy within the working class, as laborers could easily suffer material consequences for not joining the organizations. Guilds that were exclusively composed of Afro-Peruvians, such as that of the *aguadores* (water carriers) of Lima, furthermore, sought social mobility by acting collectively to demand higher pay. As Ricardo Palma documented in his *tradición* titled *Los aguadores de Lima*, this guild was formed in 1650 and made use of its bargaining power even after abolition.¹³ Although such demands might improve the living conditions of laborers, the stigmatization of such occupations associated with slavery meant that guilds could not help their members achieve honor or freedom from discrimination.

García-Bryce's analysis of the artisan press shows "a growing identification of artisans with the idea of a working class."¹⁴ García-Bryce also points out that guild members increasingly pursued their interests as "artisans" rather than individual trades, thereby expanding their collective class interests. García-Bryce's analysis of artisans as a collective political identity crucially sheds light on Afro-Peruvian political agency, as the 1866 municipal census of Lima shows that 43% of the city's artisans were identified as

¹³Denys Cuche, *Poder blanco y resistencia negro en el Perú: un estudio sobre la condición social del negro en el Perú después de la abolición de la esclavitud*. (Lima: instituto nacional de cultura, 1975), 72.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 13.

Afro-descended.¹⁵ The political demands of Lima's artisans provide further evidence that Afro-Peruvian Limeños did not make demands based on a shared ethno-racial identity, but these laborers demanded protectionist measures to improve their conditions through direct confrontation.

Historian Paul Gootenberg has characterized Lima artisans as “popular Jacobins” for their direct attacks on the aristocracy beginning in 1850, when guano merchants profited from free trade at the expense of working class laborers “wedded to traditional skills.” Afro-Peruvian artisans’ demands for protectionist measures were defeated by the powerful “neoliberal ideologues” who sought to maintain the social order.¹⁶ Facing such entrenched power, Afro-Peruvian laborers recognized the necessity of class solidarity and continued to pressure Castilla’s government to meet their collective interests.

The *cofradías* limited their work to social and religious affairs and mutual support, but the artisan guilds had begun to articulate a working-class political platform that included protectionist measures against foreign-made imports. These organizations laid the foundation for more politically active mutual aid societies, which began to appear in the late 1850s. In 1855, when Castilla’s abolition decree was taking effect, a group of Limeño laborers formed the first mutual aid society, called the Sociedad Fraternal de San José.¹⁷ Just a few years later, the aptly named Sociedad Democrática del Callao (Democratic Society of Callao) formed in 1858.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 9. This figure combines the four categories that connote African descent: *mulato*, *negro*, *zambo*, and *pardo*. 13% of the city’s artisans (based on a sampling of shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, and tanners) were categorized as *mestizo*, 16% as *indio*, 2% as *chino*, 25% as *blanco*, and 1% as *cholo*.

¹⁶Paul Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano: Commercial Policy and the State in Postindependence Peru*. (Princeton University Press, 1989), 89.

¹⁷Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement, 1883-1919*. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982). Blanchard cites an article from an 1889 edition of the Lima newspaper *El Nacional*, which makes this claim. However, the brotherhood, as it was initially called, appears to have become a “mutual aid society” for women in 1919, according to government documents accessed by Carlos Forment (below).

Sociologist Carlos A. Forment has noted increasing numbers of Afro-Peruvians in the artisan sector after abolition, as workshop owners sometimes retained former slaves as trained laborers after they had gained freedom. Forment also points to the undemocratic structure of the *cofradías* (in which a King and Queen made all decisions), guilds, and mutual aid societies, which established work routines and regulations, “disciplining plebian groups and protecting property rights.”¹⁸ Nonetheless, Lima’s artisans voiced their collective interests in December of 1858 in Lima’s port of Callao, where they protested the arrival of a shipment of finished goods (doors and windows) from the United States. After preventing the shipment from being unloaded, the carpenters’ guild “presented a legal petition and a commission of artisans presented a complaint to President Castilla, demanding the protection of Peruvian artisans from competition from foreign goods.”¹⁹ President Castilla rejected their demands and allowed the shipments to enter the Peruvian market; he then ordered troops to the port to repress the ongoing protests. One protestor was killed, five were injured, and several were arrested, but the protestors continued to revolt. Following the violence, about 300 artisans entered the congressional building to pressure its members to pass laws the guilds had requested. This peaceful protest was unsuccessful; a congressional report the following year rejected protectionist policies. Liberal politicians defended their economic policy by dispersing pamphlets attacking the guilds and by abolishing these organizations in 1862.²⁰ Despite their failures in Lima politics, working class Afro-Peruvians continued to

¹⁸Carlos A. Forment, *Democracy in Latin America: 1760-1900, Volume I: Civic Selfhood and Public Life in Mexico and Peru*. (University of Chicago Press, 2003), 163.

¹⁹García-Bryce, *Crafting the Republic*, 59.

²⁰*Ibid.*

organize for better conditions through mutual aid societies and by participating in popular political movements at the national level.

Carlos Forment has characterized the civic and economic groups of 1850s Peru as an “embryonic” stage in popular politics in the context of an “extremely racist” society that excluded nonwhites from full citizenship.²¹ The correspondence between local civic engagement, popular politics, and the abolition of slavery is clear: “Between 1856 and 1885, Peruvians organized 403 new civic and economic groups.”²² Moreover, Forment shows that during the first five years after slavery’s abolition, Peruvians organized three times as many civic associations as had been founded in the previous twenty-five years. The rate of new civic engagement continued to increase until the War of the Pacific in 1879. The engagement in local politics benefitted Afro-Peruvians just as it benefitted other ethnoracial groups, leading to the establishment of primary schools and mutual aid societies.²³ Still, the sharp increase in new civic organizations in the five years following abolition suggests that Afro-Peruvians were anxious to participate in full citizenship after decades of exclusion. The social and civic organizations they and their ancestors had established under slavery provided the local networks that facilitated their expansion in the first five years after abolition. As the *cofradías* had successfully secured money to purchase the freedom of slaves and thereby contribute to the destruction of slavery in nineteenth century Lima,²⁴ Afro-Peruvians expected comparable success via similar organizing strategies as citizens of a nominally inclusive democracy.

²¹Carlos A. Forment, *Democracy in Latin America*, 314.

²²*Ibid.*, 315.

²³*Ibid.*, 316.

²⁴Carlos Aguirre and Peter Blanchard agree that slaves’ purchasing their own freedom was the most effective weapon in the fight against slavery. Aguirre, *Agentes de su propia libertad: los esclavos de Lima y la desintegración de la esclavitud, 1821-1854* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1993),

Despite the occupational and class continuities of Afro-Peruvians before and after the abolition of slavery, artisans and members of mutual aid societies and guilds expressed an inclusive rhetoric that sidestepped ethnoracial categories in favor of class interests. The lack of explicit Afro-Peruvian organizing leads Forment to assert: “In contrast to Cuba and Argentina, where blacks went on to create a new set of groups, Afro-Peruvians did not develop alternate forms of associative life during the second half of the nineteenth century.”²⁵ However, much of Forment’s analysis of mutual aid societies contradicts this conclusion. Despite the distinct Afro-Latin American political processes in Cuba and Argentina, Afro-Peruvians did play central roles in the development of mutual aid societies and eventually popular political parties. The difference was that Peruvian guilds and mutual aid societies were organized according to occupational and class interests rather than an ethnoracial identity, unlike Cuba’s Partido Independiente de Color (PIC), for example.

Historian Peter Blanchard has argued that the mutual aid societies that appeared in mid-nineteenth century Peru were “heirs” of the artisan guild, both functioning as workers organizations that pressured the government for favorable laws. The ban on guilds did not stop workers from organizing to make demands on their employers. Members of Lima’s artisan guilds that had been banned in 1862 joined to form the Sociedad Republicana de la “Unión Universal” de Artesanos in 1871. Manual laborers

232-233; Peter Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition in Republican Peru* (Delaware: SR Books, 1992). Although Aguirre documents cases in which *cofradías* served as vehicles toward accessing freedom, he adds that slaves trusted individual strategies more: “La importancia decreciente de las Cofradías en las estrategias de manumisión tiene que ver probablemente con el carácter jerárquico y discriminatorio de las relaciones que las cofradías establecieron (Hunefeldt 1979) pero además revela que el proceso de inserción de la población negra en el mercado de trabajo venía resultando exitoso, lo cual le obligaba a salirse un poco de los esquemas estrechamente étnicos a los que conducía su participación en las cofradías. Los esclavos confiaban más en las estrategias individuales y familiares que en la ayuda que podrían recibir de las cofradías.”

²⁵*Ibid.*, 168.

hired to tear down Lima's old city walls went on strike for higher pay in 1872, and Callao port workers went on strike for more pay in 1877 and in 1881.²⁶ Although census officials identified almost half of Lima's artisans as Afro-Peruvian and mutual aid societies increased dramatically in the five years following abolition, Blanchard does not suggest that Afro-Peruvians were actors in the Peruvian labor movement. Rather than draw connections from slavery in republican Lima, Blanchard contextualizes the rise of mutual aid societies in the global rise of workers organizations and early trade unions during the second industrial revolution.

B. The War of the Pacific and its Aftermath

The War of the Pacific was a significant rupture in the economic and political history of Peru, ending its period of "fictitious prosperity" during the guano era and prompting elite introspection after the national humiliation. Peru had been bound to Bolivia through a treaty of alliance in 1873. The war began in 1879 as a territorial dispute between Bolivia and Chile over Bolivian land along the Pacific coast between Peru and Chile. Chilean soldiers had seized the important port city of Antofagasta in the Atacama Desert in 1878, where large deposits of nitrate had been discovered in the mid-nineteenth century. Acting as mediators in the conflict, Peruvian diplomats requested Chile's withdrawal from Antofagasta in 1879. When Chile refused, Bolivia declared war on Chile and invoked the Peru-Bolivia Treaty to consolidate their alliance against Chile.²⁷

²⁶Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement*, 15. Blanchard's primary sources do not reveal ethnoracial concerns among labor agitators, but his complete omission of Afro-Peruvian laborers is surprising given his 1992 book, *Slavery and Abolition in Early Republican Peru*.

²⁷William F Sater, *Andean Tragedy: Fighting the war of the Pacific, 1879-1884* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 12-13.

The Chilean army began a two-year military campaign during which they slowly pushed back Peruvian forces from the Atacama Desert until arriving at Lima in 1881.

Historian William Sater has summarized the situation as such:

By December 1879 Peru had lost the economic resources it needed to fund its war effort. And after the first six months of 1880 Peru no longer possessed the skilled military manpower required to defend itself or its interests. Clearly, Lima would be the next target, and Peru appeared almost helpless. Had Piérola sued for peace in June 1880, he would have saved countless Peruvian lives and the nation's treasure. But Piérola, whom some Chileans called "El Loco de Lima" would instead continue the struggle: perhaps the heroic deaths of Miguel Grau, Juan Moore, and Francisco Bolognesi had established a standard of behavior—of battling to the end—that the president simply could not ignore. But by promising to resist the Chileans "to the last bullet," Piérola had fashioned a golem that threatened to destroy him and his nation.²⁸

Piérola's unwavering decision to defend Lima led to the decisive battles of Chorrillos and Miraflores, in which 11,000-14,000 Peruvians were killed over a three-day period.²⁹

Hostilities between Peru and Chile finally came to an end when both sides signed the Treaty of Ancón on October 20, 1883, ending the Chilean occupation of Lima nine days later. Peru was forced to sign away two provinces of the south coast and much of its guano income.³⁰

The distressing consequences of the War of the Pacific made labor rights a more pressing issue in 1880s Peru. Following nearly four years of occupation and plunder, the Peruvian economy was devastated and working class laborers suffered the most. In response to a dearth of jobs and steep inflation making basic goods nearly unattainable, working-class Limeños increasingly formed mutual aid societies once again. Laborers in the northern coastal city of Trujillo also began forming mutual aid societies to mitigate

²⁸*Ibid.*, 258.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 348: An estimated 6,000 Peruvians were killed in combat in Miraflores, Lima; and an estimated 4,000-7,500 Peruvians were killed in combat in Miraflores, Lima between January 13 and January 15, 1881.

³⁰Basadre, *Historia de la república, Tomo VIII*, (Lima: la Empresa Editora El Comercio S. A., 2005), 448-468.

the extreme poverty. The success of the mutual aid societies in supporting their members in the postwar years stimulated expansion into a broader organization representing the city's working class, benefitting all of its members by generating more revenue. The mutual aid society Sociedad Republicana de la "Unión Universal" remained primarily an artisan organization, joining tailor, carpenter, shoemaker, and eight other guilds together under the title Confederación de Artesanos "Union Universal" in 1891.³¹

Historians have documented the hegemony of the Civilista party in limiting popular working class mobilization, and the mutual aid societies demonstrate how Lima political elites reinforced social hierarchies among the "masses." Peloso has analyzed the aristocratic responses to the devastation, as elites "placed renewed emphasis on export agriculture and mining at the expense of primary industrial and made stronger demands on the rural labor force."³² The members of mutual aid societies gained the favor of liberal elites by claiming a middle class "respectability," as García-Bryce describes it, by distancing themselves from the colonial *cofradías* and establishing connections with elites. The progressive mutual aid societies differed greatly from the baroque religious traditions of the *cofradías* even though Afro-Peruvians comprised significant portions of each. As historian Adam Warren has pointed out, liberal reformers of the nineteenth century saw the pageantry of the burial traditions, which were central to *cofradías* and mutual aid societies, as a hindrance to both social progress and public health.³³ Yet ostentatious burials signified the elevated social status of the deceased and were a fundamental expectation among members of mutual aid societies that affirmed their superior status among the working class. Thus members were positioned awkwardly

³¹Sater, *Andean Tragedy*, 21.

³²Peloso, "Cotton Planters, the State, and Rural Labor Policy," 209.

³³Adam Warren, *Medicine and Politics*.

between traditional expectations to reflect a hard-earned respectability and elite perspectives that saw such rites as regressive.

In order to match the expectations of Lima's elite, mutual aid societies made their religious activities more discreet. The growing distance between mutual aid societies and *cofradías* had racial undertones, as the aristocratic-political alliance continued to view black Peruvians as uncivilized. To thwart this bias, mutual aid societies began attracting elite Limeños (such as white politicians and ecclesiastical authorities) in the 1860s by granting such individuals honorary membership, participating in patriotic civic festivals, and in some cases becoming directly involved in politics by offering electoral support to white elites or nominating other members to run for office. The ethnoracial demography of these societies remains unclear, but their members' attempts to distinguish themselves from Afro-Peruvian *cofradías* suggests that many members had African ancestry but chose not to express this as a common identifier. In this case, at least, it seems Afro-Peruvian members saw more of a benefit in the social mobility offered by the mutual aid societies by distancing themselves from the *cofradía* origins. Although the founder of the Sociedad de Artesanos, tailor Juan Antonio Zubiaga did not win a seat in congress in his 1866 bid, the Partido Civil recruited leaders of other mutual aid societies to promote support for their party. As García-Bryce points out, the societies also networked with each other to form "an organized segment of the electorate at a time when elections were important loci for political battles."³⁴ However, like the black doctors of Lima, members of these societies expressed occupationally specific and class-based identities, leaving their ethnoracial identities unclear for historians.

³⁴Inigo García-Bryce, *Crafting the Republic*, 127.

The lack of ethnoracial solidarity coupled with individual desires to ascend the social hierarchy limited options for Afro-Peruvians, whose interests varied according to occupation, gender, and social status. Working-class Afro-Peruvians faced an entrenched aristocracy unwilling to sacrifice to improve their situation. The War of the Pacific compounded the Peruvian financial crisis as the guano era ended. The nation's guano boom has been labeled a period of "fictitious prosperity," endowing the state with enormous wealth and facilitating the victory of elite liberalism and its proponents over protectionist policies. Although state officials announced Peru's first-ever balanced budget in 1852, the economic dependence on the single primary material export and foreign finance led to a bust in the 1870s. As Paul Gootenberg puts it, "Peru's shaky reliance on guano and guano-induced loans only grew, so that by the 1860s seabirds supplied more than 75 percent of government revenues. The 1870s export crisis became an unabsorbable shock."³⁵

The weakened economy facilitated Chile's victory over Peru in the War of the Pacific, and the Chilean occupation created further schisms in Peruvian politics. General Andrés A. Cáceres, who had led a guerrilla resistance movement against the Chileans in the interior, refused to accept the Chilean-backed government of General Miguel Iglesias, leading to a civil war. Cáceres defeated Iglesias in December 1885 after invading Lima and taking control of the national government. The Civilistas initially backed Cáceres in hopes that he could solve the nation's economic problems in spite of the irony of a civilian party backing a military general.³⁶

³⁵Paul Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano*, 133.

³⁶Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement*, 15-16.

In Lima and in other coastal cities, Afro-Peruvians were important actors in civil-military relations, in some cases taking up arms to support caudillo leaders and in others supporting civilian politicians. Afro-Peruvians participated in the wars of independence, in the war with Spain in 1864-1866, and in the War of the Pacific. Peter Blanchard has shown a variety of ways Afro-Peruvians exercised historical agency in the wars for independence, viewing combat as the best escape from slavery. Blanchard provides a detailed account of Afro-Latin American participation in South American wars for independence in the 1810s and 1820s, when the “wars provided unforeseen opportunities” for slaves to gain freedom. In the case of Peru, royalists and slaveholders utilized fear of slave uprisings to mitigate black participation in independence efforts, although “most Peruvian blacks and mulattoes remained loyal to the king. They continued to serve in military units that had been established before the struggles began and staunchly defended Spanish rule both at home and in distant lands.”³⁷ Yet by the 1820s, José de San Martín found slave recruits crucial to his revolutionary project in coastal Peru, many of whom left sugar plantations to fight for the *patria* and the promise of freedom. Such recruitment was necessary to counter the thousands of slaves joining the royalist army, which also promised manumission (and more reliable pay) for service to the crown. Although the exact numbers remain unknown, Afro-Peruvians comprised a “substantial” portion of the Peruvian military just after Peru declared independence in 1821. San Martín maintained a conciliatory policy with the Peruvian aristocracy, as many

³⁷Peter Blanchard, *Under the Flags of Freedom: Slave Soldiers and the Wars of Independence in Spanish South America* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 93.

of these were “basically part-time soldiers, remaining with their owners while they trained on the weekends, if training actually occurred.”³⁸

In each of these wars, authorities formed “regiments of color.” French sociologist Denys Cuche asserts that military authorities did this because “they know their ethnic solidarity. It was also a way to channel the aggressiveness of blacks and redirect it toward the ‘national enemies,’ Spanish and then Chilean. The commanding class thus used blacks as ‘cannon fodder’ for their interests.”³⁹ Cuche’s research provides helpful insight on the elite perspective on Afro-Peruvians, but her Marxist approach overlooks why Afro-Peruvians chose to defend *la patria* and suggests a racially deterministic interpretation of “black aggressiveness” that overwrites Afro-Peruvian agency. Although her analysis suggests that some degree of ethnoracial solidarity may have existed among Afro-Peruvians, she mistakenly assumes uniformity among the Afro-Peruvian population and uncritically reiterates a racist trope. While white elites certainly sought to utilize Afro-Peruvians for their personal ambitions, Afro-Peruvians fought for patriotic causes to improve their social conditions, gaining an honorable status but perhaps shedding any association with blackness in the process. This chapter provides further evidence that “Afro-Peruvians found social apertures within the modernizing political landscape initialized by Piérola’s regime in 1895 to articulate counter-hegemonic projects of political and civic inclusion.”⁴⁰

³⁸*Ibid.*, 102-103.

³⁹Denys Cuche, *Poder blanco y resistencia negro en el Perú*, 147: “Si las autoridades militares agrupaban así a los negros en regimientos de color era porque conocían su solidaridad étnica. Era también una manera de canalizar la agresividad de los negros y de desviarla hacia los ‘enemigos nacionales,’ español y luego chileno. La clase dirigente utilizaba así a los negros como ‘carne de cañón’ para sus intereses.”

⁴⁰Robert L. Sanchez, “Black Mosaic,” 54.

While white elites ordered their black regiments to defend Peru from the Chilean invaders in the War of the Pacific, many Chinese immigrants fled deplorable conditions of semi-slavery to fight alongside the Chilean invaders upon their arrival. Many Afro-Peruvians were recruited to defend Lima in a losing battle against a superior Chilean army, sacrificing their lives defending *la patria*. Afro-Peruvian peasants avenged the perceived disloyalty of Chinese immigrants in the Cañete massacre of 1881, in which Afro-Peruvian peasant women led the slaughter of over a thousand Chinese men. Peloso has compared differing accounts of the massacre, one fashioned by a creole elite landowner, Juan de Arona, who emphasized the savagery of the black women toward the Chinese victims—this narrative was a common intellectual construct that “framed depictions of such groups in deprecatory terms that invoked images of group effeminacy, impetuosity, violence, and lack of capacity for self-control, all of which were thought to be marks of a group savagery that justified exclusion of the target population from citizenship.” Peloso contrasts this to subsequent “uni-causal” accounts that emphasize Afro-Peruvian patriotism or the Chilean emphasis on Peruvian mistreatment of Chinese laborers. He ultimately argues the event demonstrates “the existence among the coastal Peruvian peasants of powerful and contradictory impulses: loyalty to the homeland (the patria) in wartime, loyalty to the culture in its creole and Afro-creole forms, convictions of sympathy and hopefulness toward liberals--who had abolished slavery in 1855--and a general resentment against their economic conditions and against creole elite arrogance.”⁴¹ As the historical documentation suggests that Afro-Peruvians carried out

⁴¹Vincent C. Peloso (2005) “Racial Conflict and Identity Crisis in Wartime Peru: Revisiting the Cañete Massacre of 1881,” *Social Identities*, 11:5, 467-488.

this violent outburst without the commands of a caudillo or Lima elites, it reveals a fascinating assertion of ethnoracial, class, and national distinction.

Whereas elites were quick to attribute such “savage” violence to Afro-Peruvians, they were much less likely to record Afro-Peruvian acts of heroic patriotism. Just as MacLean y Estrenós identified “blacks” as the primary pierolistas, the National Afro-Peruvian Museum of Lima today asserts that this population was significant in the defense of the republic against Chilean invaders in the War of the Pacific. Piérola had served as the treasury minister under Colonel José Balta’s presidency (1868-1872) and was in command of the defense of Lima at the outbreak of hostilities in 1879. His strategy included organizing mobile reserves in the city, grouping the armed divisions according to occupation. The eighth division, commanded by Colonel Arrieta, was composed of servants and others occupying the lowest status positions—the majority of the members of this armed division were black.⁴² After assuming dictatorial powers that year, Piérola and his circle of officers exited Lima and established Peru’s government in exile in Ayacucho in 1881. Unlike the Lima elites and coastal plantation owners (hacendados) who supported the civilian president Francisco García Calderón, whose “Magdalena government” would allow peace with Chile at any cost, Piérola and his supporters pushed for continued resistance against the invading forces.⁴⁰ As part of activists’ efforts to restore Afro-Peruvians to the nation’s history, the museum points out that Afro-Peruvians staffed one of the most iconic symbols of patriotic resistance, the

⁴²This was first observed by Benjamin Vicuña MacKenna, *Historia de la campaña de Lima, 1880-1881*. (Santiago: Ed. Rafael Jover, 1881), 389. French sociologist Denys Cuhe cites this work to argue that the majority of the eighth division’s members were black in *Poder blanco y resistencia negro en el Perú: un estudio sobre la condición social del negro en el Perú después de la abolición de la esclavitud*. (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1975), 146.

⁴⁰Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 58.

ironclad turret ship called the *Huáscar*, commanded by the celebrated Piuran Naval hero Miguel Grau.⁴³ These accounts show that Afro-Peruvians, at a minimum, became visible in national politics after proving their patriotism in the War of the Pacific. This chapter argues that many Afro-Peruvians supported Piérola's Democratic Party in the 1880s to demand greater social equality; however, the "caudillo democrat's" contradictory platform insufficiently represented the interests of his supporters.

Because these actors prioritized their *peruanidad* over an ethnoracial identity, subsequent activists have carried the burden of verifying the patriotic roles of Afro-Peruvians in such formative moments for the nation. Despite their centrality, the historiography of patriotic resistance to the occupying forces has focused on the indigenous populations, such as the guerrilla bands of *montoneras* in the central highlands.⁴⁴ Historian Mark Thurner has also focused on such popular resistance among such "highland nationalists," focusing his analysis of the self-proclaimed "Protector of the Indigenous Race" to his relationship with this population.⁴⁵ However, the political alliances and actions of figureheads such as Grau and Piérola provide insights on Afro-Peruvian agency with the rise of popular politics in the late nineteenth century as well.

Whereas many indigenous nationalists proved their patriotism at the "edge of empire," Afro-Peruvians were at the center of popular politics through local-level organizing and as an electorate with shared interests at the national level.⁴⁶ The most significant difference between these actors was that Afro-Peruvians, as a smaller

⁴³The Museo Nacional Afroperuano features a photograph of the survivors of the "Glorious Monitor *Huáscar*," all six of whom appear to be African descended, phenotypically.

⁴⁴Florencia Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860-1940*. (Princeton University Press, 1983).

⁴⁵Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 45.

⁴⁶David Nugent, *Modernity at the Edge of Empire: State, Individual, and Nation in the Northern Peruvian Andes, 1885-1935*. (Stanford University Press, 1997).

percentage of the population, organized as citizens rather than through identity-based politics. The emergence of the Civilista political party in 1871 and the Lima revolt of 1872 demonstrate the importance of Afro-Peruvians in national politics.

As historian Michael Gonzalez has shown, the Civilista party was formed by “disgruntled guano consignees, led by Manuel Pardo, who were upset with the government’s abolition of the consignment system” because it hurt them economically. This led to Pardo’s election in 1872 as the nation’s first civilian president, but historians agree that this party represented the interests of the aristocratic plantation owners of the northern coast and the economic elites of Lima.⁴⁷ The election of a civilian president was a landmark in the nation’s political history, but it caused a reactionary element of the military to stage a coup. The Gutiérrez brothers (as explained in the previous chapter) ultimately killed Pardo, sparking a popular uprising in Lima that led to their deaths as well. Despite the elite interests embodied in the new Civilista party, it also offered hope for working class Peruvians growing tired of military authoritarianism. Many Peruvians were inspired by naval officer Miguel Grau’s famous proclamation in defense of the constitution and against the Gutiérrez brothers at an early stage of their coup.⁴⁸ This well-known pronouncement revealed fissures in the nation’s military, showing it did not have a uniform agenda. It also hardened the will of working-class Limeños to reverse the unconstitutional takeover and restore electoral politics. Shortly following this pronouncement, Grau entered politics and was elected as deputy of Paita, a port city in Piura, in 1876.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Michael J. Gonzalez, *Plantation Agriculture and Social Control in Northern Peru, 1875-1933*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 24.

⁴⁸John Rodríguez Asti, “Monitor Huáscar: la nave de los héroes,” *El Comercio* 12 de octubre 2015.

⁴⁹Casa/Museo Miguel Grau, Piura.

As commander of the warship *Huáscar* at the outbreak of the War of the Pacific in 1879, Grau and his crew of Afro-Peruvian sailors won battles against a superior Chilean navy. The Peruvian battleship prevented Chilean troops from disembarking on Peruvian soil and sank the prestigious corvette *Esmeralda*. Commander Grau famously rescued the enemy sailors, but he was killed in dramatic fashion when a fleet of Chilean ships tracked him down and fired on the *Huáscar* in the battle of Angamos on October 8, 1879. A photograph of the survivors among Grau's Afro-Peruvian crew graces a wall in the National Afro-Peruvian Museum of Lima today.⁵⁰

III. Political Unrest and Labor during the Aristocratic Republic, 1895-1919

A. Nicolás de Piérola and Afro-Peruvian Demócratas

Historian Mark Thurner has analyzed local responses to the reinstatement of the poll tax, in particular the Atusparia rebellion of the northern department of Huaylas-Ancash in 1885. As the nominal head of government-in-exile in Ayacucho in 1879, Nicolás de Piérola had reinstated this tax as a temporary “war tax” before abolishing it in 1895. Thurner narrates the process by which General Cáceres broke from Piérola's dictatorial government when its relationship with the indigenous population broke down, characterizing Piérola's rule as “populist demagoguery.”⁵¹ Several scholars have noted Piérola's popularity among Afro-Peruvians in the late nineteenth-century. The reasons behind such differing perspectives warrant closer analysis.

Looking beyond Piérola's manipulative relationship with indigenous communities permits a more nuanced understanding of this “democratic caudillo.” The well-known “Afro-Peruvian writer” Ricardo Palma (see previous chapter) wrote a short story about

⁵⁰Museo Nacional Afroperuano, Lima.

⁵¹Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided*, 105.

José Balta's 1867 revolution in Chiclayo, which he characterized as a popular Afro-Peruvian movement. The *tradición* titled "La Conga" repeats a song and dance by the same name that the people of Chiclayo sang while defeating the government forces. "La Conga" falls under the genre of a *zamacueca*, and Palma's account of this "dance of the land, creole dance, purely national," places Afro-Peruvian culture at the center this northern political movement. The title suggests the African roots of the politically expressive song, with a refrain praising José Balta as "the best" among the colonels.⁵²

Balta and Piérola gained the support of Afro-Peruvian laborers by challenging the aristocratic dominance of the Civilista party, promising fiscal reforms that would benefit the masses rather than economic elites. Although they provided an outlet for popular interests against the landed elite, their promises were largely symbolic in order to gain popular support for more centrist policies that would mollify the aristocracy. Although Balta's presidency (1868-1872) was more pragmatic than radical, his stance against the landed aristocracy was significant. Denys Cuche has analyzed the militant politics of Afro-Peruvians in a Marxist framework, which renders these actors a uniform lumpen proletariat manipulated by caudillo leaders like Nicolás de Piérola. Cuche's research nonetheless adds valuable insights on Afro-Peruvian political interests, which provide a more complete perspective on the subsequent historiography of labor unrest between 1860 and 1930.

⁵²Oswaldo Holguín Callo, "Ricardo Palma y la cultura negra" *Fundación Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. The song's refrain is: "De los coroneles/¿cuál es el mejor?/El coronel Balta/se lleva la flor."

By the mid-1890s, Cuche explains, “pierolistas identified themselves so much with blacks that the nickname ‘zambo’ was given to any of his followers.”⁵³ Scholars have portrayed Afro-Peruvians as the pawns of moneyed politicians and caudillo leaders, but such assumptions have denied the possibility of their own social and economic interests shaping their political decisions. Beyond empty rhetoric or opportunism, Piérola promised to represent the interests of the working classes who supported him by opposing the elite interests of the Civilistas. As Balta’s treasury minister, the “democratic caudillo” negotiated the Dreyfus contract in 1869, which rejected the interests of the landholding aristocracy by canceling the guano contracts of national entrepreneurs. The contract also gave the French Dreyfus company exclusive rights to sell up to two million tons of guano to Europe and its colonies. In exchange, the French company would pay Peru a higher price per ton of guano, advance Peru 2.4 million soles, and service a large portion of the nation’s foreign debt.⁵⁴ The immediate injection of capital allowed Balta to initiate major public works projects, including modernizing and expanding Lima and railroad construction.⁵⁵ The aforementioned demands of laborers for higher pay in such projects notwithstanding, Piérola’s decisions as finance minister suggest he sought to be seen as a working-class champion while appeasing the aristocracy.

After gaining national prestige for his patriotism in the War of the Pacific, Piérola established Peru’s second political party, the Partido Demócrata (Democratic Party) in 1882. His *Declaración de principios* outlined the party’s platform as a popular front that

⁵³Denys Cuche, *Poder blanco y resistencia negro en el Perú: un estudio sobre la condición social del negro en el Perú después de la abolición de la esclavitud*. (Lima: instituto nacional de cultura, 1975), 150: “Los negros y mulatos eran, pues, pierolistas. Tanto se identificaba a los pierolistas con los negros, que se daba como apodo ‘zambo’ a una persona pierolista.”

⁵⁴Vinod K. Aggarwal, *Debt Games: Strategic Interaction in International Debt Restructuring*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 199.

⁵⁵James Higgins, *Lima: A Cultural History*. (Oxford University Press, 2005), 162.

opposed the elite politics of the Civilistas. The declaración clarified Piérola's idea of democracy and social equality. Distancing his ideology from socialism, he wrote, "Democracy is not equality, nor the absolute leveling of its members." Instead, democracy as a political platform promised "that all members are equal before the law" and that "the management of public business is not a privilege of a determined social class, but pertains to all." The laws and institutions, he emphasized, should assure "*the right of all*, far from promoting the *special* benefit of the most fortunate, they should prefer the *moral and material improvement* of the *most numerous and disadvantaged* classes." Piérola thus promoted a vision of liberal republicanism that emphasized individual liberties and social mobility that might upset the established social order well preserved by the Civilista party. Improving the nation's education system would encourage a more civil and egalitarian nation, and Piérola sought popular civic engagement through Executive Committees that would represent each department and province. Consultative Committees and Departmental Assemblies would allow citizens to voice their opinions to the Executive Committees through direct voting of local delegates.⁵⁶ For Piérola, social equality could be attained through moral uplift and social engineering, resembling the top-down positivist views of his Brazilian contemporaries.⁵⁷

Although the caudillo promoted democratic ideals that appealed to working class Afro-Peruvians, he also stated the "need of a superior class; but not formed by birth or fortune, but by personal qualities and individual merit."⁵⁸ For all of his appeal to the

⁵⁶Nicolás de Piérola, *Declaración de Principios del Partido Demócrata*. (Lima: Tip. La Voce D'Italia, 1912), 59-60. He called these bodies the Comités Ejecutivos de distrito, de provincia, de departamento; the Comités Consultivos, and the Asambleas Departamentales.

⁵⁷See, for example, Kim. D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition Sao Paulo and Salvador* (Rutgers University Press, 1998).

⁵⁸Nicolás de Piérola, *Declaración de Principios del Partido Demócrata*. (Lima: Tip. La Voce D'Italia, 1912), 8: "La democracia no es la igualdad, ni la nivelación absoluta entre los asociados...Proclama, sí, que

working classes, Piérola simultaneously reinforced the dominant discourse of white supremacy as natural to the social hierarchy. Seeking to mitigate the reprisal of the aristocratic-political alliance while maintaining his primary supporters, his declaración elided concerns over his followers' African ancestry. Although most of these actors did not bring up race in any shape or form, his assertion that Peru needed a "superior class" was racially charged, as he wrote: "the quality and number of peoples are the essential and the primary [element] of power and prosperity of a nation." He added that the largest portion of the Peruvian nation was the 'Indian race, whose scarce culture and material poverty are notorious. Overcoming the causes of this and bringing them the benefits of civilization—improving it, morally and materially—is of primordial necessity for Peru."⁵⁹ Mirroring the racial pseudoscientific ideas of the white Peruvian aristocracy, Piérola prescribed "facilitating and stimulating good immigration" in order to improve Peruvian civilization "by assimilation."⁶⁰ While alleviating elite concerns about his racial ideology, Piérola's declaración promised full democratic participation and the end of inherited legal privileges for the nation's aristocracy. This was enough to trigger his persecution by Civilistas, who forced him to flee to Ecuador and then Chile. The Civilista

los asociados son iguales ante la lei; que el manejo de los negocios públicos no es privilegio de una clase social determinada, sino que pertenece a todas, en la forma medida que es propia a cada una, i que las leyes e instituciones, *asegurando el derecho de todos*, lejos de proponerse el beneficio especial de los mas afortunados, deben tener en mira preferente el *mejoramiento moral i material* de las clases *mas numerosas i desvalidas*. Proclama, asi mismo, la necesidad de una clase superior; pero no formada por el nacimiento o la fortuna, sino por las cualidades personales i el merecimiento individual."

⁵⁹*Ibid*, 8-9: "La calidad i número de pobladores son el elemento esencial i primero de poder i prosperidad en una nación. Los de nuestra pertenecen, en su mayor parte, a la raza india, cuya escasa cultura i malestar material son notorios. Suprimir las causas de este i traerla a los beneficios de la civilizacion—mejorarla, moral i materialmente—es necesidad primordial para el Perú.

⁶⁰*Ibid*, 9: "Dueños, al mismo tiempo, de un inmenso i riquísimo territorio, pero escasamente poblado, el crecimiento de nuestra población debe hacerse, no solo *por desarrollo* de los elementos que tenemos, sino *por asimilación* de los ya formados fuera. Facilitar i estimular Buena inmigración i darle arraigo en nestro suelo, por medios eficazmente practices, es tambien necesidad capital, que debe ser preferente i perseverantemente atendida."

suppression of the popular Democratic Party forced the Demócratas into an uneasy alliance with the Civilistas in the “Unión Cívica” (Civic Union) in March of 1894.⁶¹

The alliance allowed Piérola to return to Peru and garner support for his personal and political ambitions. His popularity among Afro-Peruvian Limeños already cemented, he organized a military campaign against General Cáceres in the region of Chincha, just south of Lima, with a majority Afro-descended population.⁶² Just a year after forming the Civic Union, Piérola and his supporters marched on Lima on March 17, 1895. Following two days of intense fighting in downtown Lima, the pierolista coalition took over the reconstruction coalition and the democratic caudillo was proclaimed president of the republic. He remained in power until 1899.⁶³

Historian Florencia Mallon has characterized Piérola’s presidency as conciliatory to elite interests while meeting the expectations of his ardent supporters. Historians Jorge Basadre and Frederick Pike have shown that coastal landholding elites, Civilistas, and emerging industrialists supported the revolutionary government whose economic policies they hoped might increase their economic and political control over the working classes. At the same time, Piérola utilized government funds to extend public services and build new roads. Reflecting the interests of Limeño laborers and Afro-Peruvian artisans, the president also instituted “a system of protective tariffs that encouraged national industrialization.”⁶⁴ The Democratic Party won the presidency and seats in Congress with popular support through free elections, naturally a central aspect of the party’s platform.

⁶¹ Alberto Ulloa, *Don Nicolás de Piérola*. 307.

⁶² Cucho, *Poder blanco y resistencia negra*, 151.

⁶³ Florencia Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru’s Central Highlands*. (Princeton University Press, 1993), 133.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 133. Mallon cites Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la república del Peru*, 10. (Lima: Editorial Universitario, 1983), 102-143; and Frederick Pike, *The Modern History of Peru*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967) 168-186.

As Blanchard explains, “the workers [who supported Piérola] would still look to the president for improvements, but their recent experiences—especially their participation in Cáceres’s defeat—convinced them that they had to get more closely involved in the nation’s political life.”⁶⁵

Unsurprisingly, many of Lima’s Pierolistas were artisans, some of whom sought to become more involved in local politics through the newly founded party. The Confederación de Artesanos refused to make such an overtly political turn, but some of its members formed the Club de Artesanos y Obreros Unidos (United Artisans and Laborers Club) and nominated a candidate and a substitute for the Chamber of Deputies, as well as candidates for Lima’s provincial council. One of these candidates, the tailor Rosendo Vidaurre won a seat in Congress and developed a stronger link between the political system and the workers. Vidaurre became known as the “workers’ deputy” and increased working-class political participation by, for example, setting up a suggestion box in his shop for workers to submit proposals directly.⁶⁶

The Democratic Party’s president sought to reconcile idealism and materialism, exemplified in his reliance on an export-driven economy while also passing a direct suffrage law.⁶⁷ Despite the successful completion of modest projects through domestic capital accumulation, Piérola’s tenure ended with a return to Civilista hegemony in 1899. Civilista opposition to Piérola had more to do with his populist appeal than his economic policies. For example, the caudillo democrat changed the currency to the gold standard, which “impoverished the working class while especially favoring import/export

⁶⁵Blanchard, *Origins*, 30.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 31.

⁶⁷Thomas Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, *Modern Latin America (Third Edition)*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 201.

merchants.”⁶⁸ Although this policy benefited the aristocracy, his social distance from the economic elite was enough for his opponents to take corrupt action against him. As historian Steve Stein explains: “By controlling the electoral machinery, the Partido Civil was able systematically to curtail the influence of the Partido Demócrata... by 1910 the Demócratas had disappeared almost entirely from the country’s legislative body.”⁶⁹

Piérولا’s economic policies began to harm working class Limeños by his third year in office. As in other Latin American countries in the late nineteenth century, anarcho-syndicalism began to influence working class Peruvians who were becoming disillusioned by the failures of electoral politics. As Peter Blanchard argues, “The early success of anarchism among the Peruvian workers owed much to the ineffectiveness of the mutual aid societies and their growing addiction to political involvement,”⁷⁰ as these associations helped individuals gain political positions to then represent narrow sets of interests. Civilista hegemony and Piérولا’s concessions to the political-economic elites combined with increasing unemployment in the early twentieth century to make fertile ground for anarchism’s call for “a total revolt against the established order.”⁷¹

Manuel González Prada, the former director of the National Library and rival of Ricardo Palma, returned from Europe in August 1898 with a more critical view of Lima’s artisans and their mutual aid societies. In his view, they had failed to improve the situation of the working class. As Blanchard points out, González Prada’s assessment of Peru’s working class struggle made sense to some pierolistas and members of the

⁶⁸Tulio Halperín Donghi, *The Contemporary History of Latin America*, trans. John Charles Chasteen (Duke University Press, 1999), 194.

⁶⁹Steve Stein, *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Politics of Social Control*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 37.

⁷⁰Blanchard, *Origins*, 47.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 48.

Confederación de Artesanos, some of whom became anarchists because of their disappointment with electoral politics. The early years of Aristocratic Republic had left the poorest Limeños to fend for themselves, as unemployment and food prices rose between 1897 and 1906. The end of Piérola's presidency in 1899 turned Peru to a period of elite-centered politics known as *gamonalismo*, a truer embodiment of the so-called Aristocratic Republic.⁷²

Paul Gootenberg characterizes *gamonalismo* as the local basis of *caudillismo*, which implemented policies in “the Lima state” without much regard for the rest of the country.⁷³ Although Piérola had gained supporters among the working class in the northern city of Chiclayo during Balta's revolution, he had inadvertently connected coastal hacendados more closely with the Lima state. Some historians refer to *gamonalismo* as “bossism,” a political system in which power was restricted to the upper-class elite. Reversing the suffrage policies under Piérola, under *gamonalismo* “Elections took place but ballots were not secret, so landowners could herd their workers and peons to the polls and be sure they voted correctly. Hacendados from the sierra had themselves elected to the national congress, where they customarily supported the president—in exchange for unchecked powers in their own local arenas.”⁷⁴ José Carlos Mariátegui defined a *gamonal* as a *hacendado*, *latifundista*, *cacique* or other member of the provincial ‘establishment.’⁷⁵ The *gamonalismo* of the Aristocratic Republic between 1899 and 1919, then, brought greater political power to wealthy landowners along the northern coast from Lima to Trujillo, Chiclayo, and Piura.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 54.

⁷³Paul Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano*, 69.

⁷⁴Skidmore and Smith, *Modern Latin America*, 201.

⁷⁵José Carlos Mariátegui, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, trans. Marjory Urquidí. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 289.

B. Common Adversaries: Afro-Peruvian Identity Formation along the North Coast

The failures of Lima-centered popular politics and the growing connections between coastal haciendas and the capital under *gamonalismo* brought rural Afro-Peruvian labor conditions to the stage of national politics. Several historians have pointed to the continuities of Afro-Peruvian labor conditions on sugar and cotton plantations before and after the abolition of slavery. Denys Cuche's analysis of plantation statistics, for instance, shows that the "great majority" of former slaves remained on the plantations after abolition. Her analysis of the written memories of contemporary observers confirms that the "hacendados tried to observe the law without the slaves learning of their freedom."⁷⁶ Anthropologist Humberto Rodríguez Pastor has also pointed out the machinations of the coastal planters, who tried to convert their former slaves to *jornaleros* (slaves who worked for "wages" but were required to turn over most of their earnings to their owners) or peons despite the new law requiring them to compensate laborers with a daily salary.⁷⁷ Ramón Castilla's abolition process generously compensated former slave owners 300 pesos for each manumitted slave, a benefit made possible by the guano boom. The hacendados responded by defrauding local authorities, falsifying birth documents to make "fabulous fortunes" through manumission.⁷⁸ In 1854, they also began

⁷⁶Denys Cuche, *Poder blanco y resistencia negra*, 41: "Todo indica que los hacendados trataron de ponerse de acuerdo con la ley sin que sus esclavos se enteren de su libertad."

⁷⁷Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, "Abolición de la esclavitud en el Perú y su continuidad," in *La Libertad inconclusa: entorno a la esclavitud, su abolición, y los derechos civiles*. Arrelucea, Maribel, ed. (Lima: Centro de Desarrollo Etnico (CEDET), 2010), 45-79.

⁷⁸Cuche, *Poder blanco*, 42.

importing Chinese “coolie” laborers, considered “semi-slaves,” to supplement the expected loss of labor.⁷⁹

A recent study of Afro-descended Peruvians reaffirms the continuation of black resistance to exploitation in and around the old haciendas of the northern coast. Historians Maribel Arrelucea and Jesús A. Cosamalón Aguilar confirm that rural slaves, the majority of whom worked on sugar and cotton plantations on the coast, had great difficulty finding new forms of subsistence following abolition. These historians conclude from existing evidence that “the great majority” of former African slaves occupied “the marginal lands of the haciendas, making use of the less productive fields, dedicating themselves to subsistence farming and occasionally serving as free peons on the old haciendas.”⁸⁰ Although interethnic conflict between Afro-Peruvian, Chinese, and indigenous laborers became a problem⁸¹ that landowners sought to prevent by dividing work assignments by ethnicity, this separation was unsuccessful. Despite the intermittent antagonism, Asian-Peruvian, Afro-Peruvian, and indigenous Peruvian laborers intermarried and the distinct cultures blended in the late nineteenth century.⁸²

Similar to the class-based politics of nineteenth century Lima, labor agitation on the northern coast thus tended to employ an inclusive language of working class demands

⁷⁹Rodríguez Pastor, “Abolición de la esclavitud,” 78. Coolie laborers were contracted to work on a given *hacienda* for a specified period before returning to China, usually around 8 years.

⁸⁰Maribel Arrelucea and Jesús Cosamalón Aguilar, *La presencia afrodescendiente en el Perú, siglos XVI-XX*. (Lima: Ministerio de Cultura, 2015), 125: “Para los esclavos rurales, la mayoría de ellos residentes en las zonas costeras vinculados a las haciendas de azúcar y algodón, no fue fácil encontrar una nueva forma de subsistencia. Aunque no tenemos estudios que nos ilustren con precisión lo que ocurrió, se ha sugerido que la gran mayoría se asentó en las tierras marginales de las haciendas, haciendo uso de los campos menos productivos, dedicándose a cultivos de subsistencia y sirviendo ocasionalmente de peones libres en las antiguas haciendas.” Tanya Golash Boza also references the common practice of Afro-Peruvian tenant farming on and near former slave-holding haciendas in *Yo soy negro: Blackness in Peru*. (University Press of Florida, 2011), 57.

⁸¹Vincent C. Peloso (2005) “Racial Conflict and Identity Crisis in Wartime Peru: Revisiting the Cañete Massacre of 1881,” *Social Identities*, 11:5, 467-488.

⁸²Arrelucea and Cosamalón Aguilar, *La presencia afrodescendiente*, 126.

rather than an explicit race-based identity politics. However, as evinced in the Cañete massacre of 1881, some Afro-Peruvians rejected mixing with Chinese laborers and maintained a distinct collective identity along the Pacific coast during the decades after abolition. Also a broader Afro-Peruvian collective identity developed in opposition to the white landholding elite. Afro-Peruvians preserved unique cultural manifestations through oral histories, poetry, music and dance which facilitated the recognition of common political interests as well.

This cultural preservation coincided with the spread of anarcho-syndicalist literature from Lima to the northern coast, inspiring Afro-Peruvian laborers in large cities like Trujillo and in and around haciendas formerly worked by slaves. The increasing cost of living and lack of jobs exacerbated class divisions in Lima and further north. Lima newspaper *El Comercio* had labeled criminals as “anarchists” before the anarcho-syndicalist movement had taken shape in the late nineteenth century, and it lamented its growing popularity among the working classes even before González Prada’s return in 1898.

On October 5 of that year, *El Comercio* recognized that in the industrial sector, “all of the interests are in solidarity,” and “particularly on the coast, it is unsustainable that the interests of the laborers remain in opposition to those of the investors and producers; that the latter be the exploiters and the former the exploited. Ideas of *anarchy* may imprudently inculcate the minds of our working class, which may threaten public tranquility, if the good sense and noble feelings were not such a barrier against such malevolent suggestions, which have translated to horrible crimes in other countries.”⁸³ By

⁸³*El Comercio*, Oct. 5, 1897: “En el orden industrial todos los intereses son solidarios, y en el Perú, particularmente en la costa, no puede sostenerse que los intereses de los obreros estén en oposición con los

the end of the nineteenth century in spite of Piérola's efforts, the Aristocratic Republic had established the conditions for anarchist ideology to grow popular. Piérola's ultimate failure to create a political alternative to the Civilista party pushed his disillusioned Afro-Peruvian supporters further away from a belief in electoral politics, making direct action and radical ideology more appealing.

Manuel González Prada directed Peru's first anarchist publication, *Los Parias* (The Outcasts), which appeared in Lima in March 1904.⁸⁴ Direct action followed quickly, as anarchists participated in a strike in Callao in May. Although the harbor workers' demand for higher wages sparked similar strikes among laborers from the Central Railway, a flourmill, foundries, and a tram company that followed suit with their own strikes, "there was no united action, and each group tried to settle its claims separately."⁸⁵ González Prada recognized the disunity as a reason for the failure, and continued promoting anarchist ideology in *Los Parias*.

On May 1 of the following year, the Federación de Obreros Panaderos (Bakery Workers Federation/Guild) presented a speech at a conference arguing for the necessity of solidarity among all workers without distinction of social class. Changing its name to the "Estrella del Perú," the labor organization criticized and separated itself from the Confederación de Artesanos. This group became the most active anarchist organization in

de los empresarios o productores; que estos sean explotadores y aquellos explotados. Ideas del *anarquismo* que con tan poca prudencia se pretenden inculcar en la inteligencia de nuestra clase obrera, que podían ser funestas para la tranquilidad pública, si el buen sentido y la nobleza de los sentimientos que lo caracteriza, no fueran una valla contra esas malévolas sugerencias, que en otros países se traducen por crímenes horribles."

⁸⁴ Jesús Octavio Ballivian, "Anarchism and the Press in Lima: The Case of 'Los Parias,'" (Masters Thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2010), 35.

⁸⁵ Blanchard, *Origins*, 55.

the country, but its goal of worker solidarity failed as the majority of Lima's laborers remained loyal to the old mutual aid societies.⁸⁶

In spite of the anarchists' rejection of electoral politics and the divisions this created, they sought an alliance between middle class university students and working class manual laborers. Their common objective was securing an eight-hour work day for all laborers, and Prada's goal of uniting middle class intellectuals and working class laborers was continued by Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre in the early stages of his Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA). Laborers along Peru's northern coast were drawn to anarcho-syndicalist goals as they recognized that their local hacendados excluded them from full democratic representation. Anarchist organizations and literature began appearing in the largely Afro-Peruvian communities in Trujillo, Chiclayo, and Ica.⁸⁷

Workers in Chiclayo founded the "Confederación de Obreros First of May" in 1907 and the anarchist newspaper *La Antorcha* appeared in Trujillo, coinciding with a rise in unionizing in both coastal cities. Like Lima's working class artisans, manual laborers in Trujillo organized the "Liga de Artesanos y Obreros del Perú" in 1898.⁸⁸ Historian Michael Gonzalez has documented labor organization and agitation in several coastal haciendas in the early twentieth century, incidentally elucidating the struggles of Afro-Peruvian laborers on sugar and cotton producing plantations. Like the aforementioned historians, Gonzalez concludes that the transition from slave to non-slave

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 59.

⁸⁷Joël Delhom, "El movimiento obrero anarquista en el Perú (1890-1930)," Ponencia presentada en el *Congreso anual de la Society for Latin American Studies*, University of Birmingham, 6-8 abril 2001.

⁸⁸Steven Hirsch, "Anarchism, the Subaltern, and Repertoires of Resistance in Northern Peru, 1898-1922," in Barry Maxwell and Raymond Craib, eds. *No Gods, No Masters, No Peripheries: Global Anarchisms* (California: PM Press, 2015), 215-232.

labor on coastal plantations “was not necessarily a transition from bondage to freedom.” Coercion, violence, and debt peonage bonded former African slaves to their former masters.⁸⁹

Plantation records are scarce, and their perspectives are limited to those of the wealthy families. However, when contextualized in the broader frame of labor organizing and national politics, these local histories reveal Afro-Peruvian resistance to the confining legacies of slavery. The most complete set of plantation records have been preserved from that of Cayaltí, located in the Zaña Valley in the Department of Lambayeque, which became one of the nation’s largest producers of sugar by the twentieth century. The transition away from slave labor facilitated the estate’s purchase by the wealthy Aspíllaga family in 1859, amid concerns of its future profitability. The Aspíllagas, however, benefitted from their close ties to the Civilista party, which would help guard them from potential failure.⁹⁰

In the late nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth century, the Aspíllagas expected employees on the Cayaltí plantation to work six days a week for ten to twelve hours each day, under a set of strictly enforced rules.⁹¹ The Cayaltí hacienda experienced less labor unrest than others in the nearby Chicama Valley, Gonzalez argues, because the Aspíllagas implemented fewer technological and organizational changes and maintained “a trusted crew of employees who had been with the family for decades.”⁹² The lack of violence did not signify acquiescent laborers, but the maintenance of standard

⁸⁹ Michael Gonzalez, *Plantation Agriculture and Social Control in Northern Peru*, 2.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 52.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 75-76. Hacienda employees, for example, legally had to “Accept without question any assignment given by the estate; Carry out all orders, or be fired.”

⁹²*Ibid.*, 171.

expectations, such as an extensive division of labor and a hierarchy of occupational status, allowed peaceful negotiations to develop between labor and management.

In contrast to the relative calm of Cayaltí, the owners of the Casa Grande hacienda of the Chicama Valley introduced changes detrimental to their laborers in the early twentieth century. The owners increased the workers' expected production and replaced local foremen with German personnel. On April 8, 1912 almost all of the 5,000 laborers, who were expected to work fourteen hours each day, banded together to demand a wage increase, reduced workload, and the removal of German management. As Blanchard explains, "Armed with axes and machetes and shouting anti-German slogans, they occupied the sugar mill and attacked a shop. Police intervened, a fight ensued, and at least five workers were killed."⁹³ The Casa Grande and Roma estates became the center of labor agitation, as the violence provoked similar strikes in nearby haciendas of Chiquitoy and Suasal, Laredo, and Cartavio. Estate police and troops repressed these strikes violently as well, leading to the deaths of some 150 to 200 workers in all.⁹⁴

The repression fomented working-class solidarity and a growing interest in class-based political organizing that ignored ethnoracial distinctions. In the wake of the violence in the Chicama Valley, the Aspíllagas took precautions to ensure no such agitation on their hacienda. This included turning away workers arriving from the south, presumably out of fear they would spread Lima-based anarchist propaganda to their laborers. They also decreased workloads and raised wages by ten centavos per hour. In 1915, Cayaltí management also "asked the governor of Chiclayo to suppress anarchist

⁹³ Blanchard, *Origins*, 128.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 128.

activity in the department capital and in Saña.”⁹⁵ They appealed to elite fears of anarchism and criminality to support their position on a long-standing territorial dispute. The collective memory of this Afro-Peruvian community provides a distinct perspective and elucidates a unique process of identity formation. The proximity of the predominantly Afro-Peruvian town of Zaña to the hacienda Cayaltí made it a source of both labor and conflict in the early twentieth century. This contributed to the formation of a distinct Afro-Peruvian identity, which I examine in the next chapter.

IV. Conclusion: Recognizing Afro-Peruvian Participation

By triangulating sources and contextualizing labor activism historiographically in the national political narrative, this chapter begins to uncover the roles of Afro-Peruvians in the labor movement between 1850 and 1919. The absence of explicitly Afro-Peruvian collective interests in the historical record is not evidence of the absence of Afro-Peruvians from the political sphere. Afro-Peruvian Limeños were the first to form mutual aid societies, though these organizations both served to maintain cultural practices while providing an “escape hatch,” of sorts, for social mobility. A negative assessment might conclude that this lack of solidarity deteriorated Afro-Peruvian identity and collective interests, but it also shows individual agency. This chapter proposes a more optimistic assessment, offering evidence that Afro-Peruvians privileged worker solidarity over ethnoracial exclusion as an effective strategy to promote working class interests.

This approach of openness and class solidarity eventually won some victories for Peruvian laborers. The elite’s continual reliance on the export of raw materials meant that the laborers extracting guano, cutting sugar cane, loading ships at Callao, and working in urban factories could unify to demand better pay and working conditions. Afro-Peruvians

⁹⁵Gonzalez, *Plantation Agriculture and Social Control*, 183.

performed all of these tasks and expected full representation in the republic after taking direct action to end slavery, to defend the patria in the war with Spain, in the War of the Pacific, and in demanding direct suffrage with the Partido Demócrata.

The shared interests of Afro-Peruvian laborers in Lima, Callao and the northern haciendas manifested in the 1912 election of Guillermo Billinghurst, who represented the continuation of the Democratic platform to counter Civilista dominance and hacendado exploitation. Antero Aspíllaga of the hacienda Cayaltí had Civilista support for the presidency, and voters recognized that elite manipulation of the voting system could silence their political voice. To prevent this foreseeable maneuvering, workers in Lima and Callao overturned voting tables and paralyzed the process to prevent the constitutionally required one-third of eligible voters from voting. The workers threatened new general strikes if Congress, now tasked with choosing the president, did not select their candidate, and they succeeded. Nonetheless, the military coup of 1914 that ousted Billinghurst showed the intransigence of the Peruvian elite in suppressing such popular politics.

The Peruvian labor movement also succeeded in pressuring the government to pass laws regulating working conditions for women and child laborers in 1918, limiting them to six-hour workdays and thirty-three hours per week. Most significantly, Peru's working class achieved the central objective of the anarcho-syndicalist ideology in 1919: the eight-hour workday. Afro-Peruvian laborers in the capital and along the north coast participated in strikes that continually increased pressure on the aristocratic government to consider their demands. Mutual aid societies supported laborers not receiving pay in the general strikes that erupted in Lima, Cayaltí, and other coastal haciendas on January

12 of that year. Strikers had also gained the support of student organizations at Lima universities, and the workers' solidarity in the 48-hour general strike left President José Pardo with no other option: on January 15, he issued a supreme decree granting the eight-hour workday.

Afro-Peruvians had fought for an equal voice in national politics and expected full citizenship with the abolition of slavery. When the nation's oligarchy denied them full citizenship even after demonstrating patriotic self-sacrifice in nineteenth century conflicts, Afro-Peruvians chose the most effective strategy of direct action and working class solidarity to demand equality and political representation. The anarcho-syndicalist strategies of allying workers with middle-class university students to organize around specific national objectives continued when Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre led student protests at the National University of San Marcos in 1918. His Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) later gained the support of Afro-Peruvian laborers on estates of the Chicama Valley near Trujillo and in Zaña, further integrating coastal Afro-Peruvians into national politics. As Apristas, Afro-Peruvians faced continued political suppression and even violent repression, perpetuating their working-class solidarity. When Haya de la Torre failed to win the presidential election in 1930, Apristas (including laborers of haciendas from the nearby Chicama Valley) led a revolutionary movement in Trujillo against Civilista president General Sánchez Cerro on July 7, 1932. Having connected their popular anti-imperialist movement to local grievances against gamonalismo and the legacies of slavery, the Partido Aprista Peruano (PAP) may have gained the support of Afro-Peruvian laborers in the north. The United States took notice of the insurgency and supported Sánchez Cerro's decision to quash it with the full force

of Peru's army, navy, and air force.⁹⁶ In the following chapter, I turn to collective Afro-Peruvian identities simmering beneath the surface of popular politics through the early twentieth century, eventually spurring the emergence of identity politics in the 1950s.

⁹⁶See, for example, Harry Kantor, *The Ideology and Program of the Peruvian Aprista Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Savile Books, 1966).

Chapter 7: Afro-Peruvian Identity and Politics along the North Coast: Zaña and Yapatera

Local histories of the northern communities of Zaña and Yapatera demonstrate that rural Afro-Peruvians developed collective identities born from the persistent oppression of local hacendados. Like many “freed blacks” of Lima, rural Afro-Peruvians embraced an inclusive class-based rhetoric in politics. In contrast to the previous chapter’s analysis of Afro-Peruvians participating in broad social and political movements, this chapter examines local histories of identity formation extending into the mid twentieth century. Through analyses of poetry, government records and oral histories, this chapter casts light on distinct processes of Afro-Peruvian identity formation. Together, these texts reveal Afro-Peruvian identities that contributed to growing connections with the African diaspora in the twentieth century in the “Black Pacific.”¹ Whereas most Afro-Peruvians in large urban centers elided discourses of race in favor of class, these smaller rural communities maintained distinct ethnoracial traditions. Their cultural productions and collective memories reveal new perspectives on Afro-Peruvian relationships with the national government after the abolition of slavery. These predominantly Afro-Peruvian communities developed powerful counter-narratives to the dominant discourse on race and nation emanating from Lima, which helped shape the cultural and political dynamics of the “rediscovery” of the 1950s.

Histories of labor and politics in Peru’s northern coast region have highlighted the ties between landed elites and Lima’s Civilista politicians as well as the connections

¹This chapter expands on analyses of Heidi Carolyn Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2006); and Robbie Shilliam, *The Black Pacific: Anti-Colonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections* (London : Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

between hacienda laborers and working class movements in Lima.² Afro-Peruvian laborers were involved in political and social movements that countered Civilista hegemony, but the smaller communities of Zaña and Yapatera offer local perspectives that represent unique forms of cultural politics. Afro-descended people have comprised the majority of these northern towns, both near major haciendas, since they were first established. Though most residents identified as black in each towns' earlier years, they were not endogenous communities. Thus over time, more of the townspeople came to identify as *mestizo* (mixed). Though not exclusively "black," these communities developed inclusive Afro-Peruvian identities in opposition to white hacendados. Since the 1980s, scholars from Lima universities, mostly anthropologists, began visiting these locations more frequently, in the process advancing recognition and reaffirmation of Afro-descended collective identities. The local histories popularized by anthropologists reveal long traditions of collective memories through oral history and artistic expression. As such, they provide alternate narratives to Afro-Peruvian history that challenge the dominant discourse of this marginalized population as passive actors or simple "cannon fodder" of the elite. These local histories display Afro-Peruvian historical agency in a way that disrupts prior analyses that assume a "proletarianization" of blacks in Peru that created a uniform set of interests.³ Zaña and Yapatera are two communities that diverge from the Limeño norm with respect to constructions of blackness. Both communities mobilized politically and created cultural manifestations, such as oral

²Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement, 1883-1919*. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982); Michael Gonzalez, *Plantation Agriculture and Social Control, 1875-1933* (University of Texas Press, 1985); Steven Hirsch, "Anarchism, the Subaltern, and Repertoires of Resistance in Northern Peru, 1898-1922," in Barry Maxwell and Raymond Craib, eds. *No Gods, No Masters, No Peripheries: Global Anarchisms* (California: PM Press, 2015), 215-232.

³Denys Cuche, *Poder blanco y resistencia negro en el Perú: un estudio sobre la condición social del negro en el Perú después de la abolición de la esclavitud*. (Lima: instituto nacional de cultura, 1975).

histories and *décimas*, that valorize blackness and Afro-Peruvian contributions to the nation.

I. **Zaña: Afro-Peruvian Identity under the Aristocratic Republic**

The town of Zaña has a unique history. Not long after Francisco Pizarro founded the city of Trujillo in December of 1534, Capitán Baltazar Rodríguez founded Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña on November 2, 1563, accepting the title of *encomendero* of the indigenous population to work the land. According to local historians, the population of Zaña came to rival Trujillo by 1663, attracting wealthy Spaniards who used African slaves for sugar production.⁴

Indigenous communities made up the majority of the Zaña Valley through the end of the eighteenth century, but Spanish settlers fostered a high concentration of Afro-descended people in the valley's urban center of Zaña. Sociologist Luis Rocca Torres has analyzed local records that show by the end of the century, "there were no indigenous people and instead ninety blacks and 370 *mestizos de negro con indio* (black and indigenous mixed), together reaching a total of 460 (*sic*) people constituting 80% of the town's population."⁵

Local historians attribute the town's unique ethnoracial composition to two historical events: the 1686 sacking of the city by the pirate Edward Davis, and the disastrous flood of 1720 that destroyed most of the city. The British pirate had heard rumors of the city's opulence and invaded on March 4 of 1686, famously taking "the

⁴Luis Legoas López, *Zaña: ayer y hoy*. (Zaña: Oficina de Información Turística, 2015), 8-10.

⁵Luis Rocca Torres, *La otra historia: memoria colectiva y canto del pueblo de Zaña*. (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1985), 47-48: "En la misma ciudad de Zaña, según estadísticas de finales del siglo XVIII, había una mayor proporción de población negra y mestizos de negro. No había ningún indígena y en cambio 90 negros y 370 mestizos de negro con indio, alcanzando en conjunto un total de 360 personas constituyendo el 80% de la población de Villa."

damsel Mencia, daughter of a wealthy Spaniard.”⁶ Although the pirates caused much suffering for the townspeople, one local history recalls, “taking the best that [the townspeople] had...they didn’t take anything from the slaves because they had nothing. Hahaha!”⁷ Although Afro-descended townspeople were certainly affected negatively by the invasion, the popular memory of the pirate “Eduardo” privileges the black slaves’ revelry in witnessing their masters’ distress.

The collective memory of Zaña provides an Afro-Peruvian perspective on the Aristocratic Republic that in some ways mirrors the experiences of Lima’s Afro-descended population at the same time. Zaña’s proximity to the hacienda Cayaltí meant that it was a source of labor for the sugar plantation and an increasing source of conflict. The hacendados began to utilize their political connections to demand rights to land belonging to Zaña in the 1880s, limiting the town’s access to water. The Zaña River is essential to the agricultural life of the town (which would otherwise be taken over by desert sand), so this injustice stands out in the popular memory of the land dispute.

On December 5, 1912, representatives of the town submitted an article to *El Comercio* regarding the ongoing dispute with Cayaltí. Claiming to represent the “sons and daughters of the city/people” (*hijos del pueblo*), the article began with an appeal to the nation’s sense of justice and equal citizenship, stating:

Having heard in all parts of the republic the call of freedom’s restoration, all of the children of this historic city, making use of their sovereignty have peacefully and calmly and without any opposition taken possession of lands that pertain to the population in the part that borders those of “Pedro de Hurto,” and a part [of land] that improperly sustains the hacienda Cayaltí, whose owners are hoped to turn over to Zaña what is theirs, out of

⁶Legoas López, *Zaña*, 13.

⁷Quoted in Rocca Torres, *La otra historia*, 55: “Dice en un testimonio oral recogido en 1983 que: ‘Es una historia que cuentan los abuelos...entraron a robar aquí, también sufrió bastante el pueblo...hicieron destrozos...al que tenían le quitaban a la fuerza, le quitaban lo mejor que tenían...a los esclavos no le quitaban nada porque nada tenían ¡Ja ja ja ja!’”

respect for the law and justice and of poor men who are good representatives of the nation.

The article went on to recommend that the owners remain “accessible so that at all times they can count on the help and support of the people who wish to encounter no obstacle in the reopening of their old channel for the irrigation of the lands.”⁸ The authors objected to the recent actions taken by nearby hacendados, in particular their decision to erect detaining bars to prevent the free movement of townspeople, first barring them from land and later in public plazas and even around the town’s own ruins. The article’s closing lines appear carefully chosen to gain popular support for the town’s historic claims. After pointing out that the town had committed no act that would compromise the interests of “adjacent property owners,” they asked “that these [owners] leave us in peace on the lands they have held usufruct for so long without legal title and that they not obligate us to act outside the limits of law; as we do not accept for any motive the formalities of judgments that are the endless obstacle and the salvation of the condemned, which Mr. Money (“*don dinero*”) sanctifies and consecrates.”⁹ The closing lines thus drew attention to Zaña’s historic oppression by the economic elite, which the nation had (they presumed) disavowed as unjust. Just as Afro-Peruvians had vanquished slavery,

⁸“Los hijos del pueblo,” “Zaña,” *El Comercio*, February 8, 1912: “Habiéndose oído en todos los ámbitos de la republica el grito de la restauración de la libertad, los hijos todos de esta histórica ciudad, haciendo uso de su soberanía han tomado posesión tranquila y pacíficamente y sin oposición alguna de los terrenos que pertenecen a la población en la parte limítrofe con los de ‘Pedro de Hurto’, y parte de los que indebidamente sostiene la hacienda Cayaltí, de cuyos propietarios se espera que en homenaje al derecho de justicia y de hombres pobres (*sic*) y buenos representantes de la nación entreguen a Zaña lo suyo, portándose asequibles para que en todo tiempo cuenten con el apoyo y auxilio de los del pueblo que desean no encontrar obstáculos en la reapertura de su antiguo cauce para la irrigación de sus tierras de sembrío y para la del camino real llamado ‘Los puentecitos.’”

⁹*Ibid.*: “No habiendo cometido exacción que perjudicara los intereses de ninguno de los propietarios colindantes, suplicamos a estos que nos dejen tranquilos en los terrenos que han usufructuado tanto tiempo sin derecho para ello y que no nos obliguen a lo que esta fuera de los límites de la ley; pues por ningún motivo aceptamos los tramites de juicios que son la rémora inacabable y la salvación del condenado al que lo santifica don dinero convirtiéndolo en santo.”

they would continue to fight against the same economic interests if the law favored their ancestral oppressors and failed to treat them fairly. More poignantly, the lines criticized the influence of wealth (a “don dinero”) on law enforcement, appealing to the nation’s sense of social justice and equality before the law and echoing the conciliatory platform of the Democratic Party. A popular song from this period recalled:

The boundaries of Zaña with Cayaltí
 the boundaries of Zaña with Cayaltí
 And they have taken too much of it from Zaña
 and long live Zaña, long live Zaña
 but not Cayaltí...¹⁰

The Aspíllagas, escalating tensions, may have interpreted the public statement in defense of Zaña’s land rights as a threat. In 1913, the dispute over access to land and water culminated in violence. These hacendados had established their own police force on the plantation in February of 1894, but in some cases they turned to public officials as the number of their employees grew into the thousands in the early twentieth century.¹¹ Official records trace the origins of the dispute to 1876 and show that hacienda Cayaltí had won the long-standing suit over the land title just before violence erupted in 1913. When the townspeople protested the verdict by burning part of the disputed land, the Aspíllagas requested the presence of the army, escalating tensions. As troops occupied the town and enforced a curfew, the prefect of Lambayeque reported to Lima that the Aspíllagas “had stolen all of the hills surrounding Saña and that, in suppressing the riot, the army had committed what could only be called a ‘massacre.’” As Michael Gonzalez has pointed out, Antero Aspíllaga Barrera, a Civilista prefect in the capital and partial

¹⁰Quoted in Rocca Torres, *La otra historia*, 191: “Los linderos de Zaña con Cayaltí/los linderos de Zaña con Cayaltí./Y a Zaña le han quitado harto/y viva Zaña, viva Zaña./que Cayaltí no...”

¹¹Michael J. Gonzalez, *Plantation Agriculture and Social Control in Northern Peru*, 162-163.

owner of Cayaltí, received the report and responded by removing the noncompliant prefect from office and replacing him in less than a week.¹² The people of Zaña had gained some sympathizers but had to sacrifice blood in the process.

Gonzalez' study of social control on and around northern haciendas reveals the power of Civilista hacendados like the Aspíllagas, but the official records he analyzes do not provide the perspectives of the victims of the powerful alliance between money and politics. Elderly residents of the town have given oral testimony to Rocca Torres of the "massacre" that occurred in May of 1913. After local leaders, including the town's mayor, refused to follow a proclamation that the Aspíllagas posted on the town's walls, forty armed men arrived at the town at about 7:00 in the evening. Doña Rosa Campaña recollected that the authorities arrested at least two of the town's representatives, Agustín Linares and José García, who were imprisoned in Lima. Campaña also recalled the names of four other townspeople who were killed while defending the town's lands, which was corroborated by her contemporary Don Marcial Sánchez. Sánchez added that the hacendados stole from the "*zambos*, the blacks,...the poor, the slaves...whereas these hacendados from Cayaltí were millionaires...all of the authorities were sold to favor Cayaltí."¹³ Teodoro Linares, the son of a local leader who survived imprisonment after the "massacre," recalled that his father Agustín had shredded the proclamation that had been posted around the town that May. Although Agustín Linares was targeted for his defiance and leading role in the dispute, he returned to continue defending the land and

¹²*Ibid.*, 52.

¹³Quotes in Rocca Torres, *La otra historia*, 191-192: "En mayo de 1913 hubo un masacre...Eso fue en defensa de los terrenos de aquí el pueblo...todo se lo agarraron los hacendados...le quitaron...como quedaron los zambos, los morenos...pobres, los esclavos...aprovecharon todo lo quitaron...donde estos de Cayalti como eran millonarios los hacendados...Cuatro muertos hubieron...Que iba hacer el pueblo...40 hombres armados...Caliente el pueblo estaba reclamando...Había un dirigente Cachay que defendía el pueblo...todas las autoridades estaban vendidas a favor de Cayaltí...Lo tomaron preso...murieron en la prisión."

later founded an Aprista party in Zaña.¹⁴ Teodoro Linares has also recited a poem dedicated to his father, which clarified that “the mission was to fight/the *gamonales* of Cayaltí” who had powerful allies to Lima.¹⁵

The repression in Zaña occurred just a year after Antero Aspíllaga’s failed presidential run, which instead saw the election of Demócrata Guillermo Billinghurst to the presidency, considered “an early example of populism.”¹⁶ Billinghurst was a successful businessman in Lima and a loyal follower of Piérola. He financed the democratic caudillo’s successful revolution of 1895 and was rewarded by being named first vice-president, gaining some popularity among the working class as an enemy of the Civilistas. However, Piérola chose a less controversial successor as the presidential candidate of the Civilista-Demócrata alliance, Eduardo López de Romaña (owner of the hacienda Romaña), destroying his “long-standing friendship” with Billinghurst.¹⁷ Billinghurst returned to Lima politics in 1909 and was elected the city’s mayor. His work as mayor included intervening in strikes on the workers’ behalf and implementing public works projects to improve the living conditions of the city’s laborers, thereby gaining followers against his rival candidate for the 1912 presidential election. His challenger was none other than Antero Aspíllaga. Billinghurst had gained the support of a splinter faction of Civilistas calling themselves the Partido Civil Independiente, but his popular support among working class Demócratas secured his presidential victory. This “early populist,” historian Steve Stein explains,

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 197.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 196. The poem is titled “A mi padre.” The original lines read: “Nadie que se olvide hay/cuando fueron comisionados/entre zañeros osados/como Garcia, Linares y Cachay./La misión era luchar/con gamonales de Cayalti/a Lima se fueron de aquí/viajando por tierra y mar.”

¹⁶Blanchard, *Origins*, 84.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 85.

had begun to gain working class support on the basis of his sympathetic treatment of the urban poor during his tenure of Lima in 1909 and 1910. He reinforced that support during his campaign by making his symbol a low-priced large loaf of bread and threatened that an Aspíllaga victory would mean a smaller loaf at four times the price. Hearing rumors that the president's control of the electoral machinery would assure the election of Aspíllaga, the Billinghurst camp held a mass demonstration six days before the voting, both to show the popularity of the candidate and to convince the government that any tinkering with the suffrage mechanism would provoke a large-scale violent reaction on the part of the Lima proletariat.¹⁸

Such local level civic organizing to ensure Billinghurst's election in 1912

demonstrates an alignment of political interests between Afro-Peruvians in and around northern haciendas like Cayaltí and in Lima. Billinghurst echoed the interests of working class Afro-Peruvians to such an extent that he intervened on behalf of the workers in a longshoremen's strike in 1913, and he directly attacked the National Congress, controlled by the traditional ruling elite. The powerful elites turned to the military to abruptly end the populist's presidency in 1914 under the command of Colonel Oscar Benavides.¹⁹ Peru's traditional economic elites had demonstrated their firm control of the military, silencing the masses who decided not to revolt.

The powerful Aristocratic Republic maintained elite control and kept the traditional social hierarchies in place, but the farce of the nation's democratic process had been exposed. The persistent alliance between wealthy hacendados and political-maneuvering Limeños exacerbated opposing interests between laborers and elites both in Lima and along the northern coast. Zaña's direct opposition to the Aspíllagas of Cayaltí, in this context, reveals common political interests between this northern town and the Lima working class. Furthermore, their collective memories emphasized Afro-Peruvian patriotism and political activism.

¹⁸Steve Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 33.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 34.

This dominant narrative also results from the subsequent development of Zaña following the massive flood of 1720. On March 15 of that year, the “apocalyptic” flood left only a few church buildings standing and stimulated the mass exodus of Spaniards.²⁰ In 1784, the town registered “74 Spaniards, not one indigenous, 39 mestizos (mixture of Spanish and Indian); 370 pardos (generic mixture of Indian with black) and 90 blacks.” As Luis Rocca Torres argues, the decline in Spanish townspeople allowed the Afro-descended population to dominate local culture, with “better possibilities of deploying their culture through singing, dancing, and music in general.”²¹ The town’s unique history as a somewhat autonomous and predominantly Afro-Peruvian community contributed to a unique process of identity formation in comparison to much of the nation. In contrast to republican Lima, where the Afro-Peruvian population steadily declined in the census records, Zaña’s population continued to recognize its African roots.

II. Yapatera: A Distinct Afro-Peruvian Identity and Perspective

Further north, the predominantly Afro-Peruvian district of Yapatera in the department of Piura displayed a similar process of identity-formation: the community began to identify as patriotic Afro-Peruvians in opposition to the former slaveholding hacendados in the late nineteenth century. This smaller and more remote community has received less scholarly attention and has been more isolated from national politics. Yapatera’s local historians also utilize the *décima* and other forms of oral memory to

²⁰Legoas López, 14.

²¹Rocca Torres, *La otra historia*, 52: “En dicho año había solo 73 españoles, ningún indígena, 39 mixtos (mezcla de español con indio); 370 pardos (mezcla básica de indio con negro) y 90 negros...Esta composición étnica que se registra en Zaña tiene consecuencias importantes a nivel cultural, en la medida que permite a la población de origen negro un mayor peso social y mayores posibilidades de desplegar su cultura, a través del canto, la danza y música en general.”

recount the community's past, exhibiting important similarities as well as differences. Spaniards first settled in this fertile region in 1595, establishing a sugar-producing hacienda that changed ownership several times before don Pablo Jaime de los Ríos and doña Josefa Velásquez Trineo purchased Hacienda Yapatera in 1710 and began importing African slaves for field and domestic labor. These hacendados imported more African slaves than the adjacent haciendas did, leading to a higher concentration of Afro-Peruvians there. Local autodidactic historian Fernando Barranzuela Zevallos has emphasized the community's legal standing in relation to the Peruvian state, however, preferring a narrative of Afro-Peruvian autonomy to the brief summary of the brutality of slavery. Barranzuela highlights President Ramón Castilla's 1861 law that elevated Yapatera to the level of district within the newly established department of Piura, to the exclusion of Castilla's abolition decree.²²

Barranzuela's historical narrative explains that the local population interpreted a decree by General Santa Cruz shortly after independence as legal approval for them to "recover their lands lost to the widening of the hacienda, demanding the return of their old lands." His account does not trace the origins of the community to a *palenque*, although he does point to the importance of such runaway slave communities nearby.²³

Regardless of the nature of the land claims, the hacendados responded with police force. At least five haciendas other than Yapatera utilized a mixture of indigenous and African slave labor, and when the "peasantry of this zone" began to demand respect for

²²Orlando Velásquez Benites, "El Pueblo Negro de Yapatera," (Tesis Doctoral, Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, Facultad de ciencias sociales, 2003), 32.

²³*Ibid.*, 33: "Un decreto supremo promulgado por el general Santa Cruz, es interpretado por los colonos de Piura como un acto legal para recuperar sus tierras perdidas por el ensanchamiento de la hacienda, exigiendo la devolución de sus antiguas tierras, negándose a pagar arriendos y realizar faenas, originando una respuesta policial de los hacendados."

their rights, the hacendados did not respond positively. Mistreatment and violence were more likely if the hacendados noticed “the presence of blacks.”²⁴ The antagonism between Afro-descended Peruvians and white hacendados increased over the course of the nineteenth century, the latter exercising their inherited power to such a degree that they seemed to disregard national law.

Whereas isolation from the state might permit hacendado autonomy and abuse, Afro-Peruvian yapateranos saw the Lima government as a potential protector of their political rights. The demand for an autonomous space next to the hacienda lands coincides with Castilla’s liberal revolution of the mid nineteenth century, as local historians recall various accounts of hacienda foremen punishing their “enslaved laborers” to demand obedience and subservience.²⁵ The state’s recognition of Yapatera as an official district of Piura may have brought such hacendados under closer state observation and compliance with the law of abolition. As an official district, Yapatera could also elect a local mayor for greater governmental representation. The former slaves and their descendants appear to have equated greater state recognition and integration with increasing equality. Their recognition as an autonomous “Villa” was understood as a first step toward greater autonomy and political representation as an independent district, and yapateranos hoped this would lead to even greater political representation as an independent “province,” which local scholars understood as the legal equivalent of a city.

Fernando Barranzuela has written that the newspaper *El Peruano* first printed the official recognition of Yapatera as a district on January 6, 1877. The owner of the

²⁴*Ibid.*, 34: “en Adelante del campesinado de esta zona empieza a exigir el respeto a sus derechos, que si bien el hacendados no responde positivamente, más aun si la presencia negra, que poco a poco se hace más notoria, otorgaba la latifundista licencia para explotar y sojuzgar la fuerza de trabajo.”

²⁵*Ibid.*, 34-35.

hacienda Yapatera had resisted this pronouncement for seven years, and its enforcement caused the hacendado and his family to move to the district's capital of Chulucanas. The legal change would help the community gain social services from Lima, and it was a product of José Balta's 1868 revolution: in December 1870, President Balta approved the legal recognition of "political rights" of the inhabitants of Yapatera, stipulating that these citizens would repay the "old landowners" the pro-rated cost of the lands they occupied. Although they had to pay, the yapateranos gained full legal rights to the land they claimed as autonomous territory. The law thus redefined hacienda land as public property, but required the claimants to compensate the hacendados monetarily. Furthermore, the Congress in Lima recognized that the small district within Piura had first gained the status of "Villa" as a reward for "their heroic services to the cause of independence," but the rights of its residents had not been properly protected.²⁶ Barranzuela recalls this moment, more than twenty years after Castilla's abolition decree, as a time when the hacendados "still maintained my ancestors as slaves."²⁷ The 1877 pronouncement clarified the political status of Yapatera as a "district" due to the growing economic value of its agricultural exports and its increasing population, guaranteeing its growing population full citizenship rights including state enforcement of the law of

²⁶*La Union*, Piura, Saturday 15 of February, 1873: "una reduccion numerosa conocida con el nombre de Sullana, elevada ya al rango de Villa desde Octubre de 1826, en premio de sus heroicos servicios a la causa de la independencia... La Villa de Sullana y todas las poblaciones que se hallen en su caso, gozan de los derechos politicos que les senala las leyes, y de la propiedad de los terrenos que comprenden. Los pobladores satisfarán pro-rata a los antiguos propietarios el precio que estos acrediten haberles costado, con presencia de los documentos originales."

²⁷Fernando Barranzuela Zevallos, *Historia de Yapatera*. (Municipalidad Provincial de Piura, 2007), 52: "Quiero manifestarles que el 6 de enero de 1877, tal como se publicó en el diario 'El Peruano,' con esa fecha se creó el distrito de Yapatera. Esta historia empieza cuando el hacendado, se sentía junto a su familia mortificado, porque vivía en la inmediaciones del chacrerío de Yapatera... Fue así que cuando declararon Distrito a Yapatera, y a mis antepasados todavía los mantenían esclavos, pusieron como alcalde al señor Juan D. Briceño que asumió el cargo un 23 de febrero de 1884."

abolition.²⁸ Yapatera's geographic and political isolation thus favored the interests of the hacendados, who sought to maintain their local autonomy and limit the influence of national policy on their estates.

In contrast, the Afro-Peruvians who comprised the majority of the population sought greater recognition and support from the state. Local leaders assumed this recognition would introduce social services that might elevate their community to the legal status of a province or city. Despite these hopes, hacendados of Yapatera successfully overturned the legal classification of Yapatera as a district "in the final decades of the nineteenth century." Local historians blame the "hidden racism" of the growing aristocratic class in the zone for this "theft."²⁹ This demotion of legal status permitted hacendados to reclaim territory that the yapateranos considered their sovereign land, which would not be returned until the Agrarian Reform Law of 1969.³⁰ Barranzuela recalls that Yapatera "could not become a city because the hacendados did not want that, as they would not agree to allow authorities on their hacienda, even though they were mandated to be there, nor did they want schools. They wanted us yapateranos to work only on the hacienda."³¹ The collective suffering under slavery forged an Afro-Peruvian

²⁸Velásquez Benites, "El Pueblo Negro de Yapatera," 36.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 36: "la envergadura de la hacienda y su importancia en la zona, generó la creación del distrito de Yapatera. Sin embargo, por esos movimientos políticos y debido a ese oculto racismo que fue compenetrando con la clase aristocrática que ya había crecido en estos lugares, de pronto se le arrebató el derecho ganado como población en auge. Resulta, que el precio y el atrevimiento de los yapateranos para alcanzar la creación de la gran provincia de Yapatera, tuvo un duro castigo en las últimas décadas del siglo XIX." Velásquez Benites cites several of the town's intellectuals on this point, including Fernando Barranzuela, Jose Távara, and Carlos Espinoza.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 38.

³¹Barranzuela Zevallos, *Historia de Yapatera*, 55: "También quiero agregar que Yapatera, como pueblo, no pudo surgir, no pudo llegar a ser una ciudad porque los hacendados no quisieron, a ellos no les convenía que hubieran autoridades dentro de su hacienda, a pesar que afuera las mandaban, no quisieron que tampoco haya escuelas. Ellos querían que los yapateranos nos dediquemos sólo a la hacienda."

identity in Yapatera in opposition to the hacendados through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with a focus on labor rights and freedom from quasi-slavery.

In Yapatera, culture and politics combined to allow alternate perspectives on blackness that challenged the dominant discourse that equates blackness with criminality and backwardness. Barranzuela recounts the origins of a song that a local handicapped Afro-Peruvian sang to shame a white man who had insulted her. The man had visited the Chapica factory and began drinking chicha and aguardiente at a local bar upon finishing the work. The man noticed that the woman singing had a lame foot and decided to insult her in song after her performance because, “apart from her color, she’s lame.” The woman responded with witty verses that won the approval of the local audience and embarrassed the visitor. Barranzuela recounts several stories of Afro-Peruvians defending their blackness from such racially charged insults in the form of improvised verses.³²

The people of Yapatera clearly developed a sense of cultural pride in response to the racism they have faced. In the process they have subverted traditional notions of honor as military sacrifice or whiteness. Rather than lament the degrading forces of oppression that have confined this Afro-Peruvian community for centuries, their identity became a source of communal support and honor. As Barranzuela has explained, “due to the good food and the good chicha the people carried out completely healthy lives, that is why there are no sick people in Yapatera, almost the majority die in old age and with a clean conscience. Here there is no prostitution, drug addiction, alcoholism, [or]

³²*Ibid.*, 60-61: “el gringo dijo a su acompañante ‘voy a cantar y le voy a insultar a esa negra porque, aparte de su color, es coja.’...‘Y el negro le contestó: ‘Lavé un día a un blanquito/pa’ ver que cosa decía/le metí el dedo al potito/y de gusto se movía.’”

delinquency; it is a town of humble, honorable, healthy people.”³³ This romanticized self-portrait presents a counter-narrative in direct opposition to elite-dominated discourses that equated blackness with moral depravity and degeneration. Yapatera has not become a cultural icon like Zaña and its post-abolition political dimensions are not well documented, but the local history suggests that the yapateranos rejected dominant racial ideologies and instead pressed outsiders to associate blackness with honor. Barranzuela has expressed that for Yapatera:

our essence is negritud ...As I heard and read, [many Peruvians] speak out of racism or ignorance because even now they do not distinguish that black is dark, it is in color the counterpart that absorbed all the other colors; if they want others to think that a darkened hand is dirty from immorality or crime, they are mistaken...in the end, all of the colors, including black which covers the others, are clean or dirty and that depends on who causes damage, robs, kills, uses drugs, or sells out the country... Those who work like us blacks have grimy fingernails from putting our hands in the soil or in the grease of a workshop and that black nail dignifies, honors his or her owner. But there are those with white, pinkish, and yellow hands and fingernails that are very clean, but look them in the eyes and their souls have muddied because they stuck their hands in foreign money, sometimes sacrificing their own people’s money to pay taxes.³⁴

In contrast to the internalization of dominant discourses of race that led to ambiguous responses among Lima elites, the predominantly Afro-Peruvian communities of Zaña and Yapatera placed their ethnoracial identity at the center of their socio-political stances.

³³*Ibid.*, 117: “Debido a la Buena comida y a la buena chicha se llevaba una vida totalmente sana, es por eso que en Yapatera no hay enfermos, casi la mayoría mueren de viejos y con la conciencia limpia. Aquí no existe prostitución, drogadicción, alcoholismo, delincuentes, es un pueblo de gente humilde, honrada, sana.”

³⁴*Ibid.*, 123-124: “nuestra esencia es la negritud... como escuché o leí, hablan por racismo o ignorancia porque hasta ahora no diferencian que lo negro es oscuro, es en color la contraparte que sobrio todos los otros colores; si quieren dar a entender que hay una mano ensuciada por inmoral o por crimen, también se equivocan... Deje que hablan por racismo, porque a fin de cuentas, todos los colores, incluido el negro que opaca los otros colores, son limpios o son sucios eso ya depende de ¿quién hace daño, roba o mata o se droga o vende al país? O de quien tiene honor y limpia la conciencia. Los que trabajan como nosotros los negros tienen las uñas mugrientas por poner la mano en la tierra o en la grasa del taller y ese negro de uña dignifica, honra a su dueño o dueña. Pero hay quienes tienen las manos y las unas blancas, rosaditas y algunos amarillas, muy limpiecitas, pero mírenlos a los ojos y su alma se ha enturbiado porque metieron la mano en el dinero ajeno, a veces dinero del pueblo que se sacrifica para pagar impuestos. Por eso es que queremos que en Yapatera, todos aprendamos a hablar claro, y que no se dejen maltratar a otro por el color.”

I. Historicizing a “Rediscovery”: The Political Dimensions of Afro-Peruvian Décimas

Like political and intellectual elites of Lima, Peruvians in northern coastal towns and cities only acknowledged in retrospect that Afro-Peruvians played key roles in the development of labor activism and popular politics. As ethnomusicologist Heidi Carolyn Feldman has documented (with exceptional clarity), Afro-Peruvian siblings Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz initiated a “rediscovery” of their unique cultural heritage in the 1950s. The sibling duo collected, wrote and published music, poetry, and dance based on the traditions of black Peruvians.³⁵ While this cultural rediscovery separated Afro-Peruvian traditions from popular *criollo* culture, stimulating a lineage of activist movements to promote racial equality and anti-discrimination legislation, it has overshadowed the roots of such identity politics in preceding decades. This chapter, as well as the previous chapter, aims to historicize this “rediscovery” by revealing the political dimensions of such Afro-Peruvian cultural manifestations since the mid-nineteenth century.

Victoria Santa Cruz focused her efforts on Afro-Peruvian musical traditions and the “ancestral memory” it embodied, while Nicomedes wrote and performed a form of poetry known as the *décima*. These poems (more precisely, the *décima de pie forzado*) are composed of four octosyllabic ten-line stanzas and were popular in Spain during its golden age (sixteenth century). Afro-Peruvians gave them new meaning in the New World, incorporating the poems as a mode of oral history to be recited at contests in

³⁵Heidi Carolyn Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2006).

Afro-Peruvian gatherings. For Nicomedes, *décimas* became “the vehicle through which he initially awakened a spirit of Peruvian negritude.”³⁶

Décimas divulge histories and legends that are central to understanding the emergence of an Afro-Peruvian collective identity forged through common struggles before and after the abolition of slavery. The poems were usually maintained through oral tradition throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries because some of the greatest *decimistas* were illiterate, “and those who could write jealously guarded their *cuadernos* (notebooks of poetry) and sometimes were even buried with them.”³⁷ The nature of the art form has thus presented a challenge to historians seeking to understand its origins as an Afro-Peruvian tradition as well as its various political dimensions.

By the twentieth century, however, *décimas* appear to have become recognized as important sources of local history and Afro-Peruvian cultural traditions. The poems that Nicomedes Santa Cruz recorded frequently expressed connections to the African Diaspora as well as a post-abolition collective identity forged through common struggles, especially along the northern coast. Yet even Nicomedes Santa Cruz wrote that he did not think an exclusive “black poetry” existed. Even after writing *décimas* with clear connections to Africa, such as *Congo Libre*, *Johanesburgo*, *Sudáfrica*, and *Llanto negro*, Santa Cruz emphasized the inclusiveness of his verses in his “fraternal call to:

*Indoblanquinegros
Blanquinegrindios
y negrindoblanco.*”³⁸

³⁶*Ibid.*, 87.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 88.

³⁸Nicomedes Santa Cruz, *Antología, décimas y poemas*. (Lima: Campodónico ediciones, S.A., 1971), 16.

This 1971 verse playfully blends Latin America's supposedly distinct ethnoracial categories together, suggesting that even this markedly Afro-Peruvian art form promoted an inclusive vision of *mestizaje* and *peruanidad* to foment class solidarity rather than ethnoracial cohesion. The Santa Cruz siblings' so-called "rediscovery" of Afro-Peruvian culture followed decades of conscientious efforts of preservation among Afro-Peruvian communities in Lima and along the coast.

The town of Zaña has become a symbol of the nation's Afro-Peruvian culture, but research on the town's unique *décimas* has overlooked their political dimensions. Afro-Peruvian *decimistas* tend to express a common identity based on African ancestry as well as collective suffering under slavery. Feldman has pointed out that competing poets would often recite existing verses and improvise others, and some of the oldest documented Peru's "most important struggles: the Spanish conquest, the rebellion of Túpac Amaru, independence, and the War of the Pacific."³⁹ Zaña's *decimistas* asserted the roles of Afro-Peruvians in such formative events but also developed a local identity out of a shared struggle against hacendado oppression.

Zaña's *décimas* recount communal struggles from the perspective of Afro-Peruvians fighting for an equal place in the national imaginary. The oral tradition has fostered local commemoration of Afro-Peruvian patriotism in the War of the Pacific. The *décima* titled "Huáscar" points out that only Miguel Grau's name "has remained/ among that great crew." Still, the poem asks that "God give us health/before the forces that ask/even if it costs our lives/to defend Peru."⁴⁰ Another *décima* from Zaña reaffirms

³⁹Heidi Carolyn Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific*. (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), 57.

⁴⁰Quoted in Rocca Torres, *La otra historia*, 169: "Hagamos resignación/todita la juventud/que Dios nos dará salud/antes que fuerzas se pida/aunque nos cueste la vida/por defender al Perú."

Afro-Peruvian participation in the civil war between Piérola and Cáceres, adding a personal account to the national history that favors the Lima-centered narrative over the northern campaigns. The poem pays homage to Arturo Ñáñez, who fought to defend Piérola but died “because of a tyrant,” as the *caceristas* pursued him to his death.⁴¹ These oral histories told through *décimas* assert the central roles of Afro-Peruvians in the nation’s history, and others emphasize the contentious relationship between the townspeople and the local aristocracy with keen recognition of post-abolition continuities with conditions under slavery.

The town’s development of an identity in opposition to the former slaveholding and consistently exploitative hacendados made Zaña an icon of Afro-Peruvian culture in Lima before the mid-century “rediscovery.” One of the nation’s most famous Afro-Peruvian songs, in fact, is titled “Zaña.” The song and the town were well known in Lima by 1938, where musicians improvised new lyrics based on legends and myths of the town to the extent that “Zaña” came to signify a musical genre of its own. The town’s rich Afro-Peruvian culture was well known by the 1960s thanks to national radio programs highlighting such traditions. Nicomedes Santa Cruz visited Zaña in 1960, a moment that inspired his political activism for the promotion of Afro-Peruvian culture and equality. According to Rocca Torres, Santa Cruz influenced the townspeople as much as their culture influenced his art and activism, as he “was the first to lay a cultural bridge between the town and Africa.”⁴² The famous *decimista* from Lima thus inspired further

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 173: “por causa de un tirano/Arturo Ñáñez murió...*Es verdad que ha fallecido/el que a Piérola defendió.*”

⁴²Luis Rocca Torres, *Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Zaña y África*. (Lima: Centro de Desarrollo Étnico, 2015), 58. Rocca Torres details Santa Cruz’ political platform as part of the Movimeinto Social Progresista in 1960. The movement’s goals included agrarian and educational reform, the nationalization of petroleum, and international policy independent of foreign domination.

Afro-Peruvian cultural production and a connection with the African Diaspora, and the town's local history of conflict inspired Santa Cruz's development of an identity politics—he joined the Social Progress Movement and ran for congress shortly after the trip. Both the townspeople and the Lima poet were central actors in reaffirming an identity that had been subsumed in the rhetoric of class throughout most of the country. In reaffirming their Afro-Peruvian identity, they began to recover their ancestors' importance to the nation's history as well.

IV. Conclusions: Mestizaje, Blackness, and “Political Interests”

The local histories of Afro-Peruvians in Lima, Zaña and Yapatera reveal common struggles and objectives, but they also reveal distinct processes of identity formation. The historians of Yapatera emphasize the communal desire for state recognition to enforce constitutional rights that local elites denied the community, perhaps even maintaining some Afro-Peruvians as slaves. Like the descendants of slaves in Zaña and Lima, the people of Yapatera developed a collective identity born from the persistent oppression of local hacendados. Unlike Afro-descended Peruvians in Lima, however, yapateranos developed a sense of pride in blackness rather than denying their ancestry or adopting an exclusively class-based discourse of identity. Such subtle differences exhibit distinct processes of identity formation in relation to “political interests” that challenge prior assumptions of uniformity and political apathy.

Although Afro-Peruvians did not articulate an identity politics until the 1950s, the Santa Cruz siblings' “rediscovery” built on the organizational and cultural efforts of their ancestors. The absence of exclusively black social movements in post-abolition Peru should not be considered a failure although it has contributed to Afro-Peruvian invisibility in the historical narrative. Rather, Afro-Peruvians made decisions based on

their immediate surroundings but maintained communal traditions that permitted the Santa Cruz siblings to recognize a shared identity through the African Diaspora as well as common political interests.

Conclusion: Afro-Peruvian Invisibility and Self-Determination in the Black Pacific

In *Silencing the Past*, historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot identified the dilemma of constructivist history that permeates this dissertation. The dissertation provides evidence of narrative constructs of Peruvian history that actively contributed to silencing the Afro-Peruvian past; yet “*it cannot give a full account of the production of any single narrative.*”¹ However, by assessing the crucial moments of historical production during which silences were created, my analysis demonstrates “that the historical process has some autonomy vis-à-vis the narrative” and that recognizing “the boundary between what happened and that which is said to have happened is necessary.”²

I have attempted to provide an alternative narrative of Afro-Peruvian history following the abolition of slavery by examining the silences bundled in the making of sources (“fact creation”), the assembly of facts (“the making of archives”), and “the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*).” By connecting this analysis to contemporary activist movements to assert Afro-Peruvian equality and history in this conclusion, the dissertation seeks to contribute to “the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance).”³ While this work makes no claim to offer a “final” narrative, it opens avenues for further historical inquiry regarding Afro-Peruvian history that have been silenced in the archives and in the creation of nation-making narratives. By identifying power dynamics at both of these stages, the dissertation complicates understandings of “whitening” and *mestizaje*.

¹Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beach Press, 1992), 13. (emphasis in original)

²*Ibid.*, 13

³*Ibid.*, 26.

Trouillot also points to the importance of distinguishing societies with slaves from slave societies, where “slavery defined their economic, social, and cultural organization.”⁴ Analyzing such “societies” at the local level reveals similarities that national comparisons might overlook: the examples of Lima and Piura affirm that hacendados of the Pacific coast relied on African slave labor for their economic success through most of the nineteenth century, while Afro-Peruvian resistance to slavery took different forms that led to distinct processes of identity formation following abolition.⁵ The concentration of Afro-Peruvians in these coastal communities remains evident in fiction and folklore, but the demographic history of Peru also helps explain the broader silence surrounding Afro-Peruvian history. In contrast to the Caribbean, it was easier for white elites to deny the participation of Afro-Peruvians in the nation’s history because of the predominance of the indigenous population.

The construction of Peruvian dualism and its subsequent influence on *peruanidad* demonstrates that silences “are inherent in history because any single event enters history with some of its constituting parts missing. Something is always left out while something else is recorded...the very mechanisms that make any historical recording possible also ensure that historical facts are not created equal.”⁶ The discursive context in which Afro-Peruvians participated between 1855 and 1940 limited the ability of subsequent historians to document their actions. Although slave rebellions were not “unthinkable” in nineteenth-century Peru, Afro-Peruvian civic engagement and political agency were beyond the realm of possibility for the educated elite documenting the “facts.” This

⁴*Ibid.*, 18.

⁵This process reveals similarities to Peter Wade’s analysis of regional dynamics of blackness and race mixing in *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

⁶*Ibid.*, 49.

discursive context has been echoed in twentieth-century historiography that portrayed Afro-Peruvians as passive actors, “cannon fodder,” or as irrelevant. Moreover, the dominant discourse of dualism, influenced by nineteenth-century socio-political concerns and nationalism, solidified as *peruanidad* in the 1940s.⁷

In his analysis of other historians’ treatment of the Haitian Revolution, Trouillot argues that archives have the “power to define what is and what is not a serious object of research, and, therefore, of mention.”⁸ Beyond the scarce mention of race in archival records, the censuses analyzed in the dissertation demonstrate the challenge of researching Afro-Peruvian history. As census officials progressively erased categories indicating African ancestry, they eliminated Afro-Peruvians as a category of historical analysis.

Afro-Peruvian invisibility results from a process distinct from that of the Haitian Revolution, but their roles in the nation have been trivialized in a way that resembles other “global silences.” The official narrative of Afro-Peruvian disappearance generalized the census data to assert that Afro-Peruvians had never influenced the nation’s culture nor had they maintained a collective identity. This narrative resembles other formulas of erasure that effect “a powerful silencing: whatever has not been cancelled out in the generalities dies in the cumulative irrelevance of a heap of details.”⁹ However, this “official narrative” of the 1940 census followed over a century of elite debates that denied Afro-descendants an equal place in the nation, which had a powerful effect on the few Afro-Peruvians who ascended socially.

⁷Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, *Peruanidad* (Lima: Librería Stadium, 1965. Originally published in 1943). Belaúnde focused on the positive elements of racial and cultural mixing between Spaniards and indigenous Peruvians.

⁸Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 99.

⁹*Ibid.*, 97.

My analysis of Ricardo and Clemente Palma's writings and careers demonstrate the hegemony of dominant discourses of race and national identity, which also contributed to Afro-Peruvian invisibility. As an educated family with African ancestry and coveted status among elite Limeño society, Ricardo Palma was forced to adopt an ambiguous position regarding blackness. Although his *tradiciones* ran counter to the common emphasis on indigenous and Spanish cultural traditions by including Afro-Peruvians, his depictions of black Limeños were not always positive: his romantic vision of San Martín de Porres ran counter to his stereotypical depictions of violent and uncivilized *aguadores* of Lima. Furthermore, his inability or unwillingness to establish or contribute to "black writing" in Lima shows the difficulty of blackness to gain positive connotations into the twentieth century. This pattern demonstrates continuity with the late colonial period when black surgeons wrote in "raceless" terms.

Robert Sanchez makes a similar argument in his analysis of early twentieth-century Afro-Peruvian playwright Nicomedes Santa Cruz (the father of the *decimista* by the same name). Sanchez analyzes newspaper coverage of Santa Cruz Sr.'s plays, arguing that their "carefully crafted praise of Santa Cruz as an Afro-Peruvian role model was aimed at reinforcing a traditional belief in the wisdom of racial mixing alone to produce socially desired outcomes, thereby occluding the need to address the problems of discrimination facing Afro-Peruvians." However, because Santa Cruz ascended socially without racially mixing, Sanchez concludes, he disappeared from "the narrative of Peruvian social history."¹⁰

¹⁰Robert L. Sanchez, "Black Mosaic: The Assimilation and Marginalization of Afro-Peruvians in Post-Abolition Peru, 1854-1930 PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008), 56, 84. See also Martha Ojeda, *Nicomedes Santa Cruz: ecos de África en Perú* (Boydell and Brewer Inc., 2003).

Ricardo Palma had arguably gained greater popular support in early twentieth-century Lima, yet his elite contemporaries saw his racial ancestry as a valid point of criticism. Clemente Palma, born into an ethnoracial category further distanced from his father's African ancestry, did not face such public attacks. His father's ambivalence regarding their ancestry likely facilitated his uncritical acceptance of European racial pseudoscience. Witnessing public defamations of his father due to his race likely contributed to Clemente's disdain for blackness as expressed in his Bachelor's thesis, which also offers a rare glimpse of the "whitening" of an Afro-Peruvian family.

The Palma family offers an opportunity to understand the politics of identity and perspectives on whitening in post-abolition Peru. Kim Butler has theorized the "problematic relationship" of Afro-Latin Americans after the abolition of slavery as a people brought against their will were integral parts of the new nations of the Americas. According to Butler, this relationship "constitutes the crux of the political issue facing all people of the Afro-Atlantic diaspora: integration or separatism." Diverse strategies like acculturation, "passing," and pan-Africanism fall within this spectrum; Butler emphasizes that "these general categories are not mutually exclusive, and most ideologies combine elements of the two. Each is a political strategy of self-determination."¹¹ The case of the Palmas thus provides another example of the variety of ways African descendants identified themselves after abolition under a powerful ideology of *mestizaje* and white supremacy.

The theoretical implications of this dissertation show the importance of expanding analysis of the African diaspora to include the black Pacific. First, the dissertation

¹¹Kim Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador* (Rutgers University Press, 2000), 59.

suggests the need to compare the experiences of Afro-descended people throughout the Americas, as well as between rural plantation economies and urban centers. My analysis of narrative constructions, census data, and collective interests of working-class Afro-Peruvians suggests that demographic concentrations were pivotal to subsequent decisions regarding integration or separatism among Afro-Latin American populations. Afro-Peruvians in Lima appeared to have more possibilities of socio-economic ascendance than did former slaves along the rural Pacific coast. Rural Afro-Peruvian communities such as Zaña and Yapatera were more isolated from Lima-centered modernization projects and narrative constructions of *peruanidad*. These communities were also isolated from the emergence of *negritud* literature that began to emerge in the 1930s. This isolation helps explain their later connections with the African Diaspora.

Much like Afro-Atlantic communities, the African cultural heritage of the Pacific coast “became a critical mechanism of psychological health and survival” in such “highly discriminatory societies... Under pressure to adopt an oppressive worldview, Africans and their descendants consistently strove to shape their own from the cultural wreckage that survived the Middle Passage.” Indeed, the black Pacific demonstrates that “African philosophy, spirituality, aesthetics, and arts informed diasporan culture... where there were demographic concentrations of blacks.”¹²

In contrast to Clemente Palma, moreover, rural Afro-Peruvians were not actively claiming whiteness or denying their African cultural roots. Nevertheless, the censuses ascribed them categories connoting whiteness as it corresponded to the 1940 census, thereby officially “whitening” them. This complicates other notions of “whitening” and “passing” which assume the subjects *claim* or choose whiteness.

¹²*Ibid.*, 61.

Although it is impossible to know the motivations of individual census officials or if they overwrote how citizens identified themselves ethnoracially, the censuses were not carried out in a vacuum. A common racial ideology is clear in the official analyses of twentieth-century censuses. The denial of the existence of a significant Afro-Peruvian population made it easier for white Peruvians to reject any accusations of racism, as did contrasting Peruvian law to North American race relations (MacLean Estrenós, for example, contrasted Peruvian law to lynching and Jim Crow laws).

The dominant ideology of *mestizaje* as *peruanidad* provided a convenient narrative for elites to deny racism by equating class differences to levels of education. In this context, recognizing Afro-Peruvians' place in the African diaspora and affirming blackness is necessary to point out the historical processes that led to racial discrimination and inequality. The cultural practices that Afro-Peruvians maintained became particularly helpful to such recognition, an effort initiated in the 1950s and promoted by activists through the second half of the twentieth century.

II. Historic Visibility and Contemporary Activism

During a research trip in 2015, I met the director of the Afro-Peruvian Museum of Yapatera, Abelardo Alzamora. Alzamora has worked with activist organizations since the 1980s to demand social services from the state to improve his community's living conditions, and he has recently begun an educational reform program to promote positive images of blackness and better knowledge of Afro-Peruvian history. I asked him for more information on the town's history, and if yapateranos ever identified as *criollo* or with *criollo* culture. His response was revealing: "Thirty years ago," he said, the town "didn't know its own ethnicity, [nor] the history of Afro-Peruvian contributions to the history of

the country.” Asked if he ever identified as *criollo*, Alzamora responded, “No. Before there was an affirmation we identified as *mestizo*. But we’ve since learned to identify as Afro.” He went on to explain that Afro-Peruvian poetry had always been a source of pride prior to the arrival of activists, yet nobody wanted to call themselves “black” due to the “negative associations” of the term prior to the 1980s.¹³

The reconstruction of hidden histories of Afro-Peruvian involvement in local and national movements serves larger objectives consistent with those of today’s Afro-Peruvian activists. A collective Afro-Peruvian identity simmered beneath the surface of the national culture, expressing itself in politics, popular literature, music and poetry. In the face of white supremacist designs to deny their interests and their concerns, this dissertation has shown that Afro-Peruvians utilized multiple strategies to defend their local and class-based interests, many of which contributed to the Afro-Peruvian “rediscovery” of the 1950s.

The history of African slavery in Peru led to a distinct process of identity formation among its minority Afro-descended population. In contrast to the Caribbean and Brazil, where slave-traders imported millions of Africans, the white Peruvian aristocracy had more difficulty importing slaves to the Pacific coast and preferred to remain a colony rather than risk any upheaval of the social order in the wake of the Andean revolts of the 1780s. The lower numbers of African descended people led to the development of small communities, such as Zaña and Yapatera, but the racial ideology of *mestizaje* limited Lima’s claims to Afro-Peruvian identities to a few neighborhoods and

¹³Personal interview with Abelardo Alzamora at the Yapatera Museo Afroperuano on June 4, 2015: “Hace treinta años no sabía la propia etnia, la historia de la contribución afroperuana en la historia del país...No [se identificaba como] criollo. Antes de que había un afirmación se identificaba con mestizo, pero ya se ha aprendido identificarse como afro...En los ochenta llegó el MNAFC. Antes no hay nadie que quiere ser ‘negro’ porque tenía una asociación negativa.”

several prominent families. In this sense, Peru's Afro-descended population's history resembles that of other Andean nations, but it also provides distinct lessons about the power of racial ideologies and of the importance of counter-narratives and collective resistance. A comparative analysis of Peru in the African Diaspora might lead one to conclude that Afro-Peruvians failed to organize collectively to demand social equality and an end to ethnoracial exclusion. However, this dissertation shows that the class-based approach that Afro-Peruvians embraced contributed to significant gains in labor and political rights for a broader coalition of working-class Peruvians, specifically the 1919 labor law and growing popular support for political parties that represented working-class interests.

The 1940 census rendered the Afro-Peruvian population invisible. But the history of Afro-Peruvian mobilization facilitated the so-called "rediscovery" pioneered by Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz, which in turn contributed to a robust social movement to demand Afro-Peruvian equality and recognition beginning in the 1950s, explained further below. These efforts contributed to a growing recognition of communal and individual Afro-Peruvian identities, and such activism has fomented Afro-Peruvian solidarity in communities like Yapatera and Zaña.¹⁴

Anthropologist Luis Rocca Torres and ethnomusicologist Heidi Carolyn Feldman's research on the Afro-Peruvian "rediscovery" has emphasized the Afro-Peruvian cultural connections fostered by the Santa Cruz siblings, but their works tend to discount the political dimensions of this social movement. In the final chapter of his book on Nicomedes Santa Cruz's connections with the people of Zaña, Rocca Torres

¹⁴Eduardo León Alzamora, *Yapatera: afirmación afroperuana, educación inicial y horizonte posible* (Lima: Tarea Asociación de Publicaciones Educativas, 2014), 15; Luis Rocca Torres, *Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Zaña y Africa* (Lima: CEDET, 2015).

documents the poet-activist's work as the principal speaker at a series of meetings that inaugurated the Movimiento Social Progresista (Progressive Social Movement) in March of 1962. Based on his experiences reaching out to Afro-Peruvians along the north coast, Nicomedes Santa Cruz embraced the party's platform, which included some of the principal objectives of the Partido Demócrata and the Partido Aprista Peruano (PAP). The most notable of these policies were agrarian reform, the nationalization of oil, and an "international policy independent of all foreign dominance."¹⁵ As Rocca Torres suggests, Nicomedes Santa Cruz came to understand the historic concerns of northern Afro-Peruvians, influencing his political ideology to the same extent that his approach fostered a collective Afro-Peruvian identity.

In the context of state policies that historically deny the existence of racism, activists recognized that forging of a unique Afro-Peruvian identity and consciousness was central to attaining equal opportunities and social justice in Peru. The social movement that the Santa Cruz siblings sparked led to the establishment of several activist organizations that promote interests specific to Afro-Peruvians. These organizations refute the narrative of Afro-Peruvian disappearance by facilitating Afro-Peruvian connections with the African Diaspora and demanding legal protections from racial discrimination similar to processes of "legalizing identities" in Brazil.¹⁶

Named after the leader of an eighteenth century slave revolt, the Movimiento Negro Francisco Congo (MNFC) formed in the 1950s to further promote Afro-Peruvian

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 54-55. Rocca Torres escribe: "El ideario del Movimiento Social Progresista tenía el siguiente programa: "La reforma agraria, la reforma del crédito, la reforma del Estado, la reforma de la Empresa, La reforma de la educación, la nacionalización del petróleo, Política internacional independiente de todo dominio extranjero."

¹⁶See Jan H. French, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

solidarity and collective interests. This organization recognized that “it was necessary for the Afro-Peruvian community to become conscious about their condition in order to become agents of their own liberation.”¹⁷ In a further effort to promote inclusion, The MNFC reorganized in the 1980s to become the MNAFC, adding Afro-Peruvian to its name. The objectives of the movement became more specific: to gain “respect for the human rights and the vindication of the identity of our Afro-descendent peoples.”¹⁸ Several MNAFC activists also left to establish other organizations to promote Afro-Peruvian interests, such as the LUNDU Center for Afro-Peruvian Studies and Empowerment, which challenges homogenizing historic discourses that denies racism and racial difference in Peru in favor of a singular nationalist cohesiveness.¹⁹

Other activists involved with the MNAFC went on to establish the Centro de Desarrollo Étnico (CEDET) in 1999, which has joined political activism with scholarship on Afro-Peruvian history—quickly making this organization the leading publisher on the topic, and prompting greater recognition of Afro-Peruvians in Congressional publications and in national politics.

The need for such activist groups exhibits the enduring power of ideologies of peruanidad, mestizaje, and “silent racism.” At the same time, they demonstrate the resilience of Afro-Peruvians to demand recognition of their centrality to the nation’s history and the promises of equality they have been denied. I hope that this dissertation contributes to the valiant efforts of such activists to demand legal protections against

¹⁷Valdiviezo, Laura Alicia. “Interculturality for Afro-Peruvians: Towards a racially inclusive education in Peru.” *International Education Journal*, 2006, 7 (1), 26-35, 31.

¹⁸*Inscrito en Los Registros Publicos*, MNAFC *Pronunciamento*, 2005. Accessed via http://www.cimarrones-peru.org/mnafc_pronun.htm.

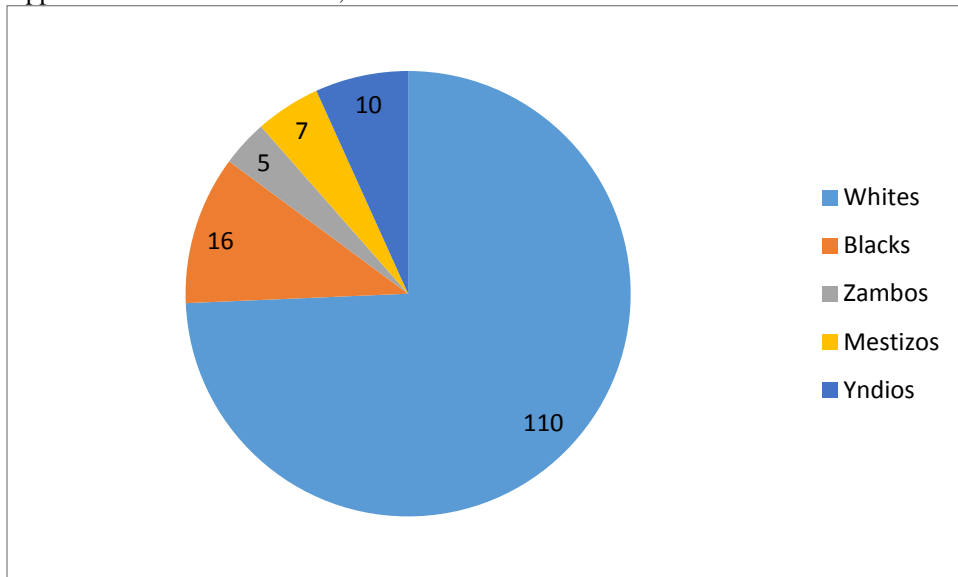
¹⁹“LUNDU Center for Afro-Peruvian Studies and Empowerment,” accessed via <http://lunduafroperu.pe.tripod.com/lunduafroperu/index.html>.

racial discrimination by historicizing the roles played by Afro-Peruvians in the nation's history.

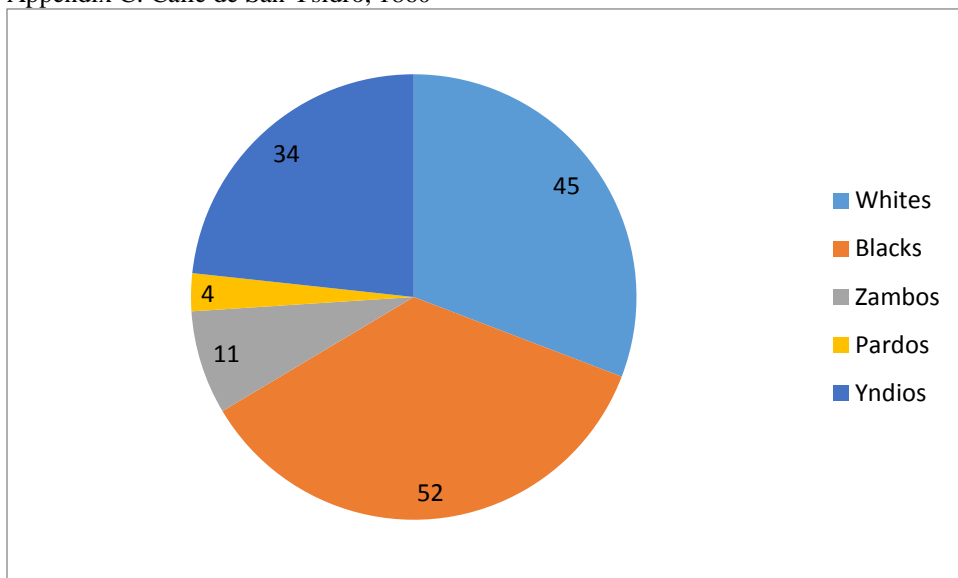
Appendix A. Source: Museo Nacional Afroperuano



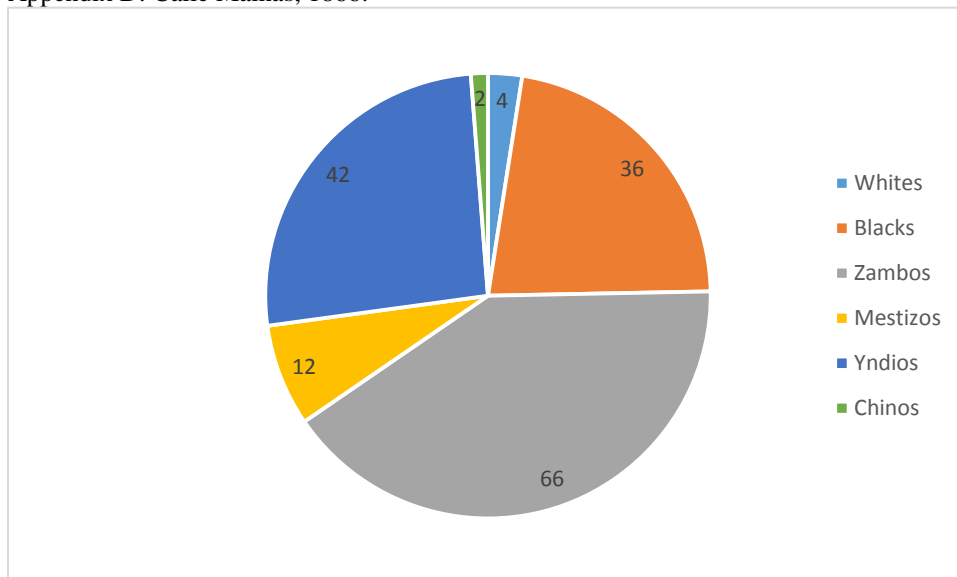
Appendix B: Calle de la Palma, 1860:



Appendix C: Calle de San Ysidro, 1860



Appendix D: Calle Mainas, 1866:



Appendix E: 1940 Census Form:

DEPARTAMENTO DE LIMA

CUADRO N° 16.—POBLACION CENSADA, SEGUN RELIGION, POR RAZA Y SEXO

Religión	POBLACION			BLANCA Y MESTIZA		INDIA		NEGRA		AMARILLA		RAZA NO DECLARADA	
	Total	Hom- bres	Muje- res	Hom- bres	Muje- res	Hom- bres	Muje- res	Hom- bres	Muje- res	Hom- bres	Muje- res	Hom- bres	Muje- res
TOTAL	828,298	424,656	403,642	331,042	327,375	67,074	59,631	6,800	6,932	19,372	9,298	368	406
Católica	799,673	405,022	394,651	324,028	322,643	66,797	59,417	6,771	6,915	7,066	5,279	360	397
Budista	9,832	6,251	3,581	31	23	5	—	—	8	6,214	3,549	1	1
Protestante	7,241	4,184	3,057	3,988	2,902	170	141	—	—	26	14	—	—
Confucista	5,724	5,511	213	19	26	2	—	10	—	5,479	187	1	—
India	1,812	974	838	945	828	—	—	1	—	28	10	—	—
Islamética	49	34	15	25	13	4	1	—	—	5	1	—	—
Otras religiones	1,208	755	453	579	357	17	6	2	1	157	89	—	—
En religión	1,652	1,291	361	962	229	41	22	7	4	281	106	—	—
Religión no declarada	1,107	634	473	465	354	38	44	9	4	116	63	6	6

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The research for this dissertation was carried out in several archives and libraries in Peru. The institutions, with the abbreviations used in the footnotes, were:

Archivo y Biblioteca Municipal de Lima (ABML)

Archivo Histórico Municipal de Lima (AHML)

Archivo Regional de Piura (ARP)

Biblioteca Nacional Del Perú, Lima (BNP)

Biblioteca del Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, Lima (BINEI)

Casa/Museo Miguel Grau, Piura (CMMG)

Casa/Museo Ricardo Palma, Lima (CMRP)

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